BETWEEN SCRIPT AND PRINT:

EXPLORING PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN SYRIA MISSION AND THE

NASCENT PRESS IN THE ARAB WORLD, 1834-1860

BY

HALA AUJI

BFA, American University of Beirut, 2002
MA, Art Center College of Design, 2006

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Art History
in the Graduate School of
Binghamton University
State University of New York
2013

UMI Number: 3596991

UMI

Dissertation Publishing

UMI 3596991

ProQuest®

Accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Art History
in the Graduate School of
Binghamton University
State University of New York
2013

May 16, 2013

Nancy Um, Chair and Faculty Advisor
Department of Art History, Binghamton University

Karen Barzman, Member
Department of Art History, Binghamton University

Thomas McDonough, Member
Department of Art History, Binghamton University

Fa-ti Fan, Outside Examiner
Department of History, Binghamton University

Abstract

Printing in the Arab world, unlike its European counterparts, only became regionally prevalent during the late nineteenth century. As such, studies on Arabic printing in Middle Eastern cities emphasize the press's late nineteenth-century modernizing role, particularly its standardization of technological production and aid in spurring fin de siècle intellectual movements. In contrast to the widespread and unequivocal shift from scribal to printing practices in the late 1800s, the Arab press's noteworthy nascent stage (ca.1830s-1860s) may be exemplified by works published for Ottoman Syria's multi-confessional residents at the Presbyterian Syria Mission's "American Press" in Beirut. During this earlier period, print still existed within a larger network of local manuscripts, leading to a dynamic interface between these two technological modes, their visual conventions and sites of production at a time when local conceptions of books and their functions were being significantly altered.

This dissertation examines the transformative examples of early secular and religious books printed at the American Press between the years 1834-1860 as dynamic textual and material objects produced in response to various local and external social, political and visual impulses. I demonstrate how these books' changing design programs throughout the Press's early years negotiated shifts in the social concerns, intellectual attitudes, and notions of the book amongst local Arab Muslims and Christians. The religious and socio-political dimensions of these publications are assessed within a complex body of unpublished primary source material from missionary archives,

historical chronicles documenting Ottoman Syria's inter-communal history, and
contemporary literary, historical, and urban studies on early concepts of modernity in the
Arab world. Through an analysis of these works, which at times embodied a modernist
spirit of innovation, this dissertation illustrates a highly adaptive situation when diverse
local religious values, societal interests, visual conventions and notions of the book were
in flux. Exploring missionary-local resident interactions during a period of social,
intellectual and political transformation, my dissertation also uses the printed Arabic
book to demonstrate how the evolving needs of resident urban societies served as the real
impetus for widespread change.

To R and M,
My rays of light on a long journey

Acknowledgements

Completing this dissertation would not have been possible without the help and encouragement of numerous individuals and institutions throughout the years. I owe a special debt to my advisor and committee chair, Dr. Nancy Um, for her unparalleled commitment to my work and unwavering guidance throughout my journey as a doctoral student. Her generous feedback, encouragement and advice were what truly sustained my drive as I sifted through heaps of primary source materials in order to weave together a dynamic visual, material and social history of seemingly unremarkable printed artifacts. My sincerest gratitude also goes to the art history department faculty at Binghamton University for granting me numerous fellowships and awards that facilitated the research and writing of this dissertation. I especially want to thank my exceptionally supportive committee members, Dr. Karen-edis Barzman, Dr. Thomas McDonough and Dr. Fa-ti Fan, whose critical insights provided me with a trove of suggestions from which to launch future endeavors in this field. A Professional-Development Fellowship in Art History from the College Art Association also greatly contributed much needed in the last few months of completing this dissertation.

Research for this project was possible thanks to the assistance of staff members and directors at numerous institutions and libraries in the US and Lebanon. The Beirut Near East School of Theology's president, Dr. George Sabra, and the institution's library staff graciously allowed me access to rare and fragile printed proofs and unpublished manuscripts produced at the American missionary press. Ms. Samar Mikati Kaissi, head

Table of Contents

    I. Arabic Printing and the *Nahḍa*
    II. Studying the Printed Arabic Book
    III. Primary Source Materials
        1. Publications of the American Mission and other Regional Presses
        2. Islamic and Christian Arabic Manuscripts and Early Print Culture
        3. Records of the American Syria Mission
    IV. Overview of Dissertation Chapters

    1.1. The ABCFM in Ottoman Syria
    1.2. The Regional Significance of a Missionary Press
    1.3. Debates About Missionary-Arab Encounters

    2.1. Introduction
    2.2. Printed Books with a Scribal Guise
    2.3. Adopting a Restrained Evangelism
    2.4. Writing for the Local Reader
    2.5 Conclusion

    3.1. Introduction
    3.2. A Changing Political Landscape
    3.3. A Reworked Aesthetic
    3.4. Competing for Readers
    3.5. A Shifting Missionary Policy
    3.6. Protestant Books and an Emergent Print Readership
    3.7. Conclusion

    4.1. Introduction
    4.2. A Chasm Between Bookmaking and Evangelizing
    4.3. A Repurposed Aesthetic
    4.4. The Lure of a Typeface?
    4.5. The American Press as Secular Publisher?
    4.6. Diverging Ideologies
    4.7. A Modernist Design?
    4.8. Conclusion

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
ABS	American Bible Society
ATS	American Tract Society
AUB	American University of Beirut
BFBS	British Foreign and Bible Society
CMS	Church Missionary Society
HMML	Hill Museum and Manuscript Library
IJMES	International Journal of Middle East Studies
NEST	Near East School of Theology
PHS	Presbyterian Historical Society
SPC	Syrian Protestant College
ULB	Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek, Bonn
UPCUSA	United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
USEK	Université Saint-Esprit de Kaslik
USJ	Université Saint Joseph

Introduction

Studies on the history of the Arab press in the eastern Mediterranean emphasize
its importance in fin de siècle movements, particularly those rooted in secular thought
such as nationalism. However, in their emphasis on print's importance during the late
1800s, such studies fail to address the earlier period of the Arabic press as a
transformative moment in book production. While a handful of regional presses operated
in short spurts from the 1700s, the printing press in the Arab world only emerges as a
viable enterprise after the establishment of Cairo's Būlāq press in 1820 and does not
reach full fruition until the 1870s, with the burgeoning of local private presses.
Throughout its nascent period, the press persisted in an economy still largely dominated
by well-established monastery and mosque scribal workshops. As such, during this
earlier overlooked moment in book manufacture, printed books circulated amongst local
(Christian, Muslim and Jewish) ecclesiastical and elite members of society who formed a
coterie of manuscript readers. The concurrent presence of scribal and printing practices,
with the latter vying for the attention of the local intelligentsia, led to an interface
between these two modes of production, their conventions and significances.

In this dissertation, I shift the terms of the current debate by considering
transformative examples of early publications printed at the American Board of
Commissioners for Foreign Missions' (ABCFM) press in Beirut (also referred to as the
"American Press"). Covering both secular and religious content, these books were printed
for the multi-confessional, Arabic-speaking residents of Ottoman Syria and its

1

hinterlands. What is particularly interesting about this missionary press is that its products were funded by both the Presbyterian American Syria mission (as an extension of this evangelical work) as well as local Arab Christian scholars, such as Buṭrus al-Bustānī and Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, who produced their own works and those of their contemporaries. The books I examine were printed during the press's formative years, roughly from 1834-1864, and include various editions of religious narrative fiction, secular works on Arabic grammar, science and arithmetic (frequently written by local Arab scholars), controversial anti-Catholic literature, as well as Protestant renditions of the bible and extracts from it. My analysis of these works does not merely deal with their textual content, but also considers the books' importance as material artifacts whose physical dimensions—including size, binding, design layout and typography—can reveal print's early regional uses and meanings, particularly in comparison to contemporaneous books in circulation.

Exploring the multiple religious and political dimensions of the American Press's important publications, I also consider how such changes in the design and content of these works throughout the years reflect shifts in the mission's evangelical goals and responses to local religious and communal concerns. For example, the mission variably included or excluded certain visual conventions according to obstacles it faced proselytizing amongst local Christians, Muslims and Drūze communities. During the 1850s, when the mission experienced various ideological and fiscal hurdles operating its print shop, local Arab scholars took up publishing works at this Press. These books on secular education, literary thought and technology and other aspects of modernity demonstrated a growing interest amongst Christian elites in solidifying a pluralistic Arab

2

Ottoman identity and traversing the delineations of sectarianism. In this project, I demonstrate how these printed books represented reactions to a dynamic moment during which diverse local religious values, as well as societal interests in secular thought and education were in flux.

My project strives to chart out new ground in the emergent field of Arabic printing history by examining this nascent phase in which one can explore the interplay between scribal and print practices. I draw on a detailed visual analysis of these largely overlooked printed books through a combination of design and Islamic art historical methods, including a careful analysis of Arabic manuscripts, typography and ornamentation. However, I also move beyond a mere description of their visual characteristics to reach an understanding about how these graphics were read. Since prior historians have not covered the early history of the American Press adequately, I sketch the Press's history based upon a complex body of primary source material from missionary archives at Harvard, Yale, the Presbyterian Historical Society, the American University of Beirut and the Near East School of Theology. My methodological process also includes a close reading of contemporary literary, historical and critical studies on nineteenth-century Lebanon, as well as an assessment of global studies on book history and print production. In considering the various challenges and adaptations involved in early Arabic print production, this project also questions prominent theories regarding the large-scale, uniform impact of the Arab press in the nineteenth century and the notion of the printed book as a fixed, stable object. The following sections outline the major historiographical and methodological concerns of the dissertation.

I. Arabic Printing and the *Naḥḍa*

Many twentieth and twenty-first century scholars have attributed the importance of the Arab press during the late nineteenth century to its role in spreading radical, intellectual and political thought through scientific and literary publications in the Ottoman empire and its hinterlands. This period has come to be known as the *Naḥḍa*, or the "renaissance" (although it can also be translated as the "awakening"). Often used to evoke the years from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the eve of the First World War, the *Naḥḍa* was certainly informed by and emerged from earlier moments during the eighteenth century and at the dawn of the nineteenth century. In addition to its association with the growing importance of Arab journalism and publishing, this period is also characterized by widespread economical and socio-political changes, most of which were negotiated within the "political public sphere."[1] These were also certainly taking place in the global arena, and included reforms in urbanization, industrialization, commercialization and the growing popularity of nationhood—the nation-state paradigm—as a response to Ottoman and European imperialism.[2] Thus dual functions, or

---

[1] N. Ozbek, "Defining the Public Sphere During the Late Ottoman Empire: War, Mass Mobilization and the Young Turk Regime (1908–18)," *Middle Eastern Studies* 43. 5 (Sep., 2007): 795-809.

[2] For a view of Ottoman education reforms, notions of westernization and the rise of the urban class during this period, see F. M. Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). For more on the construction of post-Ottoman narratives of national identity at the dawn of the twentieth century, see her "Decline of the Ottoman Empire and the Emergence of Greek, Armenian, Turkish, and Arab Nationalisms," *Social Constructions of Nationalism in the Middle East,* ed. F. M. Göçek (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 15-84. For a non-western social-histories of the widespread social, political and cultural changes at the dawn of the "modern" period, see P. Gran, *Beyond Eurocentrism: A New View of Modern World History* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996). Donald Quataert has done extensive work on Ottoman period industrialization, see for example his *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

4

threads, of the Arab *Naḥḍa*—the cultural and political—frequently intersected.[3]

Traditional scholars in Middle Eastern studies, to varying degrees, have embraced this period as a quintessential moment of Westernization, in which local Arab elites adopted the ideas, technologies and political views of the Ottoman region's European, British and American interlopers. For instance, Arab Christian historians such as Philip K. Hitti,[4] George Antonius[5] and Albert Hourani,[6] describe the *Naḥḍa* as the moment that saw the reemergence and/or advancement of Middle Eastern cultural movements, the modernization/secularization of education, and the birth of pan-Arab nationalist ideas.[7] These scholars largely attribute such developments to the predominance of privately run presses (as western introductions to the region via missionaries and colonial entities), as well as missionary-run schools and universities. Even those who contend that the missionary presses (with their largely religious output) played no significant role in initiating secular and nationalist developments in the Arab world[8] accept the general significance of the printing press in prompting regional change.

Interpretations of the *Naḥḍa* as a unique harbinger of nationalism, secular thought

---

[3] The dual facets of this period are described well in F. Zachs and S. Halevi, "From difāʿ al-nisāʾ to masʾalat al-nisāʾ in Greater Syria: Readers and Writers Debate Women and their Rights, 1858-1900," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (IJMES) 41 (2009): 615.

[4] P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London: Macmillan, 1937).

[5] G. Antonius, *The Arab Awakening* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1946, 1969).

[6] A. Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1962, 1983).

[7] Such movements were popular after the Second World War, particularly during the period in which these historians were writing. This classification aimed to bridge ethnic and religious differences via common language and secular thought as part of a nationalist program. It emerged mostly in response to political changes in the region, specifically the beginnings of the Israeli nation-state project.

[8] A.L. Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800-1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 306-08.

and modernization via late nineteenth-century printed books and journals, remain either uncontested or automatically embraced by many present-day sources on this period. In the realm of printing histories, this movement is sometimes positioned as a direct consequence of the "printing revolution" in the Middle East.[9] Such scholars continue to view the adoption of print technologies, in place of more customary scribal methods of manuscript copying, as the linchpin to the rapid transmission of ideas, via the mass production and wide circulation of books.[10] Even those historians and literary scholars who seek to avoid having the development of Arabic printing in the region overshadow important social and political developments on the ground still emphasize the *Nahḍa*'s late-nineteenth century importance in the emergence of modernization reforms and nationalist concepts.[11]

However, in recent years, a number of scholars have revisited popular understandings of the *Nahḍa*, which have a bearing on this study and its framing. For instance, Fruma Zachs and Sharon Halevi, working from historical and literary

---

[9] These views are similar to those espoused by printing history scholar, Elizabeth Eisenstein. They are discussed further in section II below, "II. Studying the Printed Arabic Book."

[10] This includes a wide array of both traditional and present-day sources, mostly from within the discipline of bibliography, on the history of the Arab press. A few examples of traditional sources on printing in the Middle East include: W. Qaddūra, *Bidāyat al-ṭibāʿa al-ʿarabiyya fī isṭānbūl wa-bilād al-shām: taṭawwur al-muḥīt al-thaqāfī, 1706-1787* [The Beginnings of Arabic Printing in Istanbul and Syria: The Development of Intellectual Culture] (Riyadh: Maktabat al-malik Fahd al-waṭaniyya, 1993); K. Ṣabbāt, *Tārīkh al-ṭibāʿa fī al-sharq al-ʿarabi* [The History of Printing in the Arab East] (Cairo: Dar al-Maʿāref, 1958); L. Shaykhū, *Tārīkh fan al-ṭibāʿa fī al-mashreq* [The History of Printing in the Middle East] (Beirut: Dar al-Mashreq, 1901, 1994). Recent sources embracing views of the Arab press's revolutionary impact include: E. Hanebutt-Benz et al., ed. *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter* (Mainz: Gutenberg-Museum, 2002); D. Glass, "Die *Nahḍa* und ihre Technik im 19. Jahrhundert: Ärabische Druckereien in Agypten und Syrien," *Das gedruckte Buch im Vorderen Orient*, ed. U. Marzolph (Dortmund: Verlag für Orientkunde, 2002); G. Roper, "Fāris al-Shidyāq and the Transition from Scribal to Print Culture in the Middle East," *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, ed. G. N. Atiyeh (Albany: State University of New York, 1995), 209-31.

[11] Recent studies include: C. Hakim, *The Origins of the Lebanese National Idea, 1840-1920* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: The University of California Press, 2013); J. Hanssen, *Fin De Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005).

disciplines, recently questioned the almost-exclusive emphasis placed on the *Nahḍa*'s late nineteenth-century importance. In their work, these scholars write about early Arab debates on women's social roles and political rights gleaned from prominent publications of the period.[12] While these views have been frequently addressed in scholarship dealing with the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century periods of the *Nahḍa*, the authors argue that not enough attention is paid to similar discussions in intellectual spheres during the earlier decades of the 1800s.[13] Similarly, historians Nadia al-Bagdadi and Dana Sajdi, in their respective publications,[14] argue for a shift in focus from the late 1800s to the early 1800s (in Bagdadi's case) and even the eighteenth century (according to Sajdi). Additionally, both scholars problematize past scholarship's enthusiastic propagation of the Arab "printing revolution" narrative at the expense of important and prevalent manuscript traditions.

For instance, Bagdadi, while stating that she does not deny the widespread impact of printing practices within the realms of literary knowledge, argues that scholars need to be "careful not to overrate the effects of the technical innovation itself."[15] As such, she calls for a closer examination of "the politics and strategies underlying the coexistence of print and manuscript in the realm of intellectual and artistic production" during the

---

[12] F. Zachs and S. Halevi, "From difā ' al-nisā' to mas'alat al-nisā' in Greater Syria."

[13] Ibid., 615-16.

[14] I am grateful to Dana Sajdi for kindly sharing a digital offprint of this enlightening article with me. D. Sajdi, "Print and its Discontents: A Case for Pre-Print Journalism and Other Sundry Print Matters," *The Translator* 15.1 (2009): 105-38. Nadia al-Bagdadi's article, a worthy contribution to the field, appeared in a journal printed by the American University of Beirut press as "Print, Script and the Limits of Free-thinking in Arabic Letters of the 19th Century: The Case of al-Shidyaq," *Al-Abḥāth* 44-49 (2000): 99-122.

[15] N. al-Bagdadi, "Print, Script and the Limits," 101.

1850s.[16] Also emphasizing the centrality of manuscript practices to the transmission and production of knowledge, Sajdi calls for a departure from a "technologically-determined" narrative of Arab modernity. Instead she provides an alternative reading, which proposes "a connected and ongoing history of practices and genres into which print was habilitated and which print, in turn, transformed." As such, she views journal publishing, "which is so emblematic of both the Arab Naḥḍa [sic]...and of the impact of print, as a continuation" of manuscript practices, particularly historical chronicles written during the eighteenth century.[17]

Informed by these recent studies, especially those of Bagdadi and Sajdi, this dissertation shifts the focus from the widely touted importance of the press during the late nineteenth century, to an exploration of the printed Arabic book's earlier moments, at a time when it interfaced with dominant scribal traditions. Indeed, as will be shown in the following chapters, the nascent period in the regional history of Arabic printing saw an overlap in bookmaking practices, in which print was adapted to emulate scribal conventions and methods that suited local readers' perceptions of the book at the time. As cultural and socio-political changes took hold in the region, the emergent print intelligentsia's views of the book, its forms, meanings and uses as a medium for transmitting, producing and organizing knowledge, shifted as well. This resulted in the emergence of alternate visual and intellectual practices in the realm of print production.

At the same time, the nascent period of Arabic printing during the early to mid nineteenth century, saw the production of literary, political and scientific works that would become the forbearers of late-nineteenth century intellectual movements. Arab

---

[16] N. al-Bagdadi, "Print, Script and the Limits," 101.

[17] Sajdi, "Print and its Discontents," 107.

Christian intellectuals like Buṭrus al-Bustānī and Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, whose works would take front and center during the later *Nahḍa* period, printed their first books at the American mission's press in Beirut between 1837 and the 1860s. In their content, organizational methods, physical dimensions and visual conventions, these publications are important indicators of how these individuals grappled with emergent views on preserving an Arab heritage, while also contributing to popular intellectual debates. Concurrently, such intellectuals were also exploring new forms of the book and the ways in which the characteristics of print could be adapted to their particular interests in emphasizing a unique Arab identity. As such, an emphasis on the late *Nahḍa* period undermines the significance of print's earlier moments in the region and its direct relation to local Arab readers' and scholars' understandings of the book, modernization and the production of knowledge.

II. Studying the Printed Arabic Book

As an art historian who relies upon multiple disciplinary threads as intrinsic to this visual field's analytical methods, I approach my study of the Arabic book, in its printed and manuscript forms, through a multifaceted lens. I do this by combining methods from bibliography, literary studies and history, as well as the tools and methods of visual analysis used by art and design historians. At the same time, I am aware that this interdisciplinary approach may risk appearing unwieldy. Indeed, the evasive, often undefinable and sometimes confusing nature of this multidimensional approach appears to be part and parcel of any study that takes up the book in its countless manifestations, uses and meanings.

In past scholarship, book studies and publishing history have been critiqued as unhinged, unbound or unruly precisely because of this lack of disciplinary allegiance and methodological elasticity.[18] However, as book and missionary print historian Leslie Howsam argues in her *Old Books & New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Book and Print Culture*, book history scholars must be more aware of the "boundaries they [studies of books] negotiate," if the field is to be taken seriously as a "rigorous practice."[19] She does this by charting out the three disciplines in the humanities that have traditionally dealt with the study of books and/or print culture—bibliography, literary studies and history—and demonstrates how these fields tend to converge, overlap and diverge in scholarship on the book from the "western" perspective. Howsam's description of the disciplinary boundaries and their interdisciplinarities in past and present book/print-related studies, while informed by the study of European or North American products, can indeed be applied to the studies of publishing, books and print in the Middle East.[20]

In the realm of Arabic and Islamic printing and publishing, scholarship also

---

[18] C. Clegg, "History of the Book: An Undisciplined Discipline?" Review essay in *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001): 221-45; M. Moylan and L. Stiles, ed., *Reading Books: Essays on the Material Text and Literature in American* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996); J.A. Sutherland, "Publishing History: A Hole at the Center of Literary Sociology," *Critical Inquiry* 14 (Spring 1988): 574-89; R. Darton, "What is the History of Books?" *Daedalus* 111.3 (1982): 65-83.

[19] Howsam, *Old Books & New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Book and Print Culture* (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 9.

[20] For a recent historiography of writing on Arabic printing, which is organized mostly chronological in order and not along themes of disciplinary approaches, see G. Roper, "The Printing Press and Change in the Arab World," *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Einstein,* ed. S. A. Baron, E. N. Lindquist and E. F. Shevlin (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 251-67.

follows various approaches, mostly along literary,[21] historical[22] and bibliographic lines, many of which deal with the *Naḥda* and its broader cultural and socio-political implications. Of these disciplines, scholarly contributions from bibliography are probably the most broad and varied, but also the most useful to this present study. The importance of this particular discipline to my dissertation and the reasons for a greater emphasis on bibliographic studies of Arabic printing and publishing, rather than on the copious and relevant literary or historical works, are twofold. First, scholarship from this field constitutes the greatest (numerical) contribution to studies of Arabic printing. Second, bibliographic studies (in their varied emphases and methods) engage the history of the book as object, unlike their literary and historical counterparts.

Taken up by bibliographers, librarians, conservators and historians who have

---

[21] F. Zachs and S. Halevi, "From 'difā' al-nisā' to mas'alat al-nisā'"; B. Bawardi, "Hadiqat al-Akhbar Newspaper and Its Pioneering Role in the Arabic Narrative Fiction," *Die Welt der Islam* 48 (2008): 170–95; Halevi and Zachs, "Asma (1873): The Early Arabic Novel as a Social Compass," *Studies in the Novel* 39 (2007): 416–30; A. Ayalon, "The Syrian Educated Elite and the Literary *Naḥda*," *Ottoman Reform and Islamic Regeneration,* ed. F. Zachs and I. Weismann (London: I.B.Tauris, 2005), 127-66; S. Sheehi, "Arabic Literary-Scientific Journals: Precedence for Globalization and the Creation of Modernity," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and The Middle East* 25.2 (2005): 438-48; Ayalon, *Reading Palestine, Printing and Literacy: 1900-1948* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004)J. Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th Centuries)?" *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6.1 (2003): 40; Zachs, "Mikhail Mishaqa: The First Historian of Modern Syria," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 28.1 (May 2001): 67-87; S. Sheehi "Inscribing the Arab Self: Butrus al-Bustani and Paradigms of Subjective Reform," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 27 (2000); S. Somekh, "Biblical Echoes in Modern Arabic Literature," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 26. 1/2 (Mar. - Jun., 1995): 186-200; S. Hafiz, *The Genesis of Arabic Narrative Discourse: A Study in the Sociology of Modern Arabic Literature* (London: Saqi, 1993).

[22] N. Green, "Persian Print and the Stanhope Revolution: Industrialization, Evangelicalism, and the Birth of Printing in Early Qajar Iran," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and The Middle East* 30.3 (2012): 413-90; Green, "Journeymen, Middlemen: Travel, Transculture, and Technology in the Origins of Muslim Printing," *IJMES* 41.2 (May 2009): 203-24; M. van den Boogert, "The Sultan's Answer to the Medici Press? Ibrahim Muteferrika's Printing House in Istanbul," *The Republic of Letters and the Levant*, ed. M. van den Boogert, A. Hamilton and B. Westerweel (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2005), 265-91; J. R.I. Cole, "Printing and Urban Islam in the Mediterranean World, 1890-1920," *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, ed. L. T. Fawaz, and C.A. Bayly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 344-64; R. Schulze, "The Birth of Tradition and Modernity in 18th and 19th Century Islamic Culture: The Case of Printing," *Culture & History* 16 (1997): 29-72; A. Khalid, "Printing, Publishing, and Reform in Tsarist Central Asia," *IJMES* 26.2 (May, 1994): 187-200; F. Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print," *Modern Asian Art* 27.1 (Feb., 1993): 229-51.

extensive experience handling physical copies of these tomes, bibliographic studies are the only ones to provide a material analysis of printed Arabic books, in addition to examinations of output numbers, types of books produced and the impact of their circulation on readers. In the absence of extensive art historical sources on early printed Arabic books, bibliographies on Arabic printing make up the majority of secondary sources I consulted in my study of the American Press's publications. Furthermore, this field truly challenges disciplinary boundaries by attempting to incorporate various issues, including publishing history, production methods, book design, consumption, economic trade, sociology and authorship, into its studies of the book.

Yet, it is important to identify a generational rift apparent in these bibliographic studies. Published before 1960 in Arabic and French, traditional bibliographies of printing in the Arab world are less interdisciplinary than their successors, tend to emphasize issues of chronology, and underscore the importance of European entities and traditions in establishing regional Arabic presses.[23] The most prominent of these studies situate the history of Arabic printing within a teleological framework that highlights its development in the Arab world as a struggle between knowledge and ignorance, freedom and oppression, and advancement and regression.[24] In presenting a purpose-driven narrative of the printing press in the Middle East, with its origins in western technology and concepts, this scholarship chiefly strives to situate the press as a vehicle for

---

[23] These surveys emphasize aspects of progress and development with aims to credit certain regions, communities and/or individuals with the advancement of printing in the Arab world. Furthermore, these sources lack any detailed or analytical studies of books produced on regional presses, changes in local readership and the relationship of the print technology to other modes of book production. Key examples include: K. Ṣabbāt, *Tārīkh al-tibā'a fī al-sharq al-'arabi* [The History of Printing in the Arab East] (Cairo: Dar al-Ma'āref, 1958); J. Nasrallah, *l'Imprimerie au Liban* (Beyrouth: l'Imprimerie Catholique, 1948); P. di Tarazi, *Tārīkh al-ṣiḥāfa al-'arabiyya*, 4 v. (Beirut: 1913, 1933); L. Shaykhū, *Tārīkh fan al-ṭibā'a.*

[24] K. Ṣābbāt, *Tārīkh al-ṭibā'a,* 5.

12

modernization and advancement and one that breaks away from "regressive" manuscript practices.

More recent scholarship on the Arabic press provides further detail by focusing on single books, individual presses and/or presenting a localized narrative of Arabic printing practices. The majority of these bibliographic studies are informed by the work of Elizabeth Eisenstein, a bibliographer who in 1979 defined the direction of European printing history.[25] Like Eisenstein, these sources on Arabic printing emphasize issues of output, standardization in production and textual preservation in their focus on the technology of print.[26] Writing within a post-colonial framework, a number of these works also question the emphasis placed on colonial and missionary presses in the region by singling out the importance and success of local Arab Christian and Muslim presses.[27] These historical or analytical bibliographic studies demonstrate varied levels of

---

[25] E. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 2 v. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[26] G. Roper, "Arabic Books Printed in Malta 1826-42: Some Physical Characteristics," *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement* 15 (2004): 111-29; "The Beginnings of Arabic Printing by the ABCFM, 1822-1841," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 9. 1 (1998): 50-68; D. Glass, *Malta, Beirut, Leipzig and Beirut Again: Eli Smith, the American Syria Mission and the Spread of Arabic Typography in 19th Century Lebanon*, ed. A. Neuwirth (Beirut: Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morganländischen Gesellschaft, 1997); A. Ben Cheikh, *Communication et société: pouvoir lire et dévelopement culturel* (Tunis: Publications du centre de recherches en bibliothéconomie et sciences de l'information, 1986); *Book Production and Reading in the Arab World* (Paris: UNESCO, 1982); F. M. Tadrus, *Printing in the Arab World with Emphasis on the Būlāq Press in Egypt* (Doha: University of Qatar, 1982).

[27] A. Raḍwān, *Tārīkh maṭbaʿat būlāq: wa-lamḥa fī tārīkh al-ṭibāʿa fī buldān al-sharq al-awsaṭ* [The History of Bulaq Press with a Brief Summary of the History of Printing in the Middle East] (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Amīrīya, 2009); K. M. ʿAzab and A. Manṣūr, *al-Kitāb al-ʿarabī al-maṭbūʿ: min al-judhūr ila maṭbaʿat būlāq* [The Printed Arabic Book: From its Origins to Bulaq Press] (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣrīya al-Lubnāniyya, 2008); J. Kahale, *ʿAbd-allāh zākhir, mubtakir al-maṭbaʿa al-ʿarabiyya* [Abdallah Zakhir: Early Arabic Printer] (Aleppo: Markaz al-Inmāʾal-Ḥaḍārī, 2002); A. S. al-Ṣūwayʿī, *al-Maṭābiʿ w-al-maṭbūʿāt al-lībīya qabla al-iḥtilāl al-īṭālī* [Libyan Printing Presses and Publications before the Italian Occupation] (Tripoli, Libya: al-Munshaʾa al-ʿāmma lil-nashr wa-al-tawzīʿ wa-al-iʿlān, 1985); M. M. al-Ṭanāḥī, *al-Kitāb al-maṭbūʿ bi-misr fī al-qarn al-tāsiʿʿashir: tārīkh wa taḥlīl* [The Printed Book in Egypt during the 19th Century: History and Analysis] (Cairo: Dār al-Hilāl, 1996); W. Qaddūra, *Bidāyat al-ṭibāʿa al-ʿarabiyya fī ist§nbūl wa-bilād al-shām: taṭawwur al-muḥīt al-thaqāfi*, 1706-1787 [The Beginnings of Arabic Printing in Istanbul and Syria: The Development of Intellectual Culture] (Riyadh: Maktabat al-malik Fahd al-waṭaniyya, 1993).

interdisciplinarity in their approaches that were largely missing in earlier studies and place an emphasis on local Arab protagonists in their accounts. However, in drawing from the Eisensteinian model, these studies also tend to support narratives of a swift rupture between print and scribal traditions and of print's uniform global impact, albeit from the perspective of the Arab world.[28]

It is only recently, since the dawn of the twenty-first century, that bibliographic studies of Arabic printing have moved beyond the technologically centered approach of Eisenstein to one that engages issues of materiality, social history and cultural specificity. This revisionist scholarship draws on the important work of books scholars, such as Roger Chartier,[29] D.F. MacKenzie[30] and Adrian Johns.[31] These three individuals, and others,[32] altered the field of bibliography by calling for an understanding of books as objects, by emphasizing the ways in which a book's materiality related to broader socio-political currents, and by considering culturally-specific studies of prints' forms, uses and

---

[28] For example, Roper's work on Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq emphasizes the importance of the transition from script to print for Arab scholars, see his "An Autograph Manuscript of Ahmad Faris As-Sidyaq: Prepared by him for the Press," *Writings and Writing from Another World and Another Era*, ed. R. M. Kerr and T. Milo (Cambridge: Archetype, 2010), 341-56; "Fāris al-Shidyāq and the Transition from Scribal to Print Culture."

[29] R. Chartier, "The Printing Revolution: A Reappraisal," *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. S. Baron, E. Lindquist and E. Shevlin (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 397-408; *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994); "Texts, Printing, Readings," *The New Cultural History*, ed. L. Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 154-75.

[30] D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London: The British Library, 1986); "Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices," *Studies in Bibliography* 22 (1969): 1-75.

[31] Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

[32] Such works develop on issues initially brought forth by Henri-Jean Martin and Lucien Febvre in their seminal text *l'Apparition du livre* (1958) that calls for both a study of the uses of print, in addition to understanding of technical aspects of production. See their *l'Apparition du Livre* (Paris: Michel Albin, 1958). This popular book was later translated into English as *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450-1800*, trans. D. Gerard, ed. G. Nowell-Smith and D. Wootton (London: NLB, 1976).

14

significance.[33] However, these studies still remain primarily text centered. Specifically, the location of the *image* of this "book object" in such scholarship, or aspects of visual literacy, appear tangential and as such, writing continues to take precedence over the visual.

This is apparent in recent studies on print and publications in Islamic cultures. Although twenty-first century scholars of Arabic and Islamic printing deal more with the materiality of books as objects than earlier scholarship did, these recent studies still only opt for a surface exploration of the visual.[34] For instance, in her analyses of early printed books from Egypt and other Arab societies, bibliographer Jihān al-Sayyid provides a detailed description of colophons, title pages and watermarks among other visual elements relating to the printed page.[35] However, these descriptions are little more than enumerations, like those of past bibliographies listing press outputs, with little to no actual analysis involved. For example, she does not answer how these visual components differed from other contemporary practices and what broader social, cultural or political developments factored into such designs. Similarly, in his work on the still-greatly overlooked lithographed books of Qajar Iran from the early 1800s, bibliographic historian

---

[33] Similar studies have been taken up in the realms of non-western traditions (as well as European and American ones). Important examples from Asian and Native American studies include: P. Round, *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663-1880* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010); M. Ogborn, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007); A. Ghosh, *Power in Print: Popular Publishing and the Politics of Language and Culture in Colonial Society, 1778-1905* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[34] H. Sharkey, "Christian Missions and Colloquial Arabic Printing," *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East*, ed. P. Sadgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 131-49; U. Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books Handbook of Oriental Studies/Handbuch Der Orientalistik* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001); J. M. al-Sayyid, *Al-biblīyūghrāfiyya al-taḥlīliyya: dirāsa fī awā'il al-maṭbūʿāt al-ʿarabiyya* [The Analytical Bibliography: Studies in Early Examples of Arabic Print] (Alexandria: Dār al-Thaqāfa al-ʿIlmiyya, 2000).

[35] J. M. al-Sayyid, *Al-biblīyūghrāfiyya al-taḥlīliyya.*

Ulrich Marzolph, while dealing directly with images from these illustrative works, focuses on issues of chronology and sources of influence for the figurative drawings.[36] Therefore, his interests are in cataloging and categorizing such works, rather than exploring their images' broader social and intellectual implications as part of early lithographic manuscripts. Indeed, the tangential handling of images, or the reluctance to engage with the visual's broader cultural significance, remains prevalent in recent bibliographic histories, which tend to focus on *textual*—and not visual—literacy.

This brings me to what I see as still largely lacking, not only in bibliographic histories, but also in the study of the Arabic book in its printed formats. Reading Howsam's enthusiasm towards the powerful "comprehensive logic and the indiscriminate inclusiveness of bibliographical scholarship,"[37] I feel that there still remains a tacit exclusion of certain disciplines. Specifically, when she claims that those (i.e. students) interested in writing such histories "may have to wait until they enter a program in library and information studies, or...literature,"[38] the absence of specialties such as art and design history, which are equipped with the necessary tools for a comprehensive study of visual culture, is rather telling. In particular, I would argue that methods for a wide-ranging object-based study of the printed Arabic book certainly should be included in the sphere of Islamic art history.

An example of a scholar, who manages to infuse the realm of book history with issues of visual literacy via design and art historical methodologies, is the art historian,

---

[36] U. Marzolph, "Illustrated Persian Lithographic Editions of the Shahname," *Edebiyat* 13.2 (2003): 177-98.

[37] Howsam, *Old Books & New Histories,* 15. Howsam is an author of revisionist historical bibliographies herself, see her *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the British Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991, 2002).

[38] Howasm, *Old Books & New Histories,* 13.

printer and typographer Johanna Drucker. In her work (from the 1990s) on experimental

typographic compositions produced during the early decades of the twentieth century by

the likes of Filippo Marinetti, Drucker sets up a theoretical model for investigating the

materiality of such type-based works through a consideration of the uses and limits of

structuralist and poststructuralist linguistic methods. Examining "the status of writing [as]

the visual form of language,"[39] the author calls for a reconsideration of the "oppositional

definition" of literary and visual disciplines within mid-twentieth-century literacy and art

criticism, in which "visuality was defined in part by its exclusion of literary or linguistic

activity."[40] Bringing her printing and design knowledge to bear on studies of such works

by the Futurists and their contemporaries—which had been previously sidelined as an

"aberration" by "high modernist criticism"—Drucker takes up a critical interpretation of

typography's signification in its visual form and poetic effect.[41]

   Informed by Drucker's approach, in this dissertation, I too consider typography's

material importance in conjunction with its literary/textual significance while extending

this material examination to other aspects of the printed book. As such, while I apply the

interdisciplinary approaches of recent historical bibliographies to the social history of

printed Arabic books, I also move to a more hands-on engagement with printed books as

objects that interfaced with and circulated amongst other types of books and material

objects. In this way, I emphasize an object-based understanding of printed books whose

physical components—typography, layout design, binding and dimensions—act as

---

[39] J. Drucker, *The Visible Word: Experimental Typography and Modern Art, 1909-1923* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 4.

[40] Ibid., 6.

[41] Ibid., 6-8.

17

important markers of visual literacy within contemporaneous artistic, intellectual and reading realms. In the case of the Arabic book, Islamic art, via its inextricable and long history with codicology and the study of manuscripts, provides the methods needed for a close examination of printed books as visual objects worthy of close inspection.

Islamic art historians have recently become more aware that the advent of print in the nineteenth century did not mark the end of the Arabic book tradition, and thus some attention has turned to Middle Eastern print production from this period. In the past, the printed Arabic book, in its wholesale availability and mechanized production, was frequently regarded as an object that, while replicating certain elements from scribal practices, was not necessarily worthy of a close visual reading. Indeed, careful visual analyses were often exclusively limited to hand-produced manuscripts—characterized by manual skill and the physical marks of the artist's presence.[42] Today the subject of printing in the Muslim world has begun to garner interest as a serious art historical undertaking amongst a new generation of Islamic art scholars. For instance, recent contributions to the field include essays by Yasemīn Gencer and Emily Zoss, which appear in a volume on Islamic manuscripts and printed books that belong to collections at

---

[42] Past studies have only dealt with Arabic printing in their conclusions or post-scripts. See: S. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006); J. Bloom, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); J. Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, trans. G. French, ed. R. Hillenbrand (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1946, 1984).

the University of Indiana Bloomington.[43] These two book entries carefully analyze printed books and cartographic maps (as "printed manuscripts"[44]) produced by Ibrahīm Müteferrika at his press in Istanbul during the 1700s. Unlike the studies of Gencer and Zoss, previous bibliographic studies on this topic did not examine the books themselves or locate them on a parallel plane with dominant scribal practices in order to understand the political, intellectual and artistic significance of these objects.[45]

While the work by Gencer, Zoss and a few others[46] is certainly indicative of a changing landscape in the art historical studies of the Islamic and Arabic book, there is

---

[43] This book was the culmination of an exhibition and symposium, which began as a graduate seminar led by Christiane Gruber at the University of Indiana Bloomington. Most of the essays in the book, including Gencer and Zoss', were developed from the authors' seminar papers. Gencer devotes her study to a visual analysis, using terminology found in the study of Islamic manuscripts, of a variety of books printed at this press. Y. Gencer, "Ibrahim Müteferrika and the Age of the Printed Manuscript," *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections*, ed. C. Gruber (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 155-93. While she does not focus exclusively on books produced at this press, Zoss includes relevant examples in her analysis of Ottoman cartographic manuscripts. E. Zoss, "An Ottoman View of the World: The *Kitab Cihannūma* and Its Cartographic Contexts," *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition,* 195-219.

[44] Gencer, "Ibrahim Müteferrika," 156.

[45] Most of these sources are in Turkish. Works in English include: M. H. van den Boogert, "The Sultan's Answer to the Medici Press?"; C. K. Neumann, "Book and Newspaper Printing in Turkish, 18th-20th Century," *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution,* 227-48; W. J. Watson, "Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa and Turkish Incunabula," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88. 3 (Jul.-Se p., 1968): 435-41.

[46] T. Milo, "Towards Arabic Historical Script Grammar: Through Contrastive Analysis of Qur'an Manuscripts," *Writings and Writing from Another World and Another Era: Investigations in Islamic Text and Script in Honour of Dr Januarius Justus Witkam Professor of Codicology and Paleography of the Islamic World at Leiden University*, ed. R. Kerr and T. Milo (Cambridge: Archetype, 2010); O.P. Scheglova, "Lithograph Versions of Persian Manuscripts of Indian Manufacture in the Nineteenth Century," *Manuscripta Orientalia* 5. 1 (Mar. 1999): 12-22. An older study that first set up the printed book as a continuation of manuscript traditions was George Atiyeh's edited volume, *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East* (Albany: State University of New York, 1995).

19

still a lot of ground to cover.[47] A number of design practitioners and scholars have explored the importance of Arabic typefaces in the digital realm in recent publications.[48] Yet, there still exists a dearth of serious visual, social and historical examinations of past and current trends in Arabic printing. This dissertation strives to contribute to this emergent field of Arabic printing history, through a gradated visual analysis of printed Arabic books as objects worthy of close study by utilizing methods that have traditionally been reserved for the region's more decorative illustrated and calligraphic hand-produced counterparts.[49]

III. Primary Source Materials[50]

1. Publications of the American Mission and other Regional Presses:

      Central to my project is a close examination of religious and secular books printed at the American Press in Beirut from 1836 to 1862. I relied on these objects as material artifacts through which a previously untold story of the early forms, uses and meanings of

---

[47] Although bibliographic, literary and historical accounts abound, there is certainly a lacuna in art historical scholarship on Arabic and/or Islamic printing practices and the book in Pakistan, parts of India (Calcutta, Lucknow and Delhi), and Indonesia. Furthermore, from the few art historical studies of Arabic/Islamic printing available, most seem exclusively focused on lithographic practices, likely because this tradition was most closely associated visually and technically with those of scribal works. Letterpress printing is still very much treated like the least favored child of Islamic book history. Indeed, this has mostly been taken up by design practitioners, particularly those interested in typeface design and present-day debates on the place of Arabic typography. For some of these works see note 65 below.

[48] R. Abou Rjeily, *Cultural Connectives* (London: Mark Batty Publisher, 2011); R. Osborn, "The Type of Calligraphy: Writing, Print, and Technologies of the Arabic Alphabet," Dissertation, UC San Diego, 2008; T. Milo, "Arabic Script and Typography: A Brief Historical Overview," *Language Culture Type: International Type Design in the Age of Unicode*, ed. J. D. Berry (Zurich: Graphis Press, 2002), 112-27; H. Smitshuijzen-Abifares, *Arabic Typography: A Comprehensive Sourcebook* (London: Saqi Books, 2001); Y. H. Safadi, "Printing in Arabic," *The Monotype Recorder* 2 (Se p. 1980): 2-7.

[49] D. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400-1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005).

[50] Details on these sources and the institutions that house them are further discussed at the end of this dissertation in Appendix: Primary Sources, Printed Books, and Archival Materials.

printed books could be relayed. In order to gain a broader, regional understanding of changing approaches to books and the interface of scribal and print traditions I also examined contemporaneous works printed on other missionary and private presses. This included works produced at Beirut's Jesuit press, the Franciscan missionary press in Jerusalem, the Church Missionary Society press in Malta, and the British Foreign Bible Society press in London, as well as Muslim presses in Cairo and Tabriz. In the course of my research, from 2010 to 2012, I consulted copies of these rare books, currently held at numerous American, European and Lebanese institutions, via on-site visits to Harvard University's Houghton Library, the American University of Beirut's Jafet Library, the Near East School of Theology in Beirut, as well as Binghamton University's Bartle Library. A number of these books were also obtained through inter-library loan services from various US universities and collections. Additionally, when physical copies of books were not readily available, I relied on digitized editions of these publications through the following library/collection websites: Hathi Trust (www.hathitrust.org), the Goussen library collection held at Bonn University's Library (http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de/ulbbn/nav/classification/16431), and the Bavarian State Library (http://www.bsb-muenchen.de/index.php).

2. Islamic and Christian Arabic Manuscripts and Early Print Culture

Writing a history of the printed Arabic book as a continuation of Islamic and Arab Christian manuscript traditions required a comprehension of past and contemporary scribal practices in the region, as well as its earliest examples of Arabic printing. As such,

I studied a number of religious and literary manuscripts and print "incunabula,"[51] which ranged from well-funded productions (with elaborate gilding, illuminations and illustrations) as well as more commonplace utilitarian, literary, scientific and liturgical products. Since such bookmaking practices varied greatly across both Islamic cultures and Arab Christian denominations, I attempted to focus on works produced within the Syrian provinces and/or other Ottoman regions. This was done by consulting manuscripts (or facsimiles of them) currently held at the American University of Beirut's (AUB) Archives and Special Collections at Jafet Library, as well as digitized editions of local manuscripts currently available online. In the case of early printed Arabic books, copies of which are also exceptionally rare, I was only able to access these via digital databases, such as that of the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (HMML), http://www.hmml.org.

3. Records of the American Syria Mission:

The majority of sources about the American Syria mission, its regional activities, missionaries and employees that were consulted for this dissertation came from unpublished missionary records, of which I collected and analyzed approximately 480 in total. These primary-source collections relating to the history of the American Syria mission, its press and publications are available at a number of institutions in the United States and Lebanon. Between 2009 and 2011, I examined the Syria mission's records and archival sources held at Harvard University's Houghton Library, the Presbyterian

---

[51] I use this term very reluctantly, since it stems from traditional, teleological readings of print traditions, in which books printed in Europe before 1500 were labeled as products of the press in its "infancy." However, in this section, I simply use it as a quick way to differentiate between books printed with earlier press technologies (such as wooden hand presses or other make-shift methods) rather than the predominantly used iron hand presses of the 1800s.

22

Historical Society in Philadelphia (PHS), Yale University's Divinity School Library and AUB's Jafet Library.

The largest of these archives on the Syria mission is held in the Houghton Library Records of the Presbyterian Mission, A.B.C. (Boxes 16, 50, 60) and includes letters, correspondence, reports and documents pertaining to the Syria mission's activities in the region. Yale's compendium on the Syria mission's history includes the Isaac Bird Papers (one of the Syria mission's earliest members) and the Smith Family Papers, amongst which are letters and journal entries dealing with the missionary press. The PHS's collection (chiefly consisting of the American Syria mission's records after its transfer from the ABCFM to the United Presbyterian Church Foreign Missions Board in 1870) also holds valuable day-to-day documents relating to the Syria mission's early press operations from 1834-1855. American missionary records at Jafet Library's Archives and Special Collection Department contain letters and official state documents dating to the 1850s.

IV. Overview of Dissertation Chapters

The first chapter provides a historical overview of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions' (ABCFM) interests in the Ottoman Syrian territories during the 1820s, including a look at the region's political history during this decade. The initial interactions between missionaries and local residents will also be elucidated since it provides the background for future dealings amongst these groups. This section includes a brief discussion of the American Press in Beirut, with a look at its broader significance in the region at the time. In doing so, I provide a foray into the pre-

nineteenth century history of Arabic printing in Ottoman empire, in addition to a brief introduction to presses still in operation when the Americans first set up their print shop in 1834.

In the second chapter, "Evangelizing Between Script and Print (1834-1840)," I take up a study of the American Press's first few publications by considering how their production methods, subject matter and design demonstrate the mission's responses to the religious attitudes and scribal practices common to local readers at the time. I illustrate how the mission's attempt at attracting a broad scribal readership via their publications included emulating visual conventions similar to those associated with manuscripts, tempering—at times even avoiding—any evangelical tone in their textual content, and adopting local preferences in writing style. Most importantly, I show how the printed pages of American Press's inaugural works also speak to the dynamic nature of early printed books as sites of artistic innovation and experimentation where various local and external aesthetic impulses overlapped.

In "Books for a Shifting Readership (1841-1851)," the dissertation's third chapter, I explore changes in books printed at the American Press from 1841 onwards, which may easily be dismissed as following a "Presbyterian aesthetic," but were actually responses to various local and external impulses. These catalysts were mainly developments in the Press's typographic and production standards, pressure from the ABCFM board in Boston for a decreased emphasis on printing/education in favor of mass conversion preaching tactics, a changing local religious landscape, and a growing regional interest in secular education (resulting in a need for suitable textbooks). I argue that each of these various motivators, led to (repeatedly divergent) practices in the mission's book

24

production, and these views differed from those adopted by the Press when it was first established.

The last chapter, "Print between Protestant Ideals and Secular Desires (1852-1860)," considers the changing role of the American Press as a production site of secular books that were edited, written and/or funded by local Arab Christian scholars for use beyond the missionary apparatus. Incidentally, such works from the mid-1800s adopted various aspects of the American Press's aesthetics and production standards. In this chapter, I explore ways in which such practices likely related to changing perceptions amongst emergent print literati of what books should look like and how they should be read. More specifically, I question what uses the stylistic methods prominent in the mission's publications served for local scholars who were utilizing the nascent print medium to further their own political, social and intellectual projects. As such, I argue that different agents could deploy the visual features of the press's books for a very different set of purposes and that these features may have been received quite differently from previous missionary works that followed a same template. Some key examples of these publications demonstrate how these objects in their content and design programs also negotiated their producers' growing commitment to notions of pluralism, and a common Ottoman Arab identity, social and cultural ideals that came to be associated the *Nahḍa*.

Chapter 1: The American Mission, its Press and Legacy

Taking up the publications of an American Christian mission in Ottoman Syria's spiritually diverse society, this dissertation considers the multifaceted interactions of myriad religious and social ideals as dynamic constructs subject to an environment's particularities. In demonstrating the regional significance of these books, as well as the American Press, I suspend these works within a complex, although hardly transparent, web of missionary archival materials and primary accounts. In doing so, I aim to elucidate how books were sites of overlap between the missionaries and members of Ottoman religious groups. In this introductory chapter, I present a brief historical overview of the early American interests in Ottoman Syria and the Arab world and the significance of their missionary press. This historical narrative is then framed by the recent debates in missionary-Arab encounters, which I engage with in following chapters.

1.1. The ABCFM in Ottoman Syria

The history of the American mission's press in Ottoman Syria dates to 1810, when Protestant clergymen in Boston founded one of the earliest American missionary organizations with a foreign agenda. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) followed in the steps of earlier British evangelical missions, specifically the British Church Missionary Society (CMS, founded in 1799), that had been active in communities throughout Asia. Following the establishment of its first

foreign mission in Bombay by 1819,[1] the ABCFM formally announced its plans to send delegates to Palestine,[2] in the interest of securing Jerusalem as the heart of their mission to "Western Asia."[3] The ABCFM's aim was to convert Jews—as well as Muslims, "Pagans," and those "who bear the Christian in name."[4] Missionary reports heralded this project as the way through which Jews, as a people who "long have been an awful monument to the world of the sovereignty of God," would finally, "through the benevolent prayers, and sacrifices and labors of Christians for their restoration," attain "mercy."[5] However, the American mission's interests in Jerusalem likely stemmed from both a romantic desire to establish an American post in the "Holy Land" (the cradle of early Christianity), as well as a proactive response to the burgeoning European (English, French and Italian) presence in the Ottoman provinces along the Mediterranean.[6]

The establishment of a regional printing press, in addition to schools, parishes and local churches, was seen as critical to the success of missionaries in "West Asia." Indeed, early missionary reports from this region demonstrate the centrality of bibles and

---

[1] *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* 10 (1819): 210-11.

[2] Ibid., 229-31. The first delegates assigned to this mission were Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons (who died in 1822, shortly after they began work in the region). Fisk was later accompanied by Jonas King and together they toured parts of Syria (they were also joined by Isaac Bird and William Goodell). For more on these early missionaries, see G. H. Anderson, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (Grand Rapids; Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmas Publishing Co).

[3] Western Asia, according to the ABCFM, included: Syria, the Provinces of Asia Minor, Armenia, Georgia, and Persia.

[4] *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* 10 (1819): 230.

[5] Ibid. Certainly, this was rooted in a growing enthusiasm at this time to convert Jews as part of the millennial passion, see C. J. Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half-Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969).

[6] For more on these issues, see H. Badr, "American Protestant Missionary Beginnings in Beirut and Istanbul: Policy, Politics, Practice and Response," *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, ed. H. Murre-van den Berg (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2006), 211-40.

