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ARABIC PRINTING IN MALTA 1825-1845

Its history and its place in the development
of print culture in the Arab Middle East.

Geoffrey Roper

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

University of Durham
School of Oriental Studies

1988



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Thesis
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ARABIC PRINTING IN MALTA 1825-1845
Its history and its place in the development
of print culture in the Arab Middle East

G.J.Roper

ABSTRACT

The Arabic press run by the English Church Missionary Society in Malta between 1825 and 1842 produced over a hundred editions of Arabic and Turkish books, tracts and newspapers for readers in the Middle East at a time when indigenous printing was still in its infancy. Drawing mainly on archival sources, this thesis examines its origins and history, and attempts to dispel the confusion hitherto surrounding its identity and ownership. It traces the aims and policies underlying its activities, and explores the identities and roles of its Arab, Turkish, Maltese and European employees. The publications themselves are also identified, from archival records and from surviving copies, enumerated and analysed in terms both of the texts and of their physical presentation. An attempt is also made to establish in what quantities, where, how, to whom and by whom they were distributed in the Middle East and elsewhere. An account is then given of the closure of the press in 1842 and its brief afterlife until 1845.

In order to place the subject in its appropriate historical context, an extensive account is also given of the history of Arabic book production in, and export from, Europe in the previous three centuries; and a preliminary assessment is attempted of the place of the Malta Arabic press in the overall development of print culture in the Arab world, especially in relation to the 19th-century cultural revival (*nahḍa*).

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1. INTRODUCTION: THE IMPORTANCE OF ARABIC PRINTING HISTORY

In her major study of the effects of the introduction of printing to Europe in the fifteenth century, Elizabeth Eisenstein pointed out that, although historians had routinely acknowledged, and paid lip-service to, the importance of the invention, they had hardly ever spelt out or analysed the far-reaching consequences which it had.¹ If this is true of the historiography of Europe, despite the many studies of early presses and printed books, it is even more so in relation to the history of the Middle East in the last two centuries, during which the introduction of printed books and newspapers has made a comparable impact on intellectual and social life. For whereas European printing history is now well documented, the materials for an historical assessment of Arabic printing² have yet to be assembled. Until this lack is remedied, it will remain impossible for historians to make an adequate assessment of the part played by the development of Arabic printing in the intellectual and social history of the Middle East.

Why is printing history important, and how does it relate to wider historical concerns? Nearly forty years ago the Canadian economic historian Harold Innis set out what he saw as the vital role of communication in the history of social organisation, especially in civilisations covering wide areas. He traced the development of different means of communication, and showed how they were related to different patterns and structures of power. Durable media for recording information (e.g. stone and parchment) enabled control to be exercised through time, favouring the formation of dynasties and religious elites; whereas lighter, transportable materials (e.g. clay, papyrus and paper) enabled systems of communication to be established which gave control of space, leading to the expansion of territorial units, and the creation of empires. Each medium was appropriate in its own specific way to the creation and maintenance of monopolies of knowledge and authority. The introduction of printing in Europe was part of this pattern, serving

¹ Eisenstein, E.L. *The printing press as an agent of change*, Cambridge 1979, pp.3-7.

² The term "Arabic printing" is used here to denote all printing in the Arabic script, not just in the Arabic language.



to break the monopoly of ecclesiastical scriptoria and hence the power and authority of the Church. Books printed on paper could be widely disseminated, and helped to develop new power structures based on the nation-state, and eventually new monopolies of knowledge and information arising from the mass production of newspapers and popular reading matter.³

Ten years later, Innis's compatriot Marshall McLuhan developed some of these ideas in another direction. In his view, media of communication, and especially printing, not only influenced economic, social and political structures, but also had a direct psychological effect on those who used them, which in turn had profound consequences on human development. This was brought about by changes in "sense ratios" caused by the fragmentation and "visual homogenising" of texts through the processes of type-setting, print presentation and mass production. These in turn encouraged the desacralisation of experience and the development of linear modes of thought and logic, among the results of which were rapid scientific and technological development, the growth of individualism and the "fixed point of view", and a "uniform commodity culture" of which the printed book was a paradigm.⁴

Meanwhile, in France, a leading member of the "Annales" school of socio-economic historians, Lucien Febvre, had also turned his attention to the role of printing in history, but, as might be expected, his emphases were quite different from McLuhan's. He concentrated on the technical problems of the development of printing and how they were solved, on the role of the printed book as a commodity, and on the economic and social status and relationships of its producers, distributors, authors and readers. He also dealt with the geography of book production and distribution, and the role of printing as a force for change, emphasising measurable, quantitative factors, and the material basis for the historical situations and processes which he describes. His planned approach was largely realised and completed by his disciple Henri-Jean Martin.⁵

³ Innis, H. *Empire and communications*, Oxford 1950, 2nd ed. Toronto 1972; id. *The bias of communication*, Toronto 1951, 2nd ed. 1964; *The idea file of Harold Adams Innis*, ed. W. Christian, Toronto 1980.

