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Citation

Roper, Geoffrey. 1999. The beginnings of Arabic printing by the ABCFM, 1822-1841. Harvard Library Bulletin 9 (1), Spring 1998: 50-68.

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The Beginnings of Arabic Printing by the ABCFM, 1822-1841

Geoffrey Roper

GEOFFREY ROPER is Islamic Bibliographer in Cambridge University Library and Editor of *Index Islamicus*.

“American Arabic” is the name commonly given to one of the most familiar and successful typefaces used in Arabic books in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth. With its forward-sloping, somewhat spindly, but quite readable appearance, it came to characterize the publications that accompanied and embodied the educational and literary revival (*naḥḍa*) of that period, especially in the Arab Levant. It was called “American” because it was created for the Beirut press of the ABCFM; but it was later used by many other presses in the area. Its ubiquity, and the large printed Arabic output of the ABCFM, have led a number of historians of the period to attribute to the American mission, founded in 1818, a pioneering and catalytic role in the print revolution in the Arab world: they “converted Near Easterners to America’s bookish culture” and “had an important place . . . in bringing the Gutenberg epoch to the Ottoman Empire.”¹

The problem with this view is that “American Arabic” did not make its first appearance on the printed page until 1841, twenty-three years after the start of the mission, nearly twenty years after the Bulaq Press in Egypt introduced regular and continuous Arabic printing to the Arab world, and sixteen years after the Malta missionary press commenced its long series of Arabic educational and religious publications. It is necessary, therefore, to reexamine received notions about the early role of the ABCFM in this field, to find out why it took them so long to make an impact, and to place their contribution to Arabic printing history in a truer perspective.

MALTA, 1822-33: FAILURE

In 1818 the Board in Boston resolved to establish a mission in “Jerusalem and . . . parts of Western Asia.”² They sent out two missionaries, Levi Parsons and

¹ J. L. Grabill, *Protestant diplomacy and the Near East: missionary influence on American policy, 1810-1927* (Minneapolis, 1971), 22. See also R. Avery, *Ink on their thumbs: the antecedents of the Redhouse Press* (Istanbul, 1970), passim; F. L. Winger, “Books and the early missionaries in the Near East,” *Journal of Library History* 6 (1971): 26-28; D. H. Partington, “Printing and publishing: Arabic,” *Encyclopaedia of Library and Information Science* 24 (1978): 65; G. Endress, “Die Anfänge der ara-

bischen Typographie und die Ablösung der Handschrift durch den Buchdruck,” *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, Bd. I (Wiesbaden, 1982), 293.

² A.L. Tibawi, *American interests in Syria 1800-1901* (Oxford, 1966), 12. The history of American missions in the Middle East, and their presses, has given rise to a considerable literature. What follows is drawn mainly from J. Tracy, *History of American missions* (Worcester, Mass., 1840); J. O. Choules and T. Smith, *The origin and*

Pliny Fisk, who after a brief stay in Malta at the end of 1819, spent some time travelling and residing in various parts of the Middle East. Fisk returned to Malta in April 1822 and joined Daniel Temple, who had brought from Boston a small printing press for the use of American missionaries in the Mediterranean. This had been purchased from subscriptions raised for the purpose “through the liberality of gentlemen in New York and Boston.”³ Although it was intended to print propaganda mainly for Greece and Palestine, Malta was chosen as the location, because it offered more security.⁴ As the Board’s Assistant Secretary (later Secretary) Rufus Anderson put it, “the location of the press at Malta, was not the result of design, but because printing could not be done safely, if at all, either at Smyrna or at Beirut.”⁵ On 1 July 1822 the Governor of Malta granted permission for the press to operate, subject to prior censorship,⁶ and the first tracts were printed in December.⁷ Temple, although described by a later fellow missionary as “of a grave and serious temperament, looking on the dark side,”⁸ nevertheless went so far as to predict that “Malta is, perhaps, destined by Providence to be in our times another Wittenberg, in promoting the Reformation of the nineteenth century.”⁹

These tracts, however, were in Italian and Greek, not in Arabic, even though the nature of the American missionary work that was envisaged, especially in Lebanon and Palestine, made the provision of Arabic books a prime requirement. This was because Temple had no Arabic types, and in any case did not know the language; nor for that matter were any of the other missionaries yet competent in it, although Jonas King, who passed through Malta at the end of 1822, had studied with Silvestre de Sacy in Paris,¹⁰ and Fisk received Arabic lessons from a Maltese priest.¹¹

It so happened, however, that just at this time another Protestant missionary press was being established in Malta: that of the English Church Missionary Society (CMS).¹² This, under its first superintendent, William Jowett, acquired at an early stage an Arabic type font, cast in London by the orientalist printing firm of Richard Watts. Despite initial difficulties arising from defects in this font, Arabic printing commenced in Malta in May 1825.¹³ Jowett had at first viewed the arrival of the Americans with some consternation, as potential rivals. But by

history of missions, 6th ed., (Boston, 1842); Rufus Anderson, *History of the missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the oriental churches*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1872); Thomas Laurie, *The Ely volume; or, the contributions of our foreign missions to science and human well-being*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1885); W. E. Strong, *The story of the American Board* (Boston, 1910); W. J. Burke, “The American mission press at Malta,” *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 41 (1937): 526–29; Peter Kawerau, *Amerika und die orientalischen Kirchen* (Berlin, 1958); Tibawi, *American interests*; J. A. Field, *America and the Mediterranean world, 1776–1882* (Princeton, 1969); R. L. Daniel, *American philanthropy in the Near East, 1820–1960* (Athens, Ga., 1970); Adnan Abu-Ghazaleh, *American missions in Syria* (Brattleboro 1982; *The Search* 3 iv). Much the best researched are the contributions of Kawerau and Tibawi, both of whom made extensive use of ABCFM materials.

3 Choules and Smith, *Origin and history of missions*, 2: 299; Laurie, *Ely volume*, 206.

4 Burke, “Mission press,” 526.

5 Anderson, *Oriental churches*, 2: 73.

6 A. Bond, *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk* (Edinburgh, 1828), 194.

7 Tibawi, *American interests*, 52, quoting ABCFM sources. Burke was evidently wrong in giving August as the starting date (p. 526); likewise C. Clair, *The spread of printing: eastern hemisphere: Malta* (Amsterdam, 1969), 22.

8 H. H. Jessup, *Fifty-three years in Syria* (London, 1910), 1: 47.

9 Quoted by Burke, “Mission press,” 527. Wittenberg was the German town from which most of Luther’s massive output of printed propaganda emanated.

10 Tibawi, *American interests*, 22.

11 Bond, *Memoir of Fisk*, 201–2.

12 For an extended account of its Arabic operations and output, see G. J. Roper, “Arabic printing in Malta 1825–1845: its history and its place in the development of print culture in the Arab Middle East” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Durham, 1988).

13 Archives of the Church Missionary Society, Birmingham University Library: Mediterranean Mission: CM/O39/50, Jowett to Secs., 20 May 1825.

Nasif al-Yaziji's *Arabic grammar*, Beirut, 1836 (item 4), the first substantial book printed in Arabic by the ABCFM. The type is that of Richard Watts, supplemented with some sorts from elsewhere. The use of fleurons in the ornamented 'unwan and borders, deriving from the Renaissance "arabesque," is here re-adapted to Arab-Islamic conventions.



July 1822 he was thinking in terms of cooperation and negotiation: "the American Missionaries," he wrote, "will give up to us, I have no doubt, the conducting of an Italian Periodical Publication . . . Greek, no doubt, they will take. I may perhaps beg Arabic of them."¹⁴ The CMS Secretary, Josiah Pratt, however, wrote from London that "as the Americans are not likely to settle in Malta, you may consider them, I think, as in no way superseding your own plans, or as likely to render your use of Greek and Arabic at your press unnecessary."¹⁵ Nevertheless, Jowett continued to think in terms of a division of labor, and the following January reported that the Americans had Roman, Greek and Armenian types, but "omitting Arabic . . . because they understand that the Church Missionary Society intends to furnish Arabic—This instance of courtesy may surely serve to quicken our activity in commencing Arabic."¹⁶

This co-operation between the two missionary establishments continued, and is reflected in the fact that many of the Arabic publications of the CMS were supplied to, and to a certain extent designed for, the American missions, especially in Lebanon, where they were shipped in substantial quantities.¹⁷ Jowett furthermore made use of Fisk, Goodell and other American missionaries, in commissioning Arabic translations from Palestine and elsewhere.¹⁸ The CMS also later printed two polemical tracts written in Arabic by Americans, Jonas King's *Farewell* (1833) and Isaac Bird's *Thirteen letters* (1834), as well as an account by Bird

¹⁴ CM/O39/8, Jowett to Secs., 22 July 1822.