27

religious literature to the missionary apparatus. An Annual Report from 1820, for instance, details the number of tracts and books distributed by the first missionaries to Palestine, with one account boasting that such works: " [Bibles] were gladly received by those who obtained them...tracts were distributed to children and others eager to possess them, with the hearty concurrence of bishops, schoolmasters, and principle inhabitants."[7] This purported warm-reception of Protestant literature by locals tempted the ABCFM to take things further by instituting a "printing establishment in Western Asia," which was billed as most critical to the missionary's success: " they [potential converts] who can hear his [the missionary] voice, may be, comparatively, few. But tracts and books reach the thousands."[8] However, even as the Board was seeking funds from its subscribers for this pricey venture, the missionaries to Palestine were still having trouble securing a permanent station from which to operate, let alone furnishing it with a press.

When the first American missionaries arrived in the region in 1819, they quickly realized the difficulty of establishing a mission amongst Jewish communities in Jerusalem. Ottoman restrictions on foreign residencies in Jerusalem,[9] the closed-off nature of local Jewish and Christian communities, and the established presence of fellow protestant British missionaries in that area (among other reasons)[10] led the Americans to shift their evangelizing focus from Jews in the "Holy Land" to other denominations in the

---

[7] *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* 11 (1820): 92-93.

[8] *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* 12 (1821-1825): 201.

[9] Half of Jerusalem's population was Muslim at the time and the city—under Ottoman rule—was considered a holy Islamic site, thus there were clear rules against Europeans, Americans and other "foreign" individuals from taking up residence within its walls. See Tibawi, *American Interests*, 17.

[10] A.L. Tibawi cites consular protection as the main cause, see Tibawi, "The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College," *American University of Beirut Festival Book*, ed. F. Sarruf and S. Tamim (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 1967), 258-59.

Syrian provinces. These groups mostly consisted of Ottoman Syria's religious minorities, which in addition to Jewish communities included Maronite, Melkite Greek Catholic (or *Malakīyyin*), Greek Orthodox (or *Rūm*[11]) and Armenian Orthodox Christians.

In the eyes of the Ottoman state these groups, while not distinguished from each other, were collectively seen as unequal to Muslim residents. In accordance with the seventh-century "Pact of 'Umar" non-Muslim residents from Jewish and Christian communities were tolerated as *ahl al-kitāb*, or "people of the Book" (i.e. those mentioned in the Qur'ān) and thus were protected by the Ottoman state as *ahl al-dhimma*, or "people of the contract."[12] In exchange for this protection and the freedom to own property, make money and practice their religions, such groups had to abide by various contractual rules with the Islamic state. [13] These included paying a *jizya* (or head-tax), not preaching amongst or attempting to convert resident Muslims, and refraining from causing major

---

[11] This is what these groups refer to themselves as—it essentially means "eastern Roman."

[12] B. Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 18-19. See also, M. R. Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 54-65; Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 33-37.

[13] Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 33-35. Makdisi, as well as other Ottoman scholars, emphasize that the conditions and enforcements of these contracts with non-Muslim residents varied frequently across regions, political contexts and historical periods. By the 1860s, after numerous inter-communal conflicts, with the Ottoman government's growing interest in modernization reforms (*tanzimat*) and the emergence of the Islamic *salafī* movement, such rulings (such as the Pact of 'Umar) were called into question by Muslim clerics and rulers. For more on this, see Masters, *Christians and Jews,* 170-78.

local disturbances[14] (i.e. by siding with enemies of Islam or the Ottoman state).

While the enforcement of such conditions varied across time periods and locations, non-Muslim minorities in Ottoman Syria had frequently preferred the region's mountainous villages, which since the sixteenth century were governed by ethnically and religiously diverse local elite families[15] (not Ottoman officials), to the Muslim-dominant coastal cities. As such, the Mount Lebanon region, under Ottoman rule, had long become a refuge for non-Muslim minorities.[16] Seeking an alternative to their failed plan for Jerusalem, the Americans turned to the Christian villages of Mount Lebanon. It is important clarify that while this region's boundaries are commonly seen as the precursor to modern-day Lebanon, under Ottoman rule Mount Lebanon did not become a semi-autonomous *mutaṣarrifiyya* (or protectorate) until 1861, after a series of inter-communal,

---

[14] Inter-communal conversions were also discouraged (not just those towards Muslims). As per Islamic law, according to an eighteenth century manuscript by Ḥaīdar Shihābī, all non-Muslims were considered infidels and thus conversions within these communities were of no concern to the state. However, this legal opinion was declared in 1762 in response to inter-communal violence as a result of Greek Orthodox Christians converting to Catholicism. Thus, it was intended to ensure that the position and recognition of the religious communities (*millets)*, particularly their respective Patriarchs' authority, would not be compromised in the eyes of the state. As such, this ruling illustrates the Ottoman government's apathy for non-Muslim, inter-communal conversions, yet also underscores the stipulation that non-Muslim millets refrain from causing local disturbances. Shihābī's manuscript was cited in Tibawi as *Al-ghurar al-ḥisān fī akhbār abnā' az-zamān,* from an edition published in 1933 by A. J. Rustum and F. A. Bustani. See Tibawi, *American Interests*, 109-10.

[15] The two prominent ruling families during the Ottoman period (until the 1860s) were the Ma'an dynasty (12th-17th centuries), who were Drūze, and the Shihāb dynasty (17th-19th centuries), who were Sunnī Muslims. For a concise breakdown of elite rulers in Mount Lebanon and the region during this period, see L. Tarazi Fawaz, *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 15-18.

[16] See, D. Quataert, "Inter-communal Co-operation and Conflict," *The Ottoman Empire: 1700-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 174-94 in which Quataert sets up a brief general view of interactions between the Ottoman state, its resident Muslims and non-Muslim minorities. See also, D. Chevallier, "Non-Muslim Communities in Arab Cities," *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. B. Braude and B. Lewis (New York and London: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982), 159-65.

class-related conflicts.[17] As such, during most of the timeframe covered in this dissertation, Mount Lebanon was still a loosely defined grouping of mountain villages spread across the area's administrative *eyalets* (or provinces).[18] (Fig. 1.1) By the early nineteenth century, the ruling dynasty in Mount Lebanon, the Sunnī Shihāb family, presided over numerous villages that were predominantly made up of Maronite Christian and Drūze communities, with smaller groups of Shī'a and Sunnī Muslims, Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, Greek Catholics and Jews.

---

[17] The mountain villages saw a significantly violent battle in 1860 (referred to as the Maronite-Drūze War or Civil War) when violence broke out along class and sectarian lines in Mount Lebanon (and extended into the region). The conflicts were essentially the result of class struggle, with the peasants of Mount Lebanon revolting against their elite leaders in 1858. Many sources exist on the subject of these battles, for a few, see U. Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); M. Buheiry, "The Peasant Revolt of 1858 in Mount Lebanon: Rising Expectations, Economic Malaise, and the Incentive to Arm," *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. T. Khalidi (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1984), 291-302; E. L. Rogan, "Sectarianism and Social Conflict in Damascus: The 1860 Events Reconsidered," *Arabica* 54.4 (2004): 493-511; S. Khalaf, "Communal Conflict in 19th-Century Lebanon," *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holms and Meier, 1982); A.J. Abraham, *Lebanon at Mid-Century, Maronite-Druze Relations in Lebanon 1840-1860: A Prelude to Arab Nationalism* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981).

[18] Each *eyalet* was subdivided into different *sanjaks*, or districts, with one serving as the provincial capital. The borders of these *eyalets* and *sanjaks* shifted frequently between 1820-1888. During the 1830s there were three provinces encompassing the Mount Lebanon region, the Tripoli Eyalet, the Damascus Eyalet and the Sidon Eyalet. The Aleppo Eyalet, also part of the Syrian provinces, lay further to the north.

Figure 1.1. Map of key cities and relevant villages in Ottoman Syria, ca. 1830. Designed by author from textual sources describing Ottoman administrative provinces.[19] Geographic lines based on http://www.zionism-israel.com/maps/Ottoman_Palestine_1860.htm, accessed on 3/20/2013.

---

[19] I have yet to locate a visual reference showing the precise boundary lines of these provinces during the years 1800-1830. As such, the *eyalet* (province) limits and the Mount Lebanon region depicted here are only estimations based on information gathered from sources on Ottoman Syria's early history, including: A. Beshara, *The Origins of Syrian Nationhood: Histories, Pioneers and Identity* (New York; Oxon: Routledge, 2011); A. R. Abu Husayn, *The View from Istanbul: Ottoman Lebanon and the Druze Emirate* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2004).

In 1823, the American mission had established a temporary outpost, initially functioning as a rest house, in the Mount Lebanon village of 'Ayntūra. They even managed to establish some schools and parishes. For instance, the first school was opened in 1824, under the tutelage of a local Arab Christian teacher (Tānnūs al-Ḥaddād[20]), which initially had a number of children from the Greek Orthodox community in attendance.[21] However, it was not long before the Protestants,[22] with their distribution of bibles and religious literature and vocal critique of "papal" practices, became a growing nuisance to local Maronite clerics and their patriarch.[23] Furthermore, their choice of residence (a former Jesuit school[24]) was likely perceived by local Maronites (who were in communion with Rome) as an attempt at laying claim to this Catholic mission's past efforts.[25] In an effort to curtail any potential local disturbance, Mount Lebanon's ruling Bashīr II Shihāb called for the Protestants to depart their residence in

---

[20] This individual became a long-time missionary and press employee. He is discussed in more detail in chapter two of this dissertation.

[21] Discussed in Tibawi, *American Interests*, 33. However, this scholar does not mention where he retrieved this information.

[22] It is important to note here that while I use the terms Protestants and Americans interchangeably throughout this dissertation when referencing the Syria mission, these individuals were not frequently distinguished as "Americans" by local residents. Rather, because of their protection under the imperial British consul from the 1820s until the 1840s, American members of the Syria mission were often categorized as English. Essentially, up until the 1840s, local residents saw Protestant groups as indistinguishable from each other, much like their labeling of European nationals simply as *ajānib*, or "Franks." See, U. Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 90-91.

[23] This rapidly led to a growing chasm between them and the Maronite Patriarch. What followed was a Maronite anathema targeting the Americans and their establishments, and a state-sanctioned edict against the local distribution of foreign-produced ("Frankish) bibles. This is discussed further in chapter two of this dissertation.

[24] This was a rental that was paid for by the Americans for up to five years, see Tibawi, *American Interests*, 23.

[25] Jesuits presence in the region dated to the mid 1700s. However, towards the end of the 18th century, Rome recalled all its foreign missions due to growing anti-clerical sentiment in Europe. For more see chapter three of this dissertation. See also, B. M. Roehner, "Jesuits and the State: A Comparative Study of Their Expulsions," *Religion (London Academic Press)* 27. 2 (1997): 165-82.

'Aynṭūra. For these reasons and others,[26] a chasm rapidly widened between the Protestants and local Christian groups during the 1820s; a dynamic that brought much to bear upon any future missionary-Maronite interactions and their reciprocal perceptions of each other.

Following their eviction from Mount Lebanon, the Americans turned to the more religiously and ethnically diverse burgeoning maritime town of Beirut as their headquarters.[27] A merchant-city[28] on the rise at the time, Beirut had long set itself apart from other regional urban settings as "an asylum for immigrants from embattled regions" in the Ottoman eastern Mediterranean (or *bilād al-shām*), growing "against the odds of the regional urban hierarchy."[29] As such, from the 1830s onwards, Beirut was ascertaining itself as a cosmopolitan (though uncomfortably overpopulated) city. Its existence beyond the administrative jurisdiction of the mountain rulers/elites and as a

---

[26] The occasional conversion of local scholars and elites to Protestantism at the time also factored into this growing animosity. Perhaps the most singularly highlighted case was the conversion, excommunication and subsequent death of a young Maronite, As'ad al-Shidyāq, who would soon become the American's poster-child for Protestant persecution. For more on this individual, see chapter four of this dissertation. See also, U. Makdisi, *Culture of Sectarianism*, 90-91; Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, in which the subject of this Protestant convert is taken up in numerous chapters.

[27] Tibawi, *American Interests*, 23-26.

[28] It became colloquially known from this period onwards as a "Merchant Republic," something still popular in the Lebanese mindset today, see J. Hanssen, *Fin de siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 29.

[29] Ibid., 29. Hanssen argues that during the late 1700s, an influx of immigrants from other regional centers—seeking protection from Ottoman urban hierarchies—found a safe haven behind Beirut's protective walls, and helped to shape the rise of Beirut as an Ottoman merchant city. He states that during this earlier period, "Beirut became not only a cherished prize [to migrant and resident elites who challenged Sulaymān Pasha's regional control of urban centers and market prices] but also an uncomfortably autonomous entity in the struggle for regional hegemony." Other scholars share the belief that the increased importance of Beirut as an urban center essentially lay in its large immigration numbers, including L. Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Beirut* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 1983), 1-7.

34

"maritime town with the least imperial [Ottoman] authority within its walls"[30] also allowed Beirut a certain level of distance from the central government. By the 1830s, under the temporary rule of Egyptian powers,[31] Beirut became an important regional port-city that saw increased maritime trade, thus solidifying this city's place within the nineteenth-century global economy. In particular, this coastal town became the nexus between European (namely French) textile merchants and the silk industry of Mount Lebanon.[32] It also acquired more clout as an administrative and political hub when it was made the capital of the Sidon Eyalet in 1841 by the Egyptian ruler.[33] Further affecting this city's identity as a key regional site was the implementation of Egyptian-imposed administrative and urban modernization reforms.[34]

While this urban setting played an important part in providing the American mission with a more adaptable environment than that of the mountain's villages, the mission's Beirut station had its own share of instability, particularly due to intermittent closures and relocations due to local and regional conflicts, which frequently spilled into the city. The mid 1820s to the early 1830s, for instance, witnessed the Greek revolt

---

[30] Hanssen, *Fin de siècle Beirut*, 29.

[31] In 1831, Egyptian military forces led by the general Ibrāhīm Pasha, acting at the behest of his father the Egyptian ruler Muḥammad ʿAlī, took control of most of the Ottoman's Syrian Province (including the cities of Beirut and Damascus). This was done in retribution for the Ottoman Sultan reneging on promises made to the Egyptian ruler after he provided military aid during conflicts in the empire's Greek territories in the 1820s, commonly known as the War of Greek Independence. Egypt's rule of Syria ended in 1841, after a series of drawn out battles with the Ottoman military and global powers. For more on these conflicts, see V. Askan, *Ottoman Wars: An Empire Besieged* (Harlow: Pearson, 2007), 363-422.

[32] Hanssen, *Fin de siècle Beirut*, 31. For more on Mount Lebanon's silk industry see, L. Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants*, 61-67; A. F. Khater, "She Married Silk: A Rewriting of Peasant History in 19th Century Mount Lebanon," Unpublished Dissertation (University of California Berkeley, 1993).

[33] S. Kassir, *Beirut*, Trans. M.B. Debevoise (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010), 89.

[34] For more on the changing nature of Beirut during Egyptian rule see Hanssen, *Fin de siècle Beirut,* 29-35; Kassir, *Beirut*, 96-108.

(1821-1827), the Russian Ottoman conflict (1828-1829) and Egypt's occupation of portions of the Syrian provinces (1830-1833).[35] During these embattled periods, the American missionaries in Beirut were removed to Malta, a British colony that was seen as a safer option for the American missionaries (who remained under the protection of the English consul in the Ottoman Mediterranean) at the time.[36] After the mission's station was reestablished in Beirut, however, the Americans typically sought refuge in neighboring villages (like their summer residence in 'Abay) when conflicts (like the second war between Ottoman forces and Egypt from 1839-1841[37]) erupted in the city. Despite these occasional interruptions, however, the Americans' outpost in Beirut remained their main station, and most importantly for this dissertation, Beirut was cemented as the location of the ABCFM's regional Arabic press until the dissolution of the Syria mission in the mid twentieth century.[38]

---

[35] For more on these conflicts and others in the Ottoman Empire, see V. Askan, *Ottoman Wars.* See also, U. Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism.*

[36] For instance, in an 1827 letter by the American missionary Eli Smith addressed to his sister in Connecticut, he informs her of the mission in Beirut's evacuation plans: "We have rumors of an approaching war...the mountains are within an hour's ride of this place [Beirut]...besides, we have united with the others here under English protection to send to Smyrna [Izmir] for a man of war to come and take us away in case of emergency [to Malta]." Records of the Syria Mission, of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, deposited at Jafet Memorial Library Archives and Special Collections, American University of Beirut, Lebanon, (hereafter AUB Archives), American Missionaries, Box 1, AA: 7.5, File 6, Eli Smith to Hannah Smith, Beirut, 23 Jun 1827.

[37] For details on this and the earlier battle with Egypt, see Askan, *Ottoman Wars: An Empire Besieged*, 363-407.

[38] After the American civil war and the reunion of divergent Presbyterian Church bodies in the US, the Syria mission was transferred from the ABCFM to the Presbyterian Church in the USA Board of Foreign Missions (BFM) in 1870. It remained operational in the region under the BFM's direction until the early 1860s. For more on this transfer, see Records of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions deposited at Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (hereafter ABC), 16.8.1 Syria Mission (1823-1871) v. 8, Supplementary Papers: Documents, Records, Minutes (1836-1870), Meeting in 'Abay, 17 Aug 1870.

1.2. The Regional Significance of a Missionary Press

The importance of the ABCFM's press in Beirut could be seen on a number of levels. For one, it was the Board's first foreign missionary press devoted exclusively to publishing books in Arabic. Although the British Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Malta was publishing Arabic books for missionary use since the 1820s, their works were not limited to Arabic but included Greek, Syriac and other languages spoken by Ottoman minorities.[39] Additionally, while the ABCFM also operated other regional presses in Malta (from 1822-1833) and Izmir (1833-1853) for their Ottoman outreach, both were short-lived. The former specialized in Greek prints (although it had an Arabic typeface which was not used) while the latter was an extension of the Protestant's mission to Armenians, thus its publications were primarily in Armenian-Turkish and Armenian.[40]

The American Press, or al-Maṭbaʻa al-Amrikāniyya, was also regionally significant as an early Arabic printing enterprise. At the time of this Protestant press's establishment, most books (for devotional and educational purposes) were still written by hand. Mosques produced Qurʼāns, and other Islamic texts, while Christian seminaries, and monasteries engaged in the manufacture of bibles, and other liturgical works. The few other regional presses producing Arabic-script books during the 1830s included a handful of monastic presses, such as the Greek Catholic press at al-Shuwayr in

---

[39] For more on the CMS press in Malta, see G. Roper, "Arabic Books Printed in Malta 1826-42: Some Physical Characteristics," *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement* 15 (2004): 111-29.

[40] For more on the ABCFM press in Malta, see J.F. Coakley, "Printing Offices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1817-1900: A Synopsis," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 9.1 (1998): 11-13. For the press in Izmir, see Coakley, "Printing Offices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," 13-14; "Homan Hallock, Punchcutter," *Printing History* 45.1 (2003): 18-41.

Khinshāra, the imperial press in Būlāq (operational since 1820 in Egypt)[41] and some

presses in Qajar Iran (which only produced works in Farsi, not Arabic).[42]

    An empire-wide ban on the printing of Islamic literature, enforced from the

sixteenth to late nineteenth centuries, had limited the possibilities for local Arabic

printing by and for Muslims. Theories about the causes for this legal ruling abound in

sources on the subject. One unassailable concern at the root of this ban was the

apprehension that the democratizing nature of the press would compromise the hierarchy

of local religious institutions and their control of knowledge.[43] At the same time,

Christian and other non-Muslim groups were exempt from the Sultan's legal ruling. For

instance, Jewish communities who arrived from Europe established printing presses in

---

[41] For more on this press see, A. Raḍwān, *Tārīkh maṭbaʿat būlāq: wa-lamḥa fī tārīkh al-ṭibāʿa fī buldān al-sharq al-awsaṭ* [The History of Bulaq Press with a Brief Summary of the History of Printing in the Middle East] (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Amīrīya, 2009); K. M. ʿAzab and A. Manṣūr, *al-Kitāb al-ʿarabī al-maṭbūʿ: min al-judhūr ila maṭbaʿat būlāq* [The Printed Arabic Book: From its Origins to Bulaq Press] (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣrīya al-Lubnāniyya, 2008); F. M. Tadrus, *Printing in the Arab World with Emphasis on the Būlāq Press in Egypt* (Doha: Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Qatar, 1982).

[42] N. Green, "Persian Print and the Stanhope Revolution: Industrialization, Evangelicalism, and the Birth of Printing in Early Qajar Iran," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and The Middle East* 30.3 (2012): 413-90; U. Marzolph and A. Pistor-Hatam, "Early Printing History in Iran (1817-ca. 1900)," *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter*, ed. E. Hanebutt-Benz, et al. (Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002): 249-72; M. W. Albin, "The Iranian Publishing Industry: A Preliminary Appraisal," *Libri* 36.1 (1986): 1-23.

[43] For more on this ban see, particularly developments during the 18th century related views of Arabic printing in Europe and amongst local communities, see the "printing press" section in F. M. Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 108-115. For more of a discussion of print related to Islamic manuscript traditions, see M. Mahdi, "From the Manuscript Age to the Age of Printed Books," *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East,* ed. G. N. Atiyeh (Albany: State University of New York, 1995) 1-16; L. Berger, "Zur Problematik der späten Einfuhrung des Buchdrucks in der islamischen Welt," *Das gedruckte Buch im Vorderen Orient*, ed. U. Marzolph (Dortmund: Verlag für Orientkunde, 2002). Also see chapter two of this dissertation.

Istanbul as early as the late 15th century.[44] The same went for Armenian presses, which were first set up in the city during the mid-sixteenth century.[45]

Consequently, the first Arabic presses to emerge in the Ottoman Levant (during the 1600s-1700s) were mostly monastic print shops funded by local Christian patrons who were able to acquire their presses from European benefactors. For instance, the first known example of printing in the Syrian province comes from the monastery of Mār Anṭūniyyūs in Quzḥāyya, which printed a bilingual, Syriac and *kharshūnī* (Arabic in Syriac script) Psalter in 1601 among a couple other works.[46] Given the marginal nature of pre-nineteenth century printing establishments in the Ottoman Empire however, these early presses suffered from high running costs, deficiencies in fonts and skilled labor, and a lack of consistent funding. As a result, most of these establishments only produced a

---

[44] See, O. Bashkin, "Why did Baghdadi Jews Stop Writing to their Brethren in Mainz?—Some Comments about the Reading Practices of Iraqi Jews in the Nineteenth Century," *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East*, ed. P. Sadgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 95-110; G. Nassi, *Jewish Journalism and Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Istanbul, 2001); I. J. Tamari, "Jewish Printing and Publishing Activities in the Ottoman Cities of Constantinople and Saloniki at the Dawn of Early Modern Europe," *The Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Jews, Christians and Muslims*, ed. K. Kreiser (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001) 9-10.

[45] M. Pehlivanaian, " Mesrop's Heirs: The Early Armenian Book Printers," *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter*, ed. E. Hanebutt-Benz, et al. (Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002), 53-92. For Armenian printing and manuscript traditions see online images from a recent exhibition held at the Library of Congress, http://myloc.gov/exhibitions/armenian-literary-tradition/Pages/default.aspx. Additionally, the University of California Los Angeles' Department of History recently hosted a conference (one a few of its kind) in November 2012 on the 500 year history of Armenian printing, for some speaker essays see http://www.history.ucla.edu/events/conference-2.

[46] Some other presses were the short-lived Greek Orthodox press in Aleppo, which lasted from 1706-1711, and as well as the previously mentioned Greek Catholic monastic press of Mār Yūḥānna in Shuwayr, where the earliest publication dated to 1734. For more on these early monastic presses and earlier ones in Istanbul see, J. Kahale, *'Abd-allāh Zākhir, mubtakir al-maṭba'a al-'arabiyya* [Abdallah Zakhir: Early Arabic Printer] (Aleppo: Markaz al-Inmā'al-Ḥaḍārī, 2002); W. Qaddūra, *Bidāyat al-ṭibā'a al-'arabiyya fī isṭ§nbūl wa-bilād al-shām: taṭawwur al-muḥīt al-thaqāfi*, 1706-1787 [The Beginnings of Arabic Printing in Istanbul and Syria: The Development of Intellectual Culture] (Riyadh: Maktabat al-malik Fahd al-waṭaniyya, 1993). This is an Arabic translation of his earlier publication, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie: évolution de l'environnement culturel, 1706-1787* (Tunis, Tunisie: Université de Tunis, Institut supérieur de documentation, 1985); K. Ṣabbāt, *Tārīkh al-tibā'a fī al-sharq al-'arabi* [The History of Printing in the Arab East] (Cairo: Dar al-Ma'āref, 1958).

small number of books—in very limited runs—and their overall output was incomparable to that of contemporary European and American publishers.

As such, during the early 1800s, most printed Arabic books in circulation amongst Ottoman elites and clergy were actually imported from Europe and Britain, where "Oriental" presses began printing in Arabic as early as 1514. For instance, various printed Arabic biblical texts in use by the Maronite order in Syria and other local Christian communities mostly came from European "oriental" presses that were frequently funded by the Vatican. With the Christian loss of Constantinople in 1453, and the growing threat of an expanding Ottoman Empire, the Vatican became increasingly committed to unifying the various sects of "Eastern Christianity" under the umbrella of Catholicism. Thus, a large number of the Arabic (and other non-Latin) books produced by the sixteenth-century Catholic presses (in Fano, Venice, Rome, Genoa and Paris) were liturgical in nature and included gospels, polyglot Psalters and prayer books.[47] These texts were distributed in the region via merchants, travelers and Catholic missionaries, and remained the main sources of print for many members of the local Christian elite.

By the mid 1800s, the emergence of Arabic missionary presses like the American Press, followed by a Jesuit press in Beirut and a Franciscan press in Jerusalem,[48] in addition to the rare state-sanctioned presses like Būlāq, led to the wide-spread

---

[47] G. Roper, "Early Arabic Printing in Europe," *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter*, ed. E. Hanebutt-Benz, et al. (Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002), 129-50; "Islamic Art: Printing," *Dictionary of Art,* ed. J. Turner (New York: Grove, 1996), 360; G. Oman, "Matba'a," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, New ed. V. 6 (1991), 794-807; D. H. Partington, "Arabic Printing" *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science 24: Printers and Printing to Public Policy*, ed. A. Kent (New York: Dekker, 1978), 54-75. Other books printed in Europe included polyglot grammars, literary works and early versions of the Qur'ān. The subject of early European Qur'āns is taken up by H. Bobzin, "From Venice to Cairo: On the History of Arabic Editions of the Koran (16th – early 20th century)," *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution,* 151-76.

[48] These two presses are discussed further in chapter three of this dissertation.

40

development of a local Arab print culture. While all of these presses operated with their own religious or political agendas, they each also contributed to the growing involvement of local scholars and elites in the realms of print that led to the formation of an urban print intelligentsia made up of Muslim and Christian Arab scholars. It is from these earlier moments of encounter between the worlds of script and print traditions, perspectives and technologies that the intellectual changes and movements of the late nineteenth century took hold.

1.3. Debates About Missionary-Arab Encounters

Traditional sources on nineteenth-century missions in Ottoman Syria have disputed whether missionary activity was a series of "altruistic" acts driven by religious zeal or disguised vehicles of imperial expansion that paved the way for 20th century political involvement, such as contemporary American imperialism.[49] On one side, the late historian A.L. Tibawi, the head of the Protestant church in Lebanon, Rev. Habib Badr, and historian Ussama Makdisi have contended that the American missionaries by no means viewed their work as a veiled colonial enterprise.[50] In contrast, in a 2012 study, sociologist Samir Khalaf makes the plausible point that Lebanon's current political history and United States' regional involvement is enough evidence of missionary

---

[49] Scholarship on global missions that adopts the "missionary as imperialist" view includes: W. Hutchinson, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); S. Neill and O. Chadwick, *A History of Christian Missions* (Middlesex, UK and New York: Penguin Books, 1986).

[50] All three scholars point to the fact that the missionaries did not even have consular protection from the US let alone any political clout. Makdisi emphasizes that "[T]he Ottomans, after all, were not Tzvetan Todorov's Aztecs, and the Americans were not traveling in the company of conquistadors," *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008), 9. See also, H. Badr, "American Protestant Missionary Beginnings in Beirut and Istanbul: Policy, Politics, Practice and Response," *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, ed. H. Murre-van den Berg (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2006), 211-40; Tibawi, *American Interests*.

41

imperialist agendas (even if inadvertent).[51]

This debate of binaries has also plagued post-colonial missionary-local studies,
particularly the "cultural imperialism" model that has centered on a dichotomy of
colonialists/imperialists acting upon "subaltern" communities. Like those of other fields,
such perspectives in missionary studies stem from Said's paradigm-shifting views on the
western consumption and relegation of the "orient" in literary texts.[52] Even as they have
been popular in later twentieth-century discourses on east-west colonial period
interactions, these post-colonial approaches to missionary histories have recently been
sidelined, questioned or debunked. Indeed, post-colonialism problematically discredits
imperial histories and structures in its attempts at speaking for the "colonized," yet by
doing so, post-colonialists also dismantle histories of "native" agency. As has been
argued by historian Arif Dirlik, a staunch critic of this method, the post-colonialist
project "revers[es] historical narratives" by "replacing memories of colonization,
victimization" according to "the identity needs of the present."[53]

Responding to the post-colonial model, contemporary missionary scholars have
called for alternate readings of the interface between missionaries and local residents. For
instance, in his work on missionary activity in late Qing China, historian Ryan Dunch

---

[51] For this dissertation, I consulted the e-book edition, Khalaf, *Protestant Missionaries in the Levant:
Ungodly Puritans, 1820-1860* (Oxford; New York: Taylor & Francis, 2012), prologue, *Kindle* edition,
Amazon.com. Another recent source on Protestant missions in the Arabic-speaking Ottoman realm is that
by Paul Sedra. He takes up an exploration of the British Church Missionary Society's evangelical project in
Egypt, and provides insights into this mission's publishing efforts, see *From Mission to Modernity:
Evangelicals, Reformers and Education in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

[52] E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978). Postcolonial scholars have also turned to his
later work *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), which is a more nuanced study of
empire in its attempts at considering the cultural and political resistance of the non-west to western
domination/hegemony—issues Said did not reflect on in his first book.

[53] A. Dirlik, "Wither History? Encounters with Historism, Postmodernism, Postcolonialism," *History After
the Three Worlds: Post-Eurocentric Historiographies*, ed. A. Dirlik, V. Bahl and P. Gran (Latham:
Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), 249-50.

42

argues that dismissing foreign missions as cultural imperialists essentializes the discourse of "national and cultural authenticity; and it reduces complex interactions to a dichotomy between actor and acted upon, leaving too little space for the agency of the latter."[54]

Informed by similar views, Makdisi argues:

> To denounce missionaries as cultural imperialists is also to misunderstand the often ambivalent location missionaries occupied within their own societies as well as in foreign fields. And it is to ignore the polyvalent registers of native worlds and the deliberate choice made by many individuals...to associate with foreign missionaries.[55]

Others, such as historian Jefferey Cox, have emphasized the need for the inclusion of "master narratives" (those which the post-colonial perspective repudiates) in order to both understand and acknowledge the "mixed messages" created when Christian missions interface with non-western Christians and other belief systems.[56]

Informed by these perspectives that move beyond the limitations of post-colonialist discourse, the following chapters strive to present a history of the early forms, uses and significances of Arabic printing via the complexly nuanced overlaps of the American missionary apparatus and local Arab desires, needs and views. However, given

---

[54] R. Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity," *History and Theory* 41.3 (2002): 301-25; P. Golding and P. Harris, ed., *Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Globalization, Communication and the New International Order* (London; Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1996), 302.

[55] Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven,* 10. Other related works by this author include, "Bringing America Back into the Middle East: A History of the First American Missionary Encounter with the Ottoman Arab World," *Imperial Formations*, ed. A. L. Stoler, C. McGranahan, and P. C. Perdue (Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007); "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism, and Evangelical Modernity," *The American Historical Review* 102.3 (Jun., 1997): 680-713. Similar views have also been embraced by other scholars, for some see, E. Fleischmann, "Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries, the American Board, and the Girls and Women of Syria (1830-1910)," *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, ed. H.Murre-van den Berg (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 263-80; F. Zachs, "Toward a Proto-Nationalist Concept of Syria? Revisiting the American Presbyterian Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century Levant," *Die Welt Des Islam* 41 (2002): 145-73.

[56] J. Cox, "Master Narratives of Imperial Missions," *Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions,* ed. J. S. Scott and G. Griffiths (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 9-10.

the limited availability of primary sources (ie. journals, personal records etc.) of local

Arab Christian and Muslim individuals involved in the earlier stages of the print industry,

I have had to rely almost exclusively on missionary records in addition to printed books

themselves. Such a dependence (even out of necessity) on missionary accounts, most

certainly, comes with a host of problems for someone striving to write a history that

moves beyond a focus simply on the missionary perspective. Indeed, similar anxieties

continue to plague missionary historians who work beyond the cultural imperialism

framework, yet still must rely almost exclusively upon imperial, colonial or missionary

archives. Cox describes these frustrations well,

> If only we could tell both sides of the story, [scholars] ask...from the point of view
> of both colonizer and colonized, and weave the two points of view into a unified
> story based on a thorough knowledge of the history and culture of both sides of
> the binary.[57]

While I acknowledge the difficulty in weaving a truly interconnected and

elucidated tapestry of missionary-local interactions, especially given the risk of slipping

into a "missionary history" rather than a history of said encounters, in this dissertation I

strive to highlight the nuances and complications of these relational dynamics in a

number of ways. The first is by reading the missionary sources as constructed narratives,

which all archives, whether state-sanctioned or elite-sponsored, indeed are. Additionally,

in the case of foreign missions that had to contend with pressure to succeed from a board

of trustees and patrons at "home," I also strive to maintain an awareness of the

inconsistencies, discrepancies and variations in these accounts. For instance, when

reporting to the board or patrons in Boston and the US, the missionaries in Beirut

frequently over-sold or entirely fabricated stories of local encounters, political events,

---

[57] J. Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (New York; Oxon: Routledge, 2008), 6.

and perceptions of local needs and desires. Such discrepancies, and the ways in which missionaries were forced by local circumstances and interactions to change their views and approaches, become clear when considering more "private" accounts such as personal letters and journal entries. Similarly, in correspondences between locals and missionaries, there is frequently more to the subtext of exchanging niceties, requests and complaints than is immediately apparent.

Although there are not an abundance of materials from the perspective of Arab Christian residents in the mission's records, I also try to read the missionary perceptions (particularly the "shortcomings") of certain local employees alongside realities on the ground. For instance, in the case of Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī (a Greek Orthodox Christian) various missionaries frequently spoke against his inflexibility when it came to press-related corrections, while some cited his refusal to send his son to the mission's Sunday school as evidence of his "pernicious" behavior.[58] Yet despite the mission's negative views and criticism of its local employees who refused to engage with the evangelism they had to offer, they were still forced to maintain a "business is business" attitude, especially when said employees essentially ran the press. More significantly, Yāzijī (like others on the mission's payroll) successfully managed to thrive via this enterprise by publishing many of his first works and essentially launched an independent career in Arabic publications

---

[58] Records of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions deposited at Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (hereafter ABC), 16.8.1 Syria Mission (1823-1871), v. 8, Supplementary Papers: Documents, Records, Minutes (1836-1870), Meeting at Mission House, 30 Jul 1845.

(for himself and his offspring[59]) at the expense of the mission's ideals. It is in cases like this that the understanding of the mission's master narrative becomes imperative to demonstrating the ways in which local residents engaged with it for their own advancement. Indeed, when considering broader questions about the role of "western" entities in the instigation of local modernization efforts (which include the printing press), such explorations make evident how the evolving needs of resident urban societies served as the real impetus for widespread change.

Finally and, most importantly, by including the books printed at the American Press, which were either produced with the support of the mission or local scholars and elites, as primary sources this project provides an added layer for understanding the complexities of missionary-local relations. In the following chapters, I read these books (and, to some extent, the American Press) as important common grounds or overlaps within which the coevalness of complex missionary and local perspectives were negotiated and played out.[60] Here I consciously avoid terms popular in recent post-

---

[59] His son Ibrāhīm, for instance, learnt the workings of the press and publishing at his father's hands, which helped Ibrāhīm when he took up similar tasks at the Jesuit missionary press in Beirut (that, incidentally, was the American Press's main missionary rival from the mid-1800s onwards). Ibrāhīm also founded his own literary journal, *al-Diyā*.' His older sister, Warda, who was educated at the American Mission School for Girls in Beirut then later moved to Alexandria, also became an important poet and writer during the *Nahḍa* period, publishing numerous works on women's roles in the age of modernization. For more on Ibrāhīm, see K. Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1988). For more on Warda, see M. Badran, "The Origins of Feminism in Egypt," *Current Issues in Women's History*, ed. A. Angerman et al. (New York; Oxon: Routledge, 1989, 2012), 153-70; R. Ashur et al., ed., *Arab Women Writers: A Critical Reference Guide, 1873-1999* (Cairo: The American University of Cairo Press, 2008), 513.

[60] Makdisi uses a similar term in his work, although he does not provide (in my opinion) a thorough enough explanation of how this differs from post-colonial frameworks. See his "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism, and Evangelical Modernity," 681-82.

46

colonial studies, like "hot zones," "contact zones," or "zones of hybridity," [61] to describe such encounters. While they attempt to address the problems of the bipolar approach in traditional studies, these labels and their uses still stress the meeting of two divergent cultures/entities in which the primary role of the missionary/colonialist is inescapable.[62] By underscoring the juxtaposition of gradated and dynamic worldviews that avoids notions of *clashing* dualities, I strive to demonstrate not simply how the mission's framework was reacted to by local residents but also how the Protestants themselves were changing their views as a result. This method does away with notions of inert religious values and ideals upheld by the missionaries and locals, and allows for a more nuanced understanding of how American and local Arab encounters led to adjustments in the mission's proselytizing practices and perceptions of local groups.

For instance, by highlighting the dynamic nature of these printed pages, I show how the mission's evangelical ideals and views of Protestantism were formulated in response to religious values upheld by the local multi-confessional milieu and competing Catholic missions. This can be seen in books produced by the mission during the 1830s that emulated the manuscript conventions of local Muslim and Christian devotional literature and embodied a subdued evangelical textual message, which demonstrated a clear response to the negative local reception of the mission's stringent evangelical goals and texts from the 1820s. This non-reductive analytical framework also helps shift the focus from the mission's intentions to account for the role that local Arab scholars and

---

[61] As espoused by the works of Homi Bhabha in his seminal *The Location of Culture* (New York; Oxon: Routledge, 1994), and Mary L. Pratt in her widely-referenced *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992, 2008); "Arts of the Contact Zone," *Profession* 91 (1991): 33-40.

[62] J. Cox provides a similar criticism, see his *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818-1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 15.

residents played in both altering this mission's views and tactics, and charting out their own intellectual and social course. For example, books independently produced by figures like Yāzijī and Bustānī at the American Press from the 1850s-1860s show how theses scholars tapped into their experiences as translators, copyists, type compositors and supervisors at the Press to adopt their own visual and conceptual approaches to secular book production in an emergent print market. As such, books (in their content, dimensions, visual conventions and production methods) help move the discussion of such encounters beyond a reading of binary oppositions by presenting the instantaneously divergent, complementary and contradictory ideas adopted in various ways by both the missionaries and local participants.

In today's world where the discourses on American and Arab relations have become increasingly virulent and polarized, it is critical that writing on the historical developments of such encounters avoids reiterating this allegedly manifest binary cultural opposition in meetings between the so-called "East" and "West." In this dissertation, I avoid this "clash of civilizations"[63] model by exploring the complexity associated with the simultaneous presence of differing worldviews, religious values and cultural norms, and how this dynamism led to various degrees of assimilation and change. By relying on a breadth of archival and secondary sources, I reframe the narrative of interactions between American and local Arab ideals—as they related to missionary printing—to incorporate a broader discussion of complex concerns within local society as a whole (such as desires for a pluralistic Arab identity, conflicts of interest within religious groups brought on by secular thought, and constructions of modernity and national identity). In

---

[63] As promoted by S. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Touchstone, 1997).

48

this way, my project contributes an art historical angle to recent scholarly analyses of early contacts between American interlocutors and the Arab world that aim to provide a better cultural understanding of such encounters and their links to present debates.

Chapter 2: Evangelizing Between Script and Print (1834-1840)

2.1. Introduction

When it was established in 1834,[1] more than a decade after the first American missionaries arrived in the region from Boston, the American Press found itself at the nexus between age-old scribal traditions and emergent printing ones. Not only was the press operating as a foreign body within the realm of Ottoman power, is was also one of few printing establishments within a market dominated by scribal practices.[2] The economy of book manufacture was still largely dominated by well-established monastery and mosque scribal workshops, which often kept the transmission and dissemination of knowledge within their respective communities and institutions. While some monastic communities engaged in printing practices from time to time, such as the Greek Catholic monastery of al-Shuwayr in Mount Lebanon from the mid-eighteenth century, their

---

[1] During its early stages, the Press's equipment was rather sparse, thus its output numbers and dissemination cannot be compared to those of similar establishments in the US, Europe or even other missionary stations. Equipment in its print shop was essentially made up of two lithographic presses and a "patent Well's" press, see the Syria Mission Records from 1808-1967 of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. deposited at the Presbyterian Historical Society, Record Group 115, Box 1: Folder 25 (hereafter UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25), Report of the Superintendent of the Press, 30 Sep 1835. Although not specified in the press records, this letterpress was likely one of the iron toggle-joint patent lever iron presses by John Wells of Hartford, CT patented in 1819. For a description and illustration, see J. Moran, *Printing Presses: History and Development from the Fifteenth Century to Modern Times* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), 75, 79, 84, 179 + xx. One of five extant Wells presses today belongs to the Smithsonian, see E. M. Harris, *Printing Presses in the Graphic Arts Collection* (Washington, D.C.: The National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 27-28.

[2] Despite worries about problems operating a press in a scribal realm, and local prejudices against their work, the missionaries appeared rather confident that their press in Beirut would be welcomed given that "Arabic, Greek, and Turkish tracts and books are very much needed." The missionaries even referenced the presence of a Jewish press at Safed stating that "if Jews, who are of all people on earth the most liable to molestation and unrighteous exaction, if *they* can thus publicly maintain a printing-press, what reason can be assigned why we cannot?" *The Missionary Herald* 30 (1834): 127.

works were not intended for circulation beyond the monastic context, or religious activity (such as catechisms for children). [3] As such, books—in their handwritten and printed forms—essentially circulated amongst exclusive groups of readers associated with the various local religious factions.

However, the missionaries did not understand the general disinterest that local readers had towards the American mission's first imprints in this way. As cited in book depository records, they perceived, to the contrary, that the population devalued intellectual pursuits. In an annual report from 1836, for instance, the missionaries explain that "there has never been a great demand [for books], and there never can be, until a greater interest in education is worked up, and a larger number of intelligent readers be found in the country."[4] A similar frustration is voiced in an 1837 report from the book depository: "The sale of books is almost nothing. There is an utter unwillingness to purchase books and so small is the value that the people place upon knowledge that...they will not give even a piaster for a book which costs 20."[5] Surely, this was not simply a case of widespread ignorance.

---

[3] The early book manufacture practices of the monastery in al-Shuwayr are elaborated on in C. Walbiner, "Monastic Reading and Learning in Eighteenth-Century Bilād Al-Šām: Some Evidence from the Monastery of Al-Šuwayr (Mount Lebanon), " *Arabica* 51.4 (2004): 462-77. A short entry on this monastery's print activities can be found in G. Roper and D. Glass, "The Printing of Arabic Books in the Arab World," *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter*, ed. E. Hanebutt-Benz, et al. (Mainz: Gutenberg-Museum, 2002), 179-81. Information on one of the key printers at this location, 'Abdallāh al-Zākhir, is covered extensively in J. Kahale, *Abdallāh al-Zākhir, Mubtakir al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿArabīyya* (Ḥalab: Markaz al-Inmāʾ al-Ḥaḍārī, 2002).

[4] Records of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions deposited at Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (hereafter ABC), 16.8.1, Syria Mission (1823-1871), v.1, Syria Mission to Board, 31 Dec 1836.

[5] UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Report on the Book Depository for the Quarter ending, 27 Dec 1837.

Scholars have frequently cited lower literacy numbers[6] and the importance of oral, group-based reading practices[7] as factors behind a marginal interest in printed books before the late 1800s. Furthermore, the "smallness of any middle class with a disposable income"[8] for such purchases was certainly a factor when considering how expensive printed books were to non-elites, even to individuals employed at the American Press as printers, binders and text compositors.[9] Add to that the *very* low opinion local clergy and patriarchs—including Greek Orthodox, Maronite, and Melkite Christians—had of these missionaries at this time; particularly considering controversial "blasphemous" Protestant literature—printed by the British in London and Malta—that the Americans circulated

---

[6] Ottoman education during this period, while inclusive of western-style methods, was made up of Islamic programs and military schools, and as such limited to educating Muslim subjects. Non-Muslim minorities had the option of attending local foreign missionary schools or Christian seminaries—which remained elusive to non-elites. Furthermore, local Christian communities often pressured their members to withdraw their children from certain missionary establishments. By 1856, state education was made available to non-Muslim Ottoman minorities thus providing local residents with state alternatives to the available missionary schools. For more on these changes in local education, see U. Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000); E. Fleischmann, "Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries, the American Board, and the Girls and Women of Syria (1830-1910)," *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, ed. H. Murre-van den Berg (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2006), 263-80; F. M. Göçek, "Ethnic Segmentation, Western Education, and Political Outcomes: Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Society," *Poetics Today* 14.3 (Autumn, 1993): 507-38.

[7] Konrad Hirschler, in his book on pre-modern reading practices and societies in various Arab cities, discusses prominent scholarly views on issues of literacy, aurality and orality during this period, see *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 11-31. After the implementation of education reforms, widespread changes in reading practices became clearly evident during the 1870s. This was particularly evident with changes in the public sphere, the proliferation of reading salons, religious centers and the continued importance of cafes as points of dissemination of information. N. Ozbek, "Defining the Public Sphere During the Late Ottoman Empire: War, Mass Mobilization and the Young Turk Regime (1908–18)," *Middle Eastern Studies* 43.5 (Se p., 2007): 795-809.

[8] J. Cole, "Printing and Urban Islam in the Mediterranean World, 1890-1920," *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, ed. L. Fawaz, and C.A. Bayly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 348.

[9] For instance, in 1844, a senior press workman, Fāris al-Tuwayynī, was earning approximately 228 *kuruş* (piastres) a month. Purchasing one of the mission's more expensive books selling for 20 kuruş would mean spending a little under 9% of his salary, see UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report of the Press, Apr-Jun 1844.

during the 1820s.[10]

The effective systems of knowledge transmission and production via scribal workshops already in place at the time obviated the need for print shop methods. For example, religious *'ulamā'* (whose roles were certainly hinged upon the scribal economy) likely disapproved of print's elimination of the author-to-copyist textual authentication system,[11] and the medium's potential for an undifferentiated and uncontrolled distribution of knowledge (particularly of religious books).[12] Hesitancy, amongst readers and producers of manuscripts, towards the print medium is described well by book historian David McKitterick. In *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order* McKitterick discusses the preference for manuscript over print within certain fields of inquiry in seventeenth-century Europe, explaining that:

> For everyone, print was not just to share; it was to share in an uncontrolled way with an audience whose extent and nature could never be known, and whose suitability to participate in knowledge was untested by social or intellectual criteria. Hence, manuscripts offered some protection, within a coterie readership. Such issues...were inherent in many aspects of the cautiously restrictive decisions to entrust publication...to manuscript rather than to print.[13]

---

[10] The British Church Missionary Society (CMS), in Malta, and the British Foreign and Bible Society (BFBS), in London, printed many of these books. Their content was frequently critical of local ecclesiastic practices. See G. Roper, "Arabic Printing in Malta 1825-1845: Its history and its place in the development of print culture in the Arab Middle East," (PhD Thesis, University of Durham, 1988); Roper, "Arabic Printing and Publishing in England before 1820," *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin* 12 (1985): 12-32.

[11] For more on conflicting methods of transmission between scribal and early print practices in the realm of Islamic text production see F. Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print," *Modern Asian Art* 27.1 (Feb., 1993): 229-51. The roles of copyists and scribes in traditional manuscript production are described in D. F. Ruggles, *Islamic Art and Visual Culture: An Anthology of Sources* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2011), 31-49; A. Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), 234-43.

[12] R. Schulze, "The Birth of Tradition and Modernity in 18th and 19th Century Islamic Culture: The Case of Printing," *Culture & History* 16 (1997): 29-72; M. Mahdi, "From the Manuscript Age to the Age of Printed Books," *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, ed. G. Atiyeh (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 1-15.

[13] D. McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order 1450-1830* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 206.

Certainly this was felt within the Sublime Port, as illustrated in a series of state-mandated bans, from the sixteenth century[14] on the printing of Islamic and political texts throughout the Ottoman provinces. Although a state-sanctioned press existed for a brief moment in the 1700s,[15] the production of Qur'āns and other Islamic texts in the Ottoman provinces remained within the scribal manuscript tradition until the 1880s.[16] While other such bans were sometimes contravened, such as the one on coffee drinking during the sixteenth century, the ban on Islamic printing held more sway. It is likely that the state-backed scribal program and the hold Islamic scholars (*'ulamā'*), wary of heresy or religious innovation (*bid'a*), had on the traditional transmission of Islamic knowledge helped uphold this particular ban.[17]

In this dissertation, I argue that printed books themselves need to be examined more closely in order to delve further into these questions or readership and audience. While also taking into account systems of writing and control of knowledge, local literacy rates and economic factors, the material and visual features of books allow us to further understand the complexities of cultivating a local readership in Ottoman Syria.

---

[14] Sultan Beyazid II (r. 1447–1513) was likely the first to outlaw Arabic and Turkish printing within the Ottoman Empire. Another important *firmān* dates to 1588, issued by Sultan Murad III. For this and more see L. Berger, "Zur Problematik der späten Einfuhrung des Buchdrucks in der islamischen Welt," *Das gedruckte Buch im Vorderen Orient*. ed. U. Marzolph (Dortmund: Verlag für Orientkunde, 2002), 17: n. 6.

[15] This was the Turkish press of Ibrahim Müteferrika, who was granted permission from the Ottoman Sultan in 1726 to print non-religious books and remained operational in Istanbul until about 1742. M. H. van den Boogert, "The Sultan's Answer to the Medici Press? Ibrahim Muteferrika's Printing House in Istanbul," *The Republic of Letters and the Levant*, ed. M. H. van den Boogert, A. Hamilton and B. Westerweel (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2005), 265-91.

[16] For instance, it was not until 1882 that a printed Qur'ān was sanctioned for production by the Ottoman sultan, see N. Kuran-Burçoğlu, "Osman Zeki Bey and His Printing Office the *Matbaa-i Osmaniye*," *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East,* ed. P. Sadgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 35-58.

[17] For more on this class of Islamic scholars, see A. Bein, *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic: Agents of Change and Guardians of Tradition* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).

Whether or not the Protestant missionaries in Beirut clearly understood the complex dynamics of the local elite and ecclesiastic readership at the time, the Americans were likely well aware that scribal practices were not limited to a particular religious community, but took place in all religious forums—from mosques to monasteries.[18] In efforts of casting a wide net, the American Press's first publications thus included certain elements—in their writing style, content and visual conventions—which the mission imagined would speak to a diversity of elite readers, from emirs to clerical students.

Additionally, one could argue that nods to local scribal traditions were also integrated at a structural level as professional concerns in print production. For instance, the roles of the *muṣaḥḥiḥ*, "corrector," and the *nassākh,* "copyist," that were incorporated into the Americans' print shop—as well as other local nineteenth century presses—likely had their origins in the scribal author-copyist authentication system. However, the press corrector and copyist's jobs were not necessarily about fact-checking content or ensuring textual authenticity but rather encompassed ensuring that printed texts upheld the standard grammatical rules and styles of formal Arabic writing (*al-fuṣḥa*).[19]

In this chapter, I examine how the production methods, subject matter and design of the few books produced by the press in its early years illustrate the mission's responses to the religious attitudes and scribal practices common to local readers at the time. I demonstrate how the mission's attempt at attracting a broad scribal readership via their publications included emulating visual conventions similar to those associated with manuscripts, tempering—at times even avoiding—any evangelical tone in their textual

---

[18] The expansive collections of Christian and Muslim manuscripts amongst many of the missionaries' personal libraries speak to this point. Many of these texts are presently held in the rare books reading room at the Near East School of Theology in Beirut.

[19] M. Mahdi, "From the Manuscript Age to the Age of Printed Books," 10-11.

content, and adopting local preferences in writing style. Most importantly, I illustrate how the printed pages of the American Press's inaugural works also speak to the dynamic nature of early printed books as sites of artistic innovation and experimentation where various local and external aesthetic impulses overlapped.