⁴ McLuhan, M. *The Gutenberg galaxy*, London 1962.

⁵ Febvre, L. & Martin, H.-J. *L'apparition du livre*, Paris 1958; id. *The coming of the book: the impact of printing 1450-1800*, tr. D. Gerard, London 1976.

These disparate approaches to the subject were to a considerable extent combined and integrated by the American historian Elizabeth Eisenstein in the work already mentioned. She strove to rescue the subject from the anti-historical treatment accorded to it by McLuhan, while at the same time developing some of his insights into the cognitive effects of printing, in a treatment that also amplifies and elucidates the economic, political and social concerns of Innis and Febvre. She stressed that the important factor historically was not the invention or first introduction of printing, but the communications revolution caused by its extensive use, and pointed to "clusters of changes" which it brought. These she grouped into three crucial processes: the much wider dissemination of texts in all fields, their standardisation, and their preservation for posterity. Each of these had far-reaching effects, not only on the intellectual, but also on the social and economic development of Europe in the 16th century and after.⁶

These developments in the role of the printed book in historiography, and in the historiography of the book, have in recent years attracted the attention of another class of scholar: the bibliographer.⁷ Traditionally concerned only with the book as object, regardless of content or meaning, and with the minutiae of textual transmission and variation, bibliographers have latterly come to realise the importance of placing their subject in an historical and social framework. The American bibliographer G.Thomas Tanselle has stressed the need to integrate analytical bibliography with the French discipline of *histoire du livre* which developed from the work of Febvre and Martin. He emphasised, too, the need both for historians to pay attention to the physical attributes of books, and for bibliographers to give due regard to their historical context.⁸ Most recently the eminent bibliographer D.F.McKenzie has sought to redefine bibliography as the study of the sociology of texts, a "secular" rather than "hermetic" discipline, while preserving the "scientific", analytical nature of its methodologies.⁹

⁶ Eisenstein, op.cit., passim.

⁷ The term is used here in reference to descriptive, analytical and textual bibliography, not the enumerative variety to which it is more generally, but less accurately, applied.

⁸ Tanselle, G.T. "From bibliography to *histoire totale*: the history of books as a field of study", *Times Literary Supplement* 4079 (5 June 1981), pp.647-649 (Second Hanes Lecture, University of North Carolina, 15 April 1981, also published separately, Chapel Hill 1981); introduction to *Books and society in history*, ed. K.E.Carpenter, New York 1983, p.xvii.

⁹ McKenzie, D.F. *Bibliography and the sociology of texts*, London 1986 (Panizzi Lectures, 1985), pp.1-9 & 19-20.

How has all this affected the study of Middle Eastern history and bibliography? The answer seems to be: hardly at all. The role of communications in general, as well as particular media such as printing, seems to have been largely ignored, or considered only in passing, by most historians of the Middle East, both Western and Middle Eastern. But the ideas of Innis and his successors are surely relevant to the area, and they may illuminate, from a new angle, some aspects of Islamic and modern history as yet imperfectly understood. As far as printing is concerned, it must be remembered that it first came to the Middle East several centuries before Gutenberg, in the form of block-prints of Qur'anic and other religious texts made in Egypt (and possibly elsewhere).¹⁰ Yet it did not develop there, but remained rudimentary and eventually died out. The production of books in the Muslim world stayed firmly in the hands of scribes until the 18th century, despite the widespread adoption of printing elsewhere. This puzzling reversion may become less of an historical problem if it is seen in Innis's terms as an example of the maintenance of a "monopoly of knowledge" by an elite group - the 'ulama' - tied to a specific medium of textual communication. This in turn might provide a useful conceptual framework for the study of other aspects of Middle Eastern social and even economic history in the late mediaeval and post-mediaeval periods.