¹⁵ CM/L1/19, Pratt to Jowett, 31 Aug. 1822.

¹⁶ CM/O39/14, Jowett to Secs., 7 Jan. 1823.

¹⁷ CM/O39/50, 51, Jowett to Secs., 20 May and 7 July 1825.

¹⁸ CM/O39/55, 81, Jowett to Secs., 10 Sept. 1825 and 19 Oct. 1826.

¹⁹ Jonas King, *Wida' Yunus Kīn ilā aḥbābihi fī Filasṭīn wa-Sūrīyah al-yaum al-khāmis min Aylūl 1825* [Farewell of Jonas King to his friends in Palestine and Syria, 5

and Goodell of the death of Fisk (1827).¹⁹ The first of these in particular has given rise to some bibliographical confusion. It was King's "farewell letter," translated by As'ad al-Shidyāq in collaboration with the author:²⁰ the date in the title—5 September 1825—was the date when the letter was written, after which about forty manuscript copies were put in circulation;²¹ but several subsequent historians and bibliographers have taken it as the date of publication, since the book is otherwise undated. They have thereby reached the erroneous conclusion that it was the first Arabic book to be published in Malta.²² In fact the archives of the CMS show clearly that it was published in 1833.²³ The work is strongly anti-Catholic, and was said by its author to have been twice put in the *Index librorum prohibitorum* at Rome.²⁴

In the same year, the CMS also printed in Malta, on commission for the ABCFM, a brief autobiography of As'ad al-Shidyāq (*Khabarīyat As'ad al-Shidyāq*), a Maronite who had converted to Protestantism and worked for the American missionaries, and who later died in prison. This of course is also anti-Catholic, or rather anti-Maronite. It has been quite erroneously attributed to his famous brother Fāris al-Shidyāq by a number of eminent authorities, who have cited it as the latter's earliest work.²⁵ In fact it is clearly by As'ad himself, being written in the first person, and his mentor Isaac Bird has recorded that it was written in 1826 at his request, "that we might make use of it to his advantage in future time;"²⁶ English translations were published in Boston in 1827 and 1839²⁷ and it was later incorporated into Bird's biography of As'ad, published in 1864.²⁸

But although the CMS was willing to accept commissions from them, the ABCFM missionaries had never given up the idea of using their own press for printing Arabic. In 1824 a second press had been acquired, and in 1825 Jonas King was sent to Europe to procure supplies of both Armenian and Arabic types, using funds raised for the purpose in France and Britain. Although he quickly succeeded with the Armenian, and printing started in that language (or rather Armeno-Turkish) in Malta in 1828, the Arabic took longer. Not until late in

September 1825, trans. As'ad al-Shidyāq], n.d. [1833]; [Isaac Bird,] *Thalātha 'ashara risāla, muḥarrara min ba'd Masiḥiyyin raddan 'ammā hadhara bihi al-Sayyid Buṭrus Muṭrān Bayrūt al-Mārūnī al-kullī al-sharaf wa-l-iḥtirām al-muḥāmmī 'an diyānat al-Kanīsa al-Raumānīya* [Thirteen letters written from certain Christians in refutation of the nonsense prattled by the honorable and venerable lord, the Maronite Bishop of Beirut, defender of the religion of the Roman Church], 1834; [Isaac Bird and William Goodell], *Ghalabat al-īmān maujūda fī akhbār maut al-Sinyūr Fisk al-Amīrīkānī al-mu'allim al-marḥūm* [The victory of faith, present in the tidings of the death of Mr. Fisk, the late American teacher], 1827.

20 Isaac Bird, *The martyr of Lebanon* (Boston, 1864), 35; Laurie, *Ely volume*, 208; Winger, "Books and the early missionaries," 25.

21 J. King, *Extraits d'un ouvrage écrit vers la fin de l'année 1826 et au commencement de 1827 sous le titre Coup d'oeil sur la Palestine et la Syrie, accompagné de quelques réflexions sur les missions évangéliques* (Athens, 1859), 156.

22 Letter of Khalil Sarkis, Beirut 1891, published in *Le livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900 (exposition)* (Paris, 1982), 333; A. G. Ellis, *Catalogue of Arabic books in the British Museum* (London, 1894-1901), 2: 860; M. Krek, *A gazetteer of Arabic printing* (Weston, Mass., 1977), 61. The last-named partly, but not wholly, revises this notion in a

later article "Some observations on printing Arabic in America and by Americans abroad," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 6/1992 (1994): 81.

23 CM/O4/26, List of publications, May 1842.

24 King, *Extraits*, 181; Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, *Jonas King: missionary to Syria and Greece* (New York, 1879), 367.

25 Yūsuf Aliyān Sarkīs, *Mu'jam al-maṭbū'āt al-'Arabīya wa-l-mu'arraba* (Cairo, 1346/1928), 1105; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1943-49, Supplement 1937-42), 868; H. Pérès, "Les premières manifestations de la Renaissance littéraire arabe en Orient au XIXe siècle: Nasif al-Yazigi et Faris aš-Šidyak," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales* 1 (1934-35): 245; Yūsuf As'ad Dāghir, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa al-adabīya* (Sidon and Beirut, 1950-56): 474; P. Cachia, "An Arab's view of XIXc. Malta: Shidyāq's 'Al-Wāsitah fī ma'rifat ahwāl Mālitah'," *Maltese Folklore Review* 1 (1962-6): 63; Bichara Zein Schidiak, *Aḥmad Fāris aš-Šidyāq – l'homme et l'œuvre: l'éducateur* (D.d'Univ. sout. 77-10, Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle (Paris III), 1975), 120, no. 1.

26 Bird, *Martyr*, 63.

27 "Public statement of Asaad Shidiak," *Missionary Herald* 23 (1827): 71-76, 97-101; Ellis, *Arabic books in the B.M.*, 1: 323; Abu-Ghazaleh, *American missions in Syria*, 89 n.18.

28 Bird, *Martyr*, 63-100.

1829 was it delivered, having been cast, like that of the CMS, by Richard Watts in London and obtained through the good offices of Jowett.²⁹

Two other problems, however, besides the late arrival of the type font, were holding up Arabic work at the American press. One was the lack of a competent printer. Temple, it seems, lacked the necessary aptitude, and at an early stage Fisk reported that “there will be continual difficulties, hindrances, and perplexities, until we have a missionary printer, an able, faithful, pious man.”³⁰ Continual difficulties there were, even after Temple was joined in 1826 by Homan Hallock, a qualified printer, but “eccentric, sarcastic, and resentful of authority,” with whom he was unable to work well.³¹ Neither Hallock nor Temple knew Arabic, and Temple pointed out in July 1828 that when “the expected Arabic fount” arrived, they would need an extra man for that.³²

This lack of knowledge of the language, on the part of both printers and missionaries, was the third, and major, problem delaying the production of Arabic books. As an American visitor to the Malta establishment in 1827 remarked, “The missionary ... must be well conversant with the language of a people whom he addresses, else the trumpet gives an uncertain sound.”³³ At the end of 1826, the missionaries in Beirut had sent the Lebanese scholar Fāris al-Shidyāq (1806–87), then in danger of his life because of his Protestant connections, to Malta to assist with Arabic translation.³⁴ However, because the Americans had as yet no Arabic type, and no competent missionary to supervise his work, he was employed instead at the CMS press, at first as an Arabic tutor, then also, by 1828, as a translator.³⁵ In the meantime, a new American missionary, Eli Smith, had been sent out in 1826, specifically to undertake the task of preparing and publishing missionary literature in Arabic; for this purpose he went on to Egypt and Lebanon almost immediately, to improve his knowledge of the language.³⁶ In May 1828, along with all the other missionaries in Lebanon, he returned to Malta because of insecurity resulting from the Greco-Turkish war.³⁷ There it was arranged with Jowett that Smith was “to have an equal share of the benefit of his [Shidyāq’s] assistance,” with his salary to be paid partly by the CMS, and partly by the ABCFM.³⁸ However, this gave rise to difficulties and tensions, and in July 1828 Temple wrote to Jowett that the arrangement for Shidyāq “to serve two masters” was unsatisfactory and that he was therefore no longer required.³⁹ By the time the Arabic font arrived in 1829 he was in Egypt, whither he had gone, it seems, partly because of ill-health exacerbated by the pressures that the Americans had put upon him.⁴⁰ He returned to Malta in 1835 to work for the CMS, and was responsible for many of their more important Arabic publications there between 1836 and 1842.⁴¹

29 Tracy, *American missions*, 145; Haines, *Jonas King*, 200–201; Burke, “Mission press,” 528; Kawerau, *Amerika*, 207–208; Tibawi, *American interests*, 52.