2.2. Printed Books with a Scribal Guise

The visual conventions of the mission's publications during the 1830s are perhaps the most illustrative examples of the Protestants' efforts at courting local readers and clearly demonstrate the experimental and dynamic nature of local print conventions at the time. A case in point is Yāzijī's *Kitāb faṣl al-khiṭāb fī uṣūl lughat al-iʿrāb*, or "A Discourse on the Rules of Grammar," written by the mission's press corrector at the time, Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī (of future *Nahḍa* fame), and first published at the press in 1836.[20] Printed for use as an Arabic textbook at the Protestant's seminary in ʿAbay,[21] the close involvement of its author throughout its numerous production stages,[22] its numerous copies and editions,[23] and the nature of its wording and visual conventions indicate that its actual audience was likely a broader, multi-confessional one versed in scribal traditions.

---

[20] While not the earliest of the mission's publications, this 168 page pocket-sized book was likely the first full-fledged production to come off the press. Two other books, *Baʿḍ mazāmīr li-l-tarranum* [Some Psalms for singing] and *Kitāb taʿlīm mukhtaṣar li-l-aṭfāl fī qawāʿid al-dīnīya wa-l-īmān* [Isaac Watt's Catechism for Children], were likely printed before this text on grammar. However, at 24 and 16 pages respectively, these earlier works were not as substantial as the Arabic grammar. See, UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Report of the Operation of the Press, 6 Apr 1836.

[21] ABC 16.8.1, Syria Mission (1823-1871), v. 1, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, 1844.

[22] UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report on the State of the Press, 30 Sep 1836; Quarterly Report on the Press, Dec 1836.

[23] This first edition saw 1000 copies, and was a popular text amongst local readers. It was reprinted in 1854, 1866, and 1887. ABC 16.8.1, v. 1, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, 1844.

This grammar book's layout and compositions recall multiple aspects of illuminated manuscripts. The book's introductory two-page spread brings to mind the incipit *'unwān*[24] pages of local devotional books, which featured embellished introductions and dedications. (Fig 2.1) For instance, the upper section of the printed page on the right shows an ornamental headpiece (*sarlawḥ*), a visual trope frequently used in manuscripts to indicate the start of a chapter, which crowns an embellished cartouche for section headings.[25] Within the headpiece, a large rectangular cartouche is surmounted by an architecturally inspired design of three triangular, spire formulations (composed from different generic sorts), which echoes the "w" shaped designs popular in some illuminated manuscripts.[26] Bands of rosettes, palmettes and flora, which make up the spread's double-page text-framing borders, recall the visual language of the hand-drawn geometric patterns and interlaced decorations of manuscript borders and text dividers. Variations along the same ornamental theme appear throughout the book's chapter headings, often displaying a playful use of vegetal sorts and symbols to recreate the ornate nature of print's hand-drawn counterparts. (Fig. 2.2)

The most eye-catching feature in this book is probably the Muslim incantation seen within the headpiece of the first page. (Fig. 2.3) Following the textual formulae of most Islamic and Christian manuscripts, this book opens with an Arabic doxological

---

[24] Here I use the term *'unwān* ("address," in Arabic) according to B.W. Robinson, quoted in Adam Gacek's book as "an illuminated one- or double-page opening." Gacek describes the term's use in codices as one related to the page showing the chapter heading or composition's title, see A. Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 119-120.

[25] Scholars sometimes use the term, *sarlawḥ* interchangeably with *'unwān*, to denote various illuminated sections of manuscript folios. Here, I follow Gacek's designations for the sarlawḥ, Arabic for "head board," as the illumination surmounting the upper part of a page. However there appears to be no real consensus on the use of either term, see Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts,* 120-22; C. Gruber, ed., *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 47-48: n. 61.

[26] Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts,* 122.

incantation, or *bismallah*. In this case, the phrase is *bismallah al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*, or "In the Name of God, most Gracious, Most Merciful," which was popular in (and frequently attributed solely to) the Qur'ān and other Islamic manuscripts. Certainly, the use of this *bismallah* instead of a Christian version is unusual for a Protestant mission's publications. Indeed, most of the mission's other books chiefly featured some variation of the Christian *bism-l-ab wa-l-ibn wa-l-rūḥ al-quddis* (or "in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit"). However, it was not uncommon for local manuscripts of poetry or historical chronicles copied by Christian scribes, in seminaries or monasteries, to open with this Muslim incantation. [27]

Adding further intrigue to this example is its appearance in the self-contained form of a calligraphic *tughrā'*. This curvilinear motif, often composed with either the flexible *thuluth* or *diwānī* script, likely had its origins in the Mamlūk period and became popular within the realm of Islamic imperial rule (including the Ottoman and Mughal empires) in which it was initially reserved for use of emirs or sultans. In the Ottoman Empire, the emblem was used for displaying the Sultan's name and titles on official documents, coinage, and objects belonging to royal members. [28] Although many versions of the *tughrā'* were used within the Ottoman period in the early nineteenth-century this calligraphic format was reformed and standardized by the calligrapher Musṭafa Raqīm (at

---

[27] Christian manuscripts produced in the region also relied heavily on calligraphic and ornamentation techniques found in Islamic productions. In fact, aside from their biblical content, some of the books produced at local monasteries—such as those held at the Couvent Saint-Sauveur in Sidon—are almost indistinguishable from locally-produced Qur'āns in their quality of design, gilding and illumination. For a set of examples, see P. Roisse, *al-Makhṭūṭat al-'arabiya fī lubnān: iltiqā' al-thaqāfāt w-al-adyān w-al-ma'ārif* [Arabic Manuscripts in Lebanon: The Meeting of Culture, Religion and Knowledge] (Beirut; Jounieh: CEDRAC, 2010). Some of these rare and visually enticing documents have been digitized in colored photographs by the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (HMML) available in their digital catalog, see http://www.hmml.org.

[28] For a detailed exploration of its many uses, see S. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 336-37, 379-80 + 508-13.

the request of Sultan Maḥmūd II).[29] Raqīm's redesign became the standard used by the

Ottoman court (until the 1920s), and was frequently reproduced by contemporary

calligraphers to display large-scale compositions of Qur'ānic verses and benedictions on

various materials from wall-mounted panel paintings (*lewḥas*) to paper-based

illustrations.[30]
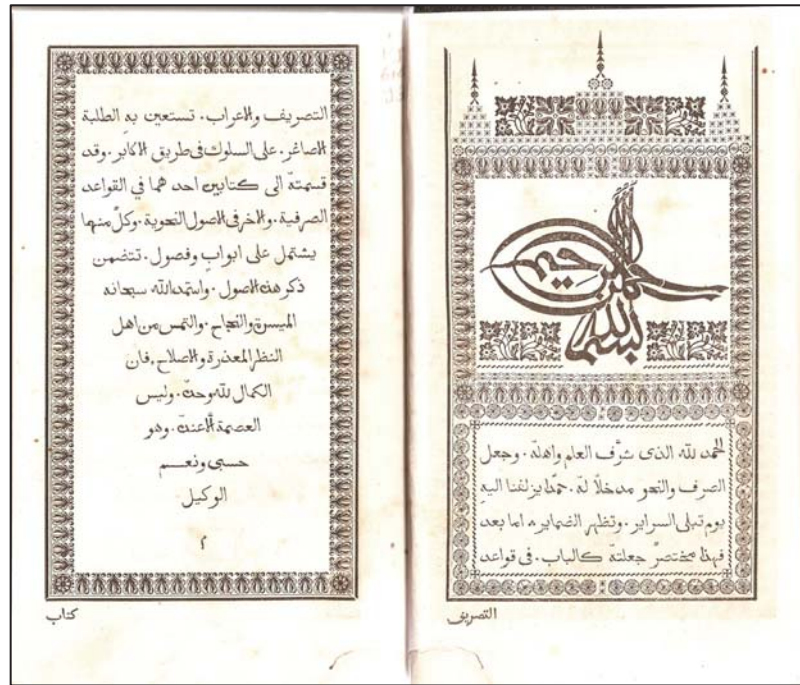
Figure 2.1. Introduction from *Kitāb faṣl al-khiṭāb fī uṣūl lughat al-i'rāb*, Beirut: 1836. Digitized by the author from the original held at the Bartle Library Arabic Collection, PJ6101.Y3, Binghamton University, State University of New York (SUNY).

---

[29] Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 512.

[30] Ibid., 513.

Figure 2.2. Second chapter opening spread from *Kitāb faṣl al-khitāb.* Digitized by the author from the original held at the Bartle Library Arabic Collection, PJ6101.Y3, Binghamton University, SUNY.

Figure 2.3. Detail of *bismallah* from *Kitāb faṣl al-khiṭāb* in the form of a *tughrā'*. Digitized by the author from the original held at the Bartle Library Arabic Collection, PJ6101.Y3, Binghamton University, SUNY.

Although the *tughrā'* in Yāzijī's book was likely printed from a hand engraved piece of lead or woodblock, it captures the basic proportions, forms, fluidity and visual complexity of its reed pen-drawn contemporaries.[31] Certainly its appearance in this printed text was a nod to this trendy contemporary artistic practice, which was familiar to local scribal scholars, but also appealing to the elusive Muslim reader. Thus, while records claim that this was produced as a textbook for the Protestant's seminary in 'Abay,[32] its author's close involvement throughout its production,[33] its numerous subsequent editions,[34] and its graphic attributes and conventions clearly indicate its *actual* intended audience was a broader one—including Muslims.

Stylistic similarities appear in the front matter of other works printed at the mission during this period, including those of religious Christian subject matter. For instance, an Arabic translation of selections from St. John Chrysostom's "Homilies on the reading of the Scriptures"[35] shows a *sarlawḥ* capping the book's introductory pages that features the same ornamental configuration used in the Yāzijī text. (Left page, Fig. 2.4) Like the introductory spread in Yāzijī's book, this publication's front matter also recalls incipit manuscript pages in its use of a self-contained *'unwān*, a decoratively framed dedication or introductory page. Preceding the book's main text, this folio displays the

---

[31] This particular engraving reappears at least once in a later publication. However, it is not clear what material was used, how it was produced and by whom. Traditionally, local presses—such as the Melktie/Greek Catholic one at Deir Mār Yūḥanna al-Shūwayr—used pieces of soft lead to carve out intricate calligraphic formations. Additionally, the use of wood may also have been common at the time. Since the missionaries lacked the calligraphic skill needed, it is likely that they outsourced its production.

[32] ABC 16.8.1, v. 1, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, 1844.

[33] UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report on the State of the Press, 30 Sep 1836; Ibid., Quarterly Report on the Press, Dec 1836.

[34] This first edition saw 1000 copies, and was a popular text amongst local readers. It was reprinted in 1854, 1866 and 1887. ABC 16.8.1, v. 1, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, 1844.

[35] *Qaṭf maqālat al-qaddīs yūḥannā fam al-dhahab 'an muṭāla'at al-kutub al-muqaddasa* (Beirut: 1836).

book title, translation author and date ('Īsā Bītrū in 1833) and dedication (citations from the Bible), all of which are headlined by the Christian *bismallah* set off in an embellished cartouche. Similarly adorned pages—with various ornamental compositions and calligraphic formations—appear in other books from this period, such as George Whiting's "On Temperance." [36] (Fig 2.5)

The convergence of print and scribal practices in the mission's books is also manifested in the publications' pagination systems, colophons and title pages. For instance, in most of these early printed works, catchwords frequently appear in the lower left corner of each individual leaf displaying the first word of the subsequent page. (See bottom left corner of individual pages in Figures 2.1 and 2.4) This clearly emulated systems in place for organizing and maintaining the sequence of manuscripts' folia and quires.[37] Indeed, aside from a few exceptions, the numbering of manuscript pages remained rare until after printing methods became prevalent during the late 1800s.[38] Interestingly, in the American press's books during this period, catchwords often appeared in conjunction with *abjad* numerals and running section headings—typical of contemporary printed books—at the top of each folio (see Fig. 2.2).

---

[36] *Kitāb fī al-imtinā' 'an shurb al-muskirāt* (Beirut: 1838).

[37] Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 50-51.

[38] Ibid., 179.
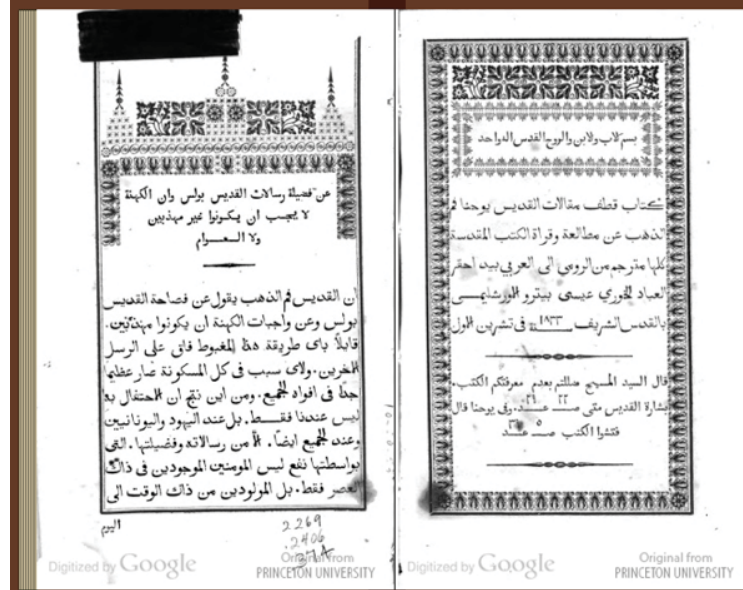
Figure 2.4. Introduction from *Qaṭf maqālat al-qaddīs yūḥannā fam al-dhahab 'an muṭāla'at al-kutub al-muqaddasa*, Beirut: 1836. Accessed from Hathitrust.org. Digitized by Google, Inc. from the original held at Princeton University. Public Domain.

Colophons also regularly appear in the mission's books from this period. Although from the mid 1860s onwards the American Press publications' title pages included the date, author, place of publication and publisher (just like contemporary practices in the West), from the 1830s to the 1850s this information (aside from author and title) was often reserved for the book's colophon. Positioned at the conclusion of the main text—which, like conclusions or text endings of handwritten books, often tapered down to a v-shaped ending—the printed colophons occupy a rectangular cartouche at the foot of the text block, setting them apart from other content on the page (sometimes including an Arabic finis motif, Fig. 2.6). While colophons frequently appeared in manuscripts, their location and design (which included rectangle, circular or triangular shapes) varied from one book to the next. However, in the case of the mission's works, it is clear that certain elements from manuscript organizational methods found their way, in varying incarnations, onto the printed page.

63

Figure 2.5. First chapter from *Kitāb fī al-imtināʿ ʿan shurb al-muskirāt*, Beirut: 1838. Accessed from Hathitrust.org. Digitized by Google, Inc. from the original held at Columbia University. Public Domain.

While the American publications clearly tapped into the realm of handwritten books, they also greatly varied from local bookmaking traditions. For one thing, these books were surprisingly small in size. Yaziji's grammar, for instance, (at 12 mo.) measures at approximately 5 x 7 inches and runs 168 pages long. In terms of missionary publications this book would not necessarily be deemed a "pocket edition."[39] However, it was certainly much smaller in size than run-of-the-mill educational and religious manuscripts,[40] and would have likely served the purpose of pocket book editions in its

---

[39] Books ranged in sizes, but the biggest, the large-format editions of the Protestant bible printed in the 1860s, were no more than 22 centimeters long. The smallest books, which the missionaries referred to as "pocket editions," tended to be hymnals and copies of the New Testament without notes that measured at about 4.5x 6 inches.

[40] Manuscripts also ranged in size, with some coming in miniature sizes for travelers and talismanic purposes, but the ones commonly used within mosques, monasteries and seminaries were heavy and much larger (at least double) in size than what was coming off the American Press. For more on small-sized devotional manuscripts, particularly "banner" or *sancak* Qurʾāns, see H. Coffey, "Between Amulet and Devotion: Islamic Miniature Books in the Lilly Library," *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition,* 79-115.

ease of being transported. Manuscript producers also paid much attention to binding methods and covers, which is something not apparent in the mission's books. While most of the mission's earlier printed works have had their original covers replaced, it is likely that they were simple constructions of either thick cardboard or minimally embossed leather (seen in their bibles from the 1860s) since such work was chiefly done in-house until the early 1860s.[41]

Additionally, they turned to local and external sources of inspiration from the world of print. Indeed, this is evident in the missionary books' title pages. Unlike printed books in the west, these pages were not of great significance in the tradition of local Arabic manuscripts, where their content often varied and was frequently added by owners after the book was commissioned.[42] Although all of the mission's books (except for leaflets and shorter pamphlets) contained title pages, their designs and content were varied during the 1830s. In particular, some of these pages illustrated experimentations with a plethora of visual attributes from a variety of sources (including European and American ones).

---

[41] Press records show that there was an active, though slow, binding department in the print shop, for instance see UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report of the Press, Oct-Dec 1844. Books produced during the 1860s that feaured leather binding often contained a label pasted on their inner cover that reads "Rosenweig Book-binder, Beirut."

[42] Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 277.

Figure 2.6. Colophon from *Kitāb al-zabūr al-ilāhī li-dāūd al-nabī,* Beirut: 1838. Digital reproduction from the original held at the Harvard Depository Special Collection, 816.9 Arabic 1838, Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

This can be seen in the title page from Yāzijī's *Kitāb faṣl al-khitāb*. Fashioned from an assortment of ornamental types, design compositions swathing this Arabic title page mirror similar graphic arrangements found in the opening folio of John Johnson's *Typographia* printed in 1828 (see Fig. 2.7 for both examples).[43] Both examples illustrate a pointed arch, flanked by Ionic-style columns mounted on embellished pedestals that enclosed each respective book's title and author. The graphics from Johnson's seminal work on printing,[44] likely mirrored a popular interest in neoclassical aesthetics in

---

[43] J. Johnson, *An Abridgment of Johnson's Typographia, or the Printers' Instructor: With an Appendix* (Boston: C.L. Adams, 1828).

[44] The first edition was a very popular two-volume tome printed in 1824 by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, in London.

American and British art and architecture at the time, with the arched structure

representing "the entrance to an ancient shrine or temple."[45]
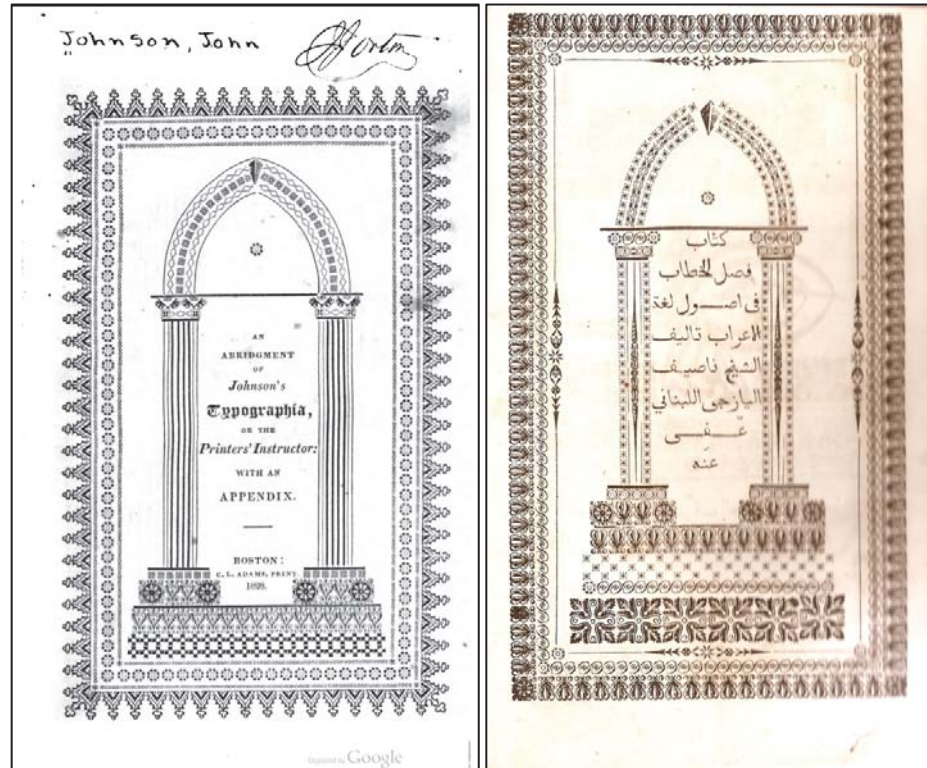
Figure 2.7. Title pages. **[Right]** *Kitāb faṣl al-khitāb...* Digital reproduction by the author from the original held at the Bartle Library Arabic Collection, PJ6101.Y3, Binghamton University, SUNY. **[Left]** John Johnson, *Typographia, or the Printers' Instructor: With an Appendix*, Boston: C.L. Adams, 1828. Accessed from Google books online. Digitized by Google, Inc. from the original held at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Public Domain.

The significance of the design in the mission's production, however, remains

open-ended. Did Johnson's book, one of the first extensive anthologies on industrial

printing techniques, represent a paragon of modernization to those working at the press?

Or were these producers also thinking in the neoclassical vein of the moment by featuring

classical elements, implicitly inciting the reader to compare them with those of local

---

[45] Johnson, *Typographia or the Printers' Instructor. V. II* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1824). This comes from a description of a similar engraving from the 1824 edition.

archeological sites (such as 'Anjar and Ba'albak) that harked back to a "golden age" or origin of "western civilization"? In the absence of any records related to the design program preferred by the American Press's printer and supervisor at the time, one can only conjecture. However, it could be argued that these elaborate visuals, which required painstaking labor, likely lent the book a certain amount of weight and importance, in hopes of elevating it to the level of its handwritten contemporaries. Additionally, while Yāzijī's grammar book, of all the books printed at the press, is the singular instance in which an elaborately illustrated composition appears, title pages from the 1830s featured more decorative styles than those printed in the 1840s and 1850s. Indeed, in almost all of the mission's early publications, the opening pages, chapter headings and introductions display multifarious forms of decorative motifs inspired from local manuscripts yet recreated within the means of letterpress printing.

The emulation of scribal conventions commonly appeared in the works of other Arabic presses active in the region during print's nascent stage, and the Americans likely made use of such productions. One example was the print shop at the Greek Catholic monastery of Mār Yūḥannā in Shuwayr (Mt. Lebanon), active in Syria since the late 1700s. Although this small press never became a widely disseminating venture, its regional importance—particularly amongst local Greek Christians—as a pioneering enterprise was not lost on the Americans, who often relied on its books as sources for their own publications.[46]

Books printed at Shuwayr also featured decorative elements such as ornamental borders, catchphrases and calligraphic designs. (Fig. 2.8) Although the likely inspirations

---

[46] For instance, a Shuwayr Psalter was used as the basis for a Protestant translation of the Psalms, see ABC 50, Eli Smith Arabic Collection, Box 1, 'Āzār to Smith, 8 Aug 1842.

68

for some aspects were of European origin, such as the appearance of robed angel motifs flanking titles in books printed during the 1700s, such books were indeed engaging with local Christian manuscript conventions and preferences. This is clear, for example, in the use of catchwords and the downward triangulation of text endings. Various elements from al-Shuwayr's publications at times made their way into the Protestants' books. (One example can be seen in the lead/wood engraved word *kitāb* that appears at the top of Figure 2.9.) The publications of the imperial press in Būlāq, for example, also show a similar use of *sarlawḥ*s and calligraphic forms[47] (Fig. 2.10) that could likely have been an additional source of inspiration for the Protestants' works.[48] Additionally, books by the short-lived Müteferrika press in eighteenth-century Istanbul also utilized similar manuscript elements with the inclusion of hand-colored aquatints and gilding.[49] These books represent an example of how regional Arabic presses contended with local scribal traditions by forging a set of visual conventions and methods uniquely formulated for this readership. The recreation of manuscript conventions via the letterpress technology resulted in an unconventional emulation of hand-drawn forms and designs in the "new"

---

[47] See, C. Hsu, "A Survey of Arabic-character Publications Printed in Egypt during the Period of 1238-1267 (1822-1851)," *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East*, ed. P. Sadgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 1-9; F. M. Tadrus, *Printing in the Arab World with Emphasis on the Būlāq Press in Egypt* (Doha: Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Qatar, 1982).

[48] Eli Smith frequently updated his library with books from Būlāq, see ABC 50, Box 2, List of books printed at Būlāq press.

[49] See Y. Gencer, "Ībrahim Müteferrika and the Age of the Printed Manuscript," *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections*, ed. C. Gruber (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 155-93.

print medium.[50] Yet to understand the uses and meanings of printed books one needs to look beyond the visual features on their own by grounding them within the particular contexts of readership and circulation during the nineteenth century.

---

[50] Certainly, some earlier attempts did exist, particularly in books printed on the letterpress at the Greek Catholic monastery in Shuwayr, such as work dating to 1810. Interestingly, this work (*kitāb al-majma' al-antakī al-mun'aqid bi 'amr...*) shows as use of figurative imagery as well as classical-style ornaments one often associates with Renaissance printing and texts (a copy of this text is held at the University of Bonn library, a digital version of which is available in their online database). The use of overtly Christian—particularly, Catholic—motifs, however, due note appear in the American mission's publications at the time. Copies of books printed at the Shuwayr press were in the possession of the American missionaries, and they might have been consulted for their graphic methods at some point. In a letter from a press employee to Smith, for example, a copy of the psalms printed at Shuwayr is discussed as a possible reference for the mission's edition. See ABC 50, Box 1, 'Āzār to Smith, 8 Aug 1842.

70
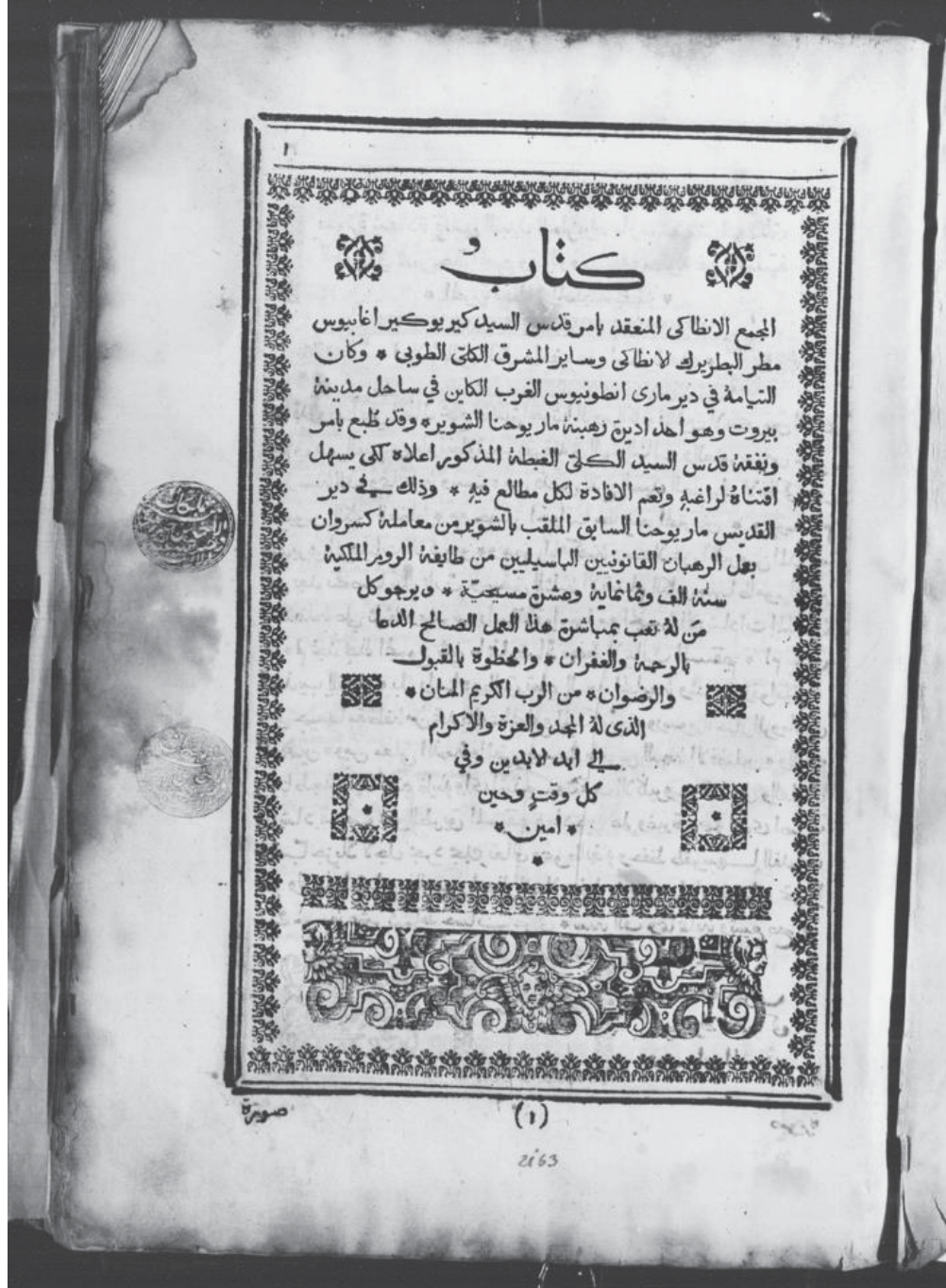
Figure 2.8. Title page, *Kitāb al-majmaʿ al-antākī*, Beirut: Dayr al-qiddīs mār Yūḥannā al-mulaqqab bi-l-shuwayr, 1810. Universitäts-und Landesbibliotek Bonn (ULB), Goussen 4' 2163 (urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-13954). Reproduced with permission from ULB.

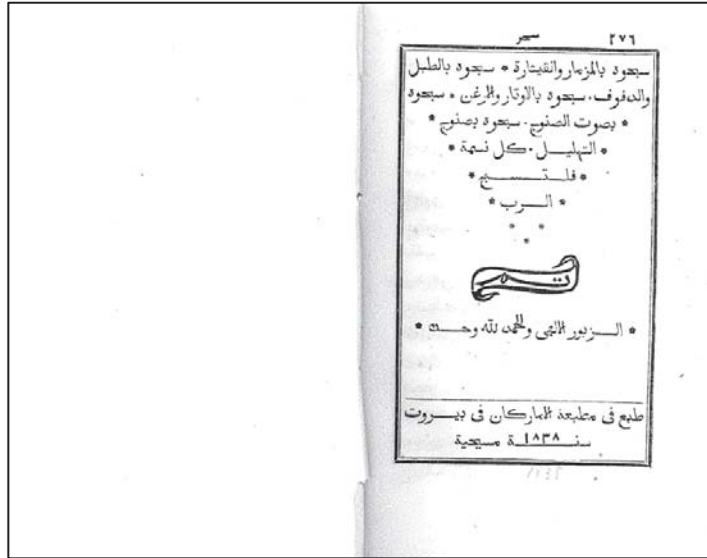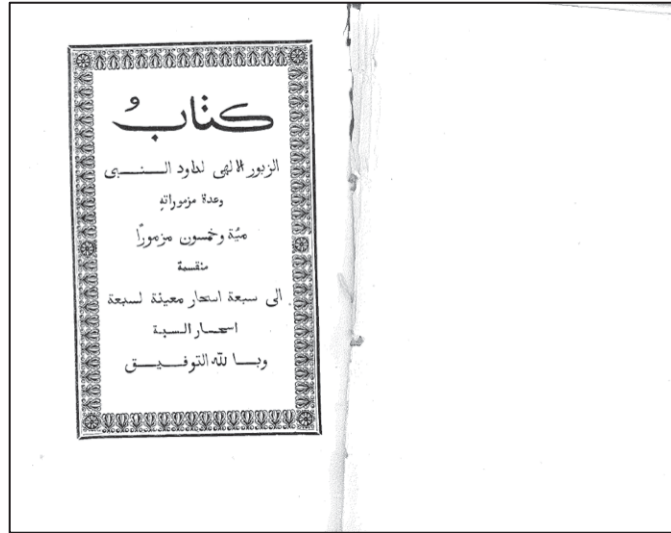**Figure 2.9.** Title page with an emphasis on the word *kitāb* or "book" at the top of the page. *Kitāb al-zabūr al-ilāhī li-dāūd al-nabī*, Beirut: 1838. Digital reproduction from the original held at the Harvard Depository Special Collection, 816.9 Arabic 1838, Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Figure 2.10. Opening spread from *Dīwān ʿalī ibn abī ṭālib*, Cairo: Būlāq/The Imperial Press, 1835. Letterpress print. Accessed from Hathitrust.org. Digitized by Google, Inc. from the original held at the University of California, Berkeley. Public Domain.

An important distinction to be made between the American Press in Beirut and its regional contemporaries, I would argue, is its non-Arab (or "foreign") status. Specifically, the reliance of local presses (run by local Arabs) on manuscript conventions demonstrates a continuation of long-established traditions in the history of the Arabic book. In the case of the Protestants in Beirut, who were more familiar with contemporary western-style printing aesthetics and practices than local Arab ones, their emulation of manuscript conventions—and local Arabic writing styles—can only be read as a direct response to their perception of local desires.

This approach becomes all the more distinct when comparing Arabic books by the Americans in Beirut with those printed at other nearby Protestant presses, such as the British Church Missionary Society's press (CMS) in Malta. While it appears that books printed using the letterpress by the CMS in Malta (some of which were distributed by the Americans in Beirut) at times displayed wood engraved images, illustrations, borders, calligraphic styles, they differed aesthetically from the mission's early publications. For instance, in an example of a work on biblical history[51] from 1832, the title page shows some use of a calligraphic engraving for the book title (seen in Figure 2.11). However, the rest of the text and page remains largely unadorned, with the use of a simple double-line rule to separate the colophon (pictured on the bottom of that page). Little variation is also seen within the body text, which is made up of short entries with no inclusion of scribal-related elements (like small verse dividers) and no variation in typeface sizes. Indeed, for the most part, the books printed by the CMS utilized European standards and norms in their publications (pagination, title pages, and the lack of a colophon in back).

---

[51] *Kitāb al-tawarīkh al-maʾkhūdha min al-kitāb al-muqaddas* [The Book of the Histories from the Holy Bible] (Malta: 1832).

Certainly this did little to disguise the "foreign" (*ajnabī*, or "Frankish") nature of the print medium (as was being done at other regional presses). These works also often included biblical verses on their covers and title pages. (Seen in Figure 2.11 as well) The Protestant nature of these works is thus fore fronted, likely demonstrative of the direct proselytizing approach the British were adopting in the region at this time. In the case of books printed at the American's press, deviating from common Presbyterian and American printing standards appears to have been an attempt at making the mission's books as attractive as possible using the visual and written language of the local "other" in hopes of enticing the multi-confessional masses.
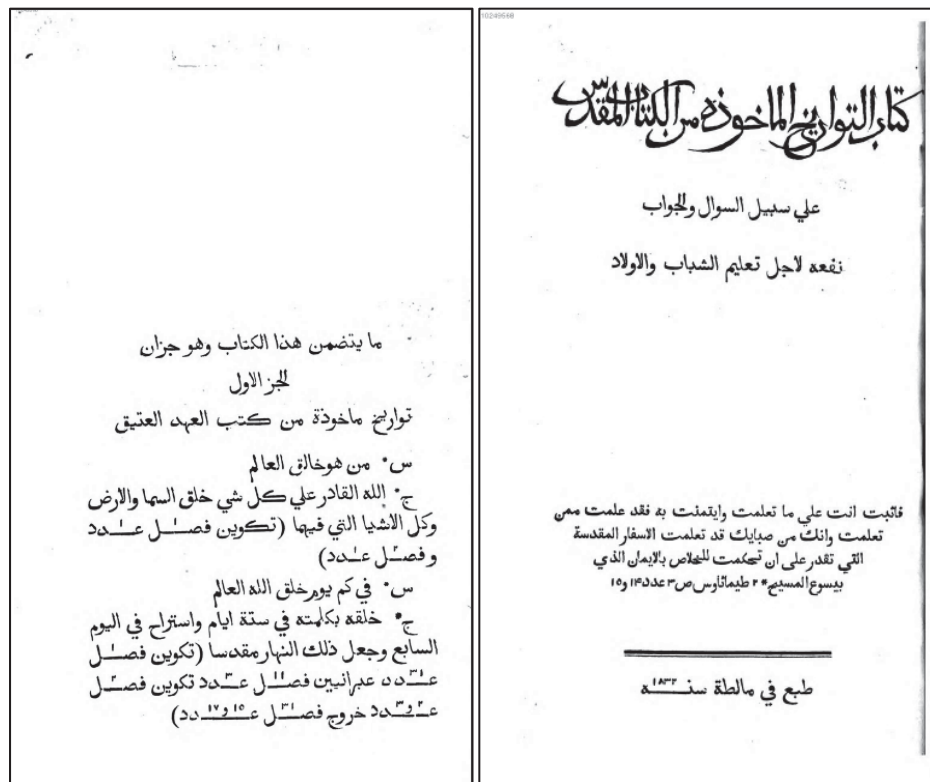
Figure. 2.11. Title page **[Right]** and first page of introduction **[Left]** from *Kitāb al-tawarīkh al-ma'khūdha min al-kitāb al-muqaddas*, Malta: 1832. Digitized from the original held at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Signatur: A.or. 1260.

2.3. Adopting a Restrained Evangelism

An intriguing fact about many of the first publications struck off the American press (with the exception of Yāzijī's book and a few others), was that they were revisions of books first printed in Arabic by the CMS in Malta. For instance, the following books printed in Beirut from 1836-1837,[52] share titles and some content with earlier British productions in Malta (for a complete list throughout 1830s and 1840s, see Fig. 2.2): *Kitāb ta'līm mukhtaṣar li-l-aṭfāl fī qawā'id al-dīnīya wa-l-īmān* [A Short Children's Instruction on the Rules of Religion and Faith] (1836),[53] *Ba'ḍ mazāmīr li-l-tarranum* [Some Psalms for Singing] (1836),[54] *Qiṣṣat ilīsābāt ibnat al-labbān al-sa'īda* [The Story of Elizabeth the Dairyman's Happy Daughter] (1836),[55] *Amthāl sulaymān* [The Proverbs of Solomon]

---

[52] All these books appear on a list (likely by Eli Smith) of books printed at the American press from 1836 to early (March) 1844: ABC 16.8.1, v.1, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, 1844.

[53] Translated from Isaac Watts' *The First Catechism for Children* (London: 1730). First printed in Arabic by the CMS in 1826 & 1832. G. Roper, "The Beginnings of Arabic Printing by the ABCFM, 1822-1841," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 9.1 (1998): 63; Roper, "Arabic Printing in Malta 1825-1845: Its history and its place in the development of print culture in the Arab Middle East" (PhD Thesis, University of Durham, 1988), 333 + 336; A. G. Ellis, *Catalogue of Arabic Books in the British Museum* (London: 1894-1901), 2: 757-58; A.L. Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800-1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 82.

[54] Printed by the BFBS in 1819 as *Kitāb mazāmīr dā'ūd [sic] al-malik wa-al-nabī*, and by the CMS in 1828 as *Ba'ḍ mazāmīr ustukhrijat min al-lugha al-'ibraniya ila-l-lugha al-'arabiya wa nuzimat shi'ran li-l-tarranum.* Roper, "The Beginnings of Arabic Printing," 64; M. Krek, "Some Observations on Printing Arabic in America and by Americans Abroad," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 6 (1992): 82; Roper, "Arabic Printing in Malta," 332; Tibawi, *American Interests*, 82.

[55] Translated by the Greek Catholic 'Īsā Bīṭrū (Pappas Ysa Petros) during the early 1820s for the American mission but it was first printed in 1826 by the CMS. According to Smith, this book was "Corrected from the Malta edition." ABC 16.8.1, v.1, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, 1844. The CMS edition is mentioned in: Roper, "The Beginnings of Arabic Printing," 64; Ellis, *Arabic Books in the British Museum,* 2: 519. For more on Bīṭrū's work with the early missionaries, see *The Missionary Register* 16 (May 1828): 237; W. Jowett, *Christian Researches in Syria and the Holy Land, in MDCCCXXIII and MDCCCXXIV* (London: Richard Watts, 1825), 220-23.

(1837),[56] and *Wa'ẓ al-masīḥ 'ala-l-jabal* [Christ's Sermon on the Mount] (1837).[57] Most scholars suggest that the key reason behind the mission's reliance on Arabic imprints from the British Church Missionary Society's press in Malta (CMS), and the British Foreign and Bible Society in London (BFBS)[58] was the Americans' grappling with language barriers and Arabic printing.[59]

Indeed, throughout the missionary press' early decades only two or three members of the mission were capable of writing, and translating Arabic texts for print.[60] Since most of its Protestant members came from the US or Britain, it makes sense that the mission had difficulty recruiting and retaining individuals with more than a minimal working knowledge of Arabic.[61] Members of the Syria mission were aware of the actual level of fluency in the language needed to work effectively in the field. In 1839, for

---

[56] According to 1844 list, the American press's edition was printed "[w]ithout alteration from the Romish version of the Bible..." ABC 16.8.1, v.1, 28, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, Mar 1844. Roper lists this book as first printed by the CMS in 1834 from the Arabic and Latin Bible printed in Rome in 1671. The CMS edition, however, contains Arabic and French text printed side by side: Roper, "Arabic Printing in Malta," 338. Malta edition listed as "A Selection from the book of Proverbs, reprinted from the Bible in Arabic and Latin published at Rome in 1671, and accompanied by a French version" in Ellis, *Arabic Books in the British Museum*, 1: 380.

[57] The CMS edition, printed in 1826, included the Ten Commandments in addition to Christ's Sermon on the Mount, see Roper, "Arabic Printing in Malta," 330.

[58] For more on this organization, particularly its work on producing cheap bibles for missionary use, see L. Howsam, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the British Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991, 2002).

[59] Roper mentions the fact that Eli Smith was the only member of the mission fluent enough in Arabic to compose books, essays or tracts for the press, and dismisses Smith's ability to produce texts given the fact that he took several trips out of Syria and did not settle down properly until the late 1840s, see Roper, "The Beginnings of Arabic Printing," 57-59. See also: Tibawi, *American Interests*, 82; Krek, "Some Observations on Printing Arabic," 85.

[60] From 1836-1840, these missionaries were: Smith (composed an Arithmetic textbook in 1837), George Whiting (who produced a tract on self examination in 1837, and one on temperance in 1838), and William Thomson (who composed a treatise on the confession of the Christian faith in 1838). The books and authors are listed in ABC 16.8.1, v.1, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, Mar 1844.

[61] The American's struggles in the field because of their deficiency in Arabic goes back to it's early days in 1824, as reported by Isaac Bird: "...were we able to speak Arabic with fluency, I see nothing to hinder our 'speaking boldly'..." *The Missionary Herald* 20 (July 1824): 216.

example, the mission's members asked press editor Eli Smith (one of the few Americans at the time fluent in Arabic)[62] to prepare an essay on the "importance of missionaries obtaining a thorough acquaintance with the languages of the people among whom they are to labour."[63] Press records also show that—as late as the 1850s—many missionaries were still hesitant about taking on the testing task of Arabic composition.[64]

Although this provides an explanation as to why the mission printed books based on previous Arabic editions, it does not explain reasons behind their particular choices for text and subject matter. I would argue that while these early works were not "original" Arabic productions by the mission, their relevance to the mission's printing history and its operations during this early period should not be overlooked. In fact, a closer examination of these early texts can be read as the Syria mission's reaction to local attitudes towards and perceptions of the mission, and Protestantism, at the time.

Specifically, the mission was responding to a negative perception of their printed works amongst local readers—namely Maronites, Melkite and Greek Orthodox Christians. Historically, publications circulated by the mission in the 1820s—namely editions of the Protestant Arabic bible produced in London by the BFBS—were met with disdain from the local Christian clergy. The bible printed by the BFBS, and circulated by the American missionaries at the time was a reprint of the Roman *Biblia Sacra Arabica*

---

[62] U. Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008), 196; Roper, "The Beginnings of Arabic Printing," 57; D. M. Stowe, "Smith, Eli (1801-1857)," *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. G. H. Anderson (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999), 626.

[63] ABC 16.8.1, Supplementary Papers: Documents, Records, Minutes (1836-1870), v. 8, Meeting at Whiting's, 27 Apr 1838.

[64] UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Report on the Printing Establishment, 1 Oct 1855. According to this press report: "The most of our number, have little inclination to provide copy for the press—on the contrary, for the last years, the difficulty has been to induce members of the mission to provides treatises, when their great need was felt and acknowledge by all our number."

77

translated in 1671 by Maronites in Rome, minus the Apocrypha.[65] The British bible's omission of these seven canonical books viewed as sacred by the Maronite church was proclaimed an anathema against these "divine texts." Not only were local clergy members appalled by the Protestant bible's content, they were also wary of the indiscriminate nature in which the American missionaries were distributing such books within local communities.[66] The culminating result was the decree by the Maronite patriarch in 1824 against the "bible men," their publications, and schools, demanding a complete avoidance of the Americans, their books and activities. Pressure from local Catholic groups also led to the issuing of the *firmān* (widely discussed by the Protestant missionaries at the time) in June 1824 by the Ottoman government against all Arabic bibles imported from Europe (the land of the "Franks").[67]

What this meant for American missionaries evangelizing in the region was a need to reconsider the content of printed texts and their methods for distributing them. Despite the missionaries' blasé attitude regarding the nature and content of the 1824 Maronite patriarch's decree and the Porte's *firmān*—as evidenced in the journal entries of the

---

[65] Differences between this and Protestant edition discussed by the press director at the time. See missionary papers and records deposited at Yale Divinity School Library, Manuscripts and Special Collections (hereafter YDS), Eli Smith Family Papers, Record Group 124 (hereafter Smith Family Papers, RG 124), 2:13, Reports on the translation of the Scriptures into Arabic, 1844-1854.

[66] Discussed in detail in Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 85-87 + 94-99.

[67] See, YDS, Isaac Bird Papers, MS 82, 2:24, Journals, 1824 Jan-1830 Oct.

missionary Isaac Bird[68]--the government's support of the local clergy's concerns and views led to changes in the American's proselytizing approach. In 1828, for instance, surreptitiously circulating manuscripts in small numbers was preferred to distributing their printed books "profusely," lest they "share the fate of the Holy Bible—that is, are cast into the fire." [69] Rather than circulate printed controversial literature, these evangelicals, believing that "the Press is much to be feared by our enemies in this land; and they will not fail to silence it if they can," felt it best "to let it [the Press] speak MILDLY [sic]."[70]

During the 1830s, the Syria mission was cautioned against offending local beliefs and practices,[71] with their official stance (by 1836) being: "we aim to avoid overt attacks upon religious peculiarities of the native Christian sects."[72] For instance, having learnt from their mistakes during the 1820s the Americans decided to avoid attacking "religious peculiarities" of local Christian denominations and to focus instead on communicating issues of morality.[73] At the same time, despite Islamic restrictions against proselytizing

---

[68] For instance, regarding the Patriarch's decree, in an entry from 4 Aug 1824, Bird writes that many Maronites were still purchasing books, regardless of the anathema, with one Maronite stating that "he and 20 others...had determined to read [the Protestant's books] notwithstanding for their priests had hitherto been deceiving them. They had taught them to be idolaters contrary to the express command of God." In and entry from 12 Aug of that year, Bird writes about the Sultan's decree against the circulation of foreign bibles with some levity, stating that when Bird showed the document to the [British] counsel [Peter Abbott] "he smiled at the Firman & [sic.] said, that a Firman of that sort might be bought at any time for a trifle." See, YDS, Isaac Bird Papers, MS 82, 2:24, Journals, 1824 Jan-1830 Oct.

[69] As reported by William Goodell from the region in 1828 in the Church Missionary Society's *Missionary Register* 16 (1828): 205.

[70] Quoted from a report by Isaac Bird in 1828, *The Missionary Register* 16 (1828): 205.

[71] *The Missionary Herald* 26 (1830): 18.

[72] Cited in Tibawi, *American Interests*, 75: n.3. The records consulted by Tibawi at the time were held in New York, however they presently belong to the archives of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States held at the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

[73] ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Thompson's, 22 Apr 1836.

amongst the local Muslim populace [74] the mission's records from the 1830s show plans

for developing tracts for Muslims,[75] clearly in hopes of covertly luring members of these

communities via publications. Records from this period also demonstrate that the mission

was grappling with the legalities of Drūze conversions (technically considered Muslims

by the state). Having met with much resistance from local Maronite, Greek Catholic and

Greek Orthodox groups in the 1820s, the missionaries became interested in establishing

relations with other, non-Christian, local groups, such as the Drūze of Mount Lebanon.

However, this was not easy since Drūze were considered Muslims by the state,

and thus proselytizing amongst them was problematic. Indeed, records show that the

mission members were grappling with the legalities of this issue in 1836—when the first

works were coming off the press.[76] It appears that various baptisms of Drūze men seeking

to avoid military enlistment in the Egyptian-Ottoman wars occurred in 1839. The

Americans feared if they turned these individuals away that they would "run to the bosom

of Papal sects."[77] The subject of the mission's policy towards the Druze was also

---

[74] One ruling that the mission knew of was an eighteenth-century *fatwā* by a Ḥanafī shaykh essentially relating Islamic law's ambivalence for inter-communal conversions amongst non-Muslims (characterized as infidels). This fatwā appeared in the manuscript of al-Amīr Ḥaydar Aḥmad al-Shihābī's *al-Ghurar al-ḥisān fī akhbār abnā' al-zamān*, a copy of which was made for the mission at the time. See A.L. Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800-1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 109-10: n. 4. A three-volume edition of Shihābī's manuscript was printed in 1969 by Manshūrāt al-Jāmiʿa al-Lubnānīya, Beirut.

[75] A desire to print books for Muslims consistently appears throughout the Syria mission's accounts and records. For some instances, see *The Missionary Herald* 30 (1834), 421; ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting, 12 Apr 1837; ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting, 7 Apr 1855. Certainly this is evident in desire for the production of a "tract adapted to the Mohammedans," mentioned at various meetings between in 1838. Additionally, Smith wrote and presented (at a meeting on Apr 17, 1838) an essay on the subject of a mission to Muslims, which was never published. See, ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Thomson's, 12 Apr 1837; Meeting at Whiting's, 17 Apr 1838; Meeting at Whiting's, 21 Apr 1838.

[76] ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting, 19 Apr 1836. See also an entry in *The Missionary Herald* 32 (1836): 460-61.

[77] ABC 16.8.1 Syria Mission (1823-1871) v. 8, Meeting at Thomson's, 3 Apr 1839.

reconsidered in 1842 and during the 1860s.[78] However, like many other conversion

projects, none of these attempts was a success for the Protestants.

Yet during the 1830s, the newly instated American press in Beirut was still

hoping to improve the mission's standing amongst the region's Christian and Muslim

groups, and thus approached the nature of books it produced with caution to avoid

alienating local readers, or attracting controversy. Indeed, the mission's ecclesiastical

literature at this time avoided any explicit attacks on local religious practices, and instead

focused on issues of ethics and godliness. For instance, the press's production of religious

fictions like *Qiṣṣat ilīsābāt* ("The Dairyman's Daughter") illustrates the mission's

attempt at subtlety in the evangelical tone of its early publications. This text is an

example of nineteenth-century moral-driven evangelical tales rooted between sentimental

fiction and social novels that "illustrate the permeable nature of the barrier between

secular and sacred texts."[79] Utilizing "novelistic devices" to deliver a religious message,

these tracts were popular amongst nineteenth-century evangelical publishers (like the

American Tract Society, a benefactor of the Syria missionary press) for use by

missions—at home and abroad—as a way to secure mass readership of evangelical

literature (and, ultimately, conversions).[80] The press began printing *Khabarīyat hinrī al-

ṣaghīr wa-ḥammālih* [The Story of Young Henry and his Bearer],[81] which had not been

---

[78] ABC 16.8.1 Syria Mission (1823-1871) v. 8, Meeting at Native Church, 19 Apr 1842.

[79] See: C. S. Hamilton, "Spreading the Word: The American Tract Society, *The Dairyman's Daughter*, and Mass Publishing," *Book History* 14 (2011): 27.

[80] Hamilton, "Spreading the Word," 27.

[81] From the English original printed in London: Mary Martha Butt (Sherwood), *Little Henry and his Bearer* (England: 1815).

printed in Malta, in 1839, but it was singled out (in addition to *Qiṣṣat ilīsābāt*) by one of

the first American missionaries to Syria, William Goodell, in 1828:

> I want to see "Little Henry and his Bearer" in Arabick [sic]. I have translated it
> into Turkish and it is read, in manuscript, with prodigious interest. The
> "Dairyman's Daughter" has been highly praised among the Arabs, and I think
> "Little Henry" would be much more so...I think such works...are likely to be more
> useful at present than Tracts of any other character.[82]

These works, as novels relating more to issues of morality than the outright

criticism of local liturgical practices, likely seemed ideally suited for missionaries in this

religiously and politically volatile region—with the narrative trope being an added bonus

that might help to attract readers. Indeed, such books fit into the predetermined range of

texts deemed by missionary boards as being most suitable for distribution amongst non-

Christian groups.[83] Similarly, religious texts published by the Syria mission related to

moral teachings of Christ's "Sermon on the Mount,"[84] tracts on morality and temperance

such as those by George Whiting,[85] the wisdom literature of Solomon's "Book of

proverbs,"[86] and texts valued by local Orthodox and Catholic sects.[87] As such, these

religious education books followed the themes of devout behavior and morality found in

---

[82] *The Missionary Register* 16 (1828): 205.