The introduction of typography into Ottoman Turkey in the 18th century and Egypt in the 19th - in both cases an attempt on the part of new ruling groups to break the "monopoly of knowledge" - was followed by significant changes in the intellectual, social, economic and political life of those countries. Among these, and to a certain extent underlying them all, was a new self-awareness which eventually led both to a cultural and literary revival (*nahda*) and to political movements of a nationalist character. These changes have generally been attributed by historians to the impact of the West from the 18th century onwards, and the introduction of printing has been treated as just one manifestation of, and vehicle for, Westernisation. But printing has its own direct effects, as Innis, McLuhan, Febvre and Eisenstein have shown. These operate, as they

¹⁰ Cf. Carter, T.F. *The invention of printing in China and its spread westward*, 2nd ed. (revd. L.C. Goodrich), New York 1955, ch.18; Roper, G. "Arabic incunabula", *L'Arabisant* 21 (1982), p.19.

have demonstrated, both on the cognitive plane, and on the socio-economic plane. The systematic investigation of these factors might shift the historical perspective somewhat: Westernisation might then perhaps seem a less direct cause of some of the changes in Middle Eastern thought and society in the 19th century. It might even be possible to envisage some synthesis between those historical analyses which assume the primacy of ideas and religio-intellectual paradigms in Middle Eastern history, and those which insist on the paramountcy of economic and material forces. For like other media, printed books (and newspapers) are physical objects, artifacts of the material culture, rooted in socio-economic reality. At the same time they have a cognitive function as vehicles of thought, transmitting ideas in time and space, and feeding them back into society, while in the process creating or reinforcing both new modes of consciousness and new social groupings. If more attention were paid to the nature of these artifacts, and how they performed these functions, then some useful new insights might be added to our understanding of Middle Eastern history.

Before, however, any of this becomes possible, the materials for it must first be assembled. Here the role of historical bibliography, in the broad sense, is crucial. Middle Eastern bibliographers must turn from the mere listing of books to the consideration of books as embodiments, not just of texts, but also of modes of consciousness and of socio-economic relationships which are mediated through their physical characteristics and through their patterns of production and distribution. For this purpose they must record, more assiduously than hitherto, the products and the history of printing establishments, and the distribution of books, especially in the crucial formative periods of print culture in the Middle East.

The present study is an attempt to make one small contribution to this process. The Arabic press in Malta in the second quarter of the 19th century was not the most important of the period, either in size or in terms of the literary content of its output. Nevertheless, it stood at an important junction in the course of Arabic printed book production. For the first two centuries, from 1514 to 1706, this had been confined to Europe; for a further century after that, local production in the Middle East had been

restricted and spasmodic¹¹ , and Europe remained the main source of Arabic printed books. The Malta press was, both technically and organisationally, an heir to the European tradition, and especially that part of it which involved the production and export of Christian Arabic books to the Middle East. But, unlike its European predecessors, it impinged on the area at a time when unprecedented changes were afoot, involving the expansion of education and a new receptiveness to foreign products, methods and ideas. Printed books in particular were ceasing to be an unacceptable novelty, and the development of the presses in Egypt and Turkey coincided with that of the Malta press; the latter, however, supplied a different kind of book, both in form and content, intended for different purposes and for different readers. Its output thereby complemented these local developments, and added to the impetus which spread printing throughout the whole of the Middle East in the second half of the 19th century.

Geographically and culturally, too, the Malta press stood at an intermediate point between the European and Middle Eastern arenas. Its position, under British control but in the central Mediterranean, astride the shipping lanes, enabled it to distribute books to the Middle East and North Africa more systematically and on a much larger scale than its European predecessors, while at the same time remaining free of the local constraints and vicissitudes which afflicted the early Syrian, Lebanese and Turkish presses. It also enabled it to employ Arab translators and editors (most notably the celebrated writer Fāris al-Shidyāq), rather than relying exclusively on European orientalist and evangelists; the latter, however, were there to initiate and supervise the work. At the same time the local Maltese milieu, half-Arab and half-European, provided a certain extra stimulus, and at times diversion, in the project of creating new Arabic Christian reading material for popular consumption.

By the nature of its publications, and the way in which they were distributed, the Malta press played a part in creating and in catering for a new kind of reader. The purpose of this study is to shed some light on why and how it did this. In order to understand

¹¹ For a full account of that early local production, see Gdoura, Wahid, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie: évolution de l'environnement culturel (1706-1787)*, Tunis 1985.

its role, full consideration must first be given to its background in the European tradition of publishing and exporting Arabic books. Then the early history of the press will be traced, and an attempt made to clear up the confusion concerning its identity and its relationship to other missionary presses. The nature of its objectives and policies will be analysed, and then a detailed account will be given of those who attempted to put those policies into effect, their backgrounds and careers, their strengths and weaknesses, and the vicissitudes of their employment at the press. The books which they produced, however, also need to be considered purely in themselves, both as texts and as material artifacts, and this also is attempted. Then, to understand their impact and the effects which they had, it will further be necessary to elucidate the pattern and scale of their distribution, both geographically and in terms of categories of reader. After considering how the enterprise eventually came to an end, an attempt can then be made to draw a few tentative conclusions concerning the place of the Malta press in the history of Arabic print culture.