30 Bond, *Memoir of Fisk*, 209.

31 Daniel, *American philanthropy*, 22, 32; Clair, *Spread of printing*, 22; Tibawi, *American interests*, 49.

32 CM/O39/121, Temple to Jowett, 25 July 1828.

33 A. Bigelow, *Travel in Malta and Sicily, with sketches of Gibraltar*, in MDCCCXXVII (Boston, 1831), 203.

34 *Missionary Herald* 23 (1827): 372; Tracy, *American missions*, 159.

35 CM/O65/1, 4, Schlienz to Secs., 24 May 1827 and 20 May 1828; CM/O39/99, Jowett to Secs., 8 Dec. 1827;

Missionary Register 1827: 432.

36 Choules and Smith, *Origin and history of missions*, 2: 300; Burke, “Mission press,” 528; Kawerau, *Amerika*, 206.

37 Tibawi, *American interests*, 50.

38 CM/O39/110, Jowett to Schlienz, 24 Apr. 1828.

39 CM/O39/121, Temple to Jowett, 23 July 1828.

40 CM/O39/120, Temple to Jowett, 12 June 1828; CM/O65/6, Schlienz to Secs., 18 June 1828; CM/965/8B, Schlienz to Secs., 20 Oct. 1828; Samuel Woodruff, *Journal of a tour to Malta, Greece, Asia Minor, Carthage, Algiers, Port Mahon, and Spain, in 1828* (Hartford, 1831), 47.

41 Roper, “Arabic printing in Malta,” 214–30.

By the end of the 1820s, therefore, the ABCFM press in Malta had still made hardly any progress with Arabic work. Temple regretted in July 1828 that “we have, as yet, not a single sentence translated into Arabic.”⁴² So when the Arabic font finally arrived at the end of 1829, they were still unable to make use of it. Smith reported hopefully at that time that they looked forward to getting “our Arabic font into active operation, so as to furnish them [the missions in Lebanon] with a variety of tracts in the native dialect [*sic*] of the country.”⁴³ However, the next two years were occupied almost entirely in the preparation and printing of material in Greek and Armeno-Turkish,⁴⁴ and Eli Smith was away, first in Turkey and Armenia (1830–1), then in the United States (1832–3). When in February 1833 Ralph Waldo Emerson visited his compatriots in Malta, he noted that they “print in modern Greek, in Italian, in Armenian, & in Turkish”—no mention of Arabic.⁴⁵ This is confirmed by Smith himself, who in the same year reported that “our own press has not begun to print in Arabic.”⁴⁶ By the time he himself returned to Malta in October of that year, a definite decision had been taken to remove the entire American missionary establishment away from the island, and to set up separate presses, for Armenian, Greek, and Turkish in Izmir, and for Arabic in Beirut.⁴⁷

By the time these transfers took place, some 350,000 copies of books and tracts had been printed in Malta.⁴⁸ Strong, in his history of the ABCFM, says that they had there three presses and fonts in seven languages, but “most of the printing was done in but three, Italian, modern Greek, and Armeno-Turkish.”⁴⁹ The Arabic font, in the end, was never used there: Smith, the only one competent to supervise its use, did not return to Malta until October 1833, and in December the move to Beirut began. As Kawerau points out, it is hardly likely that any books were printed between those two months.⁵⁰ This is confirmed by the fact that Isaac Bird’s polemic against the Maronites, *Thalātha ‘ashara risāla*, which was completed in the summer of 1833 and sent to Malta for printing, was in fact printed at the CMS press.⁵¹

Kawerau therefore asserts that “alle Malta-Drucke in arabischer Sprache sind demnach Erzeugnisse der Druckerei der Church Missionary Society,”⁵² and Tibawi arrives at the same conclusion,⁵³ which all the available evidence does indeed support. Furthermore, with only one exception, all the Arabic books with Malta imprints or attributable to Malta, which have been identified in library collections and catalogues, correspond with contemporary lists and references to be found in the CMS archives.⁵⁴ If the ABCFM had printed Arabic books in Malta, it would be surprising if none were extant.

Despite this weight of evidence, however, the notion that they did do so has been a remarkably persistent one.⁵⁵ Its origins seem to lie in false claims to that

42 CM/O39/121, Temple to Jowett, 25 July 1828

43 Choules and Smith, *Origin and history of missions*, 2: 302.

44 Ibid., 302; Tracy, *American missions*, 213; Burke, “Mission press,” 528–9.

45 Emerson, *The journals and miscellaneous notebooks*, ed. A.R. Ferguson, vol. 4 (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 118. The “Turkish” would have been Armeno-Turkish.

46 Eli Smith, *Missionary sermons and addresses* (Boston, 1833), 167.

47 Tibawi, *American interests*, 61.

48 Burke, “Mission press,” 529; Clair, *Spread of printing*, 25.

49 Strong, *Story of the American Board*, 85.

50 Kawerau, *Amerika*, 209 n. 216.

51 Tracy, *American missions*, 237. See also above, p. 52.

52 Kawerau, *Amerika*, 209 n. 216.

53 Tibawi, *American interests*, 71.

54 The one exception (*Dalīl waḍḍiḥ ilā ‘l-ṭabīb al-ṣāliḥ* [A clear guide to the good physician], n.d. [1840?], 16pp.) is printed with the types cast in Malta for the CMS in 1838 (more than four years after the Americans had left), and was probably inadvertently left off the lists.

55 Recent examples of it are the article “Printing and publishing: Arabic” by D. H. Partington in *Encyclopaedia of library and information science*, vol. 24 (1978): 65; the guide to an exhibition entitled “Early Arabic printing” at the British Library, London 1979, p.[2]; P. Lunde, “Arabic

effect by two nineteenth-century historians of the American missions. In 1872 Secretary Rufus Anderson wrote a two-volume history of the Board's missions to the oriental churches, in which he stated that "previous to the arrival of the Mission Press at Beirut, the following tracts had been issued from it at Malta": King's *Farewell letter*, As'ad al-Shidyāq's *Statement*, and Bird's *Reply to the Maronite Bishop*.⁵⁶ In fact all these three, although issued primarily on behalf of the Americans, had definitely been printed at the CMS press, as we have seen. It is strange that Anderson, who was already Secretary of the Board at that time, and himself initiated the transfer of the press to Beirut,⁵⁷ should have made such a mistake. It may perhaps be attributed to his personal desire to present the ABCFM press as a pioneer in Arabic publishing, in which he was followed by another senior missionary of the period, Thomas Laurie, who also asserted, in his survey of American missionary activity, that "up to 1835 our Arabic printing was done in Malta."⁵⁸ His junior colleague in the field, Henry Jessup, gave further currency to this misconception in his widely read semi-autobiographical account of the Syrian mission.⁵⁹