[83] Other mission's abroad printing similar texts at the time: By ABCFM, translated into Syriac and printed in Urumiyeh, ca.1845; Marathi by the Bombay Tract and Book Society in 1850; Armenian/Turkish by William Goodell in 1829 for use by Turkish missions. See: W. Goodell and E. D. G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire* (New York: R. Carter and Bros., 1875), 221.

[84] For instance: *Waʿẓ al-masīḥ ʿala-l-jabal* [Christ's Sermon on the Mount] published in 1837, and Thomas à Kempis' *Iqtitāf kitāb al-iqtidā' bi-l-masīḥ* [The imitation of Christ], printed in 1837 and 1842.

[85] Examples include the previously mentioned *Kitāb fī al-imtināʿʿan shurb al-muskirāt* [On Temperance] (Beirut: 1838), as well as *Kitāb irshād al-masīḥī fī imtiḥān al-nafs* [A Christian Guide Book on Self Examination] first printed in 1837, then in 1843 and 1848.

[86] *Amthāl sulaymān* [The Proverbs of Solomon] (Beirut: 1837).

[87] One example being an Arabic translation of Ionnes Chrysostomos' Homilies printed in 1837 as *Qaṭf maqālat al-qaddīs y-ḥannā fam al-dhahab ʿan muṭālaʿat al-kutub al-muqaddasa* [Selections from the Homilies of St. John Chrysostom, on the reading of the Scriptures].

the works of spiritual fiction.[88] Furthermore, the mission's schoolbooks—deemed of great necessity at the time—at first avoided any potentially alienating religious undertones,[89] particularly in texts on geography, arithmetic, and Arabic grammar.

2.4. Writing for the Local Reader

An important factor resulting from the missionaries' unfamiliarity with Arabic was also a close involvement of local scribes and scholars in the translation, composition and overall style of the American press's early publications. Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, these individuals—in addition to Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī (a Greek Catholic)—included Buṭrus al-Bustānī (a Maronite who converted to Protestantism), Tānnūs al-Ḥaddād (a Maronite convert), and Antūniyyū al-Khayyāṭ (possibly a Greek Orthodox Christian, though no records exist on him).[90] During this period, these scholars had more familiarity

---

[88] This approach was distinct from the press' later works, which outwardly criticized the Catholic Church and its local "papal sects." Such books appeared in the late 1840s and early 1850s.

[89] Smith Family Papers, RG 124, 6:34, "General Remarks on the Use of the Press in the East," 1830.

[90] In 1835, Smith originally intended to hire Fāris al-Shidyāq (who was a Protestant convert at the time, and had trained with the British in London and Malta) as a key translator, however Shidyāq declined. See, UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report of the Superintendent of the Press, 30 Sep 1835. In the 1850s, this list included (among others) Ibrahīm Sarkīs, and Armenian Christian who was hired on Dec 8, 1851 as a workman, but eventually composed numerous texts for the press in the 1850s, and became an important *Nahḍa* author. UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Annual Report of the Press and Magazine, 1851.

with manuscript production—as scribes, copyists, and calligraphers[91]--than print. Relying on these local scribes and scholars, however, likely worked to the benefit of the mission. With the involvement of such individuals, the texts coming off the American press (for the most part) conformed to the rigorous grammatical rules and stylistic structures of written Arabic (a quality that not all Arabic publications at the time, even those printed in London or Malta, could boast of).[92] Thus, while these local assistants were not hired as press workmen,[93] it is unlikely that the press could have produced any Arabic books in its early years without their involvement.

Throughout their employment at the mission, during which their language skills were utilized for tutoring the missionaries in Arabic and assisting preachers in the

---

[91] This issue seems particular to letterpress printing. For example, in Qajar Iran, scribal skills were almost seamlessly transferred to lithographic printing at the level of the calligraphy and illustrations (not the technical components, although lithographic printing requires less material). For more on early Persian printing, see Nile Green, "Persian Print and the Stanhope Revolution: Industrialization, Evangelicalism, and the Birth of Printing in Early Qajar Iran," Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and The Middle East 30, no. 3 (2012): 413-90; Green, "Journeymen, Middlemen: Travel, Transculture, and Technology in the Origins of Muslim Printing," *IJMES* 41, 2 (May 2009): 203-24; U. Marzolph, "Illustrated Persian Lithographic Editions of the Shahname," *Edebiyat* 3, 2 (2003): 177-98. Although the American Press had at least one functioning lithography press on hand (there was a second, however it does not appear to have been used), the role of this printing method mirrored that of its contemporaries in the US and Europe: as a tool for larger prints, images, advertisement posters and cartographic prints. Based on press records from 1836, it does not seem that the missionaries viewed this method as one for printing complete books. See, UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report on the state of the Press, 30 Sep 1836; Report on the Press, 31 Dec 1836.

[92] While these other presses hired native Arabic speakers at various points in their history, a quick study of the title pages and some content of books printed by the Church Missionary Society in Malta and the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, reveals obvious linguistic and grammatical errors in their content and typographic compositions (including the BFBS's bible that the American missionaries were also circulating at the time).

[93] UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report on Press, Dec 1836. It appears that few "press workmen" were initially hired at the press since most were unfamiliar with printing techniques. According to this report, Smith states that the difficulty the press was facing with folding and stitching, led to the hiring of two locals as helpers with the intention to have one as an errand boy and the other train to become a compositor. However, throughout the 1830s and 1840s, there were no more than 3 or 4 local workers employed at the press. See the various quarterly press reports from 1844 to 1849, UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25. The number goes up to 7 by the 1850s (i.e. in 1855, the press had seven "native workmen" at the press: five compositors, one castor and one errand boy). However, these individuals were mostly trained on site, and few went on to become key figures at the press (with the exception of I. Sarkīs). UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Report on the Printing Establishment, 1 Oct 1855.

religious instruction of local groups, these local Arab Christian scholars were often tasked with press-related responsibilities. This included supervising and correcting presswork, translating English and/or Greek texts into Arabic, and producing original copy for the press.[94] For instance, Yāzijī, in addition to his *Discourse on Arabic Grammar* composed another of the mission's earliest publications in 1836.[95] While both he and Bustānī went on to produce numerous secular texts, some of which were key to the late nineteenth-century Arabic literary *Nahḍa*, they published their first books at the American press, and worked with Smith on key missionary publications including a new Arabic translation of the Protestant bible from 1848-1857.[96] It is also apparent that Yāzijī, in his capacity as press corrector, had some influence over the style and composition of the mission's publications, as stated in a press report from 1855: "The style of composition, owing in a good degree to the ability and taste of the Arab corrector

---

[94] Most of these scholars served as Arabic tutors at some point. When assigned as press corrector in 1835, Yāzijī was an Arabic tutor for the mission in Beirut. At this time, Ḥaddād was an Arabic instructor at missionary schools, who was occasionally tasked with some press-related translation work. Once he was assigned the job of mission catechist in 1836, Khayyāṭ, who at the time was also employed part-time as an Arabic tutor for some American missionaries and their families, was brought on as press translator and copyist. By the early 1840s, Bustānī, a Protestant convert who had attended the Maronite seminary in 'Abey, was splitting his duties in Beirut as a copyist, translator, Arabic instructor, and unordained preacher. See, UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report of the Superintendent of the Press, 30 Sep 1835; Report on the Press, 31 Dec 1836. The role of local hires, including Ḥaddād and Bustānī, as evangelists in the mid 1840s is elaborated on in ABC 16.8.1, v.1, Report on Native Helpers, 1844. For more on Bustānī, see Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 193-213.

[95] This was *Baʿḍ mazāmīr li-l-tarranum* [Some Psalms for Singing] (Beirut: 1836), revised from earlier British editions, see ABC 16.8.1, v. 1, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, Mar 1844.

[96] In addition to the Arabic bible, Bustānī worked closely with Smith on various translations in the 1840s. These included: Smith's "The Office and Work of the Holy Spirit*"* translated into *Kitāb al-bāb al-maftūḥ fī aʿmāli al-rūḥ* (Beirut: 1843), John Bunyan's *A Pilgrim's Progress* translated as *Kitāb siyāḥat al-masīḥī* (Beirut: 1844), and *Kitāb kashf al-ḥijāb fī ʿilm al-ḥisāb* [A Book on the Demystification of Arithmetic] (Beirut: 1848), which included material from Smith's earlier publication on the subject in 1837. See ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Native Chapel, 21 Apr 1842; Meeting at Native Chapel, 21 Apr 1842; Meeting at Native Chapel, 10 Mar 1843; ABC 16.8.1, v. 1, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, 1844; UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report of the Press, Apr-Jun 1844.

[Yāzijī], is setting the standard of Modern Arabic writing, and creating a taste for reading where our books are circulated." [97]

At the same time, while they never became authors in their own right, Ḥaddād and Khayyāṭ copied and translated most of the first books struck off the American press. Although press records do not list all the books these two individuals worked on from 1835 until the 1840s, it is likely that no book went to press without the involvement of either Ḥaddād[98] or Khayyāṭ.[99] Records show that like transmission methods in manuscript production (which called for dictating, copying, reading, editing then recopying texts until they are authenticated by the author or head scribe) texts translated at the American press were worked over several times before getting the final approval from the press corrector and press editor. According to a record from 1836, for instance, English works were translated into "vulgar [sic]" (colloquial) Arabic by Khayyāṭ and then handed to Yāzijī, who "improved upon" them before giving them back to Khayyāṭ for final copying.[100]

Although Smith purportedly oversaw press production, it is unclear how involved he or other members of the mission were in every stage of a book's journey from

---

[97] UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Report on the Printing Establishment, 1 Oct 1855.

[98] Records indicate that Ḥaddād worked on the translation and revision of *Qiṣṣat ilīsābāt ibnat al-labbān al-saʿīda* (Beirut: 1836) with John Nicolayson (a member of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews—aka the London Jews Society—first stationed in Jerusalem in the fall of 1833). See UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report on the state of the Press, 30 Sep 1836. See also Tibawi, *American Interests,* 73.

[99] According to Press Records, Khayyāṭ worked on *Kitāb dalīl al-ṣawāb fī uṣul al-ḥisāb* (Beirut: 1837), with Smith in 1836, and the translations of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, *Child's book on the soul* (Hartford: 1831) into Arabic as *Taʿlīm al-awlād ʿan al-nafs* (Beirut: 1838), and *Taʿlīm al-awlād ʿan al-nafs, al-qism al-thānī* (Beirut: 1839). See UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Report of the Operation of the Press, 6 Apr 1836; Report on the Press, 31 Dec 1836. It is likely that Khayyāt did more work for the press than Ḥaddād since the latter went on to become a catechist then preacher.

[100] UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Report on the Press, 31 Dec 1836.

composition to distribution. For one thing, Smith, the mission's lone expert in Arabic at the time, spent much of the 1830s and early 1840s on extended trips away from Beirut.[101] The position of head printer also changed hands at least three times between the years 1835-1842. Although it is not stated in mission's records, it is likely that—in addition to stalling production—efforts to familiarize each new printer with the press's ins and outs likely befell the handful of locals (such as Khayyāṭ and Yāzijī) employed at the press from its first years. What this shows, in my view, is that at a time when it was still contending with solidifying its approach in a realm dominated by manuscript traditions, the mission press, particularly via its earliest publications, saw much input—in terms of writing style and composition—from local scholars and individuals in its employ.

The inclusion of local Arab Christian scholars as textual supervisors and correctors showed the mission's interest in presenting and disseminating publications that were endorsed by members of this urban class' literati (whom local personages like Bustānī and Yāzijī belonged to). The mission's desire to gain favor amongst these local Christian groups is also illustrated in the mission's production of numerous secular texts by these scholars during the late 1800s.[102] Although the aim of these missionaries was to "articulate a sense of Christian citizenship" with the locals, these populations were more interested in technology, education and other secular aspects rather than the Protestant

---

[101] The mid to late 1830s saw Smith at Smyrna, working on procuring a new set of type. During the 1840s, he continued to take trips abroad—to the US and Germany--to supervise the production of this type. A number of journeys/extended stays were also intended to rejuvenate his health, or to deal with family issues (i.e. deaths of his wives—he was married four consecutive times). This included a well-publicized shipwreck in 1836, see *The Missionary Herald* 32 (1836): 464.

[102] In addition to printing works by Yāzijī and Bustānī the mission's press produced editions of popular grammar books such as the famous summary of grammar, '*Ājurrūmīya* by Ibn 'Ajurrūm al-´anhājī (d.1323). Other secular books included texts on medicine and arithmetic.

message.[103] Despite having arrived with the evangelical goal of saving the souls of the local "nominal Christians" the mission's methods and their views of the locals changed throughout the years according to the resistance and conflicts they encountered amongst them. Thus, the texts published by the American missionary press reflected the interests and concerns of their local audience.

2.5 Conclusion

As demonstrated in this chapter, the publications of the American Press during the 1830s, in their design, content and writing style, likely illustrate the mission's attempts at appealing to a scribal community. These works also reflect the renewed policies the American missionaries had in place during the 1830s towards Christian communities, which reveal the Protestants' interests in casting a wide net. In my examination of the roles Arab Christian individuals like Yāzijī, Ḥaddād and Khayyāt had as translators, copyists, editors and, at times, print supervisors, I also suggest that these men's visual and textual preferences likely found their way into the final products coming off the press. As such, I would argue that the 1830s were essentially an experimental period for the American Press, in which boundaries, visual conventions, and technologies were constantly in flux at a time when those laboring at the print shop were either not well-versed in Arabic (in the case of missionaries) or knew very little about printing practices (such as the local hires). Thus, this early experimental moment for the American press, demonstrates how books negotiated the ambiguity and flexibility of a trial period in the mission's practices and attitudes towards local communities. As such, I read these early

---

[103] M. A. Bashshur, "Higher Education and Political Development in Syria and Lebanon," Comparative Education Review 10, 3 (Oct. 1966): 694.

books—which were also distinct from anything printed at the Syria mission from 1840 onwards—as emblematic of this mission's trial and error period. At a time when the question of audience was a broad and shifting one, these publications are also a paramount example of how the mission attempted to fly under the radar to avoid further alienating local communities and riling their clergy members and, by extension, state officials.

Despite these labored efforts, the Americans' publications (as well as the missionaries' proselytizing methods) failed to amass great numbers of local converts. After a series of international conflicts (in which Beirut was used as a battleground) as well as various class related and inter-communal struggles, the mission began to rethink its conversion policies and approaches towards its local audience. In the mid 1840s, with mounting pressure from the board in Boston to increase its conversion numbers, the mission and its press underwent major overhauls, ones that (inadvertently) made way for new uses and meanings associated with its publishing methods and conventions amongst a growing local print readership.

Chapter 3: Books for a Shifting Readership (1841-1851)

3.1. Introduction

At the dawn of the 1840s, books printed at the American Press shared very little with their earlier incarnations. While books produced during the Press' inaugural years emulate scribal modes and conventions found in decorative illuminated manuscripts, those printed from 1840 into the 1850s—with their absence of ornamentation and overall stark design—show an increasing break from manuscript conventions. The Press' publications abandoned their previous decorative layout and design schemes in favor of a more minimalist aesthetic. Gone were the wide floriated borders, the elaborately embellished chapter headings, the catchword pagination system and the hand engraved calligraphic elements. (Fig. 3.1.)

By the 1850s, only a few elements—the tapered text endings and occasional minimalistic borders and sparsely capped chapter headings—in these books bore witness to the Press's past experimentations with scribal motifs. In fact, books printed at the American Press in the mid 1840s and into the 1860s appeared to fall more in line with what one would expect from a Presbyterian aesthetic—starkly designed, straightforward text-emphasized layouts. This disconnect from its previous design practices is perhaps most strikingly apparent in an 1854 edition of Yāzijī's grammar, an earlier edition of which was treated in Chapter 2. (Fig. 3.2) In addition to the lack of excessive embellishment that prominently featured in the book's first edition, the book's incipit page featuring the requisite doxological *fātiha* (or "opening") abandons the explicitly Muslim

incantation used in the past in favor of the more ambiguous *bismallah al-fattāḥ* (or "in the name of God the Opener").[1]
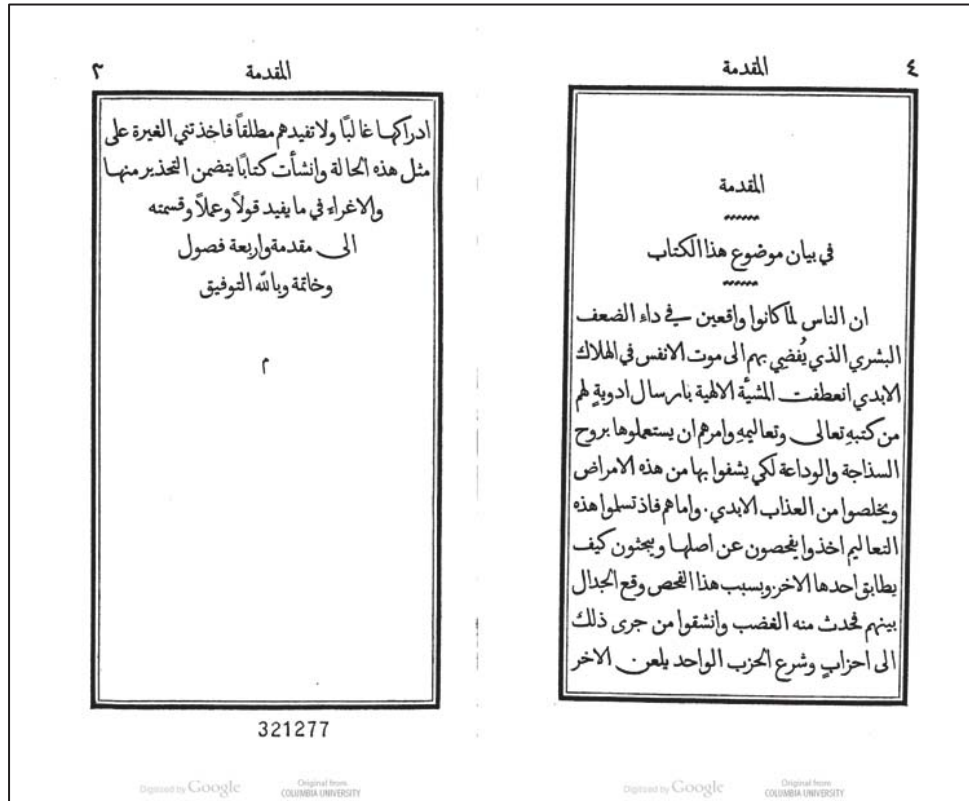
Figure 3.1. Introduction. Eli Smith and Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Kitāb al-bāb al-maftūh fī aʿmāli al-rūh*, Beirut: American Press, 1843. Accessed from Hathitrust.org. Digitized by Google, Inc. from the original held at Columbia University. Public Domain.

---

[1] This is considered, by Arab Muslims, and some Christians, as one of the ninety-nine names of God.
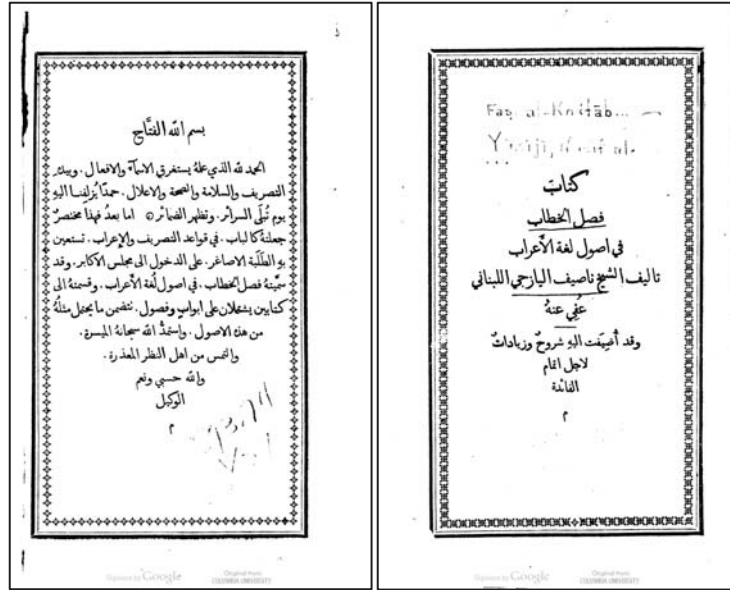
Figure 3.2. Title page **[Right]** and incipit/fātiha page **[Left]**, Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, *Kitāb faṣl al-khiṭāb fī uṣūl lughat al-iʿrāb*, Beirut: American Press, 1854. Accessed from Hathitrust.org. Digitized by Google, Inc. from the original held at Columbia University. Public Domain.

These simpler typographic compositions did not translate into a subdued

evangelism in content, which was the mission's preferred textual mode during the 1830s.

One can even say that from the mid 1840s until the late 1850s, the further the missionary

publications' design program departed from similarities to that of the scribal tradition, the

more fervently controversial the books' textual content became. In addition to some

secular works printed for the mission's schools, for instance, the Press produced a number

of texts criticizing practices of the Catholic Church and its local supporters. Examples

from the 1840s included: a translation of William Nevins' anti-Catholic *Thoughts on

Popery*,[2] a letter to Syrian clergy stipulating the error of their ways,[3] Mikhā'īl Mishaqā's

---

[2] The English version was first published New York's American Tract Society (ATS) in 1836. The Arabic edition is titled: *Kitāb al-mabāḥith fī iʿtiqādāt baʿḍ al-kanā'is* (Beirut: American Press, American Press, 1844). The book was initially suggested for printing at the American Press in 1842. See, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions deposited at Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (hereafter ABC), 16.8.1, Syria Mission (1823-1871), Supplementary Papers: Documents, Records, Minutes (1836-1870), v. 8, Meeting at Native Chapel, 21 Apr 1842; ABC 16.8.1, Reports, Letters, Journals, v. 1, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, 1844.

92

critique of the Catholic Church (including an account of this Greek Orthodox historian's conversion to Protestantism in 1848),[4] and *Kitāb al-thalath 'ashra risāla* (letters by early American missionaries Isaac Bird and Jonas King in which both men criticize Catholicism) printed in 1849.[5] The late 1840s was also when the mission decided to embark on the translation and production of its own version of the Arabic bible specifically to counteract others in circulation (although it was not published until 1860).[6]

Certainly, the American Press's publications from 1842 into the 1860s echo what one would expect from a Presbyterian mission's publications—Spartan layouts with content that discredits the Papacy, criticizes the rituals of "eastern churches" and avows the Catholic and Greek Orthodox reliance on spiritual intermediaries. This was not simply a de facto transplantation of a Protestant aesthetic. Indeed, this blanket description for all local Protestant activity does not take into account the uncharacteristic nature of the mission's earlier prints and how they related to these abruptly dissimilar incarnations in the 1840s and beyond. Instead, I choose to read this Press's visual and textual choices during the

---

[3] *Risālā ila aklīrūs kanā'is sūriyya* (Beirut: American Press, 1846). An imprint on page 20 from a copy of this book held at the British Museum reads: "An anonymous letter addressed by one of the 'Biblicists' (i.e. the Protestant missionaries) ... to the clergy of Syria." A.G. Ellis, *Catalogue of Arabic Books in the British Museum*, v. 2 (London: The British Museum, 1901), 822. It was actually a translation of a tract by Thomas Kerns, a representative of the London Jews Society who served as a member of the mission's Aleppo station for a while. See, ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting in 'Abay, 14 Sep 1846. The Syria Mission Records from 1808-1967 of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. deposited at the Presbyterian Historical Society, Record Group 115, Box 1: Folder 25 (hereafter UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25), Semi-Annual Report of the Press, Jul-Dec 1846.

[4] *Al-risāla al-mūsūma bi-l-dalīl ila ṭā'at al-injīl* (Beirut: American Press, 1849).

[5] This edition of the letters and addresses by Issac Bird and Jonas King was revised from an earlier one printed for the mission in 1834 by the CMS in Malta. Although the Smith complained that the CMS editions were rife with error, his revisions of this work are not made until the late 1840s. ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Native Chapel, 10 Mar 1843; UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Semi-Annual Report of the Press, Jan-Jun 1849; ABC 16.8.1, v. 1, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, 1844.

[6] While this project does not actually commence until 1848, minutes from meetings of the Beirut station in 1844 show an increased interest in a new bible translation, with Eli Smith presenting a report on the subject in March. See ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Mission House, 16 Mar 1844.

1840s in a more gradated manner, as reflections of a new missionary policy towards local conversions, as well as responses to a changing religious landscape and an expanding print readership. In the case of this particular press, I would argue that transformations in their publications resulted from developments on the ground.

In this chapter I explore how changes in books printed at the Press from 1842 onwards were actually responses to various local and external impulses. Such catalysts were namely developments in the Press's typographic and production standards, pressure from the ABCFM board in Boston for a decreased emphasis on printing/education in favor of mass conversion preaching tactics, a changing local religious landscape (i.e. increased competition with other foreign missions), and a growing interest (at both the provincial and state level) in secular education—and subsequently, a need for suitable textbooks. I argue that each of these various motivators, led to (repeatedly divergent) practices in the mission's book production, and these views differed from those adopted by the Press at the time of its inauguration.

3.2. A Changing Political Landscape

The 1840s were a particularly tumultuous period for the Beirut and Mount Lebanon regions. The participation of European (namely British, Austrian and French) powers at the behest of the Ottoman state in the removal of Egypt's Muḥammad ʿAlī and his son Ibrāhīm from the Syrian province in October of 1840,[7] resulted in a string of clashes within the

---

[7] Often referred to as the Second Syrian war, or the Second Egyptian-Ottoman War. See, C. E. Farah, "The Lebanese Insurgence of 1840 and the Powers," *Journal of Asian History* 1 (1967): 105-32; A. L. al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1983); E. Karsh and I. Karsh, *Empires of the Sand: The Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East, 1789-1923* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); U. Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000).

province's communities. With the ousting of the Egyptian Viceroy came the end of Shihābī rule in Mount Lebanon, which led to a precarious power vacuum in the area's mountain regions already divided between the factions of Maronite and Drūze overlords. Various inter-communal battles manifested between resident sectarian groups intermittently throughout this period that culminated in the violent civil wars of 1860.[8]

While the 1840s—up until about 1847—could be labeled as the Syria mission's extended trial period (in which years were devoted to experimentation and preparation),[9] at the dawn of this subsequently riotous decade, the American Press seemed to finally gain a foothold in the realm of book production. Despite a brief printing hiatus during parts of 1839 into all of 1840 (a result of the Egyptian-Ottoman conflict),[10] the missionaries continued dividing essay and tract writing assignments amongst themselves, with the intention of preparing some for press.[11] Once back at work in 1841, the Press saw through the production of three books by that year's fourth quarter, with five more publications completed in 1842.

The paucity of this press's output at the time becomes more pronounced when compared to the high-volume work of regional ABCFM presses like the one in Izmir. At

---

[8] Bashīr II Shihāb had supported the Egyptian take over of parts of the Syrian province from the Ottoman state in the 1830s, and as such was forced into exile once Egypt was driven out. For more, see Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism*. See also, K. Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered* (London, I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1988).

[9] A.L. Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800-1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 120.

[10] Press records are spotty for these two years. However, it seems that two books managed to get printed in 1839, one of which was a second edition of the 1837, *Waʻẓ al-masīḥ ʻala-l-jabal [Christ's Sermon on the Mount]*. However, the press had suspended all its work by 1840. See G. Roper, "The Beginnings of Arabic Printing by the ABCFM, 1822-1841," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 9.1 (1998): 66. A report in the Missionary Herald claims: "The press has lain idle for a year, for want of a printer, and perhaps also for want of more missionaries and funds," *The Missionary Herald* 37 (1841): 6.

[11] ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Mission Chapel, 4 May 1840.

this press devoted to printing in Turkish and Armenian, output rose from 1.9 million pages in 1836/7 to approximately 4.1 million by 1844.[12] In comparison, the Beirut station's press production numbers were far less impressive where, in 1847 for example, the total numbers of pages produced clocked in at a mere 693,000.[13] These numbers, not even noteworthy when compared to the Press's paltry output from earlier years,[14] do indicate that activity continued at the Press despite the various political and internal obstacles throughout the 1840s. However, beyond these meager numbers, the most striking aspects of this decade's publications was how much they diverged from the Press's inaugural endeavors in form and content. More importantly, when production resumed at the Press in 1841 its books exhibited the visibly more streamlined and standardized approach to organization, layout and design discussed earlier. What were the triggers behind such noticeable aesthetic shifts in the Press's works after the 1830s?

3.3. A Reworked Aesthetic

An important technical factor during this period was a major shift in production standards at the Press office, ushered in after two significant, and rather long-awaited, additions were made in 1841: a new and improved Arabic typeface from Leipzig,[15] and a

---

[12] J. F. Coakley, "Printing Offices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1817-1900: A Synopsis," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 9.1 (1998): 14.

[13] ABC 16.8.1, Documents, Reports, Letters, v. 4, Annual Tabular View Report, 1847.

[14] Books coming off the press during the 1830s ranged from five to eight per year. For more see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

[15] The history and process behind the production and acquisition of this typeface has been elaborated on in D. Glass, *Malta, Beirut, Leipzig and Beirut Again: Eli Smith, the American Syria Mission and the Spread of Arabic Typography in 19th Century Lebanon,* ed. A. Neuwirth (Beirut: Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morganländischen Gesellschaft, 1997).

full-time missionary printer, George C. Hurter.[16] The new typeface replaced the mission's defective British model, which the American Press inherited after the dissolution of the ABCFM's station on Malta in 1833.[17] Certainly, these two developments led to visual shifts in the press's works.

For one thing, the American Press's new typeface replaced the earlier font in use during the 1830s that was designed for the mission by Richard Watts' London-based foundry around 1829.[18] However, Press records indicate that the Watts typeface fell short of the mission's expectations.[19] When the American missionaries compared their typeface to local handwritten scripts, they found that their Arabic font was full of visual shortcomings, and sorely lacking in the genuine calligraphic qualities necessary for attaining the approval of local educated readers.[20] (See Fig 3.3) For example, in Arabic calligraphy, the vertical stems (or ascenders) of some letterforms generally follow the same angle designated by the scribe's hand, and pen. In the Press's typeface, there appears to be no consistency in the slanting of such letterforms. Another issue with this typeface was the

---

[16] Both arrive on the same ship in April 1841. UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Original Report Respecting the Press, Apr 1842. Designed by Smith in the late 1830s, the typeface was cast and cut by a German foundry in 1840. ABC 60, Eli Smith Papers, 1801-1857, Letters to Eli Smith, v. 1, Tauchnizt to Smith, 16 Nov 1840.

[17] From the moment the typeface arrives in Beirut, the missionaries are aware of its many deficiencies. See, UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report of the Superintendent of the Press, 30 Sep 1835; Ibid., Memoranda for Mr. Badger, 4 Aug 1835; Ibid., Report on the Printing Establishment, 1 Oct 1855.

[18] The firm was that of Richard Watts in London. According to Roper, it looked very similar to the one being used by the CMS in Malta. Both were apparently designed by Charles Wilkins (a British Orientalist) and cut by William Martin. See Roper, "The Beginnings of Arabic Printing," 51; "Arabic Printing and Publishing in England Before 1820," *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin* 12 (1985): 22-4.

[19] From the moment the typeface arrives in Beirut, the missionaries are aware of its many deficiencies. See, UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report of the Superintendent of the Press, 30 Sep 1835; Ibid., Memoranda for Mr. Badger, 4 Aug 1835; Ibid., Report on the Printing Establishment, 'Abay, 1 Oct 1855.

[20] See, ABC 16.8.1 Reports, Letters, Journals, v. 1, Smith to Anderson, 13 Jul 1835; UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report of the Superintendent of the Press, 30 Sep 1835. Problems with the Watts typeface are also described in later reports on the press, including UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Report on the Printing Establishment, 'Abay, 1 Oct 1855.

opacity of certain letterforms' "needle eyes" (or counters). In customary calligraphic practices such openings are not usually entirely filled in. Additionally, the appearance of gaps within words did not reflect Arabic's seamless script that, unlike most western languages, is written in a connected cursive script.
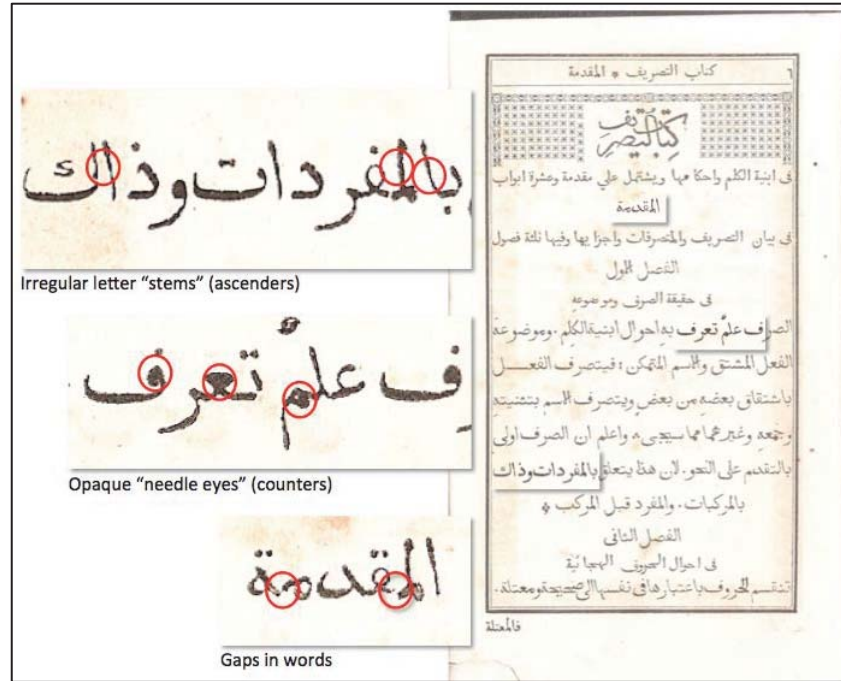
Figure 3.3. Problems with the Watts typeface, as seen in Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, *Kitāb faṣl al-khiṭāb fī uṣūl lughat al-iʿrāb*, Beirut: American Press, 1836. Digital reproduction by the author from the original held at the Bartle Library Arabic Collection, PJ6101.Y3, Binghamton University, SUNY. Artwork by author.

There were also problems with type deficiencies. The set of type the American Press received from the London-based foundry was incomplete upon its arrival. For instance, in a press report from 1835, Smith states that: "Besides the smallness of the fount of types, it was found so deficient in a few letters and in leads, that we could not proceed

98

with it." [21] Furthermore, there was much difficulty involved in replacing lacks in metal sets of type. Indeed, deficiencies in fonts of Arabic type at the time were not uncommon due to the sheer number of sorts required and—at times—the foundry's lack of knowledge in or experience with Arabic fonts. Unlike scripts based on the Latin alphabet, Arabic's basic twenty-eight letters retain forms conditional to where they appear in a word: beginning, middle, end, or isolated. Some letterforms also appear combined as ligatures. As such, the number of sorts needed to complete an Arabic font in just one size was exorbitant. This was certainly an issue the mission's Press struggled with at the time, as Smith writes:

> To seek some way of supplying these deficiencies, Mr. Badger [the printer at the time] visited both the Jewish press at Safed and the Greek Catholic press at Shwair. But neither of them makes use of leads and the latter was judged to be unable to go on with its own operations for want of types. [22]

As such, plans for the production of this new typeface (dubbed "American Arabic" by some scholars) were set in motion at the Press's inception in 1835. This new typeface was designed from various calligraphic specimens collected by Smith between 1835 and 1836[23] from which molds and matrices were produced at the Izmir station (by punch cutter Hamon Hallock[24]). After several trials and tribulations,[25] the American Press finally had on

---

[21] UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report of the Superintendent of the Press, 30 Sep 1835.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Models of Arabic calligraphy were gathered with guidance from " the most learned judges at Cairo, Jerusalem, Beirut, Smyrna and Constantinople" various scholars forming a collection that "was done with great care, after a comparison of a large number of the most beautiful specimens." *The Missionary Herald* 40 (1841): 171. Also discussed in Tibawi, *American Interests*, 81; Glass, *Malta, Beirut, Leipzig*, 20. An example of a calligraphic specimen likely similar to those used can be found at the Houghton amongst Smith's Arabic papers. ABC 50, Eli Smith Arabic Collection, Box 1, Calligraphic specimen of al-Naskhi script that reads: "Ownership is God's," 1840-(?).

[24] For more on him, see J.F. Coakley, "Homan Hallock, Punchcutter," *Printing History* 45.1 (2003): 18-41.

hand a new set of fonts (cut and cast by a founder in Leipzig, Germany[26]) in 1841.[27] By

1844, the new typeface was made available in three sizes—a large size for body text,[28] and

a size for title pages/captions[29]--fulfilling the basic requirements for adequately producing

visually balanced Arabic books.[30]

Visually-speaking, the American Press's new typeface diverged significantly from

the early Watts font in use during the 1830s and as such the mission's books printed with

the new metal type took on different graphic standards. (Fig. 3.4) For instance, the

American Arabic typeface was more compactly designed and allowed for fewer spaces

between letters, words and sentences than the bulkier characters of the Watts design.

---

[25] UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report of the Superintendent of the Press, 30 Sep 1835. A letter to Smith from Isaac Bird hints at the struggle and long felt frustration with acquiring a new typeface, Bird writes: "Your second letter suggests the trying question of your going to America to complete our Arabic types, or rather our stock of type. You will know, dear Brother, how much my heart is set on this great object and that I shall scarcely be able ever to say 'Lord now those letters and thy servant depart in peace' until I shall have seen the Syrian Mission supplied with this desideration." ABC 60, Letters to Eli Smith, v. I, Bird to Smith, 23 May 1836.

[26] This sequence of events in the production of the typeface is outlined in a press report from 1855, UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Report on the Printing Establishment, 'Abay, 1 Oct 1855.

[27] Several sources mention the font's arrival with Hurter (which he picked up in Izmir on his way from Boston to Beirut), including UPCUSA, RG 115/1/25, Report on the Printing Establishment, 'Abay, 1 Oct 1855; *The Missionary Herald* 37 (1841): 393; Glass, *Malta, Beirut, Leipzig*, 24. But it is likely that the font was ready before 1841, simply awaiting passage to Beirut. According to a letter from Karl Tauchnizt (owner of the type foundry in Leipzig) to Smith from Se p. 4 1839, the former states that the completed typeface will be shipped off to Homan Hallock (in Izmir), who is then to deal with ensuring its arrival to Beirut. This is verified in a subsequent letter to Smith, dating to 16 Nov 1840, in which the type-founder states "...Of the Arabic types I have heard nothing since I sent them to Smyrna. I hope they have kept them there so that they are now secured against the damages of war." ABC 60, Eli Smith Papers, 1801-1857, Letters to Eli Smith, v. I, Tauchnizt to Smith, 4 Sep 1839; Ibid., Tauchnizt to Smith, 16 Nov 1840.

[28] ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Native Chapel, 23 Apr 1842. Despite this success, however, the mission felt the type was too large for the purposes of its publications, and thus they commissioned the production of sorts in a smaller font size.

[29] ABC 60, Letters to Eli Smith, v. 1, Hallock to Smith, 10 Oct 1843.

[30] The first set of metal sorts (from 1842) did not include the font sizes necessary for references or title pages. These were acquired over the course of the next two years, by 1844. The typeface's family of font sizes was complete with the production of a small size for reference notes in 1848. See, ABC 16.8.1 Syria Mission (1823-1871) v. 8, Supplementary Papers: Documents, Records, Minutes (1836-1870), Meeting at Native Chapel, 23 Apr 1842; ABC 16.8.1, v. 1, Reports, Letters, Journals, Report on Arabic Type, Press Property and Foundry, 1844; ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Smith's, 9 Feb 1848.

Ligatures, which add to the complexity of producing a metal font complete with all major characteristics of Arabic writing, were noticeably missing from the Maltese metal sorts and appear for the first time in the mission's new typeface. The letterforms' various strokes in the American Arabic font also appear to be more uniform in shape and weight than those of their predecessor. Another important characteristic of the new script's metal sorts was their ability to better accommodate vocalization marks in line with the text, making it easier for the reader to discern which letter each vowel belonged to. This aspect was sorely lacking in the typeface from Malta, which required that vowel points be set separately, and at a distance, from their corresponding letters, thus causing confusion for readers. [31]
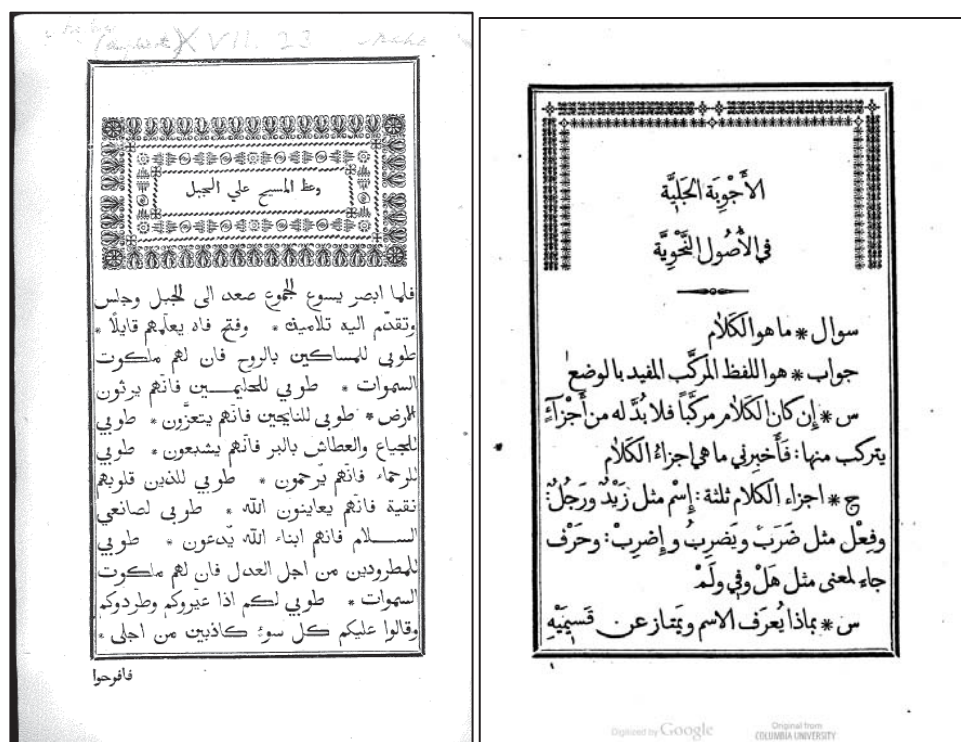
Figure 3.4. Comparison of typefaces. **[Right]** *Kitāb al-ājurrūmīya (al-Ajwiba al-jalīya fī-l-uṣūl al-naḥawīya)* [The Ajurrumiya: Answers to the Basics of Arabic Grammar] by Muḥammad al-Ṣanhājī b. ʿĀjurrūm, Beirut: 1841. Accessed from Hathitrust.org. Digitized by Google, Inc. from the original held at Columbia University. Public Domain. **[Left]** *Waʿẓ al-masīḥ ʿala-l-jabal* [Christ's

---

[31] ABC 16.8.1, v. 1, Report on Arabic Type, Press Property and Foundry, 1844.

www.manaraa.com

Sermon on the Mount] Beirut: 1837. Digital reproduction from the original held at the Harvard Depository Special Collection, 816.9 Arabic 18--, Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The impact of these typographic developments is noticeable in the cost, speed and (at times) volume at which books began emerging off the Press in 1841, a mere few months after the typeface's arrival in April. Additionally, the fact that printing with this new, more condensed typeface, would cost approximately eighteen percent less than previous ventures with the old typeface was not lost on the Board in Boston, or tract societies that funded the missionary publications.[32] Excitement over the Press's new developments during that year likely encouraged the American Tract Society (ATS) to fund the mission's first high-volume publication (at a run of 6000) of *Qiṣṣat ālām sayyidīnā yasū' al-masīḥ* [The Passion of the Christ], 16pp. 16mo.[33] By 1843, various books coming off the Press were original works and translations by missionaries in Beirut, not the typical reprints and revisions seen in the past, a likely indication that things were picking up at the Press.[34]

---

[32] Anderson, *Report to the Prudential Committee*, 29.

[33] "Passion of Christ. The 27th chap. [sic] of Matthew with parts of the 26th and 28th. Expenses borne [sic] by a special donation to the Tract Society. Corrected from the Romish version." ABC 16.8.1, v. 1, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, 1844. Incidentally, this book was also rather popular in the two years after its publication, with approximately 1,488 copies (roughly the number of a standard press run) distributed by early 1844. Over the next decade, about 300-400 issues were disseminated each year—a significant number since the number of books commonly sold per year sometimes averages at al little over 400. Although these numbers are not exact, they can be deduced from press records from 1844 to 1851 showing the number of books on hand. These sources, however, do not indicate whether the books were sold or simply distributed to nearby missionary stations and outposts. See UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report of the Press, Apr-Jun 1844; ibid., Annual Report of the Press and Book Magazine, Dec 1851; ABC 16.8.1, Syria Mission (1823-1871), Documents, Reports, Letters, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1851.

[34] The most notable original production is likely Eli Smith's 256 paged "treatise on the human soul" entitled "The Office and Work of the Holy Spirit," or *Kitāb al-bāb al-maftūḥ fī a'māli al-rūḥ,* which was translated into Arabic by Buṭrus al-Bustānī (the first of many books this Arab scholar works on for the mission). ABC 16.8.1, v. 1, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, 1844; A. G. Ellis, *Catalogue of Arabic Books in the British Museum*, v. 2 (London: The British Museum), 633.

The second important addition to the Press was the arrival of the printer George

Hurter at a most opportune time. For instance, prior to Hurter's employment in Beirut, the

post of printer had remained vacant, on and off, since the departure of the missions' full-

time printers George Badger, in 1836, and his successor Robert Thorn, in 1839.[35] Like

Hurter (a Malta-born American Brit),[36] both Badger and Thorn were British nationals with

ties to Malta.[37] However, both were also unable to commit full-time to their work at the

press.[38] The Press's supervisor and editor, Eli Smith, was also continuously MIA from the

Press (until 1847), kept away from Beirut for long stretches of time due to numerous

---

[35] For more on Badger, see G. Roper, "George Percy Badger (1815–1888)," *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, Bulletin 11, 2 (1984): 140-55. For Thorn, see UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Contract with Robert Thorn, 16 Oct 1835; Quarterly Report on the State of the Press, 30 Sep 1836; Quarterly Report on the Press, Dec 1836; Original Report Respecting the Press, Apr 1842.

[36] Hurter was born to a British mother and Swiss father, and worked—in his youth—for the London Missionary Society. See Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, v. 1: 604.

[37] Having grown up on Malta, Badger also at times worked with the island's British (Methodist and Anglican) church societies. See, G. Roper, "Beginnings of Arabic Printing," 59; Roper, "George Percy Badger (1815–1888)," British Society for Middle Eastern Studies, Bulletin 11, 2 (1984): 140-55. Thorn, apparently younger and less experienced than his predecessor, also arrived to Beirut from Malta, see UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Contract with Robert Thorn, 16 Oct 1835. Roper quotes letters from Smith to the Board secretaries in which Smith describes this second English printer from Malta as a "young man of 19 years of age not a master of any branch of business, and to whom we are obliged to give extravagant funds." However, Roper does not mention Thorn by name. See Roper, "The Beginnings of Arabic Printing," 59-60.

[38] Badger returned to Malta to enter the ministry after only a year in Beirut, while Thorn's four-year stint at that station included splitting his time between the press and the mission's book magazine. Regarding Thorn's longer tenure, few records—besides a couple documents held at the Presbyterian Historical Society—exist. It seems that his contract with the mission began in August 25, 1835 and ended around 1839. Thorn likely worked between the press and depository, doing some print work at the press (i.e. a set of lithographic spelling cards in Se p. 1836), and was officially made the foreman of the press after Badger's departure in 1836. However, according to some press records, Thorn was also reluctant to remain in Beirut (contracts with him consistently mention his desire to return to Malta at some future date). See, UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Contract with Robert Thorn, 16 Oct 1835; ibid., Quarterly Report on the State of the Press, 30 Sep 1836; ibid., Quarterly Report on the Press, Dec 1836; ibid., Original Report Respecting the Press, Apr 1842. Additionally, Thorn's colleagues saw his work ethic as less than exemplary. In 1837, for example, after agreeing to honor Thorn's request for a contract renewal, William Thomson—involved in book sales as well as press activity when Smith was out of town—argued that Thorn needed to "bind himself to attend regularly and strictly in the [Press] office during the hours of labour." UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report of the Press, 30 Jun 1837. For more on Thorn's work at the mission, see letters from Thorn to Smith, ABC 60, Letters to Eli Smith, v. I, Thorn to Smith, 1836-1839.

assignments and unlucky events.[39] Additionally, the increasing regional conflicts, the

mission's general unpopularity amongst local Christians and the lack of sufficient

operational funds had also taken a toll on the Americans' morale. An entry in the

Missionary Herald states as much: "The past year has been to it a season of unprecedented

excitement, distress and danger...Straitened as we are for pecuniary means, you will hardly

anticipate an appeal for men."[40] Hurter's enlistment meant that the mission finally had a

permanent printer[41] able to devote most of his time to the press and its publications, and as

such the missionaries enthused that the "press will go into speedy operation...[w]e are in

urgent need of books, both for the use of the mission and for distribution among the

people, and trust that this essential branch of our operations will be adequately

sustained."[42]

As such, with a new printer in place there was bound to be some overhaul in the

visual conventions and standards of books printed at the Press. Having worked as an Ohio

news printer in 1839, Hurter's familiarity with Arabic printing was likely tangential and

---

[39] Since his arrival in Beirut, in 1834, Smith took countless trips to the US and regional stations. For instance, in 1836 he set out to Izmir (accompanied by his ailing wife), to supervise the production of an Arabic typeface by punch cutter, Homan Hallock. After only three days at sea, they were shipwrecked; his wife dies of her illness a couple months later. In 1838, Smith again left Beirut to tour the region with his colleague Edward Robinson. From 1839-1841, Smith journeyed between Leipzig and Boston (to procure a new typeface) with only occasional visits to Beirut. He returns to the station, newly remarried, in 1841 (shortly after Hurter's arrival) only to have this wife die in Beirut a year later. Smith leaves again for the US in 1845, finally returning to settle in Beirut—with a third wife in tow—in 1847. For a chronological list of these events, see Thomas Laurie, *Historical Sketch of the Syria Mission* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1866), 21-29.

[40] *The Missionary Herald* 37 (1841): 391-92.

[41] Hurter's tenure as press printer lasted until 1861, when he and his family returned to the US once local inter-communal battles escalated. See Laurie, *Historical Sketch of the Syria Mission*, 29.

[42] *The Missionary Herald* 37 (1841): 393.

mostly based on his previous experience setting type in Greek and Hebrew.[43] Meaning, he was not as well versed as his predecessors in regional calligraphic and manuscript customs. As such, it is highly probable that this printer's experience with the styles and preferences of Midwestern American readers found its way into the Press's production and design standards. For one thing, books printed after 1842 (in addition to diverging from earlier books graphically) also displayed different organization methods. This would help clarify the use of page numbers in lieu of the cumbersome catchwords, and the preference for simpler title pages, which while continuing the past tradition of excluding publishing information like dates and location, were simpler in design than their predecessors (Fig. 3.5).
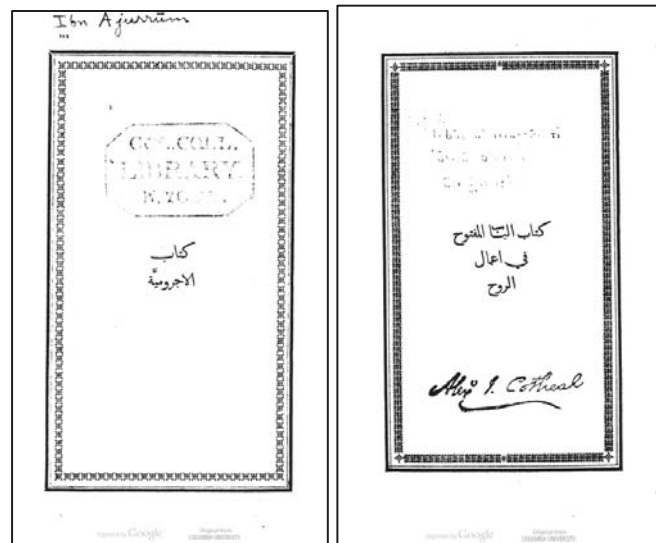
Figure 3.5. Title pages. **[Right]** *Kitāb al-bāb al-maftūh,* Beirut: American Press, 1843. **[Left]** *Kitāb al-ājurrūmīya*. Beirut: American Press, 1853. Accessed from Hathitrust.org. Digitized by Google, Inc. from the original held at Columbia University. Public Domain.