No previous study seems to have been made of Arabic printing and publishing in Malta, although it features tangentially in a number of histories of Christian missionary activities in the Mediterranean and the Middle East¹², in some accounts of the early development of written Maltese¹³, in some biographies of Fāris al-Shidyāq, the most celebrated of its employees¹⁴, and in the few general surveys which have been made of Arabic printing history.¹⁵ None of these accounts is based on a thorough survey of the surviving Malta Arabic publications, nor on the substantial archives relating to the press which are preserved amongst the papers of its proprietor, the Church Missionary Society.¹⁶ These are the principal sources for the present study, but supplementary information has also been drawn from other unpublished documents in the archives of the British and Foreign

¹² Notably Hajjar, J. *L'Europe et les destinées du Proche-Orient (1815-1848)*, [Paris] 1970; Stock, E. *The history of the Church Missionary Society*, London 1899-1916; Tibawi, A. L. *British interests in Palestine 1800-1901*, London 1961.

¹³ E.g. Cremona, A. *Vassalli and his times*, tr. M. Butcher, Malta 1940; Sant, K. *It-traduzzjoni tal-Bibbja u l-ilsien Malti 1810-1850*, [Msida] 1975. A rather inaccurate summary of its history is also given in Agius, D. A. *Malta, ċentru għat-tagħlim ta' l-Għarbi fil-Mediterran (seklus sbatax sas-seklus dsatax)*, Valletta 1980.

¹⁴ See below, pp. 204-206.

¹⁵ E.g. Shaykhū, Luwīs, "Tārīkh fann al-ṭibā'a f 'l-Mashriq", *Al-Mashriq* 3-6 (1900-02); Ṣābāt, Khalīl, *Tārīkh al-ṭibā'a f 'l-Sharq al-'Arabī*, 2nd ed. Cairo 1966.

¹⁶ Sant (op.cit.) did make use of these archives, but only in respect of CMS work on the development of Maltese.

Bible Society, the activities of whose Malta establishment overlapped with those of the CMS, and in Lambeth Palace library, where papers concerning some of the CMS Malta personnel are to be found.

Extensive first-hand reports of the missionaries, both in Malta and in the Middle East and North Africa, were also published in contemporary missionary periodicals, notably the *Missionary Register*, published by the CMS itself (but covering the activities of all Protestant missionary bodies). These provide another useful primary source, which has also been largely ignored by most previous writers on the subject. Books written by and about individuals who worked at the Malta press, or were involved in distributing its publications, sometimes incorporating the texts of correspondence which does not otherwise survive, have also yielded some useful information, especially those of (or about) William Jowett, John Kitto, Samuel Gobat and of course Fāris al-Shidyāq.¹⁷ These important primary sources have been supplemented with information gleaned from more general mission histories, and from the writings of travellers and other outsiders who visited or observed the Malta establishment or the institutions and stations where its Arabic books were in use.

It has already been stated that the Malta press was heir to an alien tradition of Arabic printing and publishing. In order to elucidate this, we must turn first to the origins of that alien tradition: the production of Arabic books in, and their export from, the European, and more specifically British, milieu in which the Malta press originated.

¹⁷ See Chapter 6 below.

2. THE BACKGROUND: ARABIC PRINTING IN EUROPE TO THE MID-19TH CENTURY, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO ENGLAND, & THE SUPPLY OF PRINTED BOOKS TO THE MIDDLE EAST

2.1 Arabic printing in continental Europe

Although printing started in China as early as the 8th century A.D.¹ and movable type first appeared there in the 11th century², it was not until the mid-15th century that Gutenberg first introduced the art to Europe. The European printed book, it has been observed, was "born in one of those creative periods of change and transition, which all lasting civilisations go through".³ One aspect of this change was undoubtedly the rise of philological scholarship, and the growth of scientific knowledge. The study of Arabic sources played a not insignificant part in both these developments. Nevertheless, Arabic texts, unlike those in Greek and Hebrew, did not feature in the output of the 15th-century incunabula printers, nor, with only a handful of exceptions, in that of their 16th-century successors.