Meanwhile, the well-known Lebanese literary historian Lūwīs Shaykhū (Louis Cheikho) had published a comprehensive survey of Arabic printing in the Levant up to the beginning of the 20th century, in a series of articles in the periodical *Al-Mashriq* in 1900–1902, in which he jumped to the same erroneous conclusion—although, as a Roman Catholic and Jesuit, he can have had no interest in promoting American Protestant missionary claims to have been pioneers in such matters. He even went so far as to publish a list of the Arabic works supposedly printed by the Americans in Malta; however, all the titles that he listed are CMS publications. As many of these carry dates after 1833, he further erroneously deduced that "a section of its [the ABCFM press's] equipment remained in Malta at least until 1842."⁶⁰ Shaykhū was followed by another Catholic literary historian, Georg Graf, who, in his monumental work on Christian Arabic literature, also attributed certain books, such as Jabrīl Farḥāt's *Baḥṭh al-Maṭālib* (Malta, 1836), to the American press in Malta, although he was aware that the CMS published many Arabic works there.⁶¹ Later Nasrallah, in his history of printing in Lebanon, also followed Shaykhū in regarding the Malta Arabic press as "le noyau de l'Imprimerie Américaine de Beyrouth," citing some of the titles from Shaykhū's list;⁶² likewise the French scholar Demeerseman, in an important contribution to Arabic printing history published in 1954.⁶³ Finally the Muslim and modern Arab historians of printing have also fallen into the same error,⁶⁴ which,

and the art of printing," *ARAMCO World Magazine* 32 ii (1981): 34; the large-scale exhibition catalogue entitled *Le livre et le Liban* (Paris, 1982), 308–13; and the contribution of Prof. G. Endress on "Die Anfänge der arabischen Typographie," *Grerdriss der arabischen Philologie*, 1: 293.

⁵⁶ Anderson, *Missions to the oriental churches*, 2: 514.

⁵⁷ Tibawi, *American interests*, 62.

⁵⁸ Laurie, *Ely volume*, 208. This was not strictly untrue, because, as mentioned above, several of the CMS Arabic publications were done primarily for the Americans and distributed by them; but he failed to state that the ABCFM press did not itself do the printing.

⁵⁹ Jessup, *Fifty-three years in Syria*, 1: 45. Several subsequent accounts of American missionary and educational activities in the Middle East, relying on these sources, have perpetuated the error, e.g. Avery, *Ink on their thumbs*;

Winger, "Books and the early missionaries," 26–28.

⁶⁰ Lūwīs Shaykhū, "Tārīkh fann al-tibā'a fī 'l-Mashriq," *Al-Mashriq* 3 (1900): 504.

⁶¹ G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (Rome, 1944–53; Studi e Testi, 118; 133; 146; 147; 172), 3: 47 and 4: 273.

⁶² J. Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban* (Beirut, 1948), 50.

⁶³ A. Demeerseman, *L'imprimerie en Orient et au Maghreb: une étape décisive de la culture et de la psychologie islamiques* (Tunis, 1954; previously published in the periodical *IBLA* 17 (1954): 2 n.10.

⁶⁴ H. Boubakeur, "La prensa árabe," *Cuadernos de estudios africanos* 14 (1951): 19; Abu 'l-Futūḥ Riḍwān, *Tārīkh Maṭba'at Būlāq wa-lamḥa fī tārīkh al-ṭibā'a fī buldān al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ* (Cairo, 1953), 25; Khalīl Šābāt, *Tārīkh al-ṭibā'a fī 'l-Sharq al-'Arabī* (2nd ed. Cairo, 1966), 47–48.

as mentioned above, continues to manifest itself even in quite recent publications and exhibitions.

The perpetuation of the myth of the American Arabic press in Malta might perhaps be regarded as a trifling inaccuracy, of slight importance, were it not that it has led to an inflated assessment of the importance of the American missions in the Arab *naḥḍa* in the nineteenth century. George Antonius, for example, in his very influential book *The Arab Awakening* (1938), attributed to them a vital and seminal role in that movement, by virtue of what he regarded as their pioneering activity in printing and publishing,⁶⁵ and later writers have also made extravagant claims, as we have seen. However, when it is realized that the ABCFM Arabic press did not start printing until 1836, after it had moved to Beirut, and even then at first concentrated mainly on biblical texts and others previously published by the CMS,⁶⁶ then the matter appears in a different perspective. For by 1836 two other presses had already been producing Arabic books for the Middle East for a decade or more, actively seeking in their different ways to spread enlightenment by typographic means, and thereby both to alter the mental habits and consciousness of the Arab literate classes, and to widen those classes. These were Muhammad ‘Alī’s press at Bulaq, and the CMS press in Malta.⁶⁷ Their pre-eminence continued until the middle of the nineteenth century, and only after that did the ABCFM become a major player in this arena. Let us now consider why, even after 1834, it failed to make much immediate impact.

BEIRUT, 1834–41: HALTING PROGRESS

In Malta all the ABCFM printing, as we have seen, was in Italian, Greek and Armeno-Turkish. When the press was divided at the end of 1833 between Izmir, in Aegean Turkey, and Beirut, in Lebanon, it was therefore the former that received all the active and operative part of the establishment, since that station was where those languages were required. This part included the only professional printer on the staff, Homan Hallock. Beirut inherited the hitherto unsuccessful and abortive Arabic part, which included a press and a defective and as yet unused Arabic font, but no printer and hardly any texts ready for printing. These three continuing deficiencies were the main causes of the slow start and halting progress of the Beirut press in its early years. Each merits further consideration.

The Arabic texts. The lack of Arabic texts stemmed from the fact that the Mission still had insufficient staff proficient in the language. Their only competent Arabist, Eli Smith, spent much time away from the Mission, travelling in various parts of the Middle East and on return visits to America. Not until 1847 did he fully settle down in Beirut,⁶⁸ devoting most of his time thereafter to his celebrated Arabic translation of the Bible. Although some local helpers were employed in the early years, notably Ṭannūs al-Ḥaddād, their main responsibili-

65 G. Antonius, *The Arab awakening* (London, 1938), 37ff.

66 Tibawi, *American interests*, 82. The tendency to overestimate the importance of the American missions in this field clearly incensed this author, who has gone into the subject at some length in this work and also in his “Al-lughā al-‘Arabīya fī kutub al-mubashshirīn al-awwalīn,” *Majallat Majma’ al-Lughā al-‘Arabīya bi-Dimashq* 47 (1392/1972): 772–84, and in his *Arabic and Islamic themes* (London, 1976).

67 The Ottoman state press at Istanbul also published some Arabic works in this period, mainly grammatical and legal. But it is not clear to what extent, if at all, they were distributed in the Arab world: [J.T.] Reinaud, *Notice des ouvrages arabes, persans, turcs et français, imprimés à Constantinople* (Paris, 1831); also in *Bulletin Universel des Sciences* (1831): 2–5.

68 Tibawi, *American interests*, 120.

ties were as teachers in the Mission schools, rather than as authors, translators or editors of Arabic texts. Looser connections had, however, been maintained with some other Christian Arab writers. One of these was ‘Isá Bītrū (called by the Americans “Papás Isa” in English), a Melkite priest of Jerusalem,⁶⁹ who had translated some tracts and Biblical extracts for the missionaries in the 1820s, some of which were printed by the CMS in Malta,⁷⁰ others kept and printed at Beirut [nos. 7 and 8⁷¹]. Another was Nāṣīf al-Yāzījī (1800–71), a litterateur with much greater pretensions, who later became one of the more celebrated luminaries of the Arabic *naḥḍa*.⁷² At an early stage he was employed as a corrector at the ABCFM Press in Beirut,⁷³ and in 1836 they printed his first published work, an Arabic grammar entitled *Faṣl al-khiṭāb* [no. 4], in which the author is already grandly entitled “Al-Shaykh Nāṣīf al-Yāzījī al-Lubnānī.” He also prepared a booklet containing a selection of Psalms “adapted to our meters” and arranged as hymns for singing [no. 5]. But he does not seem to have written much else for them, if anything, at this early stage; his main literary output, like that of his employers, appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Yāzījī’s grammar was, at 168 pages, the first substantial book produced at the press, and remained its weightiest, apart from Psalters, in this early period. Another short grammar, an edition of the famous *Ājurrūmīya* of Ṣanhājī, was published in 1841, and some lithographed spelling and alphabet cards and copy-books were produced, but the remainder of the texts published were predominantly religious and biblical. They are enumerated in the appendix below. The total number of editions between 1835 and 1842 was twenty-nine, which can be classified as follows:

Biblical texts	11
Piety and religious ethics	8
Religious instruction (mainly for children)	3
Spelling and alphabet	3
Grammar	2
Arithmetic	1
Medicine	<u>1</u>
	29

As can be seen from this breakdown, there was no significant production of “secular” educational books, on geography, history, science, etc. such as were published by the CMS Arabic press in Malta. Indeed, most of the textbooks used in the ABCFM schools in Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine in this period still came from Malta.⁷⁴ Moreover, many of the religious texts were not original publications, but reprints of sections of the existing standard “Romish” Bible translation, or of catechisms or tracts previously published by the CMS in Malta.