---

[43] Hurter was born on Malta and worked—in his youth—for the London Missionary Society, and also on Corfu printing a Greek-Latin lexicon. See Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria,* v. 1: 604. Margaret Leavy argues that Hurter had no knowledge or experience in setting Arabic type. Leavy, *Eli Smith and the Arabic Bible* (New Haven: Yale Divinity School Library, 1993), 12. Rufus Anderson confirms Hurter's inadequacy in Arabic in an 1844 account in which the Board secretary states that the said printer should take time off to "improve himself in the Arabic language." R. Anderson, *Report to the Prudential Committee of a Visit to the Missions in the Levant*, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Boston: T.R. Marvin, 1844), 29.

I would stop short, however, of attributing all these visual changes to Hurter and his stylistic predilections. These books were never a one-man creation and, as such, the previously instated group of type-compositors, correctors, and editors (including the Press Editor, Eli Smith) still had a hand in the way these books ended up looking. The unusual graphic choices reflected in the mission's books from 1842 onwards become all the more jarring when compared to contemporaneous works from other presses in the region, which continued to tap into the visual language of local manuscripts. Although changes within the Press certainly factored into the visual standards and textual content of its books at mid-century, an equally pertinent development at the time was Ottoman Syria's increasingly changing religious landscape and the rise of a local print readership.

3.4. Competing for Readers

Although local ecclesiastic opposition towards the American mission had never ceased since its inception in the 1820s, it did see a short-lived lull in the 1830s. However, increasing inter-communal conflicts during the 1840s and 1850s created a tricky environment of simmering sectarian tensions and volatile political alliances. By exacerbating already taut dealings, these factional encounters did little to help the Syria Mission's position with local religious communities. For instance, having long desired a foothold amongst Mount Lebanon's Maronite and Drūze dominated communities,[44] the Americans attempted to take advantage of the mountain villages' shifting allegiances in

---

[44] This dates to the 1820s, shortly after the arrival of the first missionaries to the region in 1819, when missionaries rented a former Jesuit school in the Mount Lebanon village of ʿAntūra as a Protestant rest house/station. However, the reigning Shihābī emir at the time, at the behest of Maronite communities within his dominion, asked the Americans to depart the mountain region. The Protestants turned to the more religiously and ethnically diverse burgeoning port-city of Beirut as the mission headquarters. Tibawi, *American Interests*, 23-26.

1841 (following the ousting of the Shihābī emir) by establishing a station in Deir al-Qamar (a Drūze stronghold). However, according to missionary records, a letter from the Maronite Patriarch compelled the village's Drūze chieftain to ascertain the "sincerity of his friendship" and drive the "Biblici" away to avoid any likely disturbances.[45] Similarly, after a number of Greek Orthodox Christians from Ḥāṣbayya converted to Protestantism in 1844 (likely for political and economic reasons)[46] a visit from their affronted Patriarch[47] chastened many back to their church but also resulted in a series of conflicts that eventually culminated (for various reasons) into the Druze-Maronite war of 1845.[48] As such, this period of simmering tensions saw renewed challenges from local religious leaders who needed to save face by securing their numbers in an increasingly volatile political environment. With their covert conversion tactics, the Protestants thus found

---

[45] ABC 50, Eli Smith Arabic Collection, Box 1, Maronite Patriarch to Shaykh Abu-Nakad (translated from Arabic), 1841.

[46] Smith states that the mission told these individuals that forming a new "sect" was not the mission's aim, and any converts would not receive protection or exemption from the laws of the land (which required non-Muslim minorities to pay taxes). However, Smith mistakenly sees the situation as being favorable to local converts forming their own community, one that would be seen in the same light (and subject to the same protection/laws) as other Christian sects in the eyes of the state. *The Missionary Herald* 40 (1844): 352.

[47] Various missionary accounts quote a letter addressed to Damascus' Governor from The Russian Consul, in which the latter, on the subject of Protestant converts in Ḥāṣbayya, purportedly states: "we have the right of protecting the Greek Church in the Ottoman dominions...[I] protest against every proceeding which may lead to the humiliation of the Greek church at Hasbeiya, and to the encouragement of the pretended Protestants, especially as the Sublime Porte does not recognize among her subjects any such community," as quoted in Isaac Bird, *Bible Work in Bible Lands; or, Events in the History of the Syria Mission* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1872), 368. This document is also mentioned in Tibawi, *American Interests*, 111: n. 3. This and subsequent conflicts are also outlined in a detailed account by the missionary George Whiting, see *The Missionary Herald* 41 (1845): 261-67.

[48] Missionary reports from 1844 underplay these earlier incidents as a "storm of persecution" which the Ḥāṣbayya Protestants weathered, see *The Missionary Herald* 40 (1844): 354-5. Things become more violent in July, when Smith makes his second visit to Ḥāṣbayya (the first being in May), and the missionary seems alarmed by the lack of political protection shown to Ḥāṣbayya's Protestant community, citing evidence of "favoritism" for the Greek church, see *The Missionary Herald* 41 (1845): 149-51. For more on this Protestant movement in Ḥāṣbayya, and subsequent conflicts, see Tibawi, *American Interests*, 108-14; Bird, *Bible Work in Bible Lands*, 348-402.

themselves at the receiving end of criticism from most local religious parties as a common enemy at a time fraught with increasingly inter-communal rifts.

Further complicating matters for the Americans was a mounting competition with other foreign missions, particularly la Compagnie de Jésus (the French Jesuits), in the region at the time. The most prominent of regional Catholic missions,[49] the Jesuits' presence in the region dated to the mid 1700s.[50] Reports from Maronite and Greek-Melkite Patriarchs in Syria,[51] as well as French residents in the region, warned of "les ministres anglais," whom (according to such accounts) were becoming a problematic presence, particularly in their insistence on evangelizing in Mount Lebanon.[52] While various ideological conflicts with France complicated matters for Syria's small Jesuit mission

---

[49] Other Catholic missionaries in the region included the Lazarist (who had posts in Damascus, Jerusalem and Beirut), the Franciscans (whose stronghold was in Jerusalem where they had an active press). For more on competition amongst European Catholic missions in Ottoman Syria see chapter five in E. Tejirian and R. Simon, *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion: Two Thousand Years of Christian Missions in the Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012). For more on the Franciscan press in Jerusalem, see A. Ayalon, *Reading Palestine, Printing and Literacy: 1900-1948* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004).

[50] After the "suppression of the Jesuits" in Europe (roughly 1750-1780), its effects were felt in Ottoman territories in 1774, when members of Jesuit missions and stations in the region—including Aleppo, various Greek islands, Izmir, Istanbul, Damascus, Mount Lebanon, Tripoli and Cairo, among other smaller towns— were recalled. See S. Kuri, *Une histoire du Liban à travers les archives des Jésuites: 1816-1845*, v. 1 (Beyrouth, Dar al-Mashreq, 1985), 11-12.

[51] Mentioned in Kuri, *Les archives des Jésuites,* 1:11-12.

[52] An excerpt from an 1827 report on the Protestant missionary activity, penned by Chevalier Reynault (the vice-consul of France stationed in Sidon)—reproduced in Kuri—explicitly states that despite the *firman* against the circulation of "Frankish" bibles, and their subsequent forced relocation to Beirut, these missionaries: "employèrent tous les moyens possibles pour rentrer dans la montagne [Mt. Lebanon]. Des lettres furent envoyées au sultan, au grand vizir, au pacha, etc mais tout fut inutile..." He goes on to urge the Jesuit order—in France and Rome: "Il est donc plus nécessaire que jamais que les Cours de Rome et de France viennent au secours de ces enfants [members of the local Maronite communities] que l'ennemi [the Protestants] poursuit de toutes ses forces," see the full excerpt in Kuri, *Les archives des Jésuites,* 1:15-18.

during the 1830s,[53] by 1843, with reinstatement of the mission's head at Ghazīr in Mount Lebanon, this mission was seen as a viable and perturbing threat to the Protestants' goals. Given their prior experience in the region, and the generally favorable attitudes towards them amongst local churches, the Jesuits more easily aligned themselves with local "Eastern" churches with aims of unifying the disparate groups (whom, according to Jesuit reports, had lost their way) under Catholicism by helping them establish stronger links to Rome.[54]

The competition between these two foreign missionary bodies only increased when the l'Imprimerie des Pères Jésuites[55] printed its first work in 1848.[56] This inaugural publication was a fourteen-page lithographed version of Pope Pius XI's Encyclical "Epistle to the Easterns," (in Greek and Arabic) urging the clergy of local Orthodox churches (not in communion with the Vatican since the eleventh-century schism) to reestablish ties with

---

[53] A short-lived rift between the Jesuits in Beirut and their sponsoring Republic, was when the missionaries sided with the Ottoman state during the 1839-1840 conflict (the Second Egyptian-Ottoman War). France initially backed the Egyptian forces in Syria but, in 1840, switched sides to aid the Ottomans, hoping to maintain their mercantile connections with Maronite-produced silk in Mount Lebanon. The French republic's desire to maintain a strong French missionary presence in the region, even as anti-clerical sentiment grew at home, was thus tied to concerns of trade and industry. See, Tejirian and Simon, *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion,* 97-99. For a detailed account of the from Jesuit mission's perspective see Kuri, *Les archives des Jésuites*, 1: 277-96.

[54] C. Verdeil, "Between Rome and France, intransigent and anti-Protestant Jesuits in the Orient: The beginning of the Jesuits' mission of Syria, 1831-1864," *Christian Witness Between Continuity and New Beginnings*, ed. M. Tamcke and M. Marten (Berlin, LIT Verlag, 2006), 23-32.

[55] By 1857 the press became better known as l'Imprimerie Catholique. S. Kuri, "Esquisse d'un catalogue des imprimés de l'imprimerie catholique de Beyrouth, 1848-1888," *Ḥawalīyāt Maʿhad al-Adab al-Sharqiyya* 7 (1993/1996): 76.

[56] The Jesuit priests felt a dire need for books and first decided to purchase their own press in 1846. "Nous avon été tourmentés par le manque de livres. Nous sommes parvenus à nous mettre un peu plus à l'aise. Je vais demander au R.P. Provincial une pierre lithographique. Je crois qu'elle nous sera bien utile," excerpt of letter from P. Benoit Planchet (Jesuit missionary) to P. Jean Roothan (the General Superior in Rome), dated 16 April, 1846 reproduced in Kuri, *Une histoire du liban à travers les archives des jésuites: 1846-1862,* v. 2 (Beyrouth: Dar al-Mashreq, 1985), 15.

109

Rome.[57] This letter's reception amongst local Greek Orthodox patriarchs and clergy was far from warm but, in fact, was outwardly rejected as heretical.[58] Regardless of its impact on local Christian groups, to the Americans, the Pope's communiqué was likely perceived as an affront and warning to local Protestant efforts. Particularly since the Americans were not well attuned to the complexities of varying ideologies amongst local Christian groups, frequently labeling such communities as undifferentiated members of "papal sects." As such, the fact that Greek Orthodox communities spurned—as they had done with the Protestants—the Catholic missionary efforts, likely mattered little to the American mission's perceptions of Jesuit (thereby, Catholic) activity in the region. It is clear from the anti-Catholic nature of books published by the Protestants during this time that Jesuits were seen as a viable threat, and the Jesuits reciprocated in kind.

Interestingly, while the American Press's equipment and experience printing in Arabic far surpassed those of the Catholic press, the Jesuits still managed to produce fifteen religious and educational publications (many of which countered works by the

---

[57] Kuri, "Esquisse d'un catalogue des imprimés (1848-1888)," 76 + 81-2. This epistle's original title was *In suprema Petri apostoli sede [On the Supreme Throne of Peter the Apostle],* and published on 6 January 1848. For an online English translation of this document, see "Pope & Patriarchs: The 1848 Letters of Pope Pius IX and the Orthodox Patriarchs," *Orthocath: musings by a revert to the Orthodox Catholic faith,* accessed October 15, 2012, http://orthocath.files.wordpress.com/2010/11/pope-and-patriarchs-letters-of-pope-pius-ix-and-orthodox-patriarchs.pdf.

[58] Members of the region's Greek Orthodox synod and its patriarchs responded to this Papal Bull in a letter from May 1848, in which they outwardly rejected the Vatican's supremacy, and reasserted the centuries-old debate between Eastern and Western churches regarding the Catholic *Filioque* clause (that the "Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son," deemed heretical by Greek Orthodox doctrines which state that it only "proceedeth from the Father"). An English translation of this letter can be found online: "Encyclical of the Eastern Patriarchs, 1848: A Reply to the Epistle of Pope Pius IX, 'to the Easterns'," *Orthodox Christian Information Center*, accessed October 15, 2012, http://orthodoxinfo.com/ecumenism/encyc_1848.aspx. The controversies surrounding this Papal encyclical are discussed in A. Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches: A Study in Schism*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2010), 351-53.

Protestants) on their lithographic press between 1848 and 1852.[59] Once the Jesuits received their own letterpress and Arabic typeface (from Paris) in 1853,[60] production took off, with their press proving to be a serious competitor in the Arabic printing industry. [61] This translated the situation into a full-scale war of words between these two foreign bodies, evident in the nature of their tracts.

Although the Jesuits also printed numerous secular works for their schools,[62] a number of their works were likely interpreted as open criticisms of the Protestants' publications. For instance, the first book the Jesuits printed on their new letterpress in 1854 was their version of *Kitāb al-iqtidā' bi-l-masīḥ wa huwa mushtamil 'ala arba'ā asfār* (translated from the original seventeenth-century work by Thomas à Kempis).[63] First published at the American Press in 1837, the Protestant's rendition of this Latin text was reprinted in 1842, as *Iqtitāf kitāb al-iqtidā' bi-l-masīḥ*.[64] According to Jesuits and local Catholic readers, the Protestants' version deliberately excluded the intrinsically Catholic

---

[59] The Jesuits' lithographic press arrived in Beirut from Lyon sometime in October 1847. Sami Kuri lists all fifteen publications produced on the Catholic mission's lithographic press in his "Esquisse d'un catalogue des imprimés," 76: n. 4 + 82-83.

[60] Jesuit records indicate that by 1851, the missionaries in Beirut expressed a dire need of an Arabic letterpress because they felt that the lithographic method only allowed for an average number of runs that were insufficient given the demands of local Christian readers, see Kuri, *Les archives des jésuites*, 2: 74-5; n. 3. Their first letterpress arrived in 1853, and a second press was acquired in 1855, a donation from the Comité des Ecôles d'Orient in France. Kuri, "Esquisse d'un catalogue des imprimés," 76: n. 8. See also, Lūīs Shaykhū, *Tārīkh fann al-ṭibā'a fī al-mashriq [1900],* al-Ṭab'a 2, munaqqaḥa wa-mazīd 'alayhā (Bayrūt: Dār al-Mashriq, 1995), 58.

[61] For a thorough list of all the letterpress printed books by the Jesuits from 1854 until the late 1880s, see Kuri, "Esquisse d'un catalogue des imprimés," 84-137.

[62] Kuri, "Esquisse d'un catalogue des imprimés," 82-83.

[63] "De imitatione Christi," 2000 copies issued. Ibid., 76 + 88.

[64] ABC 16.8.1, v.1, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, 1844.

message of this Latin work until "no truth remained of its Catholic origins."[65] While it appears that the original reason behind the Jesuit press's publication of Kempis' text was to follow through on a condition placed by one of the press's benefactors,[66] it is also likely that the need to reprint this text stemmed from a general desire by the Catholics to counter Protestant works in circulation.[67]

As far as nineteenth-century missionary literature goes, both missions (and others) turned to similar sources for their ecclesiastical and secular works. Indeed, denominational variations in catechisms, homilies, extracts from scripture and new Bible translations,[68] still belonged to the same religious genre popular amongst missionary presses at the time. As such, distinctions were clearly drawn in Jesuit and Protestant books' introductions, with

---

[65] A dismissal of religious books printed at the American press can be seen in Lūīs Shaykhū's (a turn of the century Arab Jesuit priest) *Tārīkh fann al-ṭibāʿa fī al-mashriq,* 50. See also, J. Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie catholique de Beyrouth, 1852-1966* (Beyrouth: l'Imprimerie Catholique, 1960).

[66] Both Shaykhū and Jesuit records indicate that in 1853 "le conte de Trémond," a French tourist passing through Beirut during his visit to the "Holy Land," donated 6000 Francs to the Jesuit mission towards their purchase of a letterpress and metal type. His one condition was that the first book issued off the press be an Arabic translation of Kempis' work, to be distributed for free amongst local Christians. Shaykhū, *Tārīkh fann al-ṭibāʿa fī al-mashriq*, 57; Kuri, *Les archives des jésuites*, 2: 119: n.6.

[67] This remained an issue, as seen in Jesuit records from the 1850s and 1860s, which continually mention the Protestant threat, particularly the need to counter the American's "shamefacedly disguised" [*honteusement travesti*] and "brutally combative" books. For instance, another publication clearly aimed at undoing the American mission's work was *Kitāb al-daraj al-amīn ʿila al-ḥaq al-mubīn* [The Stairway to the Truth] (Bayrūt: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Kathulīkiyya, 1858). According to Jesuit records this book (a liberal translation from *Echelle de la foi*) continues the fifty reasons that convinced the Lutheran, Antoine-Ulrich de Brunschwich-Wolfenbuttle to convert to Catholicism in 1709. See letter dated 22 Mar 1860, from P. Louis-Xavier Abougit to P. Pierre Beckx in Kuri, *Les archives des jésuites*, v. 2: 247-48. See also, Kuri, "Esquisse d'un catalogue des imprimés," 108.

[68] While Arabic renditions of the New Testament were long in circulation, such as the popular 1671 *Biblia Sacra Arabica* translated by Maronites in Rome and produced by the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, both missions chose to produce new versions. In addition to illustrating the evident competition between the Protestants and Jesuits, this also clearly reflects contemporary developments in European and American ecclesiastic circles, the most prominent of which was the debate between defenders of the Greek *textus receptus* and the growing use of textual criticism (namely eclecticism) in Bible translations. For more see, B. M. Metzger and B.D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption and Restoration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). For the Syria mission's perspective, see E. Smith and C.V.A. van Dyck, *A Brief Documentary History of the Translation of the Scriptures into the Arabic Language* (Beirut: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1900).

each religious order signaling out the other as heretical or false. One could also argue that another way in which the Protestants and Jesuits differentiated their respective works from the other was in their visual attributes. Although extant examples of the early Jesuit lithographic books printed from 1848-1853 are difficult to locate,[69] if one were to consider contemporaneous works printed off the region's other lithography presses,[70] it is likely that these books relied on manuscript conventions in their layout and design. For instance, the Jesuit press's reliance on a local Arabic calligrapher, the priest Ḥanna Ghoṣn, for its lithographic productions likely meant that scribal methods were employed in these preliminary works.[71] Looking at later publications by the Jesuits and other local Catholic presses,[72] such as Jerusalem's Franciscan missionary press,[73] it is clear that such print shops favored decorative scripts and embellished borders in their books (Fig. 3.6).

---

[69] According to Shaykhū, *Tārīkh fann al-ṭibāʿa fī al-mashriq*, 56.

[70] For instance, books printed on lithography presses in Qajar Iran closely resembled their manuscript counterparts in layout, decoration, and calligraphic style. See note 82 in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

[71] This calligrapher is briefly mentioned in sources on the subject. See Shaykhū, *Tārīkh fann al-ṭibāʿa fī al-mashriq*, 57; Kuri, "Esquisse d'un catalogue des imprimés," 76.

[72] Other presses that emerged in Jerusalem at the time included the Anglican and Greek-Orthodox missionary presses. Ami Ayalon, *Reading Palestine, Printing and Literacy: 1900-1948* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 50: n.53.

[73] Established in 1846, the first book printed at this press was likely a catechism. For more, see an online letter (in English) dating to 8 Apr 1997 and penned by Giuseppe Nazzaro, the Franciscan guardian in Jerusalem. "Over 155 years of a socio-cultural ministry," *Franciscan Printing Press*, accessed January 12, 2013, http://www.christusrex.org/www1/ofm/fpp/FPP150en.html. Information in this letter comes from original press records (in Italian), and a press catalog, A. Arce, *Catalogus descriptivus illustratus operum in Typographia Ierosolymorum Franciscali impressorum*, I: 1847-1880 (Jerusalem: 1969).

Figure 3.6. Title pages. **[Left]** *Kitāb al-ifhūlūjiyyūn al-kabīr : istiʿmāl kahanat al-rūm al-kātūlīk,* Jerusalem: The Franciscan mission press, 1865. Universitäts-und Landesbibliotek Bonn (ULB), Goussen 4' 2099 (urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-8256). **[Right]** *Injīl rabbinā yasūʿ al-masīḥ* [Arabic Bible], Beirut: l'Imprimerie Catholique, 1877. ULB, Goussen 4' 2074 (urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-13622). Both digital images are reproduced here with permission from ULB.

Admittedly, it could also be argued that these Catholic presses were simply more open to illustrations and embellishments than their Protestant counterparts, and thus channeled the typical design conventions of similar European press. For instance, the publications seen in Figure 3.6 show the use of each respective religious group's standard insignia. These title pages, unlike the American Press's books at the time, include the date, publisher and location, thus fitting the popular formula for contemporary Latin script books. However, as I have argued for the American Press, other local missionary presses likely included or excluded certain design and organizational elements in response to various social, technical and political impulses. In the case of the Jesuit publications, for

114

example, images of their earlier letterpress publications (printed in the 1850s) show a much simpler and streamlined design that seems to resemble books printed by the Americans in the 1840s. (Fig. 3.7) While this visual approach is later abandoned for the more ornate books from the 1870s (like the one seen in Figure 3.6), the earlier designs likely mirror the Catholic press's shortcomings during its initial attempts at Arabic letterpress work. The Jesuit press supervisor at the time (the priest Philippe Cuche) cites numerous technical and skill-related difficulties printing in Arabic during the 1850s, such as textual errors during typesetting, poor printing quality and issues setting vocalization marks.[74] However, during the 1840s and the early 1850s, the Jesuit's lithographic publications likely resembled those of local scribal works, at least in the manner in which they were organized and their emphasis on calligraphic techniques (since all stone plates were produced via a calligrapher's hand). As such, this practice greatly differed from that of the American Press.

---

[74] A letter written in 19 June 1856 by P. Philippe Cuche (missionary and lexicographer who worked on the French-Arabic dictionary) relates the many difficulties facing the Catholic Press during this period. Although (in 1856) the Jesuits acquired a second letterpress, there were still numerous problems with proper registration, content and composing vocalization marks: "...ces quelques livres [printed at the press]...sont très mal imprimés et plein de fautes;...il [the type composer] ne sait composer que l'arabe simple; quand il a à composer de l'arabe avec des voyelles, il embrouille, il confond tout." Kuri, *Une histoire du liban à travers les archives des jésuites: 1846-1862,* v. 2: 154-56.
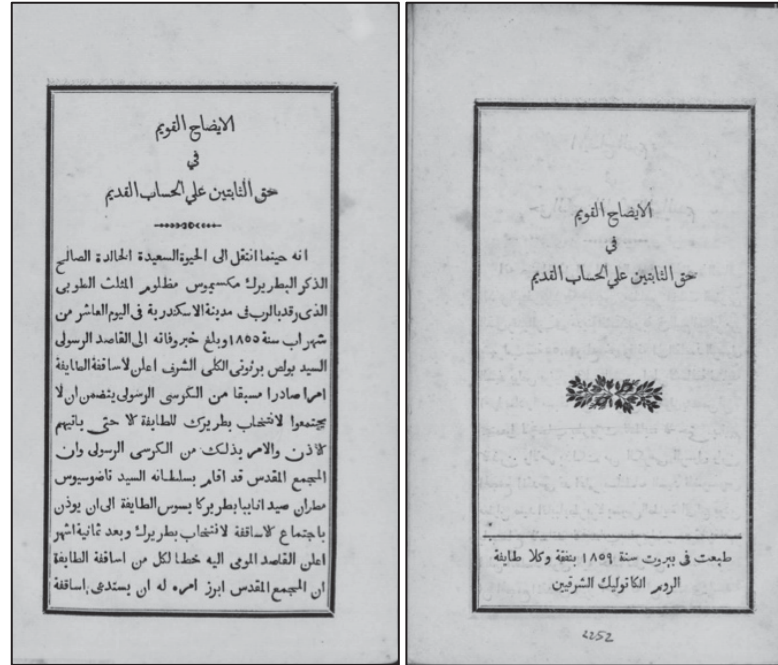
Figure 3.7. [Right] Title and **[Left]** incipit pages from *al-Īḍāḥ al-qawīm fī ḥaqq al-thābitīn 'alā al-ḥisāb al-qadīm*, Beirut: l'Imprimerie Catholique, 1859. Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek Bonn (ULB), Goussen 2252 (urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-14518). Reproduced with permission from ULB.

3.5. A Shifting Missionary Policy

The increased Jesuit presence and the Protestants' failure at luring significant numbers to their cause did little to impress the ABCFM Board secretary, Rufus Anderson, on his visit to the Mediterranean missions in 1844. In meetings with the Syria mission's members, a disgruntled Anderson made clear his frustration at the Syria mission's lack of success in converting locals and establishing churches.

> I think that this [the issue of native converts/lack of a native church] has had an effect on the policy of the mission and led to operating through the press and schools rather than the Pauline operation upon the hearts. The missionary has been afraid to strike because he did not know what to do next...I do not think the present force of the mission is sufficient to carry on the three departments of preaching, press, and seminary. One or more must suffer at present. Shall it be preaching? No. It must be one of the others.[75]

---

[75] ABC 30, Rufus Anderson (Secretary, 1822-1866), Papers, v. 10, Meeting at the Mission house, Beirut, 11 Mar 1844.

Anderson called for the curtailment of all activities not related to preaching (such as publishing and work at the mission's seminary[76]) and, claiming that the "absorbing demands of the press on some of the brethren; and of education on others" had prevented the mission's success amongst the masses.[77] The Board secretary had even harsher words to say about the press in a report to the ABCFM's Prudential Committee, published on his return to Boston in 1844, in which he stated

> [I]t [the press] is a bad master for preachers of the gospel. Strictly subordinate to the pulpit, it adds immensely to its power. But where there is only a small number of missionaries, its encroaching tendency on the oral instructions, and especially the more formal preaching, is almost uncontrollable. There is felt to be a necessity for keeping the machinery in motion, and therefore of furnishing at all events a certain amount of work; and thus what was designed to be merely a servant and aid of the preacher, becomes his dictator, and he sinks into an author and editor.[78]

To ensure that the mission heeded his concerns, Anderson had the Board distribute a circular to its foreign missionary presses stipulating that all future funding requests to the Bible and Tract societies—which were submitted by the press editor in the past—come from the Board in Boston and not missionary members.[79] Given this pressure from the Prudential Committee, compounded with its dwindled number and mounting pecuniary

---

[76] At this point in the mission's history, their education program was limited to a seminary for male students and a boarding-style system for girls operated out of various missionary households—with the former focused on religious education and the latter (taught by wives of missionaries) dealing with home economics in addition to teachings of the scripture. By 1850, an official female boarding school is established at Henry De Forest's residence. For more see Tibawi, *American Interests*, 62-66.

[77] Anderson, *Report to the Prudential Committee*, 27.

[78] Ibid., 33. The "author and editor" reference here is most probably to Smith whom, although hired as a press editor from the start at both Malta and then Beirut stations, was also an ordained member of the mission and expected to perform his duties as a preacher.

[79] Anderson first proposed this in his *Report to the Prudential Committee*, 33. The circular is then printed in 1845, see ABC 60, v.1, Printed Circular from Prudential Committee to all Foreign Mission addressed to Rev. Eli Smith, 23 May 1845.

struggles,[80] the mission took the slap on the wrist in stride, suspending press activity to focus on gaining "access to the minds of the people" via direct preaching, and forming local-run churches to provide a "home" suitable for such efforts.[81]

Aside from publishing a small number of reprints and the "binding of books already printed enough to employ the apprentices," [82] work at the Press came to a standstill in 1844,[83] and over the next four years, did not pick up a pace beyond two annual print runs. Minutes from a meeting in 1845 show that the Press's work was still "very much contracted and the mission [is] now more especially devoted to preaching."[84] The same went for the following year in which the missionaries decided that local assistants in the mission's employ be dispatched "as vigorously and constantly as possible" to nearby towns as catechists and preachers of the gospel.[85] As such, the Press remained intermittently suspended because "the mission cannot with its present numbers and

---

[80] The need for funding is consistently voiced by the missionaries in records throughout the 1840s, even as late as 1848. See, ABC 2.1.1 Letters: Foreign (Transcript series), 1836-1875, v. 11, Printed circular by ABCFM, 15 Jun 1848.

[81] ABC 2.1.1, v. 11, Printed circular by ABCFM, 15 Jun 1848; ABC 30, Rufus Anderson (Secretary, 1822-1866), Papers, v. 10, Meeting at the Mission house, Beirut, 11 Mar 1844.

[82] Anderson, *Report to the Prudential Committee*, 29.

[83] Press reports from 1844 indeed show that its workers were only occupied with a backlog of bookbinding (some book pages dated to 1836). UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Press Report, Apr-Jun 1844; ibid., Jul-Sep 1844; ibid., Oct-Dec 1844.

[84] ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Mission House, 30 Jul 1845. Indeed, a press report from this year only shows a reprint of *Kitāb taʿlīm mukhtaṣar li-l-aṭfāl fī qawāʿid al-dīnīya wa-l-īmān* (an Arabic translation of Isaac Watt's *The First Set of Catechisms and Prayers* first printed at the mission in 1836). UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report of the Press, Jan-Mar 1845.

[85] ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Mission House, 9 Jan 1846.

enfeebled health sustain the operations of the Press without interfering seriously with the preaching of the Gospel."[86]

With Press activities under close scrutiny from the Board, the mission's publication proposals clearly needed to demonstrate the use, impact and unambiguously Protestant nature of any books it wanted to print. For instance, although a printed edition did not come off the Press until 1860, the Protestant's Arabic Bible project—which was translated and edited between 1847 and 1860[87]--went from being an ambitious suggestion, to serving as the Press's key selling point for the better part of the next two decades (essentially encompassing Smith's life work).[88] Indeed, records indicate that after Anderson's visit the production of the "Sacred Scriptures" in Arabic was promoted by the Beirut station as the central goal of American Press in the hopes of demonstrating (to the Board) the print shop's continued value as part of the missionary enterprise.[89]

Also aligned with this new policy were ecclesiastical works that pointed out the flaws and errors of local churches, which would certainly have qualified as necessary tracts, especially when religious identities, in an increasingly unstable local political setting, were in flux. Concurrently, as Arabic translations of contemporary radical thought,

---

[86]An additional factor that stymied press activity was Smith's MIA status—for health reasons, he returned to the US in1845 and did not resume work at the mission until 1847—thus leaving the press without an editor. For more on the press' suspension that year see, ABC 16.8.1 Syria Mission (1823-1871) v. 8, Supplementary Papers: Documents, Records, Minutes (1836-1870), Meeting at Mission House, 9 Jan 1846; ibid., Meeting at Lanneau's, 16 Jan 1846; ibid., Meeting in 'Abay, 15 Sep 1846.

[87] The translation project was officially approved in January. ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Mission House, 20 Jan 1847.

[88] Smith works on translating the Old and New Testaments from 1848 until his death in 1857, after which fellow missionary Cornelius van Dyck continued with the project.

[89] This is evident in a report on the Press's activity stating that the editor (Smith) remains occupied with the translation of the Bible. ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1855.

many of which came from popular writings of the French Revolution, [90] were taken up by local readers the American Press editor underscored the need to print Protestant books as "antidotes" to such European works that were "allied with infidelity."[91] Certainly, from the Syria Mission and Board's perspective, this was not the time for ambiguity or subtlety in their message if the Protestants were to garner portions of this nebulous print readership.

With the growing centrality of the new bible translation and religious works to the press' value, the production of secular publications—even those used for basic educational functions—took a sharp dive. For instance, aside from a book of Arabic lessons (1846),[92] a revised tract on the treatment of Cholera,[93] and an arithmetic textbook by Buṭrus al-Bustānī[94] (both produced in 1848), the scant number of books printed at the Press during the mid to late 1840s pertained almost exclusively to religious instruction. Incidentally, although Bustānī's text came off the Press in 1848 it was initially slated for publication between 1842-1843 (before Anderson's visit),[95] and was thus likely put on the back burner

---

[90] For more on the spread of radical thought amongst and from the local Ottoman readers, see I. Khuri-Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860-1914* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2010).

[91] ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1850.

[92] Book of "Arabic lessons," 1000 copies, likely lithographed. UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Semi-Annual Report of the Press, Jan-Jun 1846.

[93] *Ilāj mufīd li-l-hawā al-aṣfar al-mubīḍ* [A useful treatment of the fatal Cholera], composed by the mission's Dr. Azariah Smith, 17 p. 12 mo., 1000 copies, see ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at 'Abay station, 4 Oct 1848. Tract is listed as printed in UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Semi-Annual Report of the Press, Jul-Dec 1848.

[94] *Kitāb kashf al-hijāb fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb* [A Book on the Demystification of Arithmetic], consisting of 1000 copies printed in 317 p. 8 vo., included parts of Smith's earlier book on the subject (printed in 1838), see Tibawi, *American Interests*, 85; UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Semi-Annual Report of the Press, Jul-Dec 1848; Ellis, *Arabic Books*, v. 1: 429.

[95] It was first listed for production in 1842, then again a year later, see ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Native Chapel, 21 Apr 1842; ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Native Chapel, 10 Mar 1843.

due to the mission's revised policy (despite its usefulness for the mission's schools and seminary).[96]

It is also highly probable that the mission's insistence on valuing the publication of religious tracts over secular ones was met with some resistance, at least from Smith (given his long-standing view regarding the importance of secular publications—specifically Arabic grammars—for a largely illiterate populace).[97] A letter from Yāzijī to Smith (who was still stateside at the time) indicates as much. In it, Yāzijī complains to the missionary that the ABCFM's new policy to only fund religious works meant that there was no financial support for printing the lexicon and Arabic grammar that the author was working on--under Smith's supervision—for the mission.[98] Additionally, while the Press's editing committee—namely Smith and Cornelius van Dyck—shows an interest in producing such

---

[96] The earlier edition by Smith (the version used by the seminary and schools at the time) was deemed unsatisfactory, and Smith himself recommended the production of a more elaborated text, see ABC 16.8.1, v. 1, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, 1844.

[97] Smith's opinions on this matter are first voiced in an article from 1830 on the importance secular publications amongst the illiterate masses stating: "ignorance impedes the motions of the press. What then shall we do but employ the press itself to remove this obstacle: Let a series of *elementary school-books* be placed in the list of its publications." He goes on to specify that: "there are some classes of school-books, whose nature does not allow of their being made the vehicle of much religious instruction." As such, Smith clearly supports the production of non-religious works to aid with educating potential converts in the basics of language needed to read the gospel. Yale Divinity School Library, Manuscripts and Special Collections, Eli Smith Family Papers, Record Group No. 124 (hereafter YDSL, Smith Family Papers, RG124) Series V. Research Materials of Margaret Russell Leavy, Writings of Eli Smith, Box 6/34, "Use of the Press in the East," 1830.

[98] ABC 50, Box 2, al-Yāzijī to Smith, 3 Feb 1846. This issue is also brought up in an earlier letter to Smith, dating to August 15, 1845. For details from this letter, see Tibawi, *American Interests*, 116-17: n. 1.

secular books on "Grammar and Rhetoric" with Yāzijī's help for the seminary in 1848,[99] these books were not authorized for publication by the author until 1854.[100]

The mission's new focus on religion and preaching over printing and education also impacted the employment of certain local workmen at the Press. In particular, some missionary members—at various intervals during the mid-1840s and later decades—demonstrated a changing attitude towards the Press employees (as well as those working within the mission's apparatus) who adamantly maintained an affiliation with local religious sects. For instance, during a meeting in 1845, a report is read on the subject of (staunchly Greek Orthodox) Yāzijī's continued employment given the mission's dwindled funds and the Press's suspension, in which the committee on the subject states that:

> ...funds placed at our disposal by the church are a sacred deposit to be used for the promotion of the Kingdom of Christ & for that only...[T]he individual in question [Yāzijī] is not friendly to the Evangelical Religion, has regularly absented himself from our Sabbath services and forbidden his son from attending the Sabbath school...we cannot conscientiously recommend that he be continued on his present permanent salary...[W]e consider it our duty in view of all the facts detailed above permissible to employ the said corrector hereafter only when we have appropriate work for him to do. [101]

---

[99] Smith and Van Dyck are asked "to examine the works ...on Grammar & Rhetoric and if they find them proper for text books in the seminary...examine existing works on Prosody...request Yāzijī to compose a work on that subject for a text book," see ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Smith's, 11 Feb 1848.

[100] ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting in Beirut, 2 Nov 1854. The book was eventually published in two volumes: *Majmūʿ al-adab fī funūn al-ʿarab: Kitāb ʿiqd al-jumān fī ʿilm al-bayān*, 1855, 165 p. 12 mo., see ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting in Beirut, 2 Nov 1854. Book title and information is listed in Ellis, *Arabic Books,* v. 2: 415. The second part was printed later that same year as *Majmūʿ al-adab fī funūn al-ʿarab*: *Nuqṭat al-dāʾira*, 166-214 p. 12 mo. Also listed in Ellis, *Arabic Books*, v. 2: 417-18.

[101] ABC 16.8.1 Syria Mission (1823-1871) v. 8, Supplementary Papers: Documents, Records, Minutes (1836-1870), Meeting at Mission House, 30 Jul 1845.

While some missionaries (specifically Cornelius van Dyck) continued to express their discontent with Yāzijī in later years,[102] the notes from this particular meeting illustrate an important shift at the time in the Press's policy relating to the mission's goals of "promoting the Kingdom of Christ," one that extended to their local hires.[103]

This issue appears to have been (for the most part) unique to the mid to late 1840s, around the time when Anderson continuously attempted to micromanage the mission and its publishing activities from afar. For instance, during the 1830s, it did not seem pertinent to the mission whether local hires working at the Press or otherwise converted to the mission's cause. In fact, many of those working at the American Press, some of who were closely involved in the translation and printing of books, belonged to local religious sects. It was also not a policy that was very consistently enforced in later years. For example, despite briefly limiting his employment at the Press during the mid 1840s, the mission kept Yāzijī within their employ until at least June 1860.[104] Another instance in which the mission contradicted its stance from the 1840s was its employment of Yūsuf ibn ʿAql al-Aṣīr al-Ḥusaynī (in 1860) to assist Van Dyck in the Arabic bible translation after Smith's

---

[102] This became most evident after Van Dyck took over the project of translating the bible into Arabic upon Smith's death in 1857. While Yāzijī was very involved in copying, correcting and translating the work under Smith's supervision, Van Dyck refused to work with him. According to Van Dyck, a condition of the contract between Smith and his local assistants "was that in case of the death of either party, the contract became null and void. The Mission was not bound thereby" (14). Van Dyck's discontent with Yāzijī's work in particular, however, was clearly underscored: "in doing this work [the Bible translation] he [Yāzijī] was not faithful…The fact that he cared little whether the work was accurate in grammar or not became evident to some others" (29). See these statements quoted in E. Smith and C. V. A. van Dyck, *A Brief Documentary History of the Translation of the Scriptures into the Arabic Language* (Beirut: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1900), 14 + 29.

[103] In addition to Yāzijī, another local the mission likely had issues with at the time was Bishāra al-Khūrī, a Maronite, employed as an instructor at the mission's seminary. See Tibawi, *American Interests*, 99-100.

[104] It appears that the scholar's connection with the mission was severed in June of 1860, see ABC 16.8.1 Syria Mission (1823-1871) v. 8, Supplementary Papers: Documents, Records, Minutes (1836-1870), Meeting in Beirut, 3 Apr 1860.

death (in 1857).[105] The fact that al-Aṣīr, who studied in Damscus and at Cairo's al-Azhar mosque, was a Muslim was actually viewed as an added advantage.[106] It is most likely, then, that the mission's religious discrimination towards local hires, and its stringent evangelical views in general, were ways in which missionary members tried to appease the Prudential Committee at a time during which the Press's (and even the mission's) very existence was in jeopardy.

3.6. Protestant Books and an Emergent Print Readership

Despite the American Press's varied attempts, from the 1830s to the late 1850s, at either luring or reprimanding local readers into entering Protestantism's hallowed gates, many of these books remained gathering dust on shelves at the Press or in the mission's book magazine. Oftentimes, if large numbers were distributed they were religious works for use by neighboring missionary stations.[107] How much of an impact these books actually had on elite readers during the Press's nascent period (from 1835 until at least 1860) is

---

[105] For more on this poet and scholar, see John A. Thompson, *The Major Arabic Bibles: Their Origin and Nature* (New York: American Bible Society, 1956), 23-24.

[106] Van Dyck thought that an educated Muslim scholar would have no biased assumptions about how biblical passages should read, and would thus focus on the purity of the Arabic writing, see I. Hall, "The Arabic Bible of Drs. Eli Smith and Cornelius V.A. Van Dyck," Journal of the American Oriental Society 11 (1882-1885): 280. Additionally, Jessup praises al-Aṣīr as a "Muhammedan scholar of high repute...whose purely Arabic tastes and training fitted him to pronounce on all questions of grammar, rhetoric and vowelling," H. H. Jessup, F*ifty Three Years in Syria*, v. 1: 75. Also see YDSL, Smith Family Papers, RG 124, Box 3/5, Series II. Writings, Writings of Others, Data Furnished by Dr. C.V.A. Van Dyck with Reference to the Translation of the Scriptures into the Arabic Language under the Auspices of the American Mission in Syria and the American Bible Society, 1885; E. Smith and C. V. A. van Dyck, *A Brief Documentary History of the Translation of the Scriptures into the Arabic Language* (Beirut: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1900), 29.

[107] One rather popular tract at the time was an Arabic translation of the Passion of the Christ, printed in 1841. In 1852, for instance, 315 copies were sold from the American Press to the ABCFM station in Mosul. UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Annual Report of Press and Magazine, Dec 1851.

difficult to gauge due to inconsistent sales records, which often did not distinguish between purchases made by local residents or outlying missions.[108]

From the few documents available it certainly appears that throughout this period the mission's publications hardly attained a mass readership. In the second half of its 1846 fiscal year, for instance, the Press only sold fifteen prints of ecclesiastic works to "natives" while about forty-one copies of secular writings (the most popular being *Kitāb al-ājurrūmīya: al-Ajwiba al-jalīya fī-l-uṣūl al-naḥawīya*[109]) were purchased.[110] Of the publications distributed in 1851 from the mission's book magazine in Beirut's mercantile center, which was likely the preferred point of purchase for local urban class readers,[111] the bestsellers were an edition of the Psalms[112] (fifty-two copies sold) and *Kitāb al-ājurrūmīya*

---

[108] In the mission's Annual Reports the number of books issued from the press and book magazine is often tallied into lump sums. While 3,406 books were issued from the press in 1850, for instance, its not clear if they were actually sold locally or simply shipped off en mass to neighboring stations, ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1850. Press and magazine records held at the Presbyterian Historical Society provided a slightly more differentiated view of books distributed. However, available documents are incomplete, with several years missing.

[109] "The Ajurrumiya: Answers to the Basics of Arabic Grammar" (Beirut: American Press, American Press, American Press, 1841) was adapted from the thirteenth-century text by Muḥammad al-Ṣanhājī b. ʿĀjurrūm, and remained one of the mission's most popular texts with at least 2000-3000 issues printed with each edition in 1841, 1853, 1857, 1874 and 1886. See publishing details in ABC 16.8.1, v. 1, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, Mar 1844; ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1853; ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1856. Some editions are listed in Ellis, *Arabic Books in the British Museum*, v. 2: 236.

[110] UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Semi-Annual Report of Press, Jul-Dec 1846.

[111] Although a book depot was first set up in 1835, the mission split the sales of its books between the magazine and Press offices until 1865, when all books were transferred to the magazine. ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Special Meeting in ʿAbay, 9 Aug 1865.

[112] First printed in 1842 then 1851, this was likely a revised edition of an earlier 1838 translation by Yāzijī and an issue from the Greek Catholic press in Shuwayr. It served as a popular textbook for missionary schools, and likely remained one of the least controversial of the Protestant's liturgical texts in circulation. The 1842 edition is listed in ABC 16.8.1, v. 1, Books printed at the Mission Press in Beirut, Mar 1844. A letter from an American Press workmen shows that the mission was using both Yāzijī and the Shuwayr texts as sources, ABC 50, Box 1, al-ʿĀzār to Smith, 8 Aug 1842.

(thirty-two sold).[113] Despite these rather paltry sales figures (which would see major improvements into the second half of the century), it is clear across the board that urban readers were mostly interested in secular works; fundamentalist Protestant ecclesiastic works piqued little to no interest.

Although the mission, by 1855, recognized the changing landscape of print readers and their preference for secular publications (something the Jesuit press had started working on at this time as well), the Press's production of such works did not significantly increase. Eli Smith was able to justify the need for occasional volumes of Arabic grammar, Arithmetic and Geography for use in the mission's schools and seminary.[114] However, for most of the 1850s, even into the early 1860s, the Press's policies remained tied up with restrictions on book production set by the ABCFM in Boston.[115] The process of translating and printing the first editions of the bible, as well as other religious works, remained the mission's star projects with respect to their Press. Rather than limiting the significance of the American Press to the growing importance of regional printing practices, the decreased missionary involvement in the Press's activity opened up the possibility for increased local involvement.

---

[113] UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Annual Report of Press and Magazine, Dec 1852.

[114] A number of these books were written by the missionary Cornelius van Dyck, such as an algebra book in 1853 and Euclid's Elements of Geometry in 1856. ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1853; ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1857.

[115] In a letter to the mission from 1851, for instance, Anderson states: "Are you losing ground, or are you gaining, at Beirut and ''Abay?...We should regard it as highly inauspicious to your mission should Beirut become, like Smyrna, chiefly a *book-making* station." ABC 2.1.1 Letters: Foreign (Transcript series), 1836-1875, v. 15 Letters. June 19, 1851 to Dec. 13, 1851, Anderson to Syria Mission, 6 Nov 1851. This remained an issue by 1855, as evidenced in a Press report from that year, in which Smith states that despite the great need for educational publications (school books, grammars, etc.), "the probability is, that years will elapse before any one of our number shall find time to supply the demand." UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Report on the Printing Establishment, 'Abay, 1 Oct 1855.

3.7. Conclusion

A complex web of external and internal impulses shaped the design and content of mission's publications in the 1840s and early 1850s. When compared to the mission's earlier efforts, it is clear that the mission's policy regarding its Press and publications in the 1840s cannot simply be explained away as a transplantation of Presbyterian Protestant aesthetics, texts and ideology. Seen in this light, the choices for the American mission's books from the 1840s reflect the mission's revamped proselytizing goals and efforts, at a time of mounting foreign missionary competition and local ecclesiastical opposition. Books that pointed out the errors of local churches, and clearly outlined the Protestants' worldview in design and content, were likely deemed essential for the mission's participation in an increasingly unstable political setting where religious identities and communal concerns were in flux.

At the same time, in presenting the narrative of this missionary press during the 1840s, this chapter sets up the framework for a broader consideration the American Press's significance to an emergent print readership. In particular, the technical, administrative and ideological changes that took place within the mission and the Press this time, chiefly in response to the region's shifting social, religious and political landscape, positioned the Press on an unintended path. One that allowed for a varied and non-traditional inclusion of subject matter reflective of ground-shifting cultural, social and political concerns beginning to make their rounds in Arab Christian elite and intellectual spheres.

127

Chapter 4: Print between Protestant Ideals and Secular Desires (1852-1860)

4.1. Introduction

During the early to mid 1850s, the importance of the American Press extended beyond the missionary apparatus. In particular, at a time when missionaries themselves (for various reasons) were unable to compose, edit and print books for use by the mission, its Press found itself (inadvertently) taking on the role of a secular publisher by printing works of established and emergent Arab scholars in Beirut. In a request to purchase a steam-powered press[1] in 1852, for instance, the mission's description of the press's activity clearly demonstrates a key shift in the nature of the work being produced on its premises: "[A] good deal of the press work consists of jobs for merchants and different departments of government...it occupies no missionary time, helps support the establishment and gains us favor with the people and with those who are in authority."[2] With the mission's subsequent purchase of a steam press by 1855, which far surpassed

---

[1] Until 1855, the presses operated at the mission's printing establishment were all manually powered.

[2] Records of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions deposited at Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (hereafter ABC), 16.8.1, Syria Mission (1823-1871), Documents, Reports, Letters, v. 4, Syria Mission to Anderson, 27 Jul 1852.

the efficacy of the Press's older equipment,[3] the Press was "employed, more than formerly, in printing books for the natives of the country, at their own expense."[4]

These developments at the Press led to interesting changes during the 1850s (into the mid-1860s), which would become important to an expanding print readership (that would flourish into the well-known intellectual milieu of the late 1800s). Although the Press continued to sporadically publish ecclesiastical works for use by the mission, as well as numerous early editions and proof copies of the new Bible translation, the Americans increasingly resorted to loaning out the press to members of an expanding print intelligentsia who sought to publish their own works (often at the expense of local elite sponsors).[5] Long-time mission employees Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī and Buṭrus al-Bustānī took full advantage of this moment by producing a string of their own writings, in addition to translating classical manuscripts of poetry, literature and history into print.

Intriguingly, Yāzijī and Bustānī's books closely resembled those of the Protestant's mid-century publications in their visual language. More importantly, although both scholars were aligned with the Christian faith (Yāzijī as a Greek Orthodox and Bustānī, a Protestant convert and missionary teacher) their work at this time demonstrated a clear secular interest in traversing the limits of sectarianism by excluding Christian references, and including a Muslim audience.

---

[3] Prior to this purchase, the mission only had two hand presses, both of which date to the print shop's inception in 1834: a "Demy" press (sometimes referred to as a "common press" in records) and a "Super Royal" press (likely the Wells Press). The former was in bad shape at the time, and could only be used for proofs, while the latter's production rate was approximately 41-42 impressions per hour (or "two thousand impressions...in two days"). See, ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Syria Mission to Anderson, 27 Jul 1852. The new, one horse powered, steam press, on the other hand, was "capable of throwing off eight hundred impressions per hour." See the Syria Mission Records from 1808-1967 of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. deposited at the Presbyterian Historical Society, Record Group 115, Box 1: Folder 25 (hereafter UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25), Report on the Printing Establishment, 'Abay, 1 Oct 1855.

[4] ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1855.

[5] Ibid.

One could argue that a burgeoning print intelligentsia embraced the American Press's design program, through its typeface, layouts, and formatting preferences, even while members of this group avoided any explicit association with the Protestant mission and its evangelical message. Scholars, such as the bibliographer and historian Dagmar Glass, have taken up the popularity of the American Press's typeface as one aspect of these visual borrowings. In a lecture on the subject published in 1997, Glass traces the use of this set of fonts, and some ornamental borders and rules, by private Christian and Muslim presses in Syria and beyond from the late 1850s onwards. Highlighting books by local Arab scholars, who likely purchased sets of the Americans' typeface, she credits Smith and his letterforms' success at bridging scribal and print culture for this widespread adoption.[6] This sentiment is reiterated in a later publication by Glass, as well as Geoffrey Roper, in a joint article detailing the development of Arabic printing in the Arab world, which emphasizes the importance of the mission's typeface to emergent private presses.[7]

While it certainly does appear to be the case that the American's Arabic typeface was frequently purchased during the 1850s and 1860s, my interests are not in trying to attribute certain visual practices or type designs to one or more sources in order to solidify the lineage of the mission. Rather, in this chapter, I endeavor to understand how the popularity of the American Press's aesthetics and production standards related to changing local perceptions at mid-century of what books should look like and how they

---

[6] D. Glass, *Malta, Beirut, Leipzig and Beirut Again: Eli Smith, the American Syria Mission and the Spread of Arabic Typography in 19th Century Lebanon,* ed. A. Neuwirth (Beirut: Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morganländischen Gesellschaft, 1997), 25-34.

[7] G. Roper and D. Glass, "The Printing of Arabic Books in the Arab World," *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter*, ed. E. Hanebutt-Benz et al. (Mainz: Gutenberg-Museum, 2002), 192-94.

should be read. More specifically, I explore questions about what function the stylistic methods prominent in the mission's publications served for local scholars who were utilizing the nascent print medium to further their own political, social and intellectual agendas. As such, it is argued that different agents could deploy the visual features of the press's books for a very different set of purposes and that these features may have been received quite differently from previous missionary works that followed the same template.