The printers. The Malta establishment of the ABCFM in 1830 employed “eight men in the office and bindery,” under Homan Hallock, the head printer.⁷⁵ As mentioned above, most of this establishment moved to Izmir at the end of 1833,

69 W. Jowett. *Christian researches in Syria and the Holy Land in 1823 and 1824* (London, 1825), 220–24; Graf, *Geschichte*, 3: 159–61; Kawerau, *Amerika*, 202, 381.

70 Roper, “Arabic printing in Malta,” 112, 136–37.

71 Numbers in square brackets refer to the list of publications in the Appendix below.

72 For a brief account of his life, and bibliography of his

writings, see Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 4 no. 219, pp. 318–23.

73 Archives of the ABCFM, Houghton Library, letter books: ABC 16.8.1 vol. 1 no. 28, undated; ABCFM Report 1844, p. 253.

74 Roper, “Arabic printing in Malta,” 287–97.

75 ABC 16.9 vol. 1 no. 94, Hallock to Anderson, 10 Sept. 1830.

including Hallock, who had “declared himself not in favor of going” to Beirut.⁷⁶ Eli Smith hoped to fill the vacancy there by recruiting a young Englishman, George Percy Badger (1815–88). The latter had grown up in Malta, had been variously attached to the local Methodist and Anglican (CMS) missions as preacher and teacher, and had been taken by Daniel Temple under his wing at the American mission in about 1832.⁷⁷ It seems that he did some work at the American press, and received some training as a printer from Hallock.⁷⁸ However, he declined to go to Beirut with the press in December 1833, because the salary offered was insufficient.⁷⁹ Nearly a year later, in November 1834, Smith still did “not yet despair of obtaining George,”⁸⁰ and in February 1835 he was still haggling with him over both the level of his salary and the length of his contract: Temple and Smith wanted him for three years, whereas Badger would accept only a one-year appointment.⁸¹ In the end he “consented to take temporarily the direction of the mechanical department” and arrived in Beirut on 23 June 1835.⁸² He was followed on 25 September 1835 by “another English printer, yet apprentice, from Malta.”⁸³

Badger set to work, according to Smith, “with an energy and skill that . . . surprised and delighted us.”⁸⁴ His immediate concern was to remedy the serious defects in the Arabic type fonts, and for this purpose he travelled to several other presses in the area to procure additional punches and matrices for Arabic sorts. After unsuccessful attempts at the Greek Catholic press at Shuwayr and the Jewish press at Izmir, he eventually obtained what he needed from the ABCFM sister press at Izmir and from the Hebrew press at Safad in Palestine. From these he himself made moulds and cast letters and leads. He also cut new specimens of type from calligraphic models prepared by Smith.⁸⁵

Eventually he succeeded in getting the press into operation, and the first letterpress printing commenced at the beginning of 1836. Previously, in 1835, only spelling cards had been produced, on a lithographic press donated in 1833 by the British missionary patron Henry Brooke Parnell,⁸⁶ which the industrious Badger had first had to repair.⁸⁷ Badger’s skill as a typographer is evident in some of the earliest books, especially Yaziji’s grammar [no. 4], with its elaborate decorated title-page and ‘*unwan*, composed with fleurons and an engraved *tughra*. However, only four editions were published in 1836 before his one-year contract came to an end. On 26 October 1836 he left Beirut⁸⁸ and returned to Malta to work for the CMS Arabic press there.⁸⁹ He was later ordained as an Anglican priest, embraced the High Church cause, served as an emissary to the “Nestorian” Church of the East, where he campaigned against the mission of his former

76 ABC: 16.8.1 vol. 01 no. 71, Smith (Malta) to Anderson, 9 Dec. 1833.

77 ABC: 16.9 vol. 1 no. 44, Temple to Anderson, 10 Sept. 1832; CMS Archives: CM/O65/32, Schlienzen to Secs., 2 Oct. 1834.

78 The Board’s 1833 Report refers to “a young man of promising talents” trained by Hallock: this is almost certainly Badger.

79 ABC 16.8.1 vol. 01 no. 71, Smith to Anderson, 9 Dec. 1833.

80 ABC 16.9 vol. 1, Smith to Anderson, 10 Nov. 1834.

81 Ibid., Smith to Anderson, 17 Feb. 1835.

82 ABC 16.8.1 vol. 01 no. 16, Smith and Thomson to Secs., 31 Dec. 1835.

83 Ibid. no. 97, Smith to Anderson, 1 Dec. 1835.

84 Ibid. no. 16, Smith and Thomson to Secs., 31 Dec. 1835.

85 Ibid. nos. 91, 92, 99, 16, Smith to Anderson, 22 Aug., 31 Aug. 1835, 24 Jan. 1836; and Smith and Thomson to Secs., 31 Dec. 1835.

86 Anderson, *Missions to oriental churches*, 1: 228; Kawerau, *Amerika*, 264 n. 359; Tibawi, *American interests*, 71.

87 ABC 16.8.1 vol. 01 no. 99, Smith to Anderson, 24 Jan. 1836.

88 ABC 16.8.1 vol. 1 no. 48, General letter from Beyroot, 31 Dec. 1836.

89 Cf. Roper, “Arabic printing in Malta,” 158–63.

American employers, and subsequently followed a career as an orientalist and British secret agent.⁹⁰

Badger's departure was a setback: it has "so weakened our hands," wrote Smith, "that we were in doubt whether the wiser course was not to close the press until . . . a missionary printer should arrive from America."⁹¹ However, work was resumed by the English apprentice who had followed Badger, a "young man of 19 years of age not a master of any branch of the business, and to whom we are obliged to give extravagant wages."⁹² He cannot have been entirely incompetent, however, as six more editions were published in 1837, five in 1838 and two in 1839. The press then fell silent for two years. According to the 1840 ABCFM Annual Report, "the press has lain idle for a year for want of a printer."⁹³ This was not the only reason, however: the Mission's work was in any case interrupted at this time by the crisis in the area caused by the Ottoman-Egyptian conflict and the European intervention to restore Ottoman rule. There was also a temporary change in policy by the Board in favour of direct evangelization and away from educational and literary work.⁹⁴

Not until 1841 was printing resumed in Beirut, in the hands of a new missionary printer, George Hurter (1813-94). He was also a British citizen, born in Malta of Swiss and English parents, and had previously worked at the London Missionary Society's Greek press there, and in Corfu, before going to America in 1838 and working as a printer at the *New York Herald*.⁹⁵ By January 1841 he was in Boston, having been appointed by the ABCFM as their printer for the Syrian mission, and he arrived in Beirut on 15 April that year.⁹⁶ On the way he had called at Izmir, and from there he brought the new "American" Arabic type font. He already had some knowledge of Arabic (probably acquired earlier in Malta), and the missionaries greeted his arrival with great optimism: "We rejoice that . . . our press will go into speedy operation, under a printer who has the important advantage of some acquaintance with the language. We are in urgent need of books."⁹⁷ In July he restarted the press, with the help of two assistants,⁹⁸ and despite various vicissitudes caused by changing policies in the 1840s, remained in charge of it until 1864, when he retired to Boston.

The Arabic type fonts. As we have seen, the first Arabic font was supplied in 1829 to the American mission in Malta by the firm of Richard Watts in London. Like the very similar one already used by the CMS press in Malta, the type style derived from that designed by the British orientalist Charles Wilkins, cut by the typographer William Martin (a trainee of Baskerville) and first used in 1804.⁹⁹ As also recounted above, the ABCFM did not use it in Malta but shipped it to Beirut at the beginning of 1834. Only after that was it realized that it was seriously defective. Eli Smith attributed this partly to deliberate obstructiveness by Watts, as "he

90 For further information on Badger's life and career, see G. Roper, "George Percy Badger (1815-1888)," *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin* 11 (1984): 140-55; idem, "Arabic printing in Malta"; J. F. Coakley, *The Church of the East and the Church of England* (Oxford, 1992).

91 ABC 16.8.1 vol. 1 no. 48, General letter from Beyroot, 31 Dec. 1836.

92 Ibid. no. 50, Smith to Secs., 24 Apr. 1837. Unfortunately his name is not revealed.

93 P. 99, cited by Tibawi, *American interests*, 87.

94 Tibawi, *American interests*, chapter IV.

95 Tibawi, *American interests*, 113; ABC 6.5.3 vol. 2 no. 133.

96 *Missionary Herald* 1841, cited in Kawerau, *Amerika*, 242-43, 264.

97 *Missionary Herald* 1841: 343, quoted in Tibawi, *American interests*, 104.

98 *Missionary Herald* 1842, cited in Kawerau, *Amerika*, 265.

99 G. Roper, "Arabic printing and publishing in England before 1820," *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin* 12 (1985): 22-24.

does not wish to help any one to print Arabic beside himself.”¹⁰⁰ He therefore ordered supplementary types from Paris and arithmetical sorts from Boston.¹⁰¹ The Paris types, however, turned out also to be defective.¹⁰² So, after Badger’s arrival and examination of the font, a list was made of Arabic “12mo” and “Turkish” sorts required, and a request was made for fresh supplies to be sent by Watts from London.¹⁰³ But Watts’s dilatoriness meant that more urgent measures had to be taken if the press were to be put into operation within the period of Badger’s one-year contract, and so Badger sought nearer sources of supply. After unsuccessful approaches to the Jewish press in Izmir and the Greek Catholic one at Shuwayr in Lebanon,¹⁰⁴ he succeeded in getting some extra sorts cut and cast at the Hebrew press at Safad in Palestine. Although this was an old-established press, founded as early as 1577,¹⁰⁵ it had never before used, still less produced, Arabic types. Nevertheless their typefounder “proves to be a thorough workman,”¹⁰⁶ and he cast thirty new Arabic sorts which were supplied to Beirut.¹⁰⁷ Others came from the sister ABCFM establishment in Izmir.¹⁰⁸

These expedients account for the surprising variety of typefaces to be seen in some of the early Beirut books. The basic style remains that of Wilkins-Martin-Watts, familiar from the CMS Malta Arabic books of the period, but there is an admixture of less familiar sorts, such as an unusual *alif-lām-alif* ligature with the second *alif* bent across almost horizontally. The smaller type-size used for catchwords and title-page quotations is also markedly different, with its more elongated terminal *fā’*, and generally more rounded appearance.

The Watts types, and the others used, although in their time an improvement on many earlier European Arabic typefaces, still lacked the authentic calligraphic quality needed to gain approval and acceptance among educated Arab readers. The CMS press in Malta adopted a completely new calligraphic typeface in 1838, which Fāris al-Shidyāq and Badger collaborated in designing.¹⁰⁹ At the ABCFM, Eli Smith was determined to embark on a similar revolution. Already he had gathered specimens of calligraphy while in Istanbul in the early 1830s,¹¹⁰ to which he had added others during subsequent trips to Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo.¹¹¹ As early as 1835 he had the first type specimens cut from them by Badger in Beirut.¹¹² In 1836 he set out to have a complete font made. The story of this enterprise has been often told¹¹³ and need only be very briefly summarized here. In June 1836 the specimens were lost in a shipwreck, and were replaced by others from Istanbul. From these, punches were made by Hallock in Izmir, who described the specimens as “a key on which he could rely implicitly for all the ovals and curves, slopes and other nice forms and proportions”; he used a panto-

100 ABC 16.8.1 vol. 01 no. 89, Smith to Anderson, 13 July 1835.

101 Ibid. nos. 81, 83, 89, Smith to Anderson, 10 Nov. 1834, 17 Feb. 1835, 13 July 1835.

102 ABC 16.8.1 vol. 1 no. 48, General letter from Beyroot, 31 Dec. 1836.

103 ABC 16.8.1 vol. 01 no. 89, Smith to Anderson, 13 July 1835.

104 Ibid. no. 92, Smith to Anderson, 22 Aug. 1835.

105 J. Müller and E. Röth, *Aussereuropäische Druckereien im 16. Jahrhundert* (Baden-Baden, 1969), 57.

106 ABC 16.8.1 vol. 01 no. 91, Smith to Anderson, 31 Aug. 1835.

107 ABC 16.8.1 vol. 1 no. 48, 31 Dec. 1836.

108 ABC 16.8.1 vol. 01 no. 16, 31 Dec. 1835.

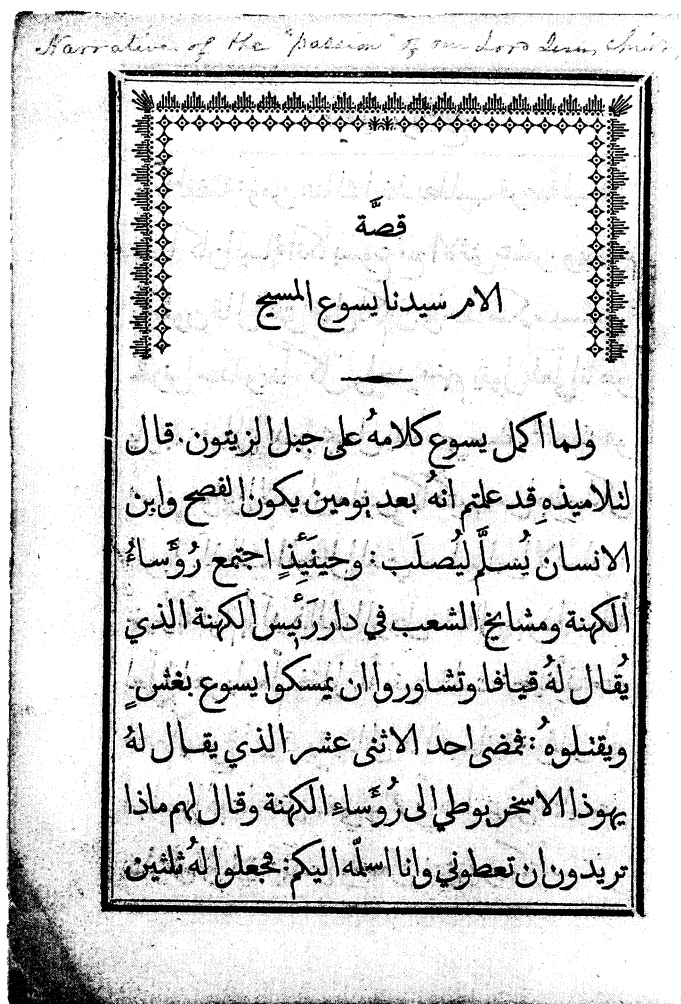
109 Roper, “Arabic printing in Malta,” 261.

110 I.H. Hall, “The Arabic Bible of Drs. Eli Smith and Cornelius V.A. Van Dyck,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 11 (1885): 284.