This chapter also turns the attention to the American Press and its job work publications at mid-century, which increasingly became a hotbed for the publication of secular works by members of an emergent print intelligentsia, whose writing reflected local interests in "reviving" past literary works and solidifying a multi-confessional Syrian identity. Historians and scholars of the *Nahḍa* and its consequences often speak of how members of local intelligentsia cultivated their ties with the foreign presence in the region to advance their political position, to make money and improve their businesses.[8] However, in such literary and historical studies, particularly those dealing with the mission, serious consideration is not given to how local scholars utilized the presses, production methods and design programs of these American and European entities, to further their own intellectual and social agendas.

---

[8] Prominent works include: F. Zachs and S. Halevi, "From *difaʿ al-nisa' to mas'alat al-nisa'* in Greater Syria: Readers and Writers Debate Women and their Rights, 1858-1900," *IJMES* 41 (2009): 615-33; Zachs, "Mikhail Mishaqa: The First Historian of Modern Syria," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 28.1 (May 2001): 67-87; U. Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008); Makdisi, "After 1860: Debating Religion, Reform, and Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire," *IJMES* 34.4 (Nov., 2002): 601-17; S. P. Sheehi, "Inscribing the Arab Self: Butrus al-Bustani and Paradigms of Subjective Reform," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 27 (2000): 7-24; A.L. Tibawi, "The American Missionaries in Beirut and Butrus al-Bustānī," *St. Anthony's Papers, Number 16, Middle Eastern Affairs*, ed. A. Hourani, v. 3 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1963), 174.

Indeed, even the mission and Middle Eastern historians who have written critically about the social, political and religious interactions between the American mission and local entities do not lend the same criticality to the mission's Press and publications. For instance, historian Ussama Makdisi, while occasionally discussing the importance of the American Press's typeface and standards to local Arabic printing, merely perpetuates the missionary's own narrative of Eli Smith as a "pioneer" of Arabic typeface advancements which laid down the groundwork for future developments.[9] In an equally (surprising) reductivist analysis, sociologist Samir Khalaf, in the most recent study on this mission, cites an article published in 1964 that claims Smith's Arabic typeface design "provid[ed] the Arabic world stretching from Morocco to the Philippines with an aesthetically pleasing and orthographically correct typeface."[10] By taking the history of the American Press, its typeface and its publications, at face value, these sources end up, perhaps unintentionally, perpetuating an undifferentiated history of these visual and technical developments, told almost exclusively from the mission's perspective. In doing so, they overlook the roles of local agents in utilizing the American Press, its design programs, and typefaces to further their secular agendas.

---

[9] Discussed in his U. Makdisi, "'Anti-Americanism' in the Arab World: An Interpretation of a Brief History," *Journal of American History* 89.2 (September 2002): 538-57. He also briefly mentions the American Arabic typeface used by Bustānī and seems to omit the importance of the American Press's early work by claiming that the Press only "became active in the 1840s," see U. Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven,* 164, 181, 202.

[10] This quote, reproduced in Khalaf, originally appears (with slight variations) in R. L. Daniel, "American Influences in the Near East before 1861," *American Quarterly* 16.1 (Spring, 1964): 81. Khalaf's discussion of the American typeface and Press also appears to be a direct reproduction of missionary sources and their narrative. This is apparent, for instance, in his description of Smith's "steely determination" in procuring the Arabic typeface in the face of tragedy. Additionally, Khalaf even (erroneously) claims that the American Press (when it was first established in the 1830s) was an "instant success." See, S. Khalaf, *Protestant Missionaries in the Levant: Ungodly Puritans, 1820-1860* (Oxford; New York: Taylor & Francis, 2012), 205, *Kindle* edition, Amazon.com.

The core function of this chapter, then, is to demonstrate the significance of the American Press (during the 1850s and 1860s) for local scholars who sought to publish works to foster their own visions and schemata. This includes looking at how the Press, with its changing role within the missionary framework, provided an opportunity for such projects beyond the Protestants' proselytizing goals. Drawing on a careful visual analysis of books printed at the Press by Arab scholars during this period, I also propose possible explanations for certain aesthetic choices and how these graphic conventions were likely negotiating broader social and political concerns.

4.2. A Chasm Between Bookmaking and Evangelizing

In the period that began in the early 1850s, the Press remained tied up with internal problems, mostly resulting from the editor's failing health, and external issues. Throughout this period, the Board in Boston continued attempts at curbing the Press's activities and restrictions on book production, that were described in the previous chapter.[11] The Bible translation remained the mission's central project for its Press in the 1850s. However, it soon proved to be an all-consuming task for a terminally ill Smith,[12] and allowed him little time for writing, editing or translating any other works.[13] Given

---

[11] Certainly, approval from the Board for funding the production of books remained a key issue, as discussed in a letter from Smith addressed to a Priest, Qusṭa Gharghūr, in Jerusalem. ABC 50, Eli Smith Arabic Collection, Box 3, Smith to Gharghūr, 31 May 1853.

[12] Smith, who is described as "pale" with a "delicate frame" in some missionary accounts, was plagued with health issues throughout his work in Beirut. However, things to a turn for the worse in 1855, when his cancer rapidly took hold of his health. He died on January 11, 1857. See, H.H. Jessup, *Fifty Three Years in Syria*, v. 1 (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910), 53. His increasingly poor health during the mid 1850s is also indicated in letters from press employees (particularly Yāzijī) as well as minutes from meetings. For some examples, see ABC 16.8.1, Supplementary Papers: Documents, Records, Minutes, v. 8, Meeting in Beirut, 1 Apr 1856; Ibid., Meeting in Beirut, 5 Apr 1856; ABC 50, Box 1, Yāzijī to Smith, 21 Jul 1856; Ibid., Yāzijī to Smith, 4 Dec 1855.

[13] ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1855.

Smith's inability to act as both press editor and bible translator during this period, requests were made for a new press editor from 1855 until shortly before Smith's death in 1857.[14] Unsurprisingly, given the ABCFM's continued tightening of its expenditures[15] and their general dismissal of missionary press activity, it appears that the Board did not heed these appeals.[16]

Board Secretary Rufus Anderson still maintained a staunch stance regarding the Press as a subordinate auxiliary to other missionary activity. Indeed, the missionaries' decreased involvement in press activity at the time did little to assuage these concerns.[17] For instance, shortly after Smith's death, Anderson addressed the mission with a request that a non-missionary author, a Dr. Reiggs, take over the Bible translation project and not a member of the Syria mission (i.e. Cornelius van Dyck) "with all the active labors among the people which are and must be incumbent upon you [the missionaries]." His

---

[14] The 1855 Press report, for instance, explains that the translation of the Bible may be delayed given Smith's need to serve as press editor—thus implying the desire to hire a new editor. UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Report on the Printing Establishment, 'Abay, 1 Oct 1855. This is brought up again more explicitly in a letter addressed to Anderson in 1856. ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Syria Mission to Anderson, 8 Apr 1856.

[15] ABCFM budgetary issues came to a head in 1861, with the unfolding of the American civil war, which directly impacted the Presbyterian mission via enlistments, taxation and the sectionalism of denominations. In a letter to the mission from Anderson, the board secretary urged the mission to limit its expenses to "relieve the [ABCFM] Treasury" due to increased war taxes and decreased commercial activity. The letter also asks the mission to rally for "native contributions and efforts and obtaining aid where ever you can from foreigners," ABC 16.8.1, v.8, Anderson to Syria Mission, 31 Jul 1861.

[16] There are no indications in the missionary records that any new editors were hired during the three years prior to Smith's death. Shortly after his passing in 1857, all Press-related tasks, including the bible translation project, were handed off to Cornelius Van Dyck (previously of the Sidon station), ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1857.

[17] His position regarding the Press did not change from his earlier views in the 1840s, even as the mission pushed for more ecclesiastical works vs. secular publications. This is clear in a letter to the mission from 1851. See, ABC 2.1.1 Letters: Foreign (Transcript series), 1836-1875, v. 15 Letters. June 19, 1851 to Dec. 13, 1851, Anderson to Syria Mission, 6 Nov 1851.

letter made it clear that no excess time be spent on producing the Bible, or any other publications.[18]

Perhaps Anderson felt that with the passing of Smith, the Press's steadfast advocate,[19] the Press could finally be pushed to the periphery of the mission's operations, thus allowing for a renewed (and more successful?) focus on preaching and strengthening the foundations for "native churches." Surely, the Press's outpouring of controversial ecclesiastical works in previous years backfired by further damaging Protestant-local ties at a time when inter-communal strife was quickly reaching a breaking point.[20] Furthermore, looming civil conflicts, and their impediment to proselytizing activity, directly impacted members of the mission and their small pockets of Protestant communities at this time. For instance, records indicate that during the 1850s, there were various incidents between Protestants in Sidon and members of the Sunni community,

---

[18] ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Anderson to Syria Mission, 13 Mar 1857. The Syria mission responded to Anderson's request a few months later, trying to convince him that Van Dyck was up to the task and that in order to attract Muslim readers, the Protestant bible needed to be written in a style familiar to the local residents (in which Dr. Reiggs, although recommended by Smith's close friend, Edward Robinson, apparently was not experienced). ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Syria Mission to Anderson, 12 May 1857.

[19] This idea has also been posited by A.L. Tibawi, see *American Interests*, 134.

[20] Sectarian tension from the 1840s, spilled into the late 1850s, culminating in the widespread inter-communal battles of 1860 (between Maronites and Druze in the mountains, and Muslims and minorities in the coastal areas and south). Historians of these conflicts are divided over the exact causes of such strife, which have traditionally been labeled as an inherent divide between Muslims and Christians that was set-off by the Ottoman *tanzimāt* (modernization reforms), which instituted a view that all sects were equal in the eyes of the state. Recent scholars, rightly repudiating the notion of an ingrained Muslim-Christian divide, cite economic issues, particularly the widening gap between the elites and masses (mostly made up a rural class), as well as growing European hegemony in the region as catalysts of these conflicts. For more on theses conflicts and their far-reaching political and social implications see examples of the revisionist scholarship on the subject, E. L. Rogan, "Sectarianism and Social Conflict in Damascus: The 1860 Events Reconsidered," *Arabica* 54.4 (2004): 493-511; U. Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2000); L. F. Tarazi. *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994); Tarazi, "The City and the Mountain: Beirut's Political Radius in the 19th Century as Revealed in the Crises of 1860," *IJMES* 16 (1984): 489-95.

135

which resulted in the Christians fleeing the city for fear of persecution.[21] While the late 1850s were only the start of a series of drawn out, violent conflicts, Anderson and members of the Board were likely kept abreast of these simmering tensions and their potential hindrance to the mission's goals.[22] All these components likely factored into Anderson's desire to keep the Press on the sidelines, lest its time-consuming and expensive activities derail the entire missionary establishment in Beirut, particularly at a time when missionary protection and sustainability seemed most precarious.[23]

The Board's request to remove the Press from Beirut in 1858 was initially agreed to by members of the Syria mission,[24] however its members quickly reneged on this decision and provided an alternate suggestion (detailed in an eight-page letter to Anderson).[25] The missionaries in Syria argued that while they understood that the press needed to be kept "in its place as a secondary instrumentality," they believed it was a necessity as a "front" for the mission's cause and goals, as well as a way to make money

---

[21] William W. Eddy, an American missionary resident of this port-city relayed the increased tensions between religious groups in Sidon (between Christian and Muslim groups), via letters to the mission as well as published accounts in the US. Records of the Syria Mission, of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, deposited at Jafet Memorial Library Archives and Special Collections, American University of Beirut, Lebanon, (hereafter AUB Archives), American Missionaries, Box 1, AA: 7.5, File 11, Eddy to Van Dyck, 18 Oct 1858; Ibid., Persecution of Protestants in Syria, 18 Dec. 1858; Ibid., Eddy to N. Moore (British Consul), Sidon, 18 Mar 1859; Ibid., Eddy to N. Moore (British Consul), Sidon, 17 Sep 1859.

[22] Indeed, Anderson was closely involved with the mission's work, having paid the region a third visit in 1855. Tibawi, *American Interests*, 139. Furthermore, letters from the Syria mission with updates on the brewing tensions in the region were regularly published in the Missionary Herald. In an issue from 1859, for instance, a letter claims: "The affairs of Syria are in a rather disturbed state," *The Missionary Herald* 55 (1859): 28.

[23] Although the Sublime Porte had granted the Protestants some stay and protection via a formal recognition of the religious group as a "sect" of the empire in 1850 (which had come about with the help of Khalīl al-Khūrī and the British Consul in Istanbul), this did not mean local residents accepted this new group of converts as legitimate. ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Mission House, 19 Jan 1847. This was the *firman* issued on 6 November 1850, cited in Tibawi, *American Interests*, 109.

[24] ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Press Library, 1 Apr 1858.

[25] ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Syria Mission to Anderson, 6 May 1858.

to offset its cost. As such, they suggested it remain in operation, via job works, with the intention that it be eventually turned over "to private hands and thus relieve the Board and mission of all care and responsibility" for it.[26] This paved the way for the increased involvement of local scholars in the Press's activity[27] and set the printing establishment on a course that allowed it to exist (and even successfully thrive) outside the missionary apparatus.

These developments at the Press during the 1850s and the 1860s allowed for the closer involvement of Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī and Buṭrus al-Bustānī as independent authors and publishers, not just Press translators and correctors. For instance, Yāzijī took this opportunity to publish a collection of his poetry in 1853,[28] a two-volume compendium of Arabic poetry and prose,[29] in addition to his *Kitāb majmaʿ al-baḥrayn* (in 1856), which contained anecdotes written in the literary style of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*, an example of one of the most important genres of pre-modern Arabic literature.[30] Important

---

[26] ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Syria Mission to Anderson, 6 May 1858. Indeed, funding of the Press remained a critical issue in the 1860s, given the war in the US and local inter-communal strife. See, ABC 16.8.1, Documents, Reports, Misc. Letters A-D, v. 6, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1860.

[27] A year after the mission's suggestion, the Press reports "a good share of job works" having been completed, at least enough to mention in the "Treasurer's Report," see ABC 16.8.1, Syria Mission (1823-1871), Documents, Reports, Misc. Letters A-D, v. 6, Annual Report of the Beirut Station, 1861. Additionally, the Tabular Report for that year states that the mission had not printed any books for its own use save for "a few Sabbath school tracts." ABC 16.8.1, v. 6, Annual Tabular View Report, 1861. Financially, printing job works was certainly a lucrative venture: in 1862, the Press made 28,554.30 piastres, while in 1863 the Press's income saw an approximate 30% gain with a total of 37,030.27 piastres. ABC 16.8.1, v. 6, Annual Report of the Beirut Station, 1863.

[28] *Nubda min dīwān al-shaykh Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī* [Selections from the Collection of Poems by Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī] (Beirut: 1853) 128 p. 8 vo. funded by Anṭūnīyūs al-Amyūnī, see A. G. Ellis, *Catalogue of Arabic Books in the British Museum*, v. 2 (London: The British Museum, 1901), 415.

[29] *Majmūʿ al-adab fī funūn al-ʿarab: Kitāb ʿiqd al-jumān fī ʿilm al-bayān*, v. 1 (Beirut: 1855), and *Majmūʿ al-adab fī funūn al-ʿarab: Nuqṭat al-dāʾira*, v. 2 (Beirut: 1855), see Ellis, *Arabic Books*, 2: 415-18.

[30] Described as "rhetorical anecdotes, composed in imitation of those of al-Ḥarīrī. With explanatory notes by the author" in Ellis, *Arabic Books*, 2: 417. See also, ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1856.

publications written or supervised by Bustānī[31] included the first edition of the

proceedings of the "Syrian Society for the Study of the Sciences and Arts" (Al-jamʿiyya

al-sūriyya l-iktisāb al-ʿulūm wa-l-funūn),[32] a printed edition of Maronite Christian Tānnūs

al-Shidyāq's account of Mount Lebanon's history,[33] and the story of Tānnūs' brother,

Asʿad al-Shidyāq[34] (an early Protestant convert persecuted by his Maronite community,

eventually dying in captivity). Other individuals to take advantage of producing job

works at the Press included Ibrāhīm Sarkīs,[35] Salīm ibn Mūsa Busṭrus,[36] and Iskandar ibn

---

[31] This is by no means a complete list. Other books worth mentioning included "a historical lecture on the culture of the Arabs" as *Khuṭba fī ādāb al-ʿarab* (Beirut: 1859), 40 p. 8vo., see, Ellis, *Arabic Books*, v. 1: 430. Bustānī also printed a rendition of Daniel Dafoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, *Kitāb al-tuḥfa al-bustāniyya fī-l aṣfār al-kurūziyya ʿan riḥlat rūbinṣun kurūzī* (Beirut: 1861), 8vo., see Ellis, *Arabic Books*, v. 1: 429. An earlier edition had been published in 1835 by the CMS in Malta as *Qiṣṣat rūbinṣun kurūzī*, a copy of which is held at the Yale University Library, call number Ik D362 Ex835.

[32] *Al-jiz' al-awwal min aʿmāl al-jamʿiyya al-sūriyya* (Beirut: 1852). First mentioned in an 1849 Syria mission record: "A request was presented from the Syrian Society of Arts & Sciences, for permission to have their transactions printed at the mission press," ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Mission House, 7 Apr 1849. The society was initially formed in 1842, and included missionaries as some of its members. The first edition of this group's proceedings (covering 1847-1852) contained entries by Smith and others. The society's publication is brought up in ABC 16.8.1, Letters: Ford-W, 1846-1859, v. 5, Hurter to Anderson, 5 Apr 1852. ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting at Native Chapel, 21 Apr 1842. For a reprint of this issue see, Y. Khūrī, *Al-jamʿiyya al-sūriyya li al-ʿulūm wa-l-funūn 1847-1852* (Beirut: Dār al-Hamrā', 1990).

[33] Tānnūs ibn Yūsuf al-Shidyāq, *Kitāb akbār al-aʿyān fī jabal lubnān* (Beirut: 1859). This 720-paged book was printed in three volumes. According to its colophon, Bustānī edited and oversaw the production of these volumes. He completed the first and second installments on June 13, 1855, while the third was finished in 1859. Luwīs Shaykhū lists this book as one of the few historical texts printed at the American Mission during the 1800s, see Shaykhū, *Tārīkh fann al-ṭibāʿa fī al-mashriq* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Mashriq, 1900, 1995), 50.

[34] *Qiṣṣat asʿad al-shidyāq bākūrat sūriyya* [The Story of Asʿad al-Shidyaq of Early Syria] (Beirut: 1860). Bustānī discusses working on this publication in a letter to Anderson in Jan 1860, see ABC 16.8.1, v. 6, Bustānī to Anderson, 25 Jan 1860. The publication is listed in that year's Annual Report as "life of Asaad Shidiak," see ABC 16.8.1, v. 6, Annual Report of the Beirut Station, 1860. An earlier different edition was produced in 1833 by the CMS in Malta as *Khabariyyat asʿad shidyāq*, 52pp 18cm in which the text was likely written by both Asʿad and Isaac Bird (of the ABCFM mission).

[35] Sarkīs published numerous works, including his *Kitāb ṣawṭ al-nafīr fī aʿmāl iskandar al-kabīr* [A Book on The Voice of the People in the Works of Alexander the Great] (Beirut: 1864), the colophon states that the book was printed—or funded—by the author's brother Shahīn Sarkīs (given its typeface, visual composition and production value, it was most likely printed as a job work at the American Press). At one point in the mid 1860s, Sarkīs was also instated (albeit temporarily) as the head printer/press supervisor when Van Dyck was in the United States working on electrotyping editions of the mission's Arabic Bible, see ABC 16.8.1, v. 6, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1865.

Ya'qūb Abkariyyūs,[37] to name a few. Of these three, Sarkīs, an Armenian Christian convert, was the only one employed by the mission (he was hired as a press worker—likely as a compositor—on Dec 8, 1851).[38]

Although the topic of job works appears ubiquitously in mission records of the time, there are no documents that define exactly what constituted a job work and how they were differentiated from Mission publications, only that the latter were usually funded externally (by local elites). This division was further complicated by the fact that mission employees were some of the main authors of these job works. As such, it is difficult to tell from Press records which of the publications produced as job works were also sold or used by the mission and which were not. Indeed, some books are clearly listed in the mission's Annual Reports[39] as having been published by the press, while others are vaguely mentioned in passing or ignored all together. For instance, Yāzijī's numerous works on grammar and prose, such his *Kitāb qiṭb al-ṣinā'a fī uṣūl al-manṭiq (al-taḏkira fī uṣūl al-manṭiq)* [40] and *Majma' al-baḥrayn,* appear in Annual Reports as

---

[36] An Arab traveler who wrote a book on his journeys in Egypt and Europe: *Kitāb al-nuzha al-siyāḥiyya fī al-riḥla al-salīmīya* (Beirut: 1856). It was referred to in missionary records as "a book of Travels by a native merchant," see ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1856.

[37] *Kitāb rawḍat al-adab fī ṭabaqāt shu'arā' il-'arab* (Beirut: 1857/1858?), is described in the mission's annual report as "a volume of Poems by a native/job work," see ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1857.

[38] UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Annual Report of the Press and Magazine, 1851.

[39] These were essentially annual accounts of the mission's activities, including its schools, seminary and Press, which were almost always written after the mission's general meeting of the Syria stations held in March of each year. These reports were sent to and collected (sometimes for selective publication in the *Missionary Herald*) by the ABCFM in Boston.

[40] "A Book on Logic" printed in 1857, 48 p. 12 mo., see ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1857; Ellis, *Arabic Books*, v. 2: 416.

works published by the Press.[41] Similarly many of Bustānī's earlier texts used by the mission's schools (such as his Arithmetic[42]) and books related to Protestantism (such as the story of As'ad al-Shidyāq) are highlighted in the Press's reports.[43]

However, when it came to secular works not specific to the mission's needs they were rarely elaborated on and the author was hardly ever named. For instance, an 1856 report alludes to Bustānī's publication of Tānnūs al-Shidyāq's history simply as a "history of Lebanon by a native."[44] Furthermore, while some job works were mentioned by title or referred to in Annual Mission and Tabular Reports, most were not even tallied in the usual increments of numbers of volumes or pages, but rather were indiscriminately categorized under the elusive "job works." Indeed, if one were to take these reports at face value, one would (incorrectly) assume that the Press saw very little activity during this period. Was downplaying the significance and size of such works (Shidyāq's three-volume history ran at about 720 pages!) a way to circumvent any potential issues from the Board? Had they known the very nature of such publications coming off the Press,

---

[41] For instance, ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1857; ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1856. Additionally, Salīm ibn Mūsa Bustrus' book on travels was noted in ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1856.

[42] *Kitāb kashf al-ḥijāb fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb* was printed in 1848 and 1858.

[43] Bustānī's *Qiṣṣat as'ad al-shidyāq* is listed in ABC 16.8.1, v. 6, Annual Report of the Beirut Station, 1860. The Arithmetic book appears in records as "Bistany's Arithmetic" including the number of copies printed, see UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Semi-Annual Report of Press, Jul-Dec 1848; ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1858.

[44] ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1856.

would members of the Board have also objected to all job works and local bookmaking efforts?[45]

It is unlikely that the Board approved funding applications for any secular works during the 1850s, unless they were deemed of utmost necessity for missionary progress in the region. However, it is clear that what was a "need" in the mission's view was not necessarily seen as such by the Board, thus representing a significant fissure between perceptions of the mission in Beirut and Boston. For instance, in a letter to Anderson from 1861, Van Dyck states that copies of books needed for mission stations and schools (such as Smith and Bustānī's "The Office and Work of the Holy Spirit" first printed in 1843[46]) were out of print, yet the mission did not have funds for reprints. Van Dyck pleads: "What shall we do? I know you will sympathize with us most deeply, yet we must call out—<u>What shall we do?</u> [sic]."[47]

It is equally unclear how profits from these non-mission job works publications were allocated. Since funding was tight, and books were needed, it is probable that some job works, though not officially approved by the Board—and not fitting with the Protestant's agenda—were incorporated into the mission's libraries and book magazines. Did the authors of such works receive any printing discounts or subsidies for permitting the mission to sell such books to fund the Protestants' own projects? Perhaps a more likely scenario, particularly in the case of Yāzijī whose books frequently appear on

---

[45] For instance, Tānnūs al-Shidyāq, unlike his brothers Asʿad and Fāris (another Protestant convert), remained a devout Maronite and his history was meant to emphasize this sect's regional significance, likely as a way to save face and regain favor with the Maronite Patriarch. Which makes its publication at the American Press all the more problematic.

[46] *Kitāb al-bāb al-maftūḥ fī aʿmāli al-rūḥ.*

[47] ABC 16.8.1, v. 7, Van Dyck to Anderson, 24 Jul 1861. It does seem that the mission is granted some reprieve regarding key religious works, yet it does not come until 1863 (Smith's book mentioned here, for instance, gets reprinted during that year), see ABC 16.8.1, v. 6, Annual Report of the Beirut Station, 1863.

141

Annual Reports, some special arrangement was in place regarding publications by Press employees and the mission's rights to a percentage of them. Whatever the nature of the mission's involvement in job works (which is currently unclear in available press records) this overlap of conflicting views, projects and interests within the space of the Press demonstrates negotiations and tensions between the mission's proselytizing goals and the emergent secular publishing endeavors of local Arab scholars.

4.3. A Repurposed Aesthetic

Although these "job work" publications by local authors diverged from the religious nature of books commonly commissioned by the Protestant mission, these works surprisingly resembled the mission's products, particularly the Press's post-1830s visual language and organizational methods. Yāzijī's *Majma' al-baḥrayn,* for instance, maintained similar proportions and layout styles of ecclesiastic books also printed at the American Press during this period. (Fig. 4.1) Certainly this book's use of the "American Arabic" typeface, one that the American Press was quickly becoming popular for, factored into this resemblance. At the same time, this book's layout demonstrates a strong emphasis on textual content, rather than decorative borders and flourished calligraphic motifs, much like its missionary counterparts. Arguably, these visual and organizational choices could be seen as simple implementations of standards and practices set by the American's print shop, ones that the Press's compositors, printers and other laborers were most familiar with. Indeed, one could argue that local authors perhaps felt it most convenient and cost effective to rely on pre-set methods and designs to complete the task at hand.
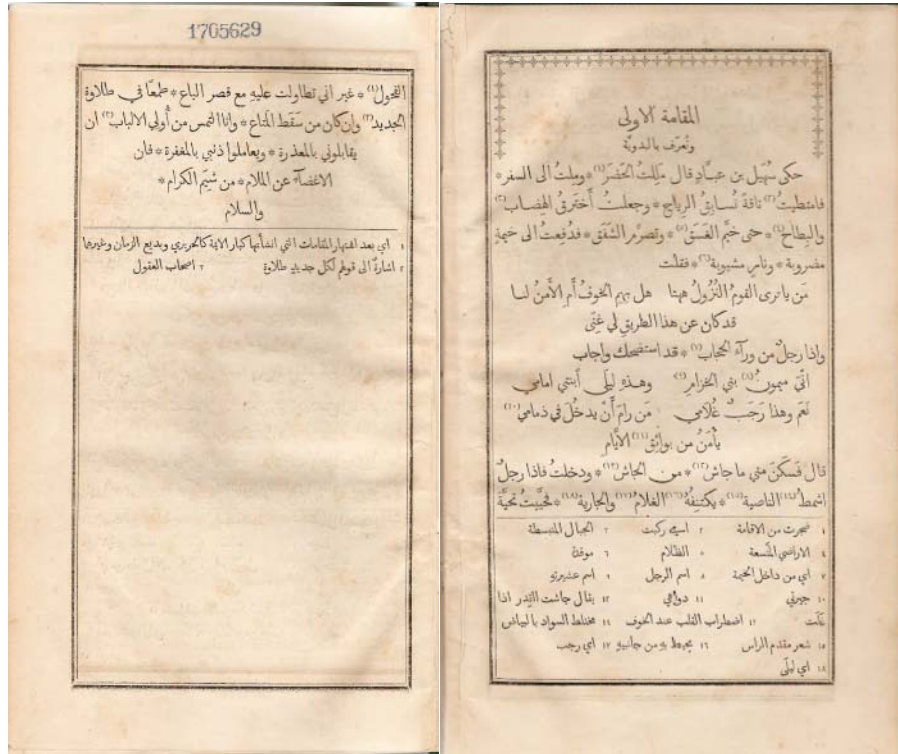
Figure 4.1. Chapter one, Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, *Kitāb majmaʿ al-baḥrayn*, Beirut: 1856. Digitized by author from the original held at the University of Chicago Libraries.

Various issues, however, problematize a quick dismissal of these conventions as de facto implementations. One is the fact that these Arab scholars, particularly Yāzijī, were familiar with the earliest books printed at this Press (specifically those that emulated scribal conventions) and frequently supervised their production. Indeed, Press records indicate that Yāzijī was very closely involved in the Press's production of his first book, *Kitāb faṣl al-khiṭāb fī uṣūl lughat al-iʿrāb*—the discourse on Arabic grammar completed in 1836.[48] At the same time, while Bustānī did not technically begin working at the Press until the early 1840s, he was certainly aware of its publications' earliest design programs. For instance, a printed copy of the famed tenth-century Muslim poet Aḥmad ibn al-

---

[48] Press reports indicate that Yāzijī frequently requested corrections and alternations be made to this grammar book, demonstrating that he was very closely involved in its production and may have partially funded the project, see UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Report of the Operation of the Press, 6 Apr 1836; Ibid., Quarterly Report on the state of the Press, 30 Sep 1836; Ibid., Quarterly Report on the Press, Dec 1836.

www.manaraa.com

Ḥusayn al-Mutanabbī's writings (compiled, edited and printed by Bustānī in 1860) recalls the *bismallah tughrā'* from Yāzijī's grammar of 1836. (Fig. 4.2) Although this calligraphic motif can be seen as a callback to the Press's early period, the minimalist layout, design and lack of any elaborate borders clearly demonstrates Bustānī's preference for a stark aesthetic more in line with the mission's mid-century works.
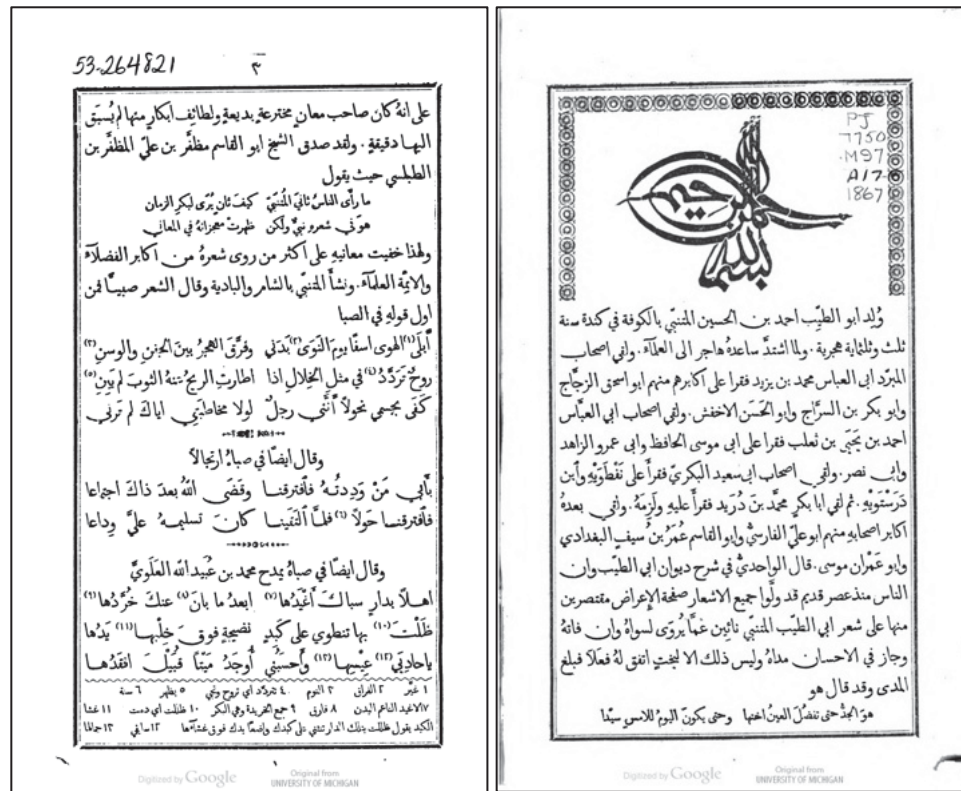
Figure 4.2. Incipit pages, Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Dīwān abu al-ṭayyib aḥmad ibn al-ḥusayn al-mutanabbī,* Beirut, 1860. Accessed from Hathitrust.org. Digitized by Google, Inc. from the original held at the University of Michigan Library. Public Domain.

Another indicator that these simplified visual choices were intentional and indeed sought out by scholars like Yāzijī and Bustānī is that these conventions frequently differed from those of contemporaneous printed books in circulation. For instance, a letterpress book on travels in Egypt, Turkey and Europe, by Ibrāhīm Efendī (listed on the

144

book's title page as the chief military surgeon in Beirut) in 1855[49] shows the use of

decorative corners and borders. (Fig. 4.3) While it is not clear where this book was

printed (no publisher is listed) it is apparent, from the typeface and style of ornaments

used, that it did not come off the American Press and differed from the Protestant

publications' design program. It may be that this work was either printed in Marseilles

(as an earlier publication of his on the elements of natural philosophy was[50]), or in Beirut

(where he worked as a doctor), likely by the Jesuit press (which, as previously

mentioned, began operating its letterpress in 1854).

Figure 4.3. Title page, Ibrāhīm Efendī, *Kitāb miṣbāḥ al-sārī wa nuzhat al-qārī*, Beirut: 1855.
Accessed from Google books. Digitized by Google, Inc. from the original held at Princeton
University (?). Public Domain.

---

[49] *Kitāb miṣbāḥ al-sārī wa nuzhat al-qārī* (Beirut: 1855). Ellis, *Arabic Books*, v. 1: 723.

[50] This publication is listed in Ellis's catalog as *Hadiyyat al-aḥbāb wa hadiyyat al-ṭālib* ["The elements of
natural philosophy"]. Ellis, *Arabic Books*, v.1: 723.

The fact that these visual choices were intended and sought out by Yāzijī becomes strikingly apparent in comparison to contemporaneous editions of the same text printed at early Muslim-owned, state-funded presses in neighboring and outlying cities, such as Būlāq press in Cairo and the 'Abbās Mirza sponsored presses in Tabriz. The importance of Tabriz (as well as nearby cities[51]) is that from at least the early 1830s it became known for its lithographic printing, and was where the first lithographed version of the Qur'ān was published in the 1832/4.[52] (Fig. 4.4) In the 1850s, both presses issued editions of the *Maqamāt*, which provides the sense that this historic literary work was one of great resonance for audiences across regions during this era, particularly for intellectuals first interested in translating classical texts into products of print technologies.

Unlike Yāzijī's publication, these editions bear great resemblance to scribal conventions from their respective locales. For instance, these works clearly continue the tradition of marginal glosses, popular in regional handwritten manuscripts, which present a culmination of textual interpretations and inter-textual readings. In scribal practices, these commentaries were frequently written at (sometimes varying) angles from the primary orientation of the text. In this way, these printed elements (seen in Figure 4.4) reflect the kind of handwritten exegeses that would normally populate the margins of manuscripts. Yāzijī's book, (Fig. 4.1) on the other hand, falls in line with both the

---

[51] Persian lithographic printing was also taking place in Lucknow, at the Muslim press of Naṣīr al-Dīn Haydar as well as presses in Bombay and Lahore. For more, see O.P. Scheglova, "Lithograph Versions of Persian Manuscripts of Indian Manufacture in the Nineteenth Century," *Manuscripta Orientalia* 5. 1 (Mar. 1999): 12-22.

[52] U. Marzolph, "Illustrated Persian Lithographic Editions of the Shahname," *Edebiyat* 13.2 (2003): 178. Interestingly, Tabriz was also the site of the earliest examples of Persian printing with moveable type in the region, which began around 1817 through the work of the printer Mirza Zayn al-'Abidin, see N. Green, "Persian Print and the Stanhope Revolution: Industrialization, Evangelicalism, and the Birth of Printing in Early Qajar Iran," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and The Middle East* 30.3 (2012): 480. However, this technology was abandoned until at least the 1870s, in favor of lithography, see Marzolph, "Illustrated Persian Lithographic," 178.

simplicity of the American Press's design program at the time and its presentation of external references in the form of footnotes—common to contemporary western print traditions.
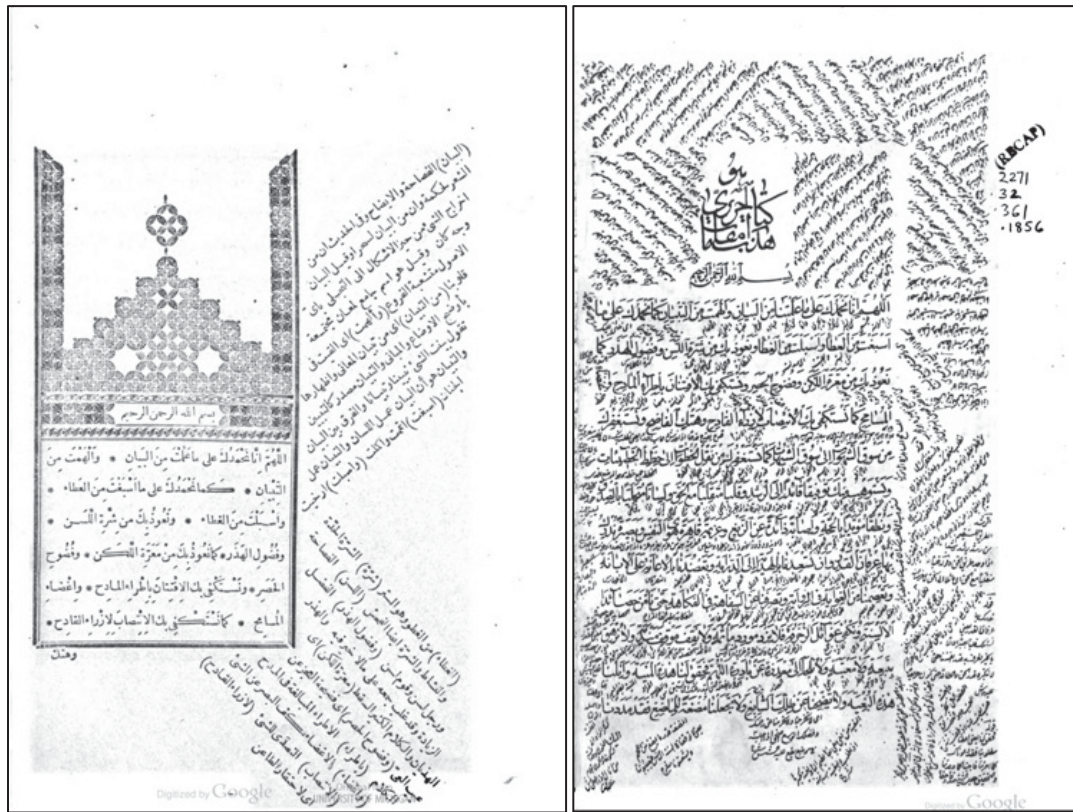
Figure 4.4. Examples of printed editions of *Maqāmāt al-ḥarīrī* [**Left**] Būlāq/Cairo, 1856, Letterpress. Accessed from Google books. Digitized by Google, Inc. from the original held at University of Michigan. Public Domain. [**Right**] Tabriz, 1856/7, Lithography. Accessed from Google books. Digitized by Google, Inc. from the original held at Princeton University. Public Domain.

One can make similar remarks on the format and conventions surrounding Bustānī's edition of the work of the famed Abbasid poet al-Mutanabbī. (Fig. 4.2) Here, like Yaziji, he relies on numbered references in place of marginalia. As with the case of the *Maqamāt*, this work was also being printed simultaneously in other locations, thus providing poignant examples for comparison. These printed editions, such as one from

147

Cairo, maintain the use of decorative *'unwāns* in their incipit pages in addition to marginal notes added along the side. While these adhere to the linear structure of the grid formation, in their extratextual placement they still show an allegiance to scribal customs.[53] (Fig. 4.5) Pictured here is the book's opening page, which shows an elaborately decorated *sarlawḥ* (headpiece), complete with a calligraphic *bismallah* within a cartouche. Also seen in this figure is an inner page from this book (left), which shows the continued presence of references, readings and notes in the large margins, in addition to the use of both catchwords and page numbers.

Figure 4.5. *Sharḥ al-tibyān lil-'ukbarī 'ala dīwān abī al-tayyib aḥmad ibn ḥusayn al-mutanabbī.* Cairo: Dār al-Ṭibā'a, 1870. [**Left**] Page from book showing use of marginalia (outside main textbox). [**Right**] Opening page showing decorative headpiece. Letterpress. Accessed from Google books. Digitized by Google, Inc. Public Domain.

---

[53] *Sharḥ al-tibyān lil-'ukbarī 'ala dīwān abī al-tayyib aḥmad ibn ḥusayn al-mutanabbī* (Cairo: Dār al-Ṭibā'a, 1870).

148

In considering Arabic-script books from other presses in the region, it is necessary to make note of the relationship between visual elements and technological limitations. Books produced in Qajar Iran, such as the example from Tabriz seen in Figure 4.4, were printed on lithographic presses, rather than letterpress ones. As such, one would expect that they would resemble manuscript conventions more closely. Indeed, the translation of scribal skills and techniques, as well as the process of laying out a page, to print was much better suited to the realm of lithography than letterpress and its clunky moveable type. As such, books coming off lithographic presses in the region demonstrated more calligraphic fluidity, detailed ornamentation and figurative representations than their letterpress-printed equivalents. At the same time, embodying a process that relies primarily on the calligrapher's hand, lithographic works demonstrate the printer's ability to work outside of preset grids, which in letterpress printing were necessary for establishing the location of margins and the body text.

Given the cumbersome nature of setting multiple lines of Arabic type with the inclusion of vocalization marks it is a wonder why lithographic printing was not the de facto method used in all of the region's print shops. The American mission even considered this possibility in 1833, as demonstrated in a letter from the Board Secretaries to Smith, telling the missionary bound for Beirut that he would have "use of a lithographic press...the value of which for printing in the Arabic and Syriac languages, your knowledge of the lithographic art will enable you very speedily to determine."[54] However, although a few items were printed on the lithographic presses on hand with the

---

[54] ABC 60, Eli Smith Papers, 1801-1857, Letters to Eli Smith, v. 1, Board Secretaries to Smith, 7 Sep 1833.

Americans, namely some sets of calligraphic alphabet and spelling cards for use in the mission's schools, lithography was not turned to as a serious book-making mechanism.[55]

Nonetheless, there is little doubt that lithography was much better suited for the various Arabic/Islamic manuscript traditions than letterpress, at least during the 1850s. For instance, while including multi-directional marginal glosses was relatively easy for the press in Tabriz, including peripheral text on diagonal lines with metal type, as seen in the Būlāq copy (image on left in Figure 4.4), was exceptionally more difficult in letterpress printing. However, as seen in numerous books printed on presses in Cairo, this technological hurdle did not necessarily prevent the inclusion of some ornamental elements and marginal notes. Thus, while books printed in Cairo and Tabriz relied on different technologies they both indisputably continued turning to scribal sources for inspiration, even as they formulated a visual language distinct to the printed Arabic-script book

4.4. The Lure of a Typeface?

Did the unique design of their typeface set the Americans' publications apart from others in circulation? Moreover, was their overall design program appealing to emergent local printers? Scholars have attributed the significance of the American Press in local printing efforts to its typeface, the "American Arabic" family of fonts first acquired by the mission in 1841. While there are general disagreements regarding which presses were

---

[55] Perhaps this had to do with the fact that these two lithographic presses were both faulty, with only one somewhat repaired by George Badger in the mid 1830s, see UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Quarterly Report of the Superintendent of the Press, 30 Sep 1835.

actually the first to be printing Arabic in the region,[56] the general consensus is that the American mission's set of types were—at least from 1842 to the 1860s—more desirable than other local or European-produced alternatives.

Most scholars have focused on the appeal and efficiency of this typeface in an isolated manner that does not locate the printed word within a larger visual vehicle of the book and its production. Indeed, it does appear that this typeface had garnered plenty of attention from locals eager to print their own books. For instance, in a letter to Smith from 1856, Khalīl al-Khūrī, a Greek Orthodox scholar and early entrepreneur who established a close connection with Smith during this period, asked whether the Press editor could produce a copy of this typeface for his use.[57] Even before then, in 1853, it seems that Smith was getting requests from locals for copies of this font.[58] Interest in the typeface was not limited to independent scholars and entrepreneurs but also extended to other missionary presses, such as the Dominican mission in Mosul,[59] as well as the Americans' main rivals—the Jesuits. According to the Jesuit priest Lūīs Shaykhū, the Catholic press in Beirut purchased a "simple" set of the American typeface (ḥurūfān

---

[56] For instance, Geoffrey Roper, in his work on early Arabic printing by the ABCFM, argues that while the American's typeface becomes popular by the mid-1800s, the Christian Missionary Society's press in Malta was actually one of the first presses to produce Arabic books during the 1820s (in addition to Egypt's Būlāq press), see G. Roper, "The Beginnings of Arabic Printing by the ABCFM, 1822-1841," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 9.1 (1998): 50-68. Dagmar Glass lists numerous books printed in Beirut, at private local presses, which clearly used copies of the mission's American Arabic, stating that this typeface's availability resulted in "a remarkable increase in the output of Arabic publications in Lebanon," see Glass, *Malta, Beirut, Leipzig and Beirut Again,* 27.

[57] ABC 50, Box 3, Khūrī to Smith, 9 Jun 1856.

[58] In a letter to Anderson, Smith explains that a group of locals had formed a company interested in establishing their own printing press, and hoped to purchase types from the mission. It is not clear, however, whether this request was granted, see ABC 16.8.1, Syria Mission (1823-1871), Letters: Ford-W, 1846-1859, v. 5, Smith to Anderson, 26 Dec 1853.

[59] "At the earnest solicitation of the agent of the Dominican Convent at Mosul, we cast, for that Convent, three fonts of type," *The Missionary Herald* 66 (1870): 160. It is apparent from the Arabic pages of this Catholic mission's bible (*Biblia Sacra Versio Arabica*) printed in 1874 by Josephi David (Yūsuf Dāwūd) that it used the American Arabic typeface.

amerkiyya basīṭa) in 1868.[60] This is corroborated by American missionary accounts,[61] which further claim that "...the type of our press is taking the precedence of the other kinds formerly in use."[62] Certainly, the sale of typefaces—in addition to bolstering the Press's reputation locally—was also a lucrative endeavor for an establishment that was constantly in need of reasserting its value to the Board at home.[63]

The popularity of American Arabic—while attributed in missionary records to the "beauty" or "uniform nature" of its letters that closely emulated calligraphic writing[64]— likely stemmed from its solutions to myriad problems, which had long plagued attempts at printing in this script: its cursive nature and use of vocalization marks. Unlike scripts of Latin origin, which allow for spaces (or kerning) between each letterform, Arabic is written with connected characters, meaning that even a hairline between letters would be noticeable and distracting. While this was a common problem across the board in Arabic printing at the time, the American Arabic typeface was cut in a way that minimized this

---

[60] Shaykhū, *Tārīkh fann al-ṭibāʿa*, 61. The typeface in use before then was a Parisian design. Given Shaykhū's bias as a Jesuit priest, however, he makes a point of downplaying the American typeface's use and value to the Catholic Press, stating that the Jesuits continued their pursuit in procuring a better font than that of the Americans. This was done in the 1870s, on site at the press, and the first Jesuit book printed with their new typeface was their bible in 1876. While Shaykhū does not mention the typeface's designer, the process likely involved Ibrāhīm al-Yāzijī, a printer, editor and translator working at the Jesuit press—who also happened to be Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī's son and likely learnt the craft at the hands of his father.

[61] "We have also furnished the Jesuit Convent of Beirut with new specimen types from which to make electrotype matrices," *The Missionary Herald* 66 (1870): 160.

[62] *The Missionary Herald* 66 (1870): 160.

[63] The missionary Henry H. Jessup, in his account of type sales to the mission in Mosul, states that the Dominicans spent as much as $300 on their purchase in 1870. At present-day rates that amounts to a little over $5,300, see H.H. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, v.1 (New York; Chicago; Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910), 362. Incidentally, this was also the basic yearly salary for Bustānī's mission-related services.

[64] ABC 16.8.1, Syria Mission (1823-1871), Reports, Letters, Journals, v. 1, Report on Arabic Type, Press Property and Foundry, 1844 (?).

issue[65] —this is most apparent when comparing works printed with this font to those displaying the mission's earlier Watts typeface (discussed in Chapter 3). This new font family also allowed for more capabilities to print vocalization marks. Vowel marks, appearing above and below letterforms in most locally produced Arabic (specifically religious) manuscripts, are not critical to reading or understanding Arabic writing. However, vowel symbols play a key role in avoiding ambiguity in meaning and pronunciation, and thus found standard use in devotional books like the Qur'ān.

Aware of these marks' significance to certain local reading practices (mainly amongst Muslim sects), the missionaries hoped to produce copies of vocalized texts as a way to attract such readers. As such, their new typeface adopted an "expedient" in printing vocalization marks.[66] Basically, the new metal type contained grooves into which compositors could insert metal sorts with vowel mark glyphs, thus bringing each vowel closer to its respective letter. In the older models, such as the Watts typeface used at the American Press during the 1830s, the vowels were printed on separate lines above and below the lines of text. This made it confusing to discern which letter each vocalization mark belonged to. The American's felt that including vocalization marks in their publications would not only to speak to the authenticity of their texts, but could also serve as a graphic custom familiar to local readers.

---

[65] ABC 16.8.1, Syria Mission (1823-1871), Reports, Letters, Journals, v. 1, Report on Arabic Type, Press Property and Foundry, 1844 (?).

[66] ABC 16.8.1, Reports, Letters, Journals, v.1, Report on Arabic Type, Press Property and Foundry, 1844 (?). Reports describe this as "[Smith's] invention of the Grooved Mould by which types cast from it were to receive the vowels & the nice adjustment of the face of the letter to enable the vowels to come over and under," see ABC 16.8.1, Letters: Ford-W, 1846-1859, v. 5, Hurter to Anderson, 17 Aug 1857. For a more detailed description of this mechanism, see J.F. Coakley, "Homan Hallock, Punchcutter," *Printing History* 45.1 (2003): 26-27.

153

However, from reports sent to the American Bible Society (ABS), it almost sounds as if the missionaries were selling the importance of vowel marks as necessary *visual* attributes that emulated the Qur'ān's "style" and were not just linguistic features. For instance, in a report from 1864 requesting funding for electrotyping vocalized editions of its then completed Protestant Arabic Bible, members of the mission stated that vocalized editions of the bible: "are more particularly intended for the Mohammedans, to conform to their idea of what a sacred book should be, and to stand fairly for comparison beside their Koran [sic]."[67] A second entry, by the missionary Henry Jessup, reads: "A Mohammedan...on seeing the vowelled [sic] edition of the [Protestant Bible] gave out word that the lost *Enjeel* [sic] or New Testament [of the Qur'ān] was found."[68] It may have been that the mission's entries in these reports were geared towards an American audience, largely unfamiliar with the "Near East" let alone the Arabic language. Thus, these reports were likely the missionaries' attempts at facilitating the "sale" of the importance of vocalization marks for their newly minted bible.

Although the ability to include vowel marks likely appealed to local Arab scholars, it is doubtful that such marks were seen as imperative to successful Arabic publishing. Aside from religious writing and incantations, for instance, fully vocalized texts hardly made an appearance in books printed at the American Press from this period.[69] It appears that the way in which vowel marks were set via the "grooved molds"

---

[67] The report was published by J. Holdich and W. Taylor as *The Arabic Scriptures* (New York: American Bible Society, 1864), 4.

[68] *The Arabic Scriptures*, 7.

[69] Some examples using complete vowel marks include sermons and similar texts translated into print verbatim from original manuscripts, such as Bustānī's production of the Maronite Archbishop Jibrīl Farḥāt's sermon in Bustānī's *Kitāb misbāḥ al-tālib fī bahth al-maṭālib* (see the bottom of page on the left in Figure 4.8 below).