111 Kawerau, *Amerika*, 261.

112 ABC 16.8.1 vol. 01 no. 99, Smith to Anderson, 24 Jan. 1836.

113 By, among others: Isaac Bird, *Bible work in Bible lands* (Philadelphia, 1872), 322; R. Anderson, *Memorial volume of the first fifty years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston, 1861), 376; Thomas Laurie, *Historical sketch of the Syria Mission* (Boston, [1866]), 18–19; Anderson, *Missions to the ori-*



Part of the Gospel of Matthew (item 24), one of the first books to use the new "American" Arabic types.

graph of his own devising.¹¹⁴ A set of copper matrices was then produced, which Smith took to Leipzig. There the famous firm of Tauchnitz used them to cast the first font, which was taken to Beirut in 1841. All in all Hallock made "seven different sizes of type, embracing some four or five thousand steel punches."¹¹⁵

The first book printed after the revival of the press in 1841, however, the *Ājurūmīya* [no. 23], used the old font. This was also used in the tract *Little Henry and his bearer* [no. 26], which had been "commenced and nearly finished in 1839," but not completed until 1842.¹¹⁶ The first book to display the new style was the Acts of the Apostles (*Al-Abraksays*) [no. 22] later in 1841, and then a Gospel extract [no. 24], also in that year. These were followed by four more books in 1842 [nos. 26-29].

ental churches, 1: 233; Hall, "Arabic Bible," 284-85; E. M. Bliss, ed., *The encyclopaedia of missions* (New York, 1891), 1: 92; H. Hallock, "Manufacture of Arabic type," *Inland Printer* 6 (1899): 164ff.; Julius Richter, *A history of Protestant missions in the Near East* (New York, 1910), 190; T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical catalogue of the printed editions of Holy Scripture in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London, 1911), 2: 72; H. Hallock, *The new Arabic type* (privately printed; New York, 1929); A. J. Arberry, *Arabic printing types: a report made to the Monotype Corporation Limited* (n. d. [Cambridge, 1937.]), 26; S. B. L. Penrose and C. J. Caldwell, "Ties that bind," *The Asian legacy*

and American life, ed. A. E. Christy (New York, 1945), 121; J. Batal, *Assignment - Near East* (New York, 1950), 33; Kawerau, *Amerika*, 261-3; Šābāt, *Tārīkh al-ṭibā'a*, 49-50; Tibawi, *American interests*, 81, 104; Avery, *Ink on their thumbs*, 11; Winger, "Books and the early missionaries," 28; D. Glass, *Malta, Beirut, Leipzig and Beirut again: Eli Smith, the American Syria Mission and the spread of Arabic typography in 19th-century Lebanon* (Beirut, 1997), *passim*.

¹¹⁴ Hallock, *The new Arabic type*, 4, 8 (including an illustration of the pantograph).

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹¹⁶ ABC 16.8.1 vol. 1 no. 28, Mr. Smith's report [c. 1844].

This new “American” Arabic typeface had some drawbacks of its own. It was somewhat ill-proportioned, with the vertical strokes too thin in relation to the curves and horizontals, and an exaggerated forward slope. Nevertheless, it must be considered as a notable success, in view of the acceptance that it subsequently gained in the Arab world and which led, as we have seen, to a somewhat false retrospective assessment of the role of the ABCFM press in the initiation of the print revolution in the nineteenth-century Middle East. The foregoing story of frustration, delay, false starts, improvisations and deferred hopes will perhaps serve to place in better perspective the persistence and perseverance of Eli Smith and his colleagues, and to provide the measure of their eventual success.

APPENDIX

LIST OF ARABIC EDITIONS PUBLISHED BY THE ABCFM IN BEIRUT, 1835-42

A handwritten list, in English only, is to be found in the ABCFM Archives at ABC 16.8.1 vol. 1 no. 28: “Mr. Smith’s Report of works printed at the Missionary Press in Beirut.” It is undated, but was evidently compiled in 1844. It seems to be generally complete and accurate. A printed version appears as Appendix IV in the ABCFM Annual Report of 1844, pp. 252-54. When no copies have been found, the details of the books which follow have been taken from that list, with the English title in square brackets, or from bibliographical sources as noted. The figures for numbers of copies printed are taken from the same list.

1835

1. [Spelling cards.] 8pp. Not seen. Lithographed.
Copies printed: 500
Comments: Dated 1836 in the list, but reported as already printed in ABC 16.8.1 vol. 1 no. 16, Smith and Thomson to Secs., 31 Dec. 1835.

1836

2. [Watts, Isaac.] تعلّم مختصر للأولاد الصغار *Ta’līm mukhtaṣar li-l-awlād al-ṣighār*. [Concise instruction for small boys.] N.d. 16pp. 16mo.
Copies printed: 1000. Translated from *First catechism for children*, originally published London, 1730. Followed by the Ten Commandments, Lord’s Prayer and Psalm 50.
Comments: Previously published at the CMS press in Malta, 1826. But stated to have been “translated here.”
3. [Copy book.] Not seen. Lithographed.
Copies printed: 200
4. Nāṣif al-Yazījī. كتاب فصل الخطاب في أصول لغة الاعراب تأليف الشيخ ناصيف اليازجي اللبناني عفى عنه *Kitāb Faṣl al-khiṭāb fī uṣūl luḡhat al-A‘rāb*. [Precise exposition of the elements of the language of the Arabs.] Beirut, 1836. 168pp. 12mo.
Copies printed: 1000.

References: J. T. Zenker, *Bibliotheca orientalis: manuel de bibliographie orientale* (Leipzig, 1846-61) 2: 14 no. 164; J. Euting, *Katalog der kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek in Strassburg: arabische Literatur* (Strasbourg, 1877), no. 2770; Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, *Katalog der Bibliothek, I: Druckschriften und Ähnliches* (Leipzig, 1880), no. 1519; E. Lambrecht, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, Tome premier: *Linguistique, I. Philologie, - II. Langue arabe* (Paris, 1897), 90 no. 753; Graf, *Geschichte*, 4: 319 no. 219/1.

5. [Bible: O.T.: Psalms.] بعض مزامير للتَرْنُم *Ba'd mazāmīr li-l-tarannum*. [Some psalms for singing. Trans. Nāṣīf al-Yāzījī.] [N.p., n.d.] 24pp. 24mo.

Copies printed: 200

References: Krek, "Printing Arabic," 82.

Comments: Described in the list as "Hymn Book. Composed for us by [Nāṣīf al-Yāzījī]. Adapted to our meters."

6. [Alphabet.] Not seen. Lithographed.

Copies printed: 200

7. [Richmond, Legh.] قصّة اليصابات ابنة اللبّان السعيدة *Qiṣṣat Ilīsābāt ibnat al-labbān al-sa'īda*. [The story of Elizabeth the dairyman's happy daughter.] Beirut, 1836. 96pp. 12mo.

Copies printed: 2000.

References: Ellis, *Arabic books in the B. M.*, 2: 519; Kawerau, *Amerika*, 381; Krek, "Printing Arabic," n. 31.

Translated by 'Īsā Bītrū from *The dairyman's daughter*, first published London, c. 1810.

Comments: Previously published at the CMS press in Malta, 1826. This version "corrected from the Malta edition."

1837

8. [Chrysostomos, Iōannēs.] قطف مقالات القديس يوحنا فم الذهب عن مطالعة الكتب المقدسة *Qatf maqālāt al-Qaddīs Yūḥannā Fam al-Dhahab 'an muṭāla'at al-Kutub al-Muqaddasa*. [Extracts of the essays of St. John Chrysostom on studying the Holy Scriptures.] Tr. 'Īsā Bītrū. Beirut, 1836. 159 + [7] pp. 12mo.

Copies printed: 2000.

References: Ellis, *Arabic books in the B. M.*, 2: 807; Graf, *Geschichte*, 3: 161 no. 35/6; Krek, "Printing Arabic," n. 31.

Comments: Dated 1836, but stated to have been "Printed 1837."

9. [Smith, Eli?] كتاب دليل الصواب في أصول الحساب *Kitāb Dalīl al-Ṣawāb fī uṣūl al-ḥisāb*. [Guide to correctness, on the elements of arithmetic.] [N.p., n.d.] 84pp. 12mo.

Copies printed: 1200.

Comments: Called just "Smith's Arithmetic" in the list; attributed in Tibawi, *American interests*, 85, to Eli Smith.

10. [Thomas à Kempis. Extracts.] 60pp. 12mo. Not seen.

Copies printed: 2000.

Comments: "Selected from a translation printed at Rome in 1734."

11. [Bible: O.T.: Proverbs.] أمثال سليمان الحكيم *Amthāl Sulaymān al-ḥakīm*. [Proverbs of Solomon the wise.] Beirut [n.d.] 72pp. 12mo.

Copies printed: 2000.

Comments: "From the Romish versions."

12. [Whiting, George B.] كتاب ارشاد المسيحي في امتحان النفس *Kitāb Irshād al-Masīḥī fī imtiḥān al-nafs*. [Guidance to the Christian on self examination.] Beirut, [n.d.] 46pp. 12mo.

Copies printed: 2000. Translated from *On self examination*. Ten Commandments on the cover.

Comments: Attributed to "Mr Whiting" in the list.

13. [Bible: N.T.: Gospels: Matthew.] وعظ المسيح على الجبل *Wa‘ẓ al-Masīḥ ‘alā ‘l-jabal*. [Christ's Sermon on the mount.] [N.p., n.d.] 12pp. 12mo.

Copies printed: 2000.

Comments: No title-page.

14. [Homes, H. A.?] علاج مفيد للهوا الأصفر المبيد *‘Ilāj mufīd li-l-hawā al-aṣfar al-mubīd*. [Useful treatment of the fatal cholera.] Beirut, [n.d.] 12pp. 12mo.

Copies printed: 4000.

Comments: Attributed to "Mr Homes" in the list. The original author cannot be established, but may have been H. A. Homes, who later donated a number of Arabic missionary publications to the American Oriental Society. A book with the same title was published by the American Press in Beirut in 1866, and is attributed to Cyrus Hamlin (Ellis, *Arabic books in the B. M.*, 1: 608); but Hamlin's original English work on cholera was itself not published until 1866, and the texts of the two books are different.

1838

15. [Gallaudet, Thomas Hopkins.] كتاب تعليم الأولاد عن النفس *Kitāb ta‘līm al-awlād ‘an al-nafs*. [Instruction of boys about the soul.] Beirut, [n.d.] 104pp. 16mo.

Copies printed: 2000.

Translated from *Child's book on the soul*, originally published Hartford, Conn., 1831.

References: Ellis, *Arabic books in the B. M.*, 1: 558.

Comments: This is the first part. The second was published in 1839 (no. 20 below).

16. [Bible: N.T.: Ephesians.] رسالة مار بولس الرسول إلى اهل افسس *Risālat Mār Bawlus al-Rasūl ilā ahl Afasus*. [Epistle of St Paul the Apostle to the people of Ephesus.] Beirut [n.d.] 24pp. 16mo.

Copies printed: 3000.

Comments: No title-page.

17. [Bible: O.T.: Psalms.] كتاب الزبور الالهى *Kitāb al-zabūr al-ilāhī*. [Book of divine Psalms.] Beirut, 1838. 276pp. 12mo.
Copies printed: 2000.
18. [Thompson, John?] صورة الايمان القويم على موجب الإنجيل الكريم *Sūrat al-īmān al-qawīm ‘alā mūjib al-Injīl al-karīm*. [Depiction of sound faith in the need for the noble Gospel.] Beirut, 1838. 60pp. 12mo. Not seen.
Copies printed: 400.
References: Shaykhū, “Tārīkh,” 505.
Comments: The original cannot be identified. Listed as “Confession of Faith. Composed by Mr. Thompson.”
19. [Whiting, George B.] كتاب فى الامتناع عن شرب المسكرات *Kitāb fi ‘l-imtina‘ ‘an shurb al-muskirāt*. [Book on abstinence from drinking intoxicants.] Beirut, 1838. 91pp. 12mo.
Copies printed: 2000.
References: Zenker, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, 2: 75, no. 934; Krek, “Printing Arabic,” 82 and n. 31; Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam al-maṭbū‘āt*, 2017.
Comments: In the foregoing sources, it is dated 1836, but this is an error.

1839

20. [Gallaudet, Thomas Hopkins.] كتاب تعليم الأولاد عن النفس. القسم الثانى *Kitāb ta‘līm al-awlād ‘an al-naḥs. Al-qism al thānī*. [Instruction of boys about the soul. Second part.] Beirut, 1839. 116pp. 16mo.
Copies printed: 2000.
Translated from *Child’s book on the soul*, originally published Hartford, Conn., 1831.
References: Ellis, *Arabic books in the B. M.*, 1. 558.
Comments: The second part of no. 15 above.
21. [Bible: N.T.: Gospels: Matthew. Sermon on the mount. 2nd ed.] 16pp. 16mo. Not seen.
Copies printed: 4000

1841

22. [Bible: N.T.: Acts.] الأبركسيس اى أخبار الرسل *Al-Abraksays ay Akhbār al-Rusul*. [The Praxeis, i.e. Reports of the Apostles.] 150pp. 16mo. Not seen. “American” types.
Copies printed: 2000.
References: M. Krek, *Typographia Arabica: the development of Arabic printing as illustrated by Arabic type specimens* (Waltham, Mass., 1971), 31, where a one-line specimen is reproduced.
Comments: Probably the first book to use the new types.
23. [Muḥammad al-Ṣanhājī b. Ājurrūm.] *Kitāb al-Ājurrūmīya*. [The Ajurrum Book.] Beirut, 1841. 74pp. + addenda slip. 16mo.

Copies printed: 2000.

References: Zenker, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, 2: 11 no. 111; DMG, *Katalog der Bibliothek*, no. 1517; Lambrecht, *Catalogue*, 71 no. 596; Ellis, *Arabic books in the B. M.*, 2: 236.

Comments: Uses the old types. At the head of the text, the title is given as *Al-Ajwiba al-jalīya fī l-uṣūl al-naḥwīya* [Clear answers on the elements of grammar]. It was previously published under that title by the CMS press at Malta in 1832. The only text by a Muslim author published by the ABCFM in this period, described in the archive list as “a native elementary work.”

24. [Bible: N.T.: Gospels: Matthew.] قصة ألام سيدنا يسوع المسيح. *Qiṣṣat ālām Sayyidinā Yasū‘ al-Masīḥ*. [The story of the sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ.] Beirut, 1841. 16pp. 16mo. “American” types.

Copies printed: 6000.

Comments: “Corrected from the Romish version.” The largest single edition in this period, financed by “a special donation to the Tract Society.”

1842

25. [Butt, Mary Martha. Little Henry and his bearer.] 84pp. 16mo.

Copies printed: 2000.

Comments: The author was also known by her married name of Sherwood. Originally written in India and first published in England c. 1815. According to the archive list, the printing of this translation was “commenced and nearly finished in 1839. Completed in 1842.” The last publication to use the augmented Watts types.

26. [Thomas à Kempis.] اقتطف كتاب الاقيدا بالمسيح لتوما الكمبيسي *Iqtīṭāf kitāb Al-Iqtidā bi-’l-Masīḥ li-Tawmā ’l-Kambīsī*. [Selection from the book The imitation of Christ.] Beirut, 1842. 343pp. 16mo. “American” types.

Copies printed: 2000.

References: Zenker, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, 2: 101 no. 1271; DMG, *Katalog der Bibliothek*, no. 1796; Ellis, *Arabic books in the B. M.*, 2: 601-2.

Comments: “From the same translation as the tract previously published [no. 10 above], but embracing nearly all that is in Malcolm’s edition.”

27. [Bible: O.T.: Psalms. The first 16 Psalms.] 23pp. 16mo. Not seen.

Copies printed: 1000.

28. [Bible: O.T.: Psalms.] 246pp. 16mo. Not seen.

Copies printed: 3000.

Comments: “New edition” of no. 17 above. The lower number of pages, despite the smaller format, presumably reflects the change to the new font, with its more compact style, and greater use of ligatures.

29. [Bible: O.T.: Proverbs.] أمثال سليمان الحكيم ابن داود *Amthal Sulaymān al-hakīm ibn Da’ūd*. [Proverbs of Solomon the wise, son of David.] 89pp. 16mo.

Copies printed: 2000

References: Zenker, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, 2: 98 no. 1233; DMG, *Katalog der Bibliothek*, no. 1773; Darlow and Moule, *Historical catalogue*, 2: 70 no. 1676; Ellis, *Arabic books in the B. M.*, 1: 380.

Comments: "New edition [of no. 11 above], corrected in part according to the Hebrew."