154

of the American Arabic typeface still made composing lines of fully vocalized text an extensively time-consuming task wrought with potential for error. [70] For instance, in the same letter from 1864 addressed to the ABS it is stated that setting the vowel marks for a single bible took the Press type compositor over a year.[71] Additionally, there seemed to be a number of issues with producing variations in typeface designs that still used this method for vowel marks.[72] Thus, it is likely that the numerous versions and sizes of this typeface produced between the 1840s and the 1860s contained various inconsistencies, particularly regarding the inclusion of vowel marks.[73]

Furthermore, while this new typeface showed much improvement on older incarnations in its production of a cursive Arabic script, it was not without occasional errors. Gaps between letterforms were still common recurrences in works printed by Arab scholars at the American Press. (Fig. 4.6) Indeed, this remained an issue in letterpress Arabic printing until the invention of typecasting and typesetting machinery during the

---

[70] Attempts at printing a vocalized edition of the Protestant Bible in 1860, for instance, proved too time consuming and difficult, see ABC 16.8.1, Letters E-W (Part 2: Jes-W), v. 7, Van Dyck to Anderson, 12 Apr 1860. It was not until the mid 1860s that the press succeeded in producing fully vocalized bibles in multiple editions through the reliance on electrotype plates. Initially suggested in 1862, electrotyping the mission's newly completed Bible with vowel marks first took place in 1864. Since the plate making technology was still not in use by local presses, plates for the vocalized Bible were produced in New York under Van Dyck's supervision and then shipped to Beirut for further use. See ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Hallock to Hurter, 15 Mar 1862; Ibid., Meeting in Beirut, 23 Jan 1865; ABC 16.8.1, v.7, Van Dyck to Anderson, 8 Sep 1865; ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting on 20 Mar 1866.

[71] *The Arabic Scriptures* 7.

[72] Smith mentions inconsistencies between small—body text—fonts and larger ones for use in headings and titles—which he erroneously described as "thuluth" in style, see ABC 16.8.1, Letters: Ford-W, 1846-1859, v. 5, Smith to Anderson, 15 Feb 1849; Ibid., Smith to Anderson, 31 Jul 1849.

[73] For a detailed outline of these different versions, dates they were produced and who worked on them see, J.F. Coakley, "Homan Hallock," 18-41.

late 1800s, (such as those by Linotype and the Monotype machine) which allowed for more intricate overlaps between separate letterforms.[74]
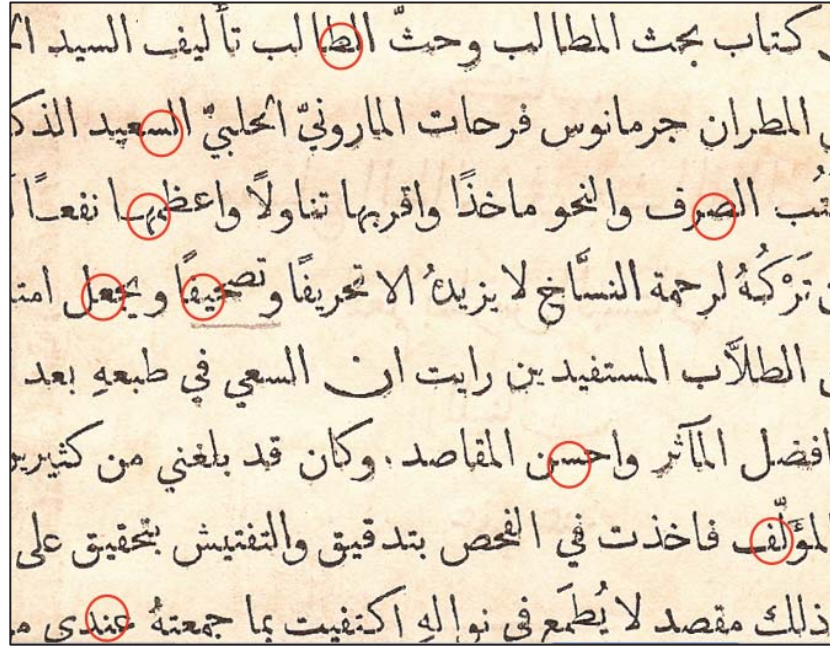
Figure 4.6. Erroneous gaps between letterforms (circled) from the introduction of a book by Bustānī printed in 1854 (see Fig. 4.8). Digitized by the author from the original held at the University of Pennsylvania Libraries.

While acknowledging this typeface's efficacy as a communication tool, I would argue that its popularity amongst surrounding missions and local printers was largely due to the fact that the Press, over the years, had acquired the equipment necessary to cast and cut types in-house. With only a handful of presses operating regionally at the time, some

---

[74] These technologies also improved the process of composing and printing texts with complete vocalization marks. For more on this technology, and illustrations of this process, see H. Smitshuijzen-Abifares, *Arabic Typography: A Comprehensive Sourcebook* (London: Saqi Books, 2001), 79-80, 131-32.

at quite some distance from Beirut, and the greater paucity in local type foundries,[75] the American Press was the most practical and affordable choice when it came to locals purchasing their own typefaces. In printing books at the American Press during this period, individuals like Bustānī and Yāzijī likely utilized the American Arabic typeface because of its aesthetic solutions, practicality and availability. However, the real significance of the design programs adopted for these works by local scholars was not in their reliance on this typeface. Rather, their import lay in the studied choices made by these locals to incorporate certain conventions (i.e. those of the Protestants' books from the 1840s onwards) and to exclude others (namely those which demonstrated literal emulations of scribal traditions).

4.5. The American Press as Secular Publisher?

While emergent *Nahḍa* scholars made much use of the American Press's premises, production standards and visual conventions, these authors seemed equally eager to underplay any association with the Press and its Protestant mission. Understandably, given their independent nature, none of the books printed by scholars as "job works" list the American Press as the printer or publisher. Instead, in anonymous works, the name of the project's benefactor (either an individual or a society) was listed. For this reason, many of these texts have been previously disassociated with the activities described in this dissertation.

---

[75] The Jesuit press and other missionary establishments did not produce their own types until the 1870s. The American mission's own attempts at locating a reliable foundry during the 1830s were not met with great success. They only found a single type-caster in Safed, a Rabbi who was not well-versed in Arabic printing, see UPCUSA, RG 115, 1:25, Memoranda for Mr. Badger, 4 Aug 1835; Ibid., Quarterly Report of the Superintendent of the Press, 30 Sep 1835; Ibid., Report on the Press, 31 Dec 1836.

157

In a unique case, however, an altogether different press appears as the book's printing location. For Bustānī's *Dīwān abu al-ṭayyib aḥmad ibn al-ḥusayn al-mutanabbī* (same as Figure 4.2 above), the publisher is given as *al-Maṭbaʿa al-Sūriyya*, or the "Syrian Press." (Fig. 4.7) Seemingly inconsequential, the appearance of this press's name on this particular work raises numerous questions. The well-known story of al-Maṭbaʿa al-Sūriyya is that it was founded by Khalīl al-Khūrī in 1857 for the purposes of printing his weekly *Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār* [The Garden of News], one of the region's first newspapers. This is corroborated in various sources, including Tibawi and others.[76] Print historian Ami Ayalon perhaps provides the most details regarding the press itself, explaining: "wealthy Christian businessmen" [Mikhāʾīl al-Mūdawwar] helped with the purchase of "a defunct press that belonged to the Greek Orthodox metropolitan."[77] However, the idea that this early, barely functioning, printing press produced Bustānī's *Dīwān abu al-ṭayyib* independently is problematized in various ways. Specifically, the cracks in this widely accepted and repeated narrative are only revealed when the book itself—through its typography, decorative elements and design—is examined.

As we have seen in the pages above (Fig. 4.2), for instance, this book was clearly printed with the American Arabic typeface. Furthermore, it includes the engraved *tughrāʾ* from the 1830s, and very closely resembles the design layout and organization of books

---

[76] A.L. Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria,* 166. While specific dates vary, with some listing 1856, the general understanding is that Khūrī set up this press for the purpose of printing his newspaper. Konrad Hirschler discusses this press as the publisher of *Dīwān abu al-ṭayyib*, although he does not mention Bustānī, and states that the book was advertised in Khūrī's early issue of *Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār*, see K. Hirschler, *Medieval Arabic Historiography: Authors as Actors* (New York; Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 118-19. See also, A. Beshara, *The Origins of Syrian Nationhood: Histories, Pioneers and Identity* (New York; Oxon: Routledge, 2011), 77: n. 52. Additionally, Khūrī is said to have later established Maṭbaʿa al-Adabiyya, or "the Literary Press," in 1874. Tibawi, "The American Missionaries and Butrus al-Bustānī," 174.

[77] A. Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East: A History* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 31 + 199.

printed at the American Press. Additionally, since Bustānī did not acquire his own print

shop until 1867, when he established "Maṭba'at al-Ma'ārif" with Khalīl Sarkīs, it is most

likely that—as an occasional Press employee—most of the books Bustānī printed until

then were either produced at the American Press or relied heavily on its equipment.

Tibawi, in his discussion of Bustānī's *Dīwān abu al-ṭayyib,* also asserts that it was printed

at the Protestant's press, but devotes no attention to the controversial implications of this

connection.[78]
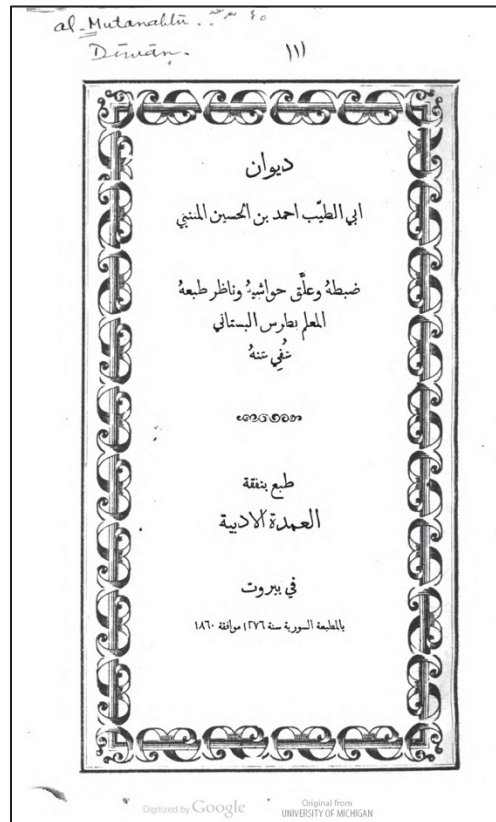
Figure 4.7. Title page. *Dīwān abu al-ṭayyib aḥmad ibn al-ḥusayn al-mutanabbī*, Beirut: 1860. The colophon reads: "printed under the auspices of the literary society in Beirut at the Syrian Press [al-Maṭba'a al-Sūriyya] in 1276 equivalent to 1860." Accessed from Hathitrust.org. Digitized by Google, Inc. from the original held at University of Michigan. Public Domain.

---

[78] Tibawi gives the books title and mentions its Islamic *bismallah*. He also states that the work was "among the first-fruits of the [Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences] association," see Tibawi, "The American Missionaries and Butrus al-Bustānī," 166, n. 102.

Further complicating the dominant narrative of "The Syrian Press" is the possibility that Khūrī first printed his groundbreaking newspaper, at least during its first year, with the American Arabic typeface. In a letter addressed to Smith dated to June 1856, Khūrī discusses his work on said journal with Mikhā'īl al-Mūdawwar (his sponsor) and his license from Istanbul to publish it. However, in the interest of sparing expenses for printing equipment and typefaces during the first year, Khūrī states that he was looking into renting out equipment from the American Press or, at least, its typeface.[79] Unfortunately, the lack of visual and documentary evidence makes this claim nearly impossible to confirm.[80] What this means is that either Bustānī actually printed his book at Khūrī's press with the American Press's equipment, or in referencing "al-Maṭbaʿa al-Sūriyya" Bustānī was alluding not to a physical entity, but a pluralistic, secular ideal institution that later took tangible form. In either case, enough questions are raised, which demonstrate the overlaps and slippages between the American Protestant's press—specifically its design programs and typographic repertoire—and locals aspiring for a broader vision of a multi-confessional Arab identity.

Indeed, although many scholars using the American Press were aligned with the Christian faith (Bustānī, a Protestant convert, and Yāzijī, a Greek Orthodox member) their work at this time demonstrated a clear interest in traversing the divisive limits of sectarianism. For instance, Bustānī was secretary of the Syrian Society for the Study of Sciences and Arts, when this group included both Arab Christians and missionary

---

[79] ABC 50, Box 3, Khūrī to Smith, 9 Jun 1856.

[80] Most editions of this journal have been reprinted and thus the majority are facsimiles. Additionally, the originals held at two to three US institutions, namely Harvard and Stanford, date to later periods. None of these US institutions have the 1858 edition amongst their holdings. While a number of British institutions, such as the British Library and the University of London, also have copies of this journal in their collections the first issue is missing from these archives as well. Institutions in Lebanon, such as AUB and USJ, also only appear to have later editions of this journal on hand.

members.[81] In this initial capacity, he worked to publish the society's proceedings.[82] He took on a larger role in the 1860s, when this society was reformulated[83] to include Muslim scholars (and excluded American missionaries) and had an active role promoting the secular writings and nationalist ideals at the crux of the *Nahḍa*.[84] It may well be that this reformulated non-sectarian society was the unspecified "literary society" listed as the benefactor on Bustānī's *Dīwān abu al-ṭayyib* (see the colophon in Figure 4.7 above). Was this society, under Bustānī's supervision, also publishing other works at the American Press, yet similarly listing the publisher as "al-Maṭbaʿa al-Sūriyya"? Few sources have closely interrogated the nature of this press, assuming that it was physically independent from other entities. At any rate, it was likely tied to the American Press in some way. Yet positing such questions is crucial to understanding what these seemingly two-dimensional elements—print layouts, typefaces, colophons—reveal about important shifts occurring between local scholars and an emergent print market, and between the mission's Press and secular, non-sectarian thought.

---

[81] Those listed as members in this first issue—see note below—included Eli Smith (president of the association), Henry De Forrest, William Thomson, Cornelius Van Dyck, and George Whiting (among others). For more on the early missionary involvement, see E. Salisbury, "II. Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 3 (1853): 477-86. See also, Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven,* 194-96.

[82] A collection of its proceedings (from its first meetings in 1847 to 1852) as *Al-jiz' al-awwal min aʿmāl al-jamʿiyya al-sūriyya* printed in January 1852. Bustānī is listed as *kātib al-waqāyaʿ*.

[83] Its new name *al-Jamʿiyya al-ʿilmiyya al-sūriyya lil-fūnūn wa-l-ʿulūm* (The Syrian Society of Knowledge for the Arts and Sciences) was a slight change from the original.

[84] While both versions of this society are frequently mentioned or discussed in scholarship on the *Nahḍa*, few sources get its timeline, publications and names right. One main problem may be the inconsistency of names given to this society in available primary data. I chose to follow the titles and dates provided by Yūsuf Khūrī in his reproduction of the Syrian Society's texts in its two phases (from 1847-1852 and 1868-1879), although there may have been issues printed in between these two ranges. See, Y. Khūrī, *Al-jamʿiyya al-sūriyya li al-ʿulūm wa al-funūn 1847-1852* (Beirut: Dar al-Hamra', 1990); Khūrī, *Aʿmāl al-jamʿiyya al-ʿilmiyya al-sūriyya lil-fūnūn wal-ʿulūm 1868-1879* (Beirut: Dar al-Hamra', 1990).

Via their publishing efforts at the American Press, these Arab Christian scholars also seem to delineate themselves from the Syria Mission's worldview, particularly through their occasional use of Islamic idioms and a pan-religious verbal and visual lexicon, features which were wholly absent from later mission publications. In Yāzijī's books on Arabic poetry and literature,[85] for instance, his opening pages include mostly boilerplate thanksgivings and incantations that are not specific to any religious sect. Most notable is the use of *bismallah al-fattāḥ*, "in the name of God the Opener," which characteristically does not mention Christ or the Holy Spirit.[86] Bustānī's works take things a step further by borrowing phrases from the Qur'ān. For instance, in his rendition of the Maronite Archbishop of Aleppo's Jibrīl Farḥāt's *Baḥth al-maṭālib fī 'ilm al-'arabiyya*,[87] Bustānī opens the introduction with a verse reminiscent of a key *sūra* (chapter) from the Qur'ān: "al-ḥamdū-lillā al-'ālī al-akram al-laṭī 'allama bi-l qalam 'allama al-insān mā lam ya'lam" (Praise be to God the High, the most Generous, who taught by the Pen, taught Man that which he knew not).[88] (Fig. 4.8)

---

[85] These include the two volumes of *Majmū' al-adab fī funūn al-'arab* (Beirut: 1855) and his own work of poetry *Nubda min dīwān al-shaykh Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī* (Beirut: 1853).

[86] As previously noted in chapter three of this dissertation, page 89 and note 1, the "The Opener" (better translated as "The Revealer") is one of the ninety-nine Arabic names attributed to God.

[87] This book's popularity lay in both the scribal realm of the 1700s and the world of print during the 1900s. Different versions of Farḥāt's book [A Study of the Basics of the Arabic Language] were published in Malta in 1836 and 1841. Bustānī likely turned to Farḥāt's manuscript, as well as these earlier printed editions for his book, *Kitāb misbāḥ al-tālib fī bahth al-maṭālib: mutāwwal fī al-ṣarf wa-al-naḥw wa-'ilm al-'arūd wa-l-qawāfī* (Beirut: 1854), 454 p., 24 cm. This book is listed in the following: Ellis, *Arabic Books*, v. 1: 429; Shaykhū, *Tārīkh fann al-ṭibā'a*, 51. Tibawi briefly mentions this book and its odd choice of opening phrase see Tibawi, "The American Missionaries and Butrus al-Bustānī," 160-61. For more on its importance in manuscript production from the late seventeenth century, see D. Sajdi, "Print and Its Discontents: A Case for Pre-Print Journalism and Other Sundry Print Matters," *The Translator* 15.1 (2009): 105-38.

[88] This comes from the Qur'ān's *Sūrat al-'alaq* ("The Clot") verses 96: 3-5.

162
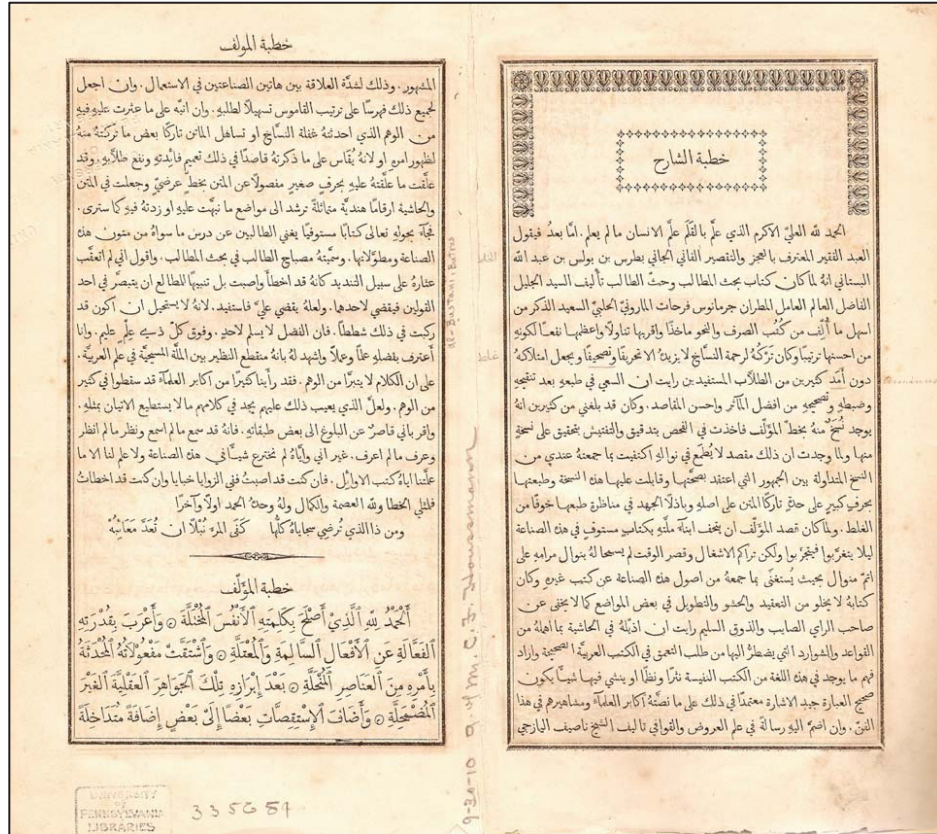
Figure 4.8. Forward by Bustānī, from his *Kitāb misbāḥ al-ṭālib fī baḥth al-maṭālib,* Beirut: 1854. Digitized by author from the original held at the University of Pennsylvania Libraries.

It is not clear from Press and Mission records whether Bustānī's book was used at the American mission's schools as an Arabic textbook, although it was likely not produced with that intention in mind.[89] Certainly, the inclusion of Qur'anic phrases in a missionary publication (had it been one) during this period would not have been

---

[89] Although Tibawi makes the claim that it was, I have not located any evidence in support of this. The Annual Report from 1854 does not list this book as one of the Press's publications. However, there is mention of "one book of 438 p. 8 vo. ...printed at the expense of private publishers." This is likely referencing Bustānī's book (which is 454 pages long) since the press rarely published books of this length and certainly could not afford such an expense during this period of limited funding. See, ABC 16.8.1, Syria Mission (1823-1871), Documents, Reports, Letters, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1854. For Tibawi, see "The American Missionaries and Butrus al-Bustānī," 161.

163

supported.[90] The practice of including Islamic verses and/or incantations, such as the *bismallah*, in manuscript anthologies of poetry by Muslim writers, however, was not uncommon in local seminary and monastery workshops, something Bustānī (a graduate of the Maronite seminary in Ain Warqa) was surely familiar with.[91] However, in the case of this publication by Bustānī, the Qur'anic-style verse appears within his own commentary, and not copied from another text. Indeed, its strategic placement at the start of the text seems to call out to Muslim readers, showing a clear interest in the inclusion of this readership.

This is clearly the case in his use of the *bismallah* in the form of a *tughrā'* in his *Dīwān abu al-ṭayyib* of 1860. (See Figure 4.2 above) Although, to my knowledge, this calligraphic engraved piece does not make another appearance in any of the American Press's publications beyond the earlier Arabic grammar, Bustānī uses the motif to clearly locate this book—of writings by a famed Muslim author—amongst a multi-confessional print readership that included and engaged Muslim readers. In fact, I would argue that the *tughrā'*s use here (unlike its earlier appearance in the mission-sanctioned Arabic grammar by Yāzijī) is not about luring in Muslim readers with token nods to calligraphic and Qur'anic practices. Instead, I believe it speaks to Arab Muslim intellectuals with the intent of including members of this group (who were simultaneously excluded as infidel

---

[90] There did not seem to be an American missionary interest in Muslim readers during the 1850s (this, however, changed when the Americans' bible was published in the 1860s). However, the mission was clearly against adopting "Islamic idioms" in work on its bible. Jessup stated as much in his account of the "style of Arabic adopted" in the bible translation: "Some would have preferred the style 'Koranic'...Islamic, adopting idioms and expressions peculiar to Mohammedans. *All native Christian scholars* [sic] decidedly objected to this," see H. H. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years*, v.1: 75.

[91] One example is a manuscript edition of Niqūla ibn Yūsuf al-Turk's poetry (*Kitāb dīwān al-shā'ir niqūla al-turk*) copied in Tripoli by Fransīs ibn Isḥāq Tarabay in 1833 and held at the Central Library of the Université Saint-Esprit de Kaslik, Lebanon. For information on this copy see, P. Roisse, *al-Makhṭūṭat al-'arabiya fī lubnān: iltiqā' al-thaqāfāt w-al-adyān w-al-ma'ārif* [Arabic Manuscripts in Lebanon: The Meeting of Culture, Religion and Knowledge] (Beirut; Jounieh: CEDRAC, 2010), 204-13.

164

others and desired as elusive converts by the Americans) in a broader discourse on the historical formation of a shared Arab language and heritage.

Bustānī's pluralistic society also included members of other Christian communities, particularly the Maronite sect—from whom he was excommunicated when he converted to Protestantism. Certainly this can be seen in his production of the Maronite Archbishop's work on Arabic grammar (discussed above). Another example was Bustānī's *Qiṣṣat as'ad al-shidyāq*, which he had proposed a reprint of in his own terms to Rufus Anderson.[92] This controversial memoir was the well-known tale of the martyred Arab Christian, As'ad al-Shidyāq, originally a Maronite, who allegedly became the Americans' first Protestant convert. Through the story of a casualty of ideology, in which brother was turned against brother, Bustānī's book did not galvanize the American missionaries' role in the affair nor its regional presence, but strove to bring forth a discourse of unity across denominations. Historian Ussama Makdisi, argues that the core importance of this production was:

> ...not its idealization of the Protestant martyr but the deliberate manner in which Bustani [sic] used the story of As'ad to evoke an unprecedented ecumenism, and later a new liberal pluralism as intolerable to American missionaries as it was to the Maronite Church.[93]

4.6. Diverging Ideologies

Bustānī and Yāzijī's break from the mission's views and Protestant framework was not just intellectual. During the period when they were actively publishing their own works at the mission's Press, their place on the mission's payroll was also at a turning

---

[92] ABC 16.8.1, Documents, reports, Misc. Letters A-D, v. 6, Bustānī to Anderson, 25 Jan 1860.

[93] U. Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven,* 181.

point. Bustānī remained employed as a permanent "native helper" for the Press office (in addition to his responsibilities, as a Protestant convert, teaching and preaching for the mission) until 1852, when his status became that of a contractor paid by the job.[94] During this period, there were various developments and conversations regarding whether or not Bustānī would be ordained as a minister in connection with the Syria mission.[95] In the fall of 1854, it was decided that Bustānī was not a suitable candidate, and the mission declined his application.[96]

While this blatant rejection did not lead Bustānī to abandon his work with the mission, his interactions with its members were fraught. Tibawi, in his writing on Bustānī's ties to the mission, arrives at a similar conclusion. While this scholar does not delve much into the details of Bustānī's publications at the time, nor does he consider the unique position of the American Press as a common ground negotiating Protestant ideals and non-sectarian desires, he too reads this moment as one in which Bustānī was "in half veiled terms, challenging the missionary view."[97] During the late 1850s, Bustānī's involvement with mission-related work had significantly diminished—particularly with the death of Smith, his long-time confidante. However, Bustānī's ties to the mission

---

[94] ABC 16.8.1, v. 4, Annual Report of the Syria Mission, 1852.

[95] An interest in preparing Bustānī for the ministry surfaces in records from 1844, see ABC 16.8.1, v. 1, Report on Native Helpers, 1844. A.L. Tibawi provides a detailed account of the back and forth involving Bustānī's ordination, commencing with Smith's long-held interest in the local convert as an ideal candidate for this process. When he was first approached about the possibility, however, Bustānī declined (Tibawi suggests it may have been related to pecuniary concerns—local preachers employed by the mission got paid less than their translators). See, A. L. Tibawi, "The American Missionaries and Butrus al-Bustānī," 158-159.

[96] When the subject of ordination was brought up again in 1854, this time at Bustānī's behest, the mission's members debated it over the course of several months, starting in August, leading to an eventual rejection of his application. See, ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Afternoon meeting on 29 Aug 1854; ABC 60, Eli Smith Papers, 1801-1857, Letters to Eli Smith, v. I, Thompson to Smith, 10 Oct 1854.

[97] Tibawi, "The American Missionaries and Butrus al-Bustānī," 166.

166

continued via the local Protestant church and in his employment as a dragoman for the American consul. This included—for a brief spell—Bustānī working as the unofficial acting consul.[98] Particularly after the inter-communal conflicts that plagued the region in 1860, Bustānī further distanced himself from the mission and blazed his own trail. Most notably, he established *al-Madrasa al-Waṭaniyya*, or "The National School," in 1863, in an effort towards a pluralistic secular educational institution.[99] By 1867, Bustānī remained only tangentially—and temporarily—connected to the mission, as the Syrian Protestant College's[100] (SPC) "Principal of the Preparatory Department." [101] Records from that year, and publications by Bustānī in the years to follow, show a widening

---

[98] Tibawi describes the situation as an ad-hoc arrangement resulting from the American consul taking leave from his position, which was seemingly filled by the British consul, Noel Moore. Yet Bustānī, according to Tibawi, was actually doing all the legwork and making payments out-of-pocket (and via loans) for all consulate-related expenses, including Moore's compensation. For more, see Tibawi, "The American Missionaries and Butrus al-Bustānī," 167-68.

[99] J. Hanssen, *Fin De Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 164-69; Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 207-08. For more on Bustānī's philosophy on a non-sectarian education, see K. Abou Rjaili, "Boutros al-Boustani (1819-83)," *Prospects: The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education*, UNESCO XXIII.1/2 (1993): 125-33.

[100] This mission's university opened its doors in 1864 and by the 1920s its name was changed to the American University of Beirut. For more on this institution, specifically its missionary origins, see E. Fleischmann, "Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries, the American Board, and the Girls and Women of Syria (1830-1910)," *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, ed. H. Murre-Van den Berg (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2006), 263-80; F. Zachs, "From the Mission to the Missionary: The Bliss Family and the Syrian Protestant College (1866-1920)," *Die Welt Des Islams* 45.2 (2001): 145-73; F. Hanna, *An American Mission: The Role of the American University of Beirut* (Boston: Alphabet Press, 1979); A. L. Tibawi, "The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College," *American University of Beirut Festival Book*, ed. F. Sarruf and S.Tamim (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1967); S.B.L. Penrose, *That They May Have Life: The Story of the American University of Beirut, 1866-1941* (New York: Trustees of the American University of Beirut, 1941).

[101] It seems that his school initially served as the Preparatory program for students interested in continuing their education at the SPC. This is briefly mentioned, with no primary sources specified, in Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 209. However, Bustānī did indeed hold this title until at least 1867, as mentioned in the SPC's records, see AUB Archives, American Missionaries, Box 1, AA: 7.5, File 13, Black to Bustānī, 9 Jul 1867.

divide between Bustānī's pluralistic vision and the American mission's evangelical outlook.[102]

Similarly, while he remained exclusively employed within the realm of the Press, Yāzijī's relationship with the mission took a hit after Smith's passing (particularly since, of all the American missionaries, Smith was likely his greatest supporter and advocate). Having maintained his allegiance to the Greek Orthodox Church, Yāzijī did little to endear himself to the other missionaries, least of all Cornelius van Dyck, the new Press Editor. As such, when van Dyck refused to work with both Yāzijī and Bustānī on the Bible translation (opting to hire his own translator, Yūsuf al-Aṣīr),[103] Yāzijī was inched out of any new press-related work and officially let go in the summer of 1860.[104]

4.7. A Modernist Design?

These individuals, like Yāzijī and Bustānī, long in the mission's employ as educators, press correctors or printers, were acquiring a name and reputation for their scholarship beyond the Protestants' framework. As such, by this period, they had little at stake with the Protestant mission. Indeed, I would also argue (as others have

---

[102] A. L. Tibawi, "The American Missionaries and Butrus al-Bustānī," 137-82. A number of letters, held at the AUB missionary archives, between the missionary James Black and Bustānī show that a Special Committee (headed by Black) at the SPC was looking into certain accusations/issues brought forth by Bustānī (although it is not clear from these records what the nature of these issues were). See, AUB Archives, Box 1, American Missionaries, AA: 7.5, File 13, Bustānī to Black, 6 Mar 1867; Ibid., Black to Bustānī, 20 Jul 1867.

[103] In an account on the Bible translations, Van Dyck claims that upon Smith's passing the contract with both Bustānī and Yāzijī regarding the translation project was null and void. He goes on to rather explicitly voice his discontent with Yāzijī's work in general. While it is not stated, it is highly likely that problems with Yāzijī's work stemmed from long-held issues the mission had with this scholar—particularly his unfaltering support of the Greek Orthodox church. See, E. Smith and C. V. A. Van Dyck, *A Brief Documentary History of the Translation of the Scriptures into the Arabic Language* (Beirut: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1900), 25 + 29.

[104] ABC 16.8.1, v. 8, Meeting in Beirut, 3 Apr 1860.

suggested[105]) that the real reasons behind their eventual exclusion from the American missionary apparatus, was their new, largely secular commitments and their growing popularity as important, well-published scholars. Through their literary and intellectual productions, these Arab Christian individuals were forming their own visions of a modern society, of an Arab Ottoman identity that aspired to traverse the differences and resultant conflicts between local sects (particularly in the case of Bustānī).[106] However, their secular works did not reflect an interest in society without religion. Rather, these scholars sought a pluralistic coexistence that united disparate beliefs in the public sphere via discourses on technology and an inclusion of Arab-produced literary and scientific classics within the realm of global publishing.

As such, one could argue that these American books' typographic and visual conventions, once divorced from their Protestant message, appealed to these scholars' intellectual, secular commitments. It is clear that these examples of Yāzijī and Bustānī's independent publications were important to the early and late nineteenth-century *Nahḍa*. Here, I add that they were also likely valued for their visually innovative, non-traditional and industrial style representative of a contemporary moment when religious, political

---

[105] See for instance, Makdisi's take on Bustānī in *Artillery of Heaven*.

[106] As indicated by Bustānī's projects (i.e his nationalist school) and writings (for his journals *al-Jinān* [The Gardens] and series of broadsheets *Nafīr sūriyya* [People of Syria]) from 1860 onwards. Most of these projects have been extensively discussed elsewhere. However, scholars continue to disagree whether Bustānī was a radical figure, calling for a break from a hegemonic Ottoman regime of toleration—as argued by Makdisi—or whether he belonged to an emergent group of "modern" secular scholars interested in an non-sectarian Arab identity—as posited by Sheehi. Still others, like Tibawi, have correctly emphasized Bustānī's support of the Ottoman state and identity, clearly evidenced in dedicating his first dictionary to Sultan 'Abdul-Azīz and being rewarded for this recognition (which, while acknowledged by Makdisi, are dismissed as token offerings, unable to reconcile "the imperial state" with "liberal subjects like Bustānī", 208). See, Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 201-11; S. P. Sheehi, "Butrus Al- Bustānī and Paradigms of Subjective Reform," 7-24; Tibawi, "The American Missionaries and Butrus al-Bustānī,"179-80. For other perspectives, see A. Eissa, "Majallat al-jinān: Arabic Narrative Discourse in the Making," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 18 (2000): 41-49; B. Abu-Manneh, "The Christians between Ottomanism and Syrian Nationalism: The Ideas of Butrus Al-Bustani," *IJMES* 11.3 (May 1980): 287-304.

169

and intellectual components were in flux. In their preference for a stark aesthetic, these works demonstrate an interest in moving beyond the customary visual language of manuscripts in favor of new graphic representations of modernity, which were also equally disconnected from the Protestant message of their visual inspirations. Indeed, one could argue that these scholars' preferred visual conventions illustrated emergent notions of what printed books should look like at a transformative moment shortly before private Arab Christian and Muslim presses began to take hold throughout the region.

4.8. Conclusion

The 1850s and 1860s saw an unconventional interface between the mission's American Press and local Arab members of an emergent print intelligentsia. Due to various funding and administrative issues, the Protestants in Beirut frequently rented out their American Press and its equipment to local Muslim and Christian scholars interested in publishing their own works. As such, the American Press, through its job works, was quickly becoming an anonymous—and certainly unintentional—publisher of literature calling for a "revival" of past literary works, promoting nationalist ideals and solidifying a multi-confessional Arab identity. These books by the likes of Bustānī and Yāzijī, which were *Nahḍa* staples, have received ample attention in historical, urban and literary studies of this period. However, the design and format of these publications, as indicators of changing local attitudes towards print and notions of the book, have gone entirely unnoticed (or intentionally sidelined).

Links between the American mission and an emergent "Syrian" identity have

170

been frequently dealt with in historical and literary scholarship on the subject.[107] Such

sources emphasize the pivotal role of the mission's Syrian Protestant College and its

missionary schools. Yet the same nuanced and multi-dimensional attention has not been

turned to the position of the American Press in these developments, particularly during

the period when almost all works struck off of it—besides the Bible—were produced by

local Arab scholars and elites. In this chapter, I have attempted to stake out new ground

by examining works by elite Arab scholars published at the American Press, and the

implications of this local/missionary connection to the development of secular thought

and visions of modernity in the Ottoman region during the mid-1800s. The American

Press—its design programs, production standards and typeface—played an important

and, I would argue, unplanned role for early scholars of the *Naḥḍa* period, predicating

these individuals' changing needs, social commitments and secular desires. In utilizing its

premises and tools for the physical means of producing their books, local scholars and

elites also derived inspirations from this Protestant Press's visual language to shape and

mold their works and image as actors in a changing intellectual, religious and political

landscape.

---

[107] These include (but are by no means limited to): A. Beshara, *The Origins of Syrian Nationhood*; E. Fleischmann, "Evangelization or Education"; F. Zachs, *The Making of a Syrian Identity: Intellectuals and Merchants in Nineteenth Century Beirut* (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2005); Zachs, "Toward a Proto-Nationalist Concept of Syria? Revisiting the American Presbyterian Missionaries in the Nineteenth-Century LeVant," *Die Welt des Islams* 41.2 (Jul., 2001): 145-73; A. Abu-Ghazaleh, *American Missions in Syria: A Study of American Missionary Contribution to Arab Nationalism in 19th Century Syria* (Brattleboro, VT: Amana Books, 1990); Tibawi, "The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College," *American University of Beirut Festival Book*, ed. F. Sarruf and S. Tamim (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1967); M. A. Bashshur, "Higher Education and Political Development in Syria and Lebanon," *Comparative Education Review* 10.3 (Oct., 1966): 451-61.

Conclusion

After the conflicts of 1860 came widespread political changes. Perhaps the most significant of which for the present-day state of Lebanon was the establishment of the non-Muslim minority-led Mount Lebanon region as an official, semi-autonomous, *mutaṣarrifiyya* (or protectorate). At the same time, neighboring regions, including the coastal cities of Sidon, Beirut and Tripoli formerly parts of their own governorates, were grouped within the redrawn borders of the *Eyalet al-Sham* (also referred to as the Damascus or Syria Eyalet). With these state reforms, or *tanzimats,* of the 1860s communal notions of an Arab Syrian, or even a pre-Lebanese, identity in flux began manifesting in physical (albeit shifting) boundaries.

Global developments, such as the growing interest in radical and socialist thought and the writings emerging from the second French revolution, found their way into the discussions and debates within the public forums of these increasingly autonomous regions. Reading rooms, cafes and town centers were key points of intersection that brought together multiple threads of thought shared, debated and rejected by a local elite intelligentsia, which was formulating its own views on issues of political identity, class struggle, women's rights and secular education. Locally printed Arabic newspapers, pamphlets, journals and books—from key centers like Beirut, Cairo and Alexandria— became the prominent physical surfaces on which these various perspectives intersected and overlapped. The printed word, in addition to the ways in which it was visually

manifested and used, took on new meanings directly related to a growing local interest in issues of modernity, secularization and technology.

It is not surprising, then, that the majority of scholarship on this period deals with the ramifications and central ideas of the fin de siècle *Nahḍa* period. However, as this dissertation has demonstrated, many of the ideas that circulated during the later *Nahḍa* era had their origins in printed books from the early to mid nineteenth century. Through the early works of individuals like Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī and Buṭrus al-Bustānī, my study excavates the import of this earlier history via the artifacts of the nascent printing practices of this period. In this way, I elucidate ways in which such emergent Arab Christian scholars were negotiating the parameters and conventions of printed books in a scribal market as well as growing local interests in composing visions of an Arab heritage and contemporary pluralist society.

I argue that the story of the pre or early *Nahḍa* is also one of the printed Arabic book, which incidentally gets sidelined in studies of the later period that tend to emphasize the increasingly popular mass-produced formats of newsprints and journals. Although books were more expensive and time consuming to produce, they were also sites that witnessed and experienced the earliest mediations between scribal traditions and emergent printing—the results of which were later parlayed by local private presses into the production standards and visual conventions of the more popular journals and newspaper formats. In this way, my study of the American Press's early secular and religious publications contributes to the debates propelled forward by those recent scholars who take up a closer examination of the early *Nahḍa* and refute its exclusivity to the late 1800s and that period's publishing industry. It is fitting, then, that this

dissertation concludes with the period of the 1860s, around the very moment that is the starting point for the majority of scholarship on the subject of printed books, publishing and the *Nahḍa*.

Unearthing the importance of early (pre) *Nahḍa* books printed at the American Press, as locations within which the interests of the American mission and local Arab agents interfaced, required reading archival missionary sources in a subtle manner. As one would expect, missionary records, reports, correspondences and journals, while abundant with details and attempts at thoroughly describing the local situation on the ground, are by no means transparent. However, in this dissertation, I strove not to trivialize this collection of material as part of a fabricated, "colonial" missionary narrative. Rather, informed by the evenhanded work of recent scholars like Ussama Makdisi, I screened these sources carefully to grasp at the multiple strands of interest within this material. This also required avoiding the repetition of a reductivist narrative via missionary sources, particularly when it came to "facts" about Eli Smith's typeface and its widespread "success," which has been the problematic approach of many scholars dealing with the history of the American Press and its significance. In this dissertation, I aimed to demonstrate how the inclusion of the mission's publications as primary source materials, complemented a light-handed reading of the missionary records. These material objects also lent to my overall analysis concrete visual evidence of a dynamic moment between missionary and local Arab encounters; one that allowed for experimental overlaps between myriad visual modes, intellectual ideals and socio-political concerns on the surfaces of printed pages.

While I explored numerous examples of the mission's secular and religious publications, this dissertation did not include one of the mission's most significant works, its Arabic Protestant bible. The Americans' bible, which was translated over the course of thirteen or so years (1847-1860), saw its first edition come off the press in 1860. It remained one of the mission's most significant publications, produced in numerous versions and editions throughout the late 1800s into the twentieth century. Indeed, this translation, which is commonly referred to as the "Van Dyck Bible," remains one of the key texts in use today by pockets of Arab Protestant communities in Lebanon, Egypt and neighboring regions. Its continued acceptance and reproduction within these communities raises questions about the role of this bible within the framework of the *Nahḍa* period and provides an as yet unexplored window into the myriad significances of printed books in the region at the end of the 19th century. Certainly, the importance of this publication and its continuing use by local communities is an extension of a Protestant framework, which despite failing at mass conversions, exists today in local communities via educational institutions such as the American University of Beirut and organizations like the National Evangelical Synod of Syria and Lebanon.

Actually, my dissertation was initially conceived as an examination of this very bible. However, in the interest of emphasizing the American Press's early phase and turning a much-needed light on the preliminary works of important Arab Christian intellectuals, my study moved into the mission's earlier period, before this bible's production. Furthermore, while the Press was taken up with producing various editions of it during the 1860s, the importance of the bible to local readers only becomes evident during the 1870s, with the growing number of Arab Protestant communities. However,

175

other important factors of this bible, such as its visual conventions and production via collaborations between missionaries and local Arab scholars, certainly saw their origin in the mission and its Press's earliest moments.

In fact, when first considering a dissertation on this version of the Protestant Bible, what struck me the most was this bible's seemingly unremarkable aesthetic composition. Much like the books printed at the American Press from the 1840s onwards, the various designs of this bible—from the small pocket book edition to the larger "royal" sizes—eschew any decorative margins, ornamental elements or overtly calligraphic headings. Instead, the main focus is the text itself, composed via the famed "American Arabic" typeface, taking on what one might erroneously classify as a stark "Protestant aesthetic." However, as demonstrated in this dissertation, a dismissal of this minimalist aesthetic is quickly problematized when considering the mission's earlier, rather decorative, publications from the 1830s. Furthermore, it overlooks the importance of such works as products of collaboration between different worldviews in flux. By paying attention to the seemingly "unremarkable" nature of such books, I uncovered the flaws in the predominant narrative of this missionary Press's history and its productions as being relegated to the realm of the individual visionary, like Eli Smith. Rather, in tracing the story of these books by using their materiality as starting points, what comes to light are the multi-dimensional components, the labor involved in the production of such artifacts and their function as sites of negotiation between missionary ideals and local cultural and socio-political desires.

The unassuming visual conventions of most letter-pressed Arabic books from this period, particularly in comparison to their decorated and illuminated handwritten

176

contemporaries, also brings up the question of how to approach a visual analysis of such objects. What language should Islamic art historians use? Can the methods of codicology and paleography used in Islamic manuscript studies be translated into the reading of mechanically produced works in which the evidence of the artist, scribe, calligrapher, illuminator or illustrator's hand is not readily apparent? Perhaps such questions get to the core of why the majority of recent studies by Islamic art historians on Arabic or Islamic printing examine printed works—many of which are lithographs—that clearly include calligraphic designs, illuminations and/or illustrations (some of which are also aquatinted). Letter-pressed Arabic books with stark, unadorned, text-emphasized layouts have hardly received any close analysis of their typographic compositions. Is this oversight simply because, as art historians, we are better equipped with reading image as text than analyzing text as image?

By turning a spotlight on letter-pressed Arabic books, with features ranging from the decorative to the solely typographic, this dissertation strives to open up new, unexplored avenues of this emergent subfield in Islamic art history. I do this by crafting a language to look at and examine the materiality of such objects that brings together tools of visual analysis from both the fields of manuscript studies as well as those of design history. Despite habitually being categorized through the lens of its ornament, the field of Islamic art has only marginally engaged with design history, with the discipline's historians often sidestepping the realm of the decorative. By engaging in a serious study of different manifestations of printed works, and not simply valuing those that clearly emulate or call back to scribal practices, this dissertation strives to both contribute a valuable set of analytical tools to the emergent field of Arabic printing history, and to

177

serve as a crucial bridge between the still frequently delineated realms of art and design.

Appendix:

Primary Sources, Printed Books and Archival Materials

1. Publications of the American Mission and other Regional Presses:

Through collections held at institutions in the United States and Lebanon I have had the opportunity to examine numerous editions of liturgical, educational and evangelical works printed at the American Press in Beirut between 1836-1862. The keynote religious books I studied include *Qaṭf maqālat al-qaddīs yūḥannā fam al-dhahab 'an muṭāla'at al-kutub al-muqaddasa* [Selections from the Homilies of St. John Chrysostom, on the reading of the Scriptures] (1837), *Wa'ẓ al-masīḥ 'ala-l-jabal* [Christ's Sermon on the Mount] (1837) and *Kitāb al-zabūr al-ilāhī li-dāwūd al-nabī* [The Holy Book of Psalms of David the Prophet] (1838). Other important religious publications included various editions of the Protestant Arabic bible printed between 1857 and 1862. Books for religious education, particularly those emphasizing issues of morality and "Christian behavior" include *Kitāb fī al-imtinā' 'an shurb al-muskirāt* [A Book on Temperance] (1838), *Kitāb al-bāb al-maftūh fī a'māli al-rūh* [The Open Door on the Works of the Holy Spirit] (1843), and children's catechisms, such as *Kitāb ta'līm mukhtaṣar li-l-atfāl fī qawā'id al-dīnīya wa-l-īmān* [A Short Children's Instruction on the Rules of Religion and Faith] (1836).

Although many of these religious publications were common to most global Protestant missions at the time, in the case of the Syria mission from the 1840s onwards, its members also frequently composed evangelical works with the sole intention of

challenging locally specific religious and cultural practices. The most significant of these, which I had the chance to examine, include: *Kitāb al-mabāḥith fī i'tiqādāt ba'ḍ al-kanā'is* [A Book on the Error of Ways of the Local Churches] (1843), *Risālā ila aklīrūs kanā'is sūriyyā* [A Letter to the Clergy of Syria's Churches] (1846), and a very controversial compilation of letters criticizing Catholicism's preeminence in the region entitled *Kitāb al-thalath 'ashra risāla* [The Book of the Thirteen Letters of Jonas King] (1849).

A significant amount of secular educational books were also printed at the American Press, most of which were written and funded by local scholars. In my research, I examined numerous editions of these texts, the most prominent of which were written by missionary employees Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī and Buṭrus al-Bustānī. Books by Yāzijī that I highlight in this dissertation include *Kitāb faṣl al-khiṭāb fī uṣūl lughat al-i'rāb* [A Discourse on the Rules of Arabic Grammar] (1836) and *Kitāb majma' al-baḥrayn* [A Collection of the Two Oceans] (1856). Works by Bustānī, particularly his later ones, which were central to my research include *Qiṣṣat as'ad al-shidyāq bākūrat sūriyya* [The Story of As'ad al-Shidyaq of Early Syria] (1860) and *Dīwān abu al-ṭayyib aḥmad ibn al-ḥusayn al-mutanabbī* [A Collection of Poetry by Abu al-Tayyib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mutanabbī] (1860).

In addition to these religious and secular works, I also studied various editions of Protestant bibles. These included those published by the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) in London and distributed by the Americans between the years 1819 and 1860, as well as the new Arabic translation produced at the Syria mission and printed from 1860 onwards. While the timeframe covered in this dissertation essentially ends

around the time when the first edition of the American Arabic bible came of the mission's press, I did spend time studying its earliest renditions and formats. In 2010 and 2011, I was pleased to discover that the early printed proofs of this mission's bibles and old testaments (produced between 1848-1864) were held in Beirut's Near East School of Theology (NEST), which was established as a Protestant seminary in the mid 1800s and presently houses the Syria mission's publications and library contents. Amongst the library's uncataloged collection of rare manuscripts and documents are sixty-two handwritten volumes of the mission's Arabic bible and six editions of the bible's first printed proofs. While the focus of this dissertation is not on the mission's bible (which was only circulated in the 1860s), the translation documents and proofs of the bible's editions helped illuminate the process involved in the translation, copying, editing and printing of books at the American Press before 1860.

However, some editions and copies of these works have been lost or are no longer available for viewing. As such, in compiling a chronological list of books printed at the American Press between 1836-1862, I relied on Annual Reports and Press Reports from various archives of the American Syria mission for titles, dates and book descriptions. I then cross-referenced this data with information available through online databases, such as worldcat.org, a brief compilation of books printed at this Press from 1835-1842 by bibliographer Geoffrey Roper,[440] as well as books held at the British Museum listed in A.G. Ellis's three-volume *Catalogue of Arabic Books in the British Museum*, London: The British Museum, 1901. As such, while every effort was made to construct a comprehensive view of the types of books printed at the American Press during the years

---

[440] G. Roper, "The Beginnings of Arabic Printing by the ABCFM, 1822-1841," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 9.1 (1998): 50-68.

181

discussed in this dissertation's chapters, various gaps remain, which are indicative of the still-unchartered nature of this field.

2. Islamic and Christian Arabic Manuscripts and Early Print Culture

Jafet Library, at the American University of Beirut, presently houses a large collection of early Arabic Christian and Islamic manuscripts, of approximately 1400 copies, a number of which are partially digitized and made available online. However, while these manuscripts are stored in the library's Archives and Special Collections (presumably accessible for researchers in the "closed area" or reading room), the library only allows access to black and white microfilm editions of these works. Furthermore, the library does not allow readers to reproduce, print or take images (even with permission and formal documentation) of the microfilms themselves, for fear of "copyright" infringement.[441] As such, while I was unable to directly reference or reproduce images of these eighteenth and nineteenth-century manuscripts in this dissertation, through my limited access to them, I was able to obtain a general view of dominant approaches in the monastic and seminary scribal practices of the Mount Lebanon region and its surrounding areas.

The main book I had the opportunity to examine was *Kitāb al-injīl al-sharīf al-ṭāhir wa-l-miṣbāḥ al-munīr al-zāhir al-maktūb min al-arbaʿ al-anjīliyyīn al-mushrifīn al-aṭnāb* [The Book of the Holy Gospels as Written by the Four Evangelists], copied in 1703

---

[441] In my experiences at AUB other local institutions, like NEST, the terms *impermis* and *mamnūʿ* (forbidden) were frequently used as reasons why certain materials remained off-limits to scholars. This likely relates to a view of these books as sacred objects as well as bearers of historical knowledge not to be widely circulated or indiscriminately reproduced beyond their original contexts. As such, it seems that Lebanese librarians or archivists essentially see themselves as guardians of this knowledge. Additionally, given the increasingly divisive nature of Lebanon's sectarian society, the clerics of each religious group are suspicious of outside interests, and are thus hesitant about sharing material with a scholar (like myself) who is not affiliated with their respective community.

at a Greek Orthodox monastery in Mount Lebanon (MS:226:K62kA, Microfilm-MS:1362). Other books included a text on the explanation of questions regarding the *dhimma*.[442] The first and last five pages from these two works, as well as some earlier examples, have been digitized and are available online (http://ddc.aub.edu.lb/projects/jafet/manuscripts).

The main digital sources I used for viewing other manuscripts and early prints produced by Syrian monasteries were the ones mentioned above, as well as the digital collections of the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (HMML), http://www.hmml.org. The preservation work being done by HMML in documenting and cataloging the region's pre-modern and early modern Arabic and Syriac Christian manuscripts and prints is long overdue and currently the only attempt of this kind. HMML is currently photographing the collections of Lebanese institutions, such as the Near East School of Theology (NEST), the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist at al-Shuwayr, Bibliothèque Oriental at Université Saint-Joseph (USJ) and the Université du Saint-Esprit in Kaslik (USEK). While the collections of NEST are not presently available for online viewing, others such as USJ and USEK have allowed HMML to include sample pages in its online catalog, some of which I consulted for this dissertation.[443] As more material becomes available for scholars in HMML's digital collection, it will truly open up the possibility for much needed research and work on these rare Christian manuscripts by allowing researchers to bypass the notoriously convoluted, political and bureaucratic red-tape in place at these

---

[442] *Bāqat al-zuhūr al-munamqa fī sū'alāt 'ilm al-dhimma*, copied in 1761 by the scribe Yūsuf (al-Khūrī) Babila at a monastery in 'Akka, MS:234:B114baA.

[443] However, these collections were only recently added to the HMML's digital catalog. As such, when I was writing this dissertation, there were only a limited number of pages and images from these manuscripts available for researchers.

manuscripts' home institutions in Lebanon.

3. Records of the American Syria Mission:

The largest archive on the Protestant Syria mission is held at Harvard University's Houghton Library Records of the Presbyterian Mission, A.B.C. and includes letters and documents pertaining to the Syria mission's activities in the region. The main records that I examined came from the ABC 16.8.1 boxes (specifically volumes 1 and 4-8), which include correspondences, minutes of mission meetings, annual reports, tabular reports, and publication reports of the Syria Mission in Beirut and its nearby stations from 1823-1871. For letters and papers demonstrating the interactions between the Syria Mission stations and the ABCFM members in Boston, I turned to ABC 2.1.1 (Transcript series), a collection of letters to and from foreign missionaries (1836-1875), and ABC 30, the papers of Rufus Anderson (ABCFM Secretary, 1822-1866). The fact that a number of these records were also available on microfilm facilitated the process of reading and collecting letters and minutes relevant to my project. Other important papers housed at the Houghton library, which are only accessible in the library's reading room, are the English and Arabic papers of Eli Smith, the Syria mission's press editor and superintendent from 1834-1857. The Eli Smith collection of papers in English, ABC 60, contains letters written to and from Smith related to the development of the mission's Arabic typeface and publications. These files also include miscellaneous documents, such as lists of books, published articles, Smith's thoughts on the English to Arabic translation process, writings on Arabic orthography and records related to the mission's publications and the American Press's Arabic typeface.

While the English documents at this library are thoroughly organized with very detailed finding aids, the Eli Smith Arabic Collection (ABC 50) is a surprisingly uncataloged assortment of myriad letters, clippings, translations and writings in Arabic that currently occupies three large, unorganized boxes. This Arabic Collection provides rare access to Arabic letters addressed to Smith and written by local Arab converts, missionary helpers, politicians, Muslim and Christian clergy members, and scholars, among others. Unfortunately, many of these documents, particularly those by individuals central to my dissertation (like Yāzijī and Bustānī) were written on tissue-thin paper in light-sensitive ink, and are in various stages of deterioration. While they frequently proved difficult to decipher, these letters supplied me with a rare look at the American press' operations and publications through the eyes of local Arab scholars and employees.

A significant number of records related to the history of the Syria Mission and its Press are also housed at Yale University's Divinity School Library, in New Haven, and the Presbyterian Historical Society, in Philadelphia. Throughout 2010 and 2011, I was able to recurrently access materials from these collections off-site through the generous help of these institutions' research librarians and public services employees. Yale's compendium includes the Eli Smith Family Papers (record group no. 124), amongst which are letters and journal entries dealing with the missionary press, as well as drafts of late nineteenth-century articles by missionaries about the Protestant bible, book production and translation process. Documents I consulted came from Series I, correspondence, Series II, the writings of Eli Smith, and Series V, Margaret Russell

Leavy's (the author of a publication on the Protestant's Arabic bible[444]) research materials. Other useful records included correspondences between Smith and one of the earliest missionaries in the region, Isaac Bird, as well as a rare collection of the latter's journals (Isaac Bird Papers, MS 82). For this dissertation, I utilized relevant letters between the veteran missionary and Smith, which particularly highlighted Smith's struggles with the Press and its developments. This included letters from 1834-1836 (box 1, folder 13) as well as those from 1850-1851 (box 1, folder 15). For a first-hand account of missionary reactions to and understandings of myriad challenges working in the field during the 1820s (when local communities were first encountering the Protestants' policies and publications), I turned to Bird's journals from this period (box 2, folder 24). This assemblage of entries, in addition to Bird's thoughts, includes translations of official Ottoman and religious decrees (or *firmans*), transcriptions of Arabic correspondence, and copies of miscellaneous administrative documents. Such accounts thus provided me with a play-by-play of myriad local resistances to the missionaries, and the Americans' frequent misunderstandings of these interactions.

The collection at the Presbyterian Historical Society, the National Archives of the Presbyterian Church (USA), chiefly consists of the American Syria mission's records after its transfer from the ABCFM to the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.'s Board of Foreign Missions, which became the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A in 1858 (UPCUSA). The majority of the material held at this archive dates from 1870 to the late 1960s. As such, this institution's holdings have often been overlooked by scholars working on the Syria mission's earlier years, particularly its press-related activities. However, in the process of looking through the finding aid for Record Group 115, the

---

[444] M. Leavy, *Eli Smith and the Arabic Bible* (New Haven: Yale Divinity School Library, 1993).

Syria Mission Records, 1808-1967, I came across a collection of approximately fifty American Press reports dating from 1835-1855 (Box 1: Folder 25). These valuable documents—which, to my knowledge, have not yet been used in sources on this American Press—provide a rare look into the day-to-day dealings of this missionary press. They include cost estimates, equipment inventories and requests, book distribution numbers, records of the book depository/magazine, quarterly press reports, notes on type production, and names of translators and copyists. Although these reports are far from consistent with numerous years unaccounted for, the documents that are available provided the framework from which I constructed a history of the mission's early Arabic publications (mostly taken up in chapters two and three of this dissertation).

Jafet Library also holds a number of records deposited by the Syria mission during its operations in modern-day Lebanon. The library's Archives and Special Collection Department, which I had visited during the summer of 2010, contains documents in its American Missionary Records dating to the 1850s (items consulted were from Box 1, American Missionaries, AA: 7.5, Files 6, 11 and 13). These records outline the mission's struggles in the region, such as the persecution of Protestants, as well as correspondences to and from local Ottoman officials regarding the mission, the Press's censorship and the controversies of its publications.

Notes on Transliteration

The transliteration of most Arabic words and names appearing in this dissertation follow the format outlined in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Exceptions to this are the following:

- Instances in which certain words (i.e. sultan and emir) and names of places (i.e. Beirut, Istanbul, Cairo and Tabriz) have accepted spellings in English.

- Ottoman Turkish words (i.e. *eyalet* and *sanjak*), unless they are also prominently used in Arabic.

- Certain authors who opt for English or French spellings of their Arabic names in their publications.

Additionally, when needed, I apply an "s" at the end of singular versions of Arabic words instead of using their conventional plural forms in Arabic.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

American Bible Society. *The Story of the Arabic Bible*. New York: American Bible Society, 1906. Print.

Anderson, Rufus. *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*. 2 vols. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1872. Print.

———. *Report to the Prudential Committee of a Visit to the Missions in the Levant*. Boston: T.R. Marvin, 1844. Print.

———. *The Theory of Missions to the Heathen, a Sermon at the Ordination of Mr. Edward Webb as a Missionary to the Heathen*. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1845. Print.

Bird, Isaac. *Bible Work in Bible Lands; or, Events in the History of the Syria Mission*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1872. Print.

Bliss, Daniel, Douglas Rugh, Belle Dorman Rugh, and Alfred H. Howell. *Letters from a New Campus: Written to His Wife Abby and Their Four Children During Their Visit to Amherst, Massachusetts, 1873-1874*. Beirut, Lebanon: American University of Beirut, 1994. Print.

al-Bustānī, Buṭrus. *Khiṭāb fī al-hay'a al-ijtimā'iyya wa-al-muqābla bayna al-'awā'īd al-'arabiyya wa-l-afranjiyya* [Lecture on Society and a Comparison Between the Customs of the Arabs and Occidentals]. 1882/3. Ed. Karam Rizk. al-Kaslīk: Ma'had al-Tārīkh fī Jāmi'at al-Rūḥ al-Qudus, 1999. Print.

———. *Nafīr Sūriyya* [The Syrian Clarion]. 1860. Ed. Karam Rizk. Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr lil-Abḥāth wa-l-Nashr, 1999. Print.

———. *Qiṣṣat as'ad al-shidyāq bākūrat sūriyya* [The Story of As'ad al-Shidyaq of Early Syria]. Beirut: American Press, 1860. *Hathi Trust.* PDF file.

Ellis, Alexander G. *Catalogue of Arabic Books in the British Museum*. 3 vols. London: The British Museum, 1901. Print.

Goodell, William and Edward D. G. Prime. *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*. New York: R. Carter and Bros., 1875. *Google, Inc*. PDF file.

Green, Samuel G. *The Story of the Religious Tract Society for One Hundred Years*. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1899. *Google, Inc*. PDF file.

Greene, Joseph K. *Leavening the Levant* Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1916. Print.

Hall, Isaac. "The Arabic Bible of Drs. Eli Smith and Cornelius V.A. Van Dyck." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 11 (1882-1885): 276-286. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

Holdich, Joseph and William J.R. Taylor. *The Arabic Scriptures*. New York: American Bible Society, 1864. Print.

Jessup, Henry Harris. *Fifty-Three Years In Syria*. 1910. 2 vols. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, LLC, 2007. Print.

Johnson, John. *An Abridgment of Johnson's Typographia, or the Printers' Instructor: With an Appendix*. Boston: C.L. Adams, 1828. *Google, Inc*. PDF file.

———. *Typographia or the Printers' Instructor. V. I1*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown & Gree, 1824. *Google, Inc*. PDF file.

Jowett, William. *Christian Researches in Syria and the Holy Land*. London: L. B. Seely & Son, and J. Hatchard & Son, 1826. *Google, Inc*. PDF file.

———. *Christian Researches in Syria and the Holy Land, in MDCCCXXIII and MDCCCXXIV*. London: Richard Watts, 1825. *Google, Inc*. PDF file.

Khūrī, Yūsuf, ed. *A'māl al-jam'iyya al-'ilmiyya al-sūriyya lil-fūnūn wal-'ulūm 1868-1879* [The Works of the Syrian Society for the Sciences and Arts]. Beirut: Dar al-Hamra', 1990. Print.

———. *Al-jam'iyya al-sūriyya li al-'ulūm wa-l-funūn 1847-1852*. [The Syrian Society for the Sciences and Arts]. Beirut: Dār al-Hamrā', 1990. Print.

Kuri, Sami. *Une histoire du Liban à travers les archives des jésuites: 1816-1862*. 3 vols. Beyrouth: Dar al-Mashreq, 1985.

Laurie, Thomas. *Historical Sketch of the Syria Mission*. Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1866. *Google, Inc*. PDF file.

The Missionary Herald 20-66 (1824-1870). *Google, Inc*. PDF file.

The Missionary Register 16 (1828). *Google, Inc*. PDF file.

Penrose, Stephen B.L. *That They May Have Life: The Story of the American University of Beirut, 1866-1941*. New York: Trustees of the American University of Beirut, 1941. Print.

Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions 10-16 (1819-1825). *Google, Inc*. PDF file.

Salisbury, Edward E. "II. Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 3 (1853): 477-86. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

Shaykhū, Luīs. *Tārīkh fan al-ṭibāʿa fī al-mashreq* [The History of Printing in the Middle East]. Beirut: Dār al-Mashreq, 1901, 1994. Print.

al-Shidyāq, Tānnūs ibn Yūsuf, et al. *Kitāb akbār al-aʿyān fī jabal lubnān* [News of the Eminent in Mount Lebanon]. 1859. 2 vols. Bayrūt: Dār Naḍīr ʿAbbūd, 1995.

Smith, Eli and Cornelius Van Allen van Dyck. *A Brief Documentary History of the Translation of the Scriptures into the Arabic Language*. Beirut: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1900. Print.

Smith, Eli. "Rules for the orthography of Arabic and Turkish names and words, in Roman letters." Beirut: Syria Mission of the ABCFM, 1838 (Apr.). Print.

Strong, William E. *The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910. *Google, Inc*. PDF file.

Tracy, Joseph. *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1842. *Google, Inc*. PDF file.

al-Yāzijī, Nāṣīf , Muḥammad Khalīl Bāshā, and Riyāḍ Ghannām. *Risāla tārīkhiyya fī'aḥwāl jabal lubnān fī ʿahdihi al-iqtāʿī* [Historical Chronicle of the Events of Mount Lebanon]. Bayrūt: Dār Maʿn, 2002. Print.

Secondary Sources

Abd al-Razzaq, Fawzi. "The Kingdom of the Book: The History of Printing as an Agent of Change in Morocco between 1865 and 1912." Phd Dissertation. Boston University, 1989. Print.

Abou Rjaili, Khalil. "Boutros al-Boustani (1819-83)." *Prospects: The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education*. UNESCO XXIII.1/2 (1993): 125-33. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

Abou Rjeily, Rana. *Cultural Connectives*. London: Mark Batty Publisher, 2011. Print.

Aboussouan, Camille, ed. *Exposition le livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900*. Paris: UNESCO, 1982. Print.

Abu-Ghazaleh, Adnan. *American Missions in Syria: A Study of American Missionary Contribution to Arab Nationalism in 19th Century Syria*. Brattleboro, VT: Amana Books, 1990. Print.

Abraham, A. J. *Lebanon at Mid-Century, Maronite-Druze Relations in Lebanon 1840-1860: A Prelude to Arab Nationalism*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981. Print.

Abu Husayn, Abdul Rahim. *The View from Istanbul: Ottoman Lebanon and the Druze Emirate*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2004. Print.

Abu-Manneh, Butrus. "The Christians between Ottomanism and Syrian Nationalism: The Ideas of Butrus Al-Bustani." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 11.3 (May, 1980): 287-304. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

Albin, Michael W. "A Preliminary Bibliography of Arabic Books Printed by the Dominican Fathers in Mosul." *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales* 16 (1983). *JSTOR*. PDF file.

———. "Early Arabic Printing: A Catalogue of Attitudes." *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 3 (1990-1991): 114-22. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

———. "Islamic Book History: Parameters of a Discipline." *International Association of Orientalist Librarians Bulletin* 26-27 (1985): 13-16. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

———. "The Iranian Publishing Industry: A Preliminary Appraisal." *Libri* 36.1 (1986): 1-23. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

Anderson, Gerald H., ed. *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*. Grand Rapids; Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmas Publishing Co., 1999. Print.

Ashur, Radwa, Ferial J. Ghazoul, and Hasna Reda-Mekdashi, eds. *Arab Women Writers: A Critical Reference Guide, 1873-1999*. Cairo: The American University of Cairo Press, 2008.

Askan, Virginia. *Ottoman Wars: An Empire Besieged*. Harlow: Pearson, 2007. Print.

Atiyeh, George, ed. *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*. Albany: State University of New York, 1995. Print.

Ayalon, Ami. *Reading Palestine, Printing and Literacy: 1900-1948*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004. Print.

———. "The Syrian Educated Elite and the Literary *Nahḍa*." *Ottoman Reform and Islamic Regeneration*. Ed. F. Zachs and I. Weismann. London: I.B. Tauris, 2005. 127-66. Print.

———. *The Press in the Arab Middle East: A History*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Print.

'Azab, Khālid Muḥammad and Aḥmad Manṣūr. *al-Kitāb al-ʿarabī al-maṭbūʿ: min al-judhūr ila maṭbaʿat būlāq* [The Printed Arabic Book: From its Origins to Bulaq Press]. Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣrīya al-Lubnāniyya, 2008. Print.

Badr, Habib. "American Protestant Missionary Beginnings in Beirut and Istanbul: Policy, Politics, Practice and Response." *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*. Ed. Heleen Murre-van den Berg. Studies in Christian Mission. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2006. 211-40. Print.

Badran, Margot. "The Origins of Feminism in Egypt." *Current Issues in Women's History*. Eds. Arina Angerman, et al. New York; Oxon: Routledge, 1989, 2012. 153-70. Print.

Balagna, Josée. *l'Imprimerie Arabe en occident (xvie, xviie et xviiie siècles)*. Paris: Éditions Maisonneuve & Larose, 1984. Print.

al-Bagdadi, Nadia. "Print, Script and the Limits of Free-thinking in Arabic Letters of the 19th Century: The Case of al-Shidyaq." *Al-Abḥāth* 44-49 (2000): 99-122. Print.

Bashkin, Orit. "Why did Baghdadi Jews Stop Writing to their Brethren in Mainz?---Some Comments about the Reading Practices of Iraqi Jews in the Nineteenth Century." *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East*. Ed. Philip Sadgrove. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. 95-110. Print.

Bashshur, Munir A. "Higher Education and Political Development in Syria and Lebanon." *Comparative Education Review* 10.3 (Oct., 1966): 451-61. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

Bawardi, Basilius. "Hadiqat al-Akhbar Newspaper and Its Pioneering Role in the Arabic Narrative Fiction." *Die Welt der Islam* 48 (2008): 170–95. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

Bein, Amit. *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic: Agents of Change and Guardians of Tradition*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011. Print.

Ben Cheikh, Abdelkader. *Book Production and Reading in the Arab World*. Paris: UNESCO, 1982. Print.

———. *Communication et société: pouvoir lire et développement culturel*. Tunis: Publications du Centre de recherches en bibliothéconomie et sciences de l'information, 1986. Print.

Berger, Lutz. "Zur Problematik der späten Einfuhrung des Buchdrucks in der islamischen Welt." *Das gedruckte Buch im Vorderen Orient*. Ed. Ulrich Marzolph. Dortmund: Verlag für Orientkunde, 2002. Print.

Beshara, Adel. *The Origins of Syrian Nationhood: Histories, Pioneers and Identity*. New York; Oxon: Routledge, 2011. Print.

Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. New York; Oxon: Routledge, 1994. Print.

Birnbaum, Eleazar. *From Manuscript to Printed Book in the Islamic World: Catalogue of an Exhibition*. Toronto: Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, 1989. Print.

Blair, Sheila. *Islamic Calligraphy*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006. Print.

Bloom, Jonathan. *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001. Print.

———. "The Introduction of Paper to the Islamic Lands and the Development of the Illustrated Manuscript." *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Bobzin, Harmut. "From Venice to Cairo: On the History of Arabic Editions of the Koran (16th – early 20th century)." *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter*. Ed. Eva Hanebutt-Benz, et al. Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002. 151-76. Print.

Boogert, Maurits H. van den. "The Sultan's Answer to the Medici Press? Ibrahim Muteferrika's Printing House in Istanbul." *The Republic of Letters and the Levant*. Eds. Maurits van den Boogert, Alastair Hamilton and Bart Westerweel. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2005. 265-91. Print.

Brinbaum, Virginia Aksan, Michael McCaffrey, and Noha Sadek. *From Manuscript to Printed Book in the Islamic World: Catalogue of an Exhibition, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1989.

Buheiry, Marwan. "The Peasant Revolt of 1858 in Mount Lebanon: Rising Expectations, Economic Malaise, and the Incentive to Arm." *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*. Ed. Tarif al-Khalidi. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1984. 291-302. Print.

194

Bulliet, Richard W. "Medieval Arabic Tarsh: A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Printing." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107.3 (Jul. - Sep., 1987): 427-38. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Burrows, Mathew. "'Mission civilisatrice': French Cultural Policy in the Middle East, 1860-1914." *The Historical Journal* 29.1 (Mar., 1986): 109-35. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Chartier, Roger. *Culture écrite et société: l'ordre des livres, XIVe-XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Bibliothèque Michel Albin, 1996. Print.

———. *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*. Trans. Cochrane, Lydia G. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988. Print.

———. "Frenchness in the History of the Book: From the History of Publishing to the History of Reading." *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings* 97.2 (1988): 299-329. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

———. "Texts, Printing, Readings." *The New Cultural History*. Ed. Hunt, L. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. 154-75. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

———. "The Printing Revolution: A Reappraisal." *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*. Eds. Sabrina A. Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007. 397-408. Print.

Chevallier, Dominique. "Non-Muslim Communities in Arab Cities." *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*. Eds. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis. New York and London: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982. 159-65. Print.

Christensen, Torben, and William R. Hutchison. *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era, 1880-1920.* Århus, Denmark: Aros, 1982. Print.

Clegg, Cyndia S. "History of the Book: An Undisciplined Discipline?" Review essay in *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001): 221-45. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Coakley, J.F. "Edward Breath and the Typography of Syriac." *Harvard Library Bulletin* 6.4 (Winter 1995): 41-64. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

———. "Homan Hallock, Punchcutter," *Printing History* 45.1 (2003): 18-41. Print.

———. "Printing in Malta, 1642–1839: Its Cultural Role from Inception to the Granting of Freedom of the Press." *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 10.3 (Sep. 2009): 323-25 (Review). *JSTOR.* PDF file.

———. "Printing Offices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1817-1900: A Synopsis." *Harvard Library Bulletin* 9.1 (1998): 5-34. PDF file.

Coffey, Heather. "Between Amulet and Devotion: Islamic Miniature Books in the Lilly Library." *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections*. Ed. Christiane Gruber. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010. 79-115. Print.

Cohen, Mark R. *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. Print.

Cole, Juan R. I. "Printing and Urban Islam in the Mediterranean World, 1890-1920." *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*. Eds. Leila Tarazi Fawaz and C.A. Bayly. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002. 344-64. Print.

Cox, Jeremy. *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818-1940*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002. Print.

———. "Master Narratives of Imperial Missions." *Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions.* Eds. Jamie S. Scott and Gareth Griffiths. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. 3-18. Print.

———. *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700*. New York; Oxon: Routledge, 2008. Print.

Daines, Mike. "Arabic Calligraphy, from Reed Pen to Mouse." *Baseline International Typographic Magazine* 15 (1992): 12-17. Print.

Daniel, Robert L. "American Influences in the Near East before 1861." *American Quarterly* 16.1 (Spring, 1964): 81. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

Darton, R. "What is the History of Books?" *Daedalus* 111.3 (1982): 65-83. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

Demeerseman, André. *La lithographie Arabe et Tunisienne*. Tunis: N. Bascone & S. Muscat, 1954. Print.

———. "Une page nouvelle de l'histoire de l'Imprimerie en Tunisie." *IBLA Revue* 19.3 (1956). Print.

Dirlik, Arif. "Wither History? Encounters with Historism, Postmodernism, Postcolonialism." *History After the Three Worlds: Post-Eurocentric Historiographies*. Eds. Arif Dirlik, Vinay Bahl, and Peter Gran. Latham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000. 249-250. Print.

196

Drucker, Johanna. *The Visible Word: Experimental Typography and Modern Art, 1909-1923.* Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994.

———. *The Century of Artists' Books.* New York: Granary Books, 2004.

Dunch, Ryan. "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity." *History and Theory* 41.3 (2002): 301-25. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*. 2 vols. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1979. Print.

———. *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. Print.

Eissa, Ashraf. "Majallat al-jinān: Arabic Narrative Discourse in the Making." *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 18 (2000): 41-49. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Elsharky, Marwa. "The Gospel of Science and American Evangelism in Late Ottoman Beirut." *Past and Present* 19.6 (Aug. 2007): 173-214. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

"Encyclical of the Eastern Patriarchs, 1848: A Reply to the Epistle of Pope Pius IX, 'to the Easterns'." *Orthodox Christian Information Center*. N.p., n.d. Web. 15 Oct. 2012.

Farah, Caesar E. "Protestantism and British Diplomacy in Syria." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 7.3 (Jul., 1976): 321-44. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

———."The Lebanese Insurgence of 1840 and the Powers." *Journal of Asian History* 1 (1967): 105-32. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Fawaz, Leila Tarazi and C.A. Bayly, eds. *Modernity & Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002. Print.

Fawaz, Leila Tarazi. *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994. Print.

———."Le dévelopement de Beyrouth au XIXe et au debut du XXe siècle." *La ville arabe dans l'Islam: Les espaces sociaux de la ville histoire et mutations*. Eds. Abdelwahab Boudhiba et Dominique Chevallier. Tunis: Center d-Études et de Recherches Economiques et Sociales, 1982. Print.

———. *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Beirut*. Cambridge (MA) and London: Harvard University Press, 1983. Print.

———. "The City and the Mountain: Beirut's Political Radius in the 19th Century as Revealed in the Crises of 1860." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 16 (1984): 489-95. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Febvre, Lucien Paul Victor, and Henri-Jean Martin. *l'Apparition du Livre*. Paris: Michel Albin, 1958. Print.

———. *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*. Trans. D. Gerard. Eds. G. Nowell-Smith and D. Wootton. London: N.L.B., 1976. Print.

Field, James A. *From Gibraltar to the Middle East: America in the Mediterranean World 1776-1882*. Chicago: Imprint Publications, 1991. Print.

Fleischmann, Ellen. "Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries, the American Board, and the Girls and Women of Syria (1830-1910)." *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*. Ed. Heleen Murre-van den Berg. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2006. 263-80. Print.

Friedrich, Norbert, Uwe Kaminsky and Roland Loffler, eds. *The Social Dimension of Christian Missions in the Middle East: Historical Studies of the 19th and 20th Centuries*. 2010. Print.

Gacek, Adam. *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers*. Handbook of Oriental Studies. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009. Print.

Gencer, Yasemin. "Ībrahim Müteferrika and the Age of the Printed Manuscript." *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections*. Ed. Christiane Gruber. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010. 155-93. Print.

Ghosh, Anindita. "An Uncertain 'Coming of the Book': Early Print Cultures in Colonial India." *Book History* 6 (2003): 23-55. Print.

———. *Power in Print: Popular Publishing and the Politics of Language and Culture in Colonial Society, 1778-1905*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. Print.

———. "Between Text and Reader: The Experience of Christian Missionaries in Bengal, 1800-50." *Free Print and Non-Commercial Publishing Since 1700*. Ed. James Raven. Brookfield/Vermont/Aldershot: Ashgate Press, 2000. 162 – 76. Print.

Glass, Dagmar. "Die *Nahḍa* und ihre Technik im 19. Jahrhundert: Ärabische Druckereien in Agypten und Syrien." *Das gedruckte Buch im Vorderen Orient*. Ed. Ulrich Marzolph. Dortmund: Verlag für Orientkunde, 2002. Print.

———. *Malta, Beirut, Leipzig and Beirut Again: Eli Smith, the American Syria Mission and the Spread of Arabic Typography in 19th Century Lebanon*. Ed. Angelika Neuwirth. Beirut: Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morganländischen Gesellschaft, 1997. Print.

Göçek, Fatma Müge, "Decline of the Ottoman Empire and the Emergence of Greek, Armenian, Turkish, and Arab Nationalisms." *Social Constructions of Nationalism in the Middle East.* Ed. Fatma M. Göçek. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002. 15-84. Print.

———. *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987. Print.

———. "Ethnic Segmentation, Western Education, and Political Outcomes: Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Society " *Poetics Today* 14.3 (Autumn, 1993): 507-38. Print.

———. *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. Print.

Golding, Peter and Phil Harris, eds. *Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Globalization, Communication and the New International Order.* London; Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1996. Print.

Gran, Peter. *Beyond Eurocentrism: A New View of Modern World History*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996. Print.

Green, Nile. "Journeymen, Middlemen: Travel, Transculture, and Technology in the Origins of Muslim Printing." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 41.2 (May 2009): 203-24. Print.

———. "Persian Print and the Stanhope Revolution: Industrialization, Evangelicalism, and the Birth of Printing in Early Qajar Iran." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and The Middle East* 30.3 (2012): 413-90. *Project MUSE.* PDF file.

———. "The Development of Arabic-Script Typography in Georgian Britain." *Printing History New Series* 5 (Jan 2009): 15-30. Print.

Hafiz, Sabry. *The Genesis of Arab Narrative Discourse: A Study in the Sociology of Modern Arabic Literature*. London: Saqi Books, 1993. Print.

Hakim, Carol. *The Origins of the Lebanese National Idea, 1840-1920*. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: The University of California Press, 2013. Print.

Ḥamādah, Muḥammad Māhir. *al-Kitāb al-ʿarabī: makhṭūṭān wa-maṭbūʿān* [The Arabic Book: Handwritten and Printed] Riyadh: Dār al-ʿUlūm, 1984. Print.

Hamilton, Cynthia S. "Spreading the Word: The American Tract Society, *The Dairyman's Daughter*, and Mass Publishing." *Book History* 14 (2011): 27. Print.

Hanebutt-Benz, Eva et al., eds. *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter*. Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002. Print.

Hanna, Faith M. *An American Mission: The Role of the American University of Beirut*. Boston: Alphabet Press, 1979. Print.

Hanssen, Jens. *Fin De Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital*. Oxford Historical Monographs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005. Print.

Hanssen, Jens, Thomas Philipp and Stefan Weber, eds. *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Vol. 88. Beirut: Ergon Verlag Wurzburg in Kommission, 2002. Print.

Harris, Elizabeth M. *Printing Presses in the Graphic Arts Collection*. Washington, D.C.: The National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, 1996. Print.

Hirschler, Konrad. *Medieval Arabic Historiography: Authors as Actors*. New York; Oxon: Routledge, 2006. Print.

———. *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012. Print.

Hitti, Philip K. *History of the Arabs*. London: Macmillan, 1937. Print.

Hourani, Albert. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1962, 1983. Print.

Howsam, Leslie. *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the British Foreign Bible Society*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991, 2002. Print.

———. *Old Books & New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Book and Print Culture*. Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2006. Print.

Hsu, Cheng-Hsiang. "A Survey of Arabic-character Publications Printed in Egypt during the Period of 1238-1267 (1822-1851)." *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East*. Ed. Philip Sadgrove. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. 1-16. Print.

Huntington, Samuel. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Touchstone, 1997. Print.

Hutchinson, William R. *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987. Print.

Jardine, Lisa and Anthony Grafton. "'Studied for Action:' How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy." *Past and Present* 129 (Nov 1990): 30-78. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Johns, Adrian. *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*. Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 1998. Print.

Kahale, Joseph Elias. *'Abd-allāh zākhir, mubtakir al-maṭba'a al-'arabiyya* [Abdallah Zakhir: Early Arabic Printer]. Aleppo: Markaz al-Inmā'al-Ḥaḍārī, 2002. Print.

Karsh, Efraim and Inari Karsh. *Empires of the Sand: The Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East, 1789-1923*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001. Print.

Kassir, Samir. *Beirut*. Trans. Debevoise, M.B. Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010. Print.

Kaufman, Asher. "Phoenicianism: The Formation of an Identity in Lebanon in 1920." *Middle Eastern Studies* 37.1 (January 2001): 173-94. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

———. *Reviving Phoenicia In Search for Identity in Lebanon*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2004. Print.

———. "'Tell Us Our History': Charles Corm, Mount Lebanon and Lebanese Nationalism." *Middle Eastern Studies* 40.3 (2004): 1-28. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Kerr, Robert M. and Thomas Milo, eds. *Writings and Writing from Another World and Another Era: Investigations in Islamic Text and Script in Honour of Dr Januarius Justus Witkam Professor of Codicology and Paleography of the Islamic World at Leyden University*. Cambridge: Archetype, 2010. Print.

Khalaf, Samir. "Communal Conflict in 19th-Century Lebanon." *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*. Eds. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis. New York: Holms and Meier, 1982. Print.

———. *Persistence and Change in 19th Century Lebanon*. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1979. Print.

———. *Protestant Missionaries in the Levant: Ungodly Puritans, 1820-1860*. Oxford; New York: Taylor & Francis, 2012. Kindle file.

———. "Leavening the Levant: New England Puritanism as a Cultural Transplant." *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 7.2 (1997): 268-92. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Khalid, Adeeb. "Printing, Publishing, and Reform in Tsarist Central Asia." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26.2 (May, 1994): 187-200. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

201

Khater, Akram Fouad. "She Married Silk: A Rewriting of Peasant History in 19th Century Mount Lebanon." PhD Dissertation. University of California Berkeley, 1993. Print.

Khuri-Makdisi, Ilham. *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860-1914*. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2010. Print.

Kreiser, Klaus, ed. *The Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Jews, Christians, and Muslims*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz in Kommission, 2001. Print.

Krek, Miroslav. *A Bibliography of Arabic Typography*. Weston, MA: Krek, 1976. Print.

———. *A Gazetteer of Arabic Printing*. Weston, MA: Krek, 1977. Print.

———. "Arabic Block Printing as the Precursor of Printing in Europe: Preliminary Report." *American Research Center in Egypt Newsletter* 129 (1985): 12-16. Print.

———. "Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking. The Catalogue of an Exhibition, the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago, May 18-August 18, 1981 by Gulnar Bosch, John Carswell, and Guy Petherbridge." *The Library Quarterly* 53.4 (Oct., 1983): 468-69. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

———. "Sixty Typefoundries, type cutters, printers and their Arabic Type." Cairo, 1984. Print.

———. "Some observations on printing Arabic in America and by Americans abroad." *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 6 (1992): 71-87. Print.

———. "The Enigma of the First Arabic Book Printed from Movable Type." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 38.3 (Jul. 1979): 203-12. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

———. "Typographia Arabica: The Development of Arabic Printing as Illustrated by Arabic Type Specimens." Waltham: Brandeis University Library, 1971. Print.

Kuran-Burçoğlu, Nedret. "Osman Zeki Bey and His Printing Office the *Matbaa-i Osmaniye*." *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East.* Ed. Philip Sadgrove. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. 35-58. Print.

Kuri, Sami S.J. "Esquisse d'un catalogue des imprimes de l'Imprimerie Catholique de Beyrouth, 1848-1888." *Ḥawalīyāt maʿhad al-adab al-sharqiyya* 7 (1993/1996): 75-134. Print.

Leavy, Margaret R. *Eli Smith and the Arabic Bible*. New Haven: Yale Divinity School Library, 1993. Print.

Lindner, Christine B. ""In this religion I will live, and in this religion I will die": Performativity and the Protestant Identity in Late Ottoman Syria." *CHRONOS, Revue d'histoire de l'Université de Balamand* 22 (2010): 25-48. PDF file.

Mahdi, Muhsin. "From the Manuscript Age to the Age of Printed Books." *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*. Ed. George N. Atiyeh. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995. Print.

Makdisi, Ussama. "After 1860: Debating Religion, Reform, and Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34.4 (Nov., 2002): 601-17. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

———. "'Anti-Americanism' in the Arab World: An Interpretation of a Brief History." *Journal of American History* 89.2 (Sep., 2002): 538-57. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

———. *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008. Print.

———. "Bringing America Back into the Middle East: A History of the First American Missionary Encounter with the Ottoman Arab World." *Imperial Formations*. Eds. Ann Laura Stoler, Carole Mc Granahan and Peter C. Perdue. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007. Print.

———. "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism, and Evangelical Modernity." *The American Historical Review* 102.3 (Jun., 1997): 680-713. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

———. *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2000. Print.

Marsot, Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid. *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali*. Cambridge Middle East Library. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Print.

Marzolph, Ulrich. "Adab in Transition: Creative Compilation in Nineteenth-Century Print Tradition." *Israel Oriental Studies* 19 (1999): 161-72. Print.

———. ed. *Das gedruckte Buch im Vorderen Orient*. Bremen: Verlag für Orientkunde, 2002. Print.

———. "Illustrated Persian Lithographic Editions of the Shahname." *Edebiyat* 13.2 (2003): 177-98. PDF file.

———. *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books* Handbook of Oriental Studies/Handbuch Der Orientalistik. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001. Print.

Marzolph, Ulrich, and Anja Pistor-Hatam. "Early Printing History in Iran (1817-ca. 1900)." *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter*. Eds. Eva Hanebutt-Benz, et al. Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002. 249-72. Print.

Masters, Bruce. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Print.

McKenzie, David F. *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*. London: The British Library, 1986. Print.

———. "Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices." *Studies in Bibliography* 22 (1969): 1-75. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

McKitterick, David. *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order 1450-1830*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Print.

Messick, Brinkley. *The Calligraphic State: Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993. Print.

Metzger, Bruce M. and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption and Restoration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Print.

Milo, Thomas. "Arabic Script and Typography: A Brief Historical Overview." *Language Culture Type: International Type Design in the Age of Unicode*. Ed. John Berry. Zurich: Graphis Press, 2002. 112-27. Print.

———. "Towards Arabic Historical Script Grammar: Through Contrastive Analysis of Qur'an Manuscripts." *Writings and Writing from Another World and Another Era: Investigations in Islamic Text and Script in Honour of Dr Januarius Justus Witkam Professor of Codicology and Paleography of the Islamic World at Leyden University*. Eds. Robert M. Kerr and Thomas Milo. Cambridge: Archetype, 2010. Print.

Moosa, Matti. *The Origins of Modern Arabic Fiction*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997. Print.

Moran, James. *Printing Presses: History and Development from the Fifteenth Century to Modern Times*. Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973. Print.

Moylan, Michele and Lane Stiles, eds. *Reading Books: Essays on the Material Text and Literature in American*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996. Print.

Murre-van den Berg, Heleen. *New faith in ancient lands: Western missions in the Middle East in the nineteenth and early twentienth [sic] centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2006. Print.

Nasrallah, Joseph. *l'Imprimerie au Liban*. Beyrouth: l'Imprimerie Catholique, 1948. Print.

Nassi, Gad, ed. *Jewish Journalism and Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*. Istanbul: Gorgias Press, 2001. Print.

Nazzaro. Giuseppe. "Over 155 years of a socio-cultural ministry." *Franciscan Printing Press*. Christiusrex.org, 8 Apr. 1997. Web. 12 Jan. 2013.

Neill, Stephen. *A History of Christian Missions*. 1964. The Pelican History of the Church. 2nd Edition. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1986. Print.

Neumann, Christoph K. "Book and Newspaper Printing in Turkish, 18th-20th Century." *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter*. Eds. Eva Hanebutt-Benz, et al. Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002. 227-248. Print.

Nichols, Aiden. *Rome and the Eastern Churches: A Study in Schism* 2nd ed. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2010. Print.

Ogborn, Miles. *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007. Print.

Oman, G. "Matba'a: In the Arab World." *Encyclopedia of Islam*. 2nd Edition. Vol. 6 (1991). 794-807. Print.

Osborn, J. R. (Wayne). "The type of calligraphy : writing, print, and technologies of the Arabic alphabet." PhD Dissertation. UC San Diego, 2008. PDF file.

Özbek, Nadir. "Defining the Public Sphere During the Late Ottoman Empire: War, Mass Mobilization and the Young Turk Regime (1908–18)." *Middle Eastern Studies* 43. 5 (Sep., 2007): 795-809. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

Partington, David H. "Arabic Printing." *Encyclopedia of Library & Information Science 24: Printers and Printing to Public Policy*. Ed. Allen Kent. New York: Dekker, 1978. 54-75. Print.

Pedersen, Johannes. *The Arabic Book*. Den Arabiske Bog (Copenhagen, 1946). Trans. French, Geoffrey. Ed. Robert Hillenbrand. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984. Print.

Pehlivanaian, Meliné. "Mesrop's Heirs: The Early Armenian Book Printers." *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter*. Eds. Eva Hanebutt-Benz, et al. Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002. 53-92. Print.

Philipp, Thomas. "Bilād al-Šām in the Modern Period: Integration into the Ottoman Empire and New Relations with Europe." *Arabica* 54.4 (2004): 401-18. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

Philipp, Thomas and Christoph Schumann, eds. *From the Syrian Land to the States of Syria and Lebanon*. Vol. 96. Beirut: Ergon Verlag Wurzburg in Kommission, 2004. Print.

Phillips, C. J. *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half-Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860*. Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Center, 1969. Print.

"Pope & Patriarchs: The 1848 Letters of Pope Pius IX and the Orthodox Patriarchs." *Orthocath: musings by a revert to the Orthodox Catholic faith*. Wordpress, 6 Nov. 2012. Web. 15 Oct. 2012.

Pratt, Mary L. "Arts of the Contact Zone." *Profession* 91 (1991): 33-40. PDF file.

———. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London; New York: Routledge, 1992. Print.

Proudfoot, Ian. "Lithography at the Crossroads of the East." *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 27 (1998): 113-13.

Qaddūra, Waḥīd. *Bidāyat al-ṭibāʿa al-ʿarabiyya fī isṭānbūl wa-bilād al-shām: taṭawwur al-muḥīt al-thaqāfī, 1706-1787* [The Beginnings of Arabic Printing in Istanbul and Syria: The Development of Intellectual Culture]. Riyadh: Maktabat al-malik Fahd al-waṭaniyya, 1993. Print.

———. *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie : évolution de l'environnement culturel, 1706-1787*. Tunis, Tunisie: Université de Tunis, Institut supérieur de documentation, 1985. Print.

Quataert, Donald. *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Print.

Raḍwān, Abū al-Futḥ. *Tārīkh maṭbaʿat būlāq: wa-lamḥa fī tārīkh al-ṭibāʿa fī buldān al-sharq al-awsaṭ* [The History of Bulaq Press with a Brief Summary of the History of Printing in the Middle East]. Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Amīrīya, 2009. Print.

Roberts, Sean. *Printing a Mediterranean World: Florence, Constantinople, and the Renaissance of Geography*. President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2013. Print.

Robinson, B.W. "The Teheran Nizami of 1848 and Other Qajar Lithographed Books." *Islam in the Balkans: Persian Art and Culture of the 18th and 19th Centuries*. Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Museum, 1979. 61-65. Print.

Robinson, Francis. "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print." *Modern Asian Art* 27.1. Special Issue: How Social, Political and Cultural Information Is Collected, Defined, Used and Analyzed (Feb., 1993): 229-51. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

Roehner, B. M. "Jesuits and the State: A Comparative Study of Their Expulsions." *Religion (London Academic Press)* 27.2 (1997): 165-82. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

Rogan, Eugene L. "Sectarianism and Social Conflict in Damascus: The 1860 Events Reconsidered." *Arabica* 54.4 (2004): 493-511. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

Roper, Geoffrey. "An Autograph Manuscript of Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq: Prepared by him for the Press." *Writings and Writing from Another World and Another Era*. Eds. Robert M. Kerr and Thomas Milo. Cambridge: Archetype, 2010. 341-56. Print.

———. "Arabic Books Printed in Malta 1826-42: Some Physical Characteristics." *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East.* Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement 15 (2004): 111-29. Print.

———. "Arabic Incunabula." *l'Arabisant* 21 (1982): 21-24. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

———. "Arabic Printing and Publishing in England Before 1820." *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin* 12 (1985): 12-32. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

———. "Arabic printing in Malta 1825-1845: Its history and its place in the development of print culture in the Arab Middle East." PhD Dissertation. Durham University, 1988. Microfilm.

———. "Fāris al-Shidyāq and the Transition from Scribal to Print Culture in the Middle East," *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*. Ed. G. N. Atiyeh. Albany: State University of New York, 1995. 209-31. Print.

———. "Early Arabic Printing in Europe," *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter*. Ed. Eva Hanebutt-Benz, et al. Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002. 129-150. Print.

———. "George Percy Badger (1815–1888)." *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies. Bulletin* 11.2 (1984): 140-55. PDF file.

———. "Islamic Art: Printing." *Dictionary of Art.* Ed. Jane Turner. New York: Grove, 1996. 360. Print.

———. "The Beginnings of Arabic Printing by the ABCFM, 1822-1841." *Harvard Library Bulletin* 9.1 (1998): 50-68. Print.

———. "The Printing Press and Change in the Arab World." *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Einstein*. Eds. Sabrina A. Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007. 251-67. Print.

Roisse, Philippe. *al-Makhṭūṭat al-'arabiya fī lubnān: iltiqā' al-thaqāfāt w-al-adyān w-al-ma'ārif* [Arabic Manuscripts in Lebanon: The Meeting of Culture, Religion and Knowledge]. Beirut; Jounieh: CEDRAC, 2010. Print.

Round, Phillip. *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663-1880*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010. Print.

Roxburgh, David. *The Persian Album, 1400-1600: From Dispersal to Collection*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005. Print.

Ruggles, D. Fairchild, ed. *Islamic Art & Visual Culture: An Anthology of Sources*. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2011. Print.

Ṣabbāt, Khalīl. *Tārīkh al-tibā'a fī al-sharq al-'arabi* [The History of Printing in the Arab East]. Cairo: Dar al-Ma'āref, 1958. Print.

Sadgrove, Philip, ed. *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Print.

Safadi, Yasin H. "Printing in Arabic." *The Monotype Recorder* 2 (Sep. 1980): 2-7. Print.

Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1993. Print.

———. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1978. Print.

Sajdi, Dana. "Print and its Discontents: A Case for Pre-Print Journalism and Other Sundry Print Matters." *The Translator* 15.1 (2009): 105-38. PDF file.

———. *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007. Print.

Salibi, Kamal. *A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered.* London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1988. Print.

Sardar, Ziauddin. "Print, Printing and Compact Disks: The Making and Unmaking of Islamic Culture." *Media, Culture and Society* 15 (1993): 43-59. PDF file.

al-Sayyid, Jihān Maḥmūd. *Al-biblīyūghrāfiyya al-taḥlīliyya: dirāsa fī awā'il al-maṭbū'āt al-'arabiyya* [The Analytical Bibliography: Studies in Early Examples of Arabic Print]. Alexandria: Dār al-Thaqāfa al-'Ilmiyya, 2000. Print.

Schaefer, Karl. *Enigmatic Charms: Medieval Arabic Block Printed Amulets in American and European Libraries and Museums.* Leiden: Brill, 2006.

———. "Arabic Printing before Gutenberg: Block-Printed Arabic Amulets." *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter*. Ed. Eva Hanebutt-Benz, et. al. Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002.

Scheglova, O.P. "Lithograph Versions of Persian Manuscripts of Indian Manufacture in the Nineteenth Century." *Manuscripta Orientalia* 5.1 (Mar. 1999): 12-22. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Schulze, Reinhard. "Mass Culture and Islamic Cultural Production in 19th Century Middle East." *Mass Culture, Popular Culture, and Social Life in the Middle East*. Eds. Sami Zubaida and Georg Stauth. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 1987. 189-216. Print.

———. "The Birth of Tradition and Modernity in 18th and 19th Century Islamic Culture: The Case of Printing." *Culture & History* 16 (1997): 29-72. PDF file.

Scott, Jamie and Griffiths, Gareth, ed. *Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Print.

Sedra, Paul. *From Mission to Modernity: Evangelicals, Reformers and Education in Nineteenth Century Egypt*. Library of Middle East History, 2011. Print.

Sharkey, Heather. "Christian Missions and Colloquial Arabic Printing." *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East*. Ed. Philip Sadgrove. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. 131-49. Print.

Sheehi, Stephen P. "Arabic Literary-Scientific Journals: Precedence for Globalization and the Creation of Modernity." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and The Middle East* 25.2 (2005): 438-48. *Project MUSE.* PDF file.

———. *Foundations of Modern Arab Identity*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. Print.

———. "Inscribing the Arab Self: Butrus al-Bustani and Paradigms of Subjective Reform." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 27 (2000): 7-24. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Shorrock, William I. "Anti-Clericalism and French Policy in the Ottoman Empire, 1900-1914." *European Studies Review* 4 (1974): 33-55. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Smitshuijzen-Abifares, Huda. *Arabic Typography: A Comprehensive Sourcebook.* London: Saqi Books, 2001. Print.

Somekh, Sasson. "Biblical Echoes in Modern Arabic Literature." *Journal of Arabic Literature* 26.1/2 (Mar. - Jun., 1995): 186-200. PDF file.

Spagnolo, John P. "The Definition of a Style of Imperialism: The Internal Politics of the French Educational Investment in Ottoman Beirut." *French Historical Studies* 8.4 (Autumn, 1974): 563-84. Print.

———. *France and Ottoman Lebanon, 1861-1914.* London: Ithaca Press, 1977. Print.

Stoler, Ann Laura, Carole Mc Granahan and Peter C. Perdue, eds. *Imperial Formations.* Santa Fe, N.M.: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007. Print.

Strauss, Johann. *The Egyptian Connection in 19th Century Ottoman Intellectual History.* Beirut, 2000. Print.

———. "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th Centuries)?" *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6.1 (2003): 39-76. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Sutherland, J.A. "Publishing History: A Hole at the Center of Literary Sociology." *Critical Inquiry* 14 (Spring 1988): 574-89. Print.

al-Ṣūwayʻī, ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz Saʻūd. *al-Maṭābiʻ w-al-maṭbūʻāt al-lībīya qabla al-iḥtilāl al-īṭālī* [Libyan Printing Presses and Publications before the Italian Occupation]. Tripoli, Libya: al-Munshaʼa al-ʻāmma lil-nashr wa-al-tawzī ʻ wa-al-iʻlān, 1985. Print.

Tadrus, Fawzi M. *Printing in the Arab World with Emphasis on the Būlāq Press in Egypt.* Doha: Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Qatar, 1982. Print.

Tamari, Ittai Joseph. "Jewish Printing and Publishing Activities in the Ottoman Cities of Constantinople and Saloniki at the Dawn of Early Modern Europe." *The Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Jews, Christians and Muslims.* Ed. Klaus Kreiser. Weisbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001. 9-10. Print.

210

al-Ṭanāḥī, Maḥmūd Muḥammad. *al-Kitāb al-maṭbū' bi-misr fī al-qarn al-tāsi''ashir: tārīkh wa taḥlīl* [The Printed Book in Egypt during the 19th Century: History and Analysis]. Cairo: Dār al-Hilāl, 1996. Print.

Tarazi, Philip di. *Tārīkh al-ṣiḥāfa al-'arabiyya* [History of Arab Journalism]. 4 vols. Beirut: 1913, 1933. Print.

Tejirian, Eleanor and Reeva Simon, eds. *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle East*. New York: Middle East Institute, Columbia University, 2002. Print.

———. *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion: Two Thousand Years of Christian Missions in the Middle East*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012. Print.

Thompson, John A. *The Major Arabic Bibles: Their Origin and Nature*. New York: American Bible Society, 1956. Print.

Tibawi, A.L. *American Interests in Syria 1800-1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966. Print.

———. "The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College." *The Middle East Journal* 21.1 (Winter 1967): 1-15. Print.

———. "The American Missionaries in Beirut and Butrus al-Bustani." *St. Anthony's Papers, Number 16, Middle Eastern Affairs*. Ed. Albert Hourani. Vol. 3. London: Chatto & Windus, 1963. 137-82. Print.

Twaddell, Elizabeth. "The American Tract Society, 1814-1860." *Church History* 15.2 (Jun., 1946). *JSTOR*. PDF file.

Twyman, Michael. "Non-latin scripts." *Early Lithographed Books: As Study of the Design and Production of Improper Books in the Age of the Hand Press*. London: Farrand Press & Private Libraries Association, 1990. Print.

Valensi, Lucette. "Inter-Communal Relations and Changes in Religious Affiliation in the Middle East (Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries)." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39.2 (Apr., 1997): 251-69. PDF file.

Verdeil, Chantal. "Between Rome and France, intransigent and anti-Protestant Jesuits in the Orient: The beginning of the Jesuits' mission of Syria, 1831-1864." *Christian Witness Between Continuity and New Beginnings*. Ed. Martine Tamcke, and Michael Marten. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2006. 23-32. Print.

Verdery, Richard N. "The Publications of the Būlāq Press under Muḥammad 'Alī." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91.1 (Jan.-Mar. 1971): 129-32. *JSTOR*. PDF file.

Walbiner, Carsten-Michael. "Monastic Reading and Learning in eighteenth-century Bilād al-Šām: Some Evidence from the Monastery of al-Šuwayr (Mount Lebanon)." *Arabica* 51.4 (2004): 462-77. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Watson, William J. "İbrāhīm Müteferriḳa and Turkish Incunabula." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88.3 (Jul.-Sep., 1968): 435-41. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Zachs, Fruma. "From the Mission to the Missionary: The Bliss Family and the Syrian Protestant College (1866-1920)." *Die Welt Des Islams,* New Ser., 45.2 (2001): 145-73. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

———. "Mikhail Mishaqa: The First Historian of Modern Syria." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 28.1 (May 2001): 67-87. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

———. *The Making of a Syrian Identity: Intellectuals and Merchants in Nineteenth Century Beirut*. Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2005. Print.

———. "Toward a Proto-Nationalist Concept of Syria? Revisiting the American Presbyterian Missionaries in the Nineteenth-Century Levant." *Die Welt des Islams,* New Ser., 41.2 (Jul., 2001): 145-73. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Zachs, Fruma and Sharon Halevi. "Asma (1873): The Early Arabic Novel as a Social Compass." *Studies in the Novel* 39 (2007): 416–30. Print.

———. "From difāʿ al-nisāʾ to masʾalat al-nisāʾ in Greater Syria: Readers and Writers Debate Women and their Rights, 1858-1900." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 41 (2009): 615-33. Print.

Zaka, Samy F. "Education and Civilization in the Third Republic: The University Saint-Joseph, 1875-1914." PhD Dissertation. University of Notre Dame, 2006. Print.

Zaman, Muhammad Qasim "Commentaries, Print and Patronage: "Ḥadīth" and the Madrasas in Modern South Asia." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 62.1 (1999): 60-81. *JSTOR.* PDF file.

Zoss, Emily. "An Ottoman View of the World: The Kitab Cihannūma and Its Cartographic Contexts." *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections*. Ed. Christiane Gruber. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010. 195-219. Print.