As far as is known, only two works of the incunable period contain Arabic script of any sort. The first was Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, printed by the artist Erhard Reuwich in Mainz in 1486, with woodcuts produced by himself. One of these is a table of the letters of the Arabic alphabet, with romanised versions of their names. The letters are rather crude and misshapen, with a somewhat angular, "gothic" appearance⁴ (especially the *dāl*, *dhāl*, *zā'* and *kāf*), but nevertheless recognisable.⁵ The book enjoyed considerable popularity, and further editions and adaptations were published in a number of the languages and

¹ Carter, T.F. *The invention of printing in China and its spread westward*, 2nd ed., rev. L.C. Goodrich, New York 1955, p.41. Block-printing also spread as far as the Middle East and Egypt within the next four centuries.

² Carter, op.cit., pp.212-213. Wooden founts were used by the Uighurs in Central Asia ca.1300, and movable metal types were cast in Korea in the 14th century. Ibid., pp.218-233; McGovern, M.P. *Specimen pages of Korean movable types*, Los Angeles 1966, pp.13-15; Sohn, Pow-key, *Early Korean typography*, Seoul 1971, p.35, suggests that the first type-casting in Korea may have been as early as the 12th century.

³ Febvre, L. & Martin, H.-J. *The coming of the book: the impact of printing 1450-1800*, tr. D. Gerard, London 1976, p.10.

⁴ Krek, M., *Typographica Arabica: the development of Arabic printing as illustrated by Arabic type specimens*, Waltham (USA) 1971, p.4, considers that they "show distinct influences of the Gothic ductus".

⁵ Arberry, however, considered that "no more success can be claimed for this attempt, than for the earliest of printing Greek". Arberry, A.J. *Arabic printing types: a report made to the Monotype Corporation limited* [no imprint], p.10. He refers here to the 1465 edition of Cicero's *Paradoxa*, printed by Gutenberg's associate Schoeffer in Mainz, with Greek quotations in the text: see below, pp.16-17.

countries of Europe, from Spain to Poland.⁶ The woodcut alphabet was also copied and used in other books until as late as 1660.⁷ However, it is surely going too far to assert, as one commentator has, that "Breydenbach's book "spread among all classes an amateur taste for Oriental scripts".⁸

The only other extant incunable to contain Arabic is the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of Francesco Colonna, printed by the celebrated Aldo Manuzio (Aldus Manutius) in Venice in 1499. This strange product of the Renaissance imagination is profusely illustrated with woodcuts of pseudo-classical scenes, into which exotic elements are introduced to heighten their dream-like and esoteric quality. In two of them⁹, Arabic words are used for this purpose, evidently copied from properly written originals, but somewhat distorted in the process. In one case also the spelling is incorrect (*tā'āb* for *ta'ab*).¹⁰ The *Hypnerotomachia* was later translated into French and published in Paris in three editions between 1546 and 1561. The Arabic words in the French woodcuts were even further distorted and remote from the original, with the dots omitted from the letters.¹¹ An English translation was printed in London in 1592, in which the letters of the 1499 woodcuts were more faithfully reproduced.¹² It is clear, however, that in all the editions and translations, the presence of the Arabic is primarily for the purpose of mystification, and cannot, therefore, be said to make a significant contribution to the science or art of Arabic printing and publishing, even though it does constitute the first appearance of Arabic words in Arabic script in a printed book.

The next book to contain Arabic, however, was a serious attempt to spread knowledge of the language. It was a primer written in Spanish by the monk Pedro de Alcalá and printed by Juan Varela in Granada in 1505. Entitled *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua araviga*, it, like the accompanying *Vocabulista aravigo*, renders the Arabic words

⁶ Davies, H.W. *Bernhard von Breydenbach and his journey to the Holy Land 1483-4: a bibliography*, London 1911, *passim*; Butler, P. "A note on the earliest printing of Arabic", *The Macdonald Presentation Volume*, Princeton 1933, p.71.

⁷ Davies, *op.cit.*, pp.xxviii-xxix.

⁸ Lenhart, J.M. "The first book printed in Arabic characters", *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, 42 (1917), p.56.

⁹ [Colonna, F.] *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, Venice 1499, ff. b vii r. & h vii r.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, f. b vii r. Cf. Krek, *op.cit.*, #P4, p.4.

¹¹ [Colonna, F.] *Hypnerotomachie, ou discours du songe de Poliphile*, Paris 1561, ff. 10 v & 46 v.

¹² [Colonna, F.] *Hypnerotomachia: the strife of love in a dream*, London 1592, ff. 15 r & 74 v. See further below, pp.21-22.

entirely in romanisation.¹³ There is, however, on f. c iij, a table of the Arabic alphabet, with romanised names of the letters, executed in woodcut like that of Reuwich for Breydenbach. But the shapes of the letters are Maghribi (with subscript dot on the *fā'* and one dot only on the *qāf*), as one would expect in Spain at that time, and a number of initial and medial forms are given: the total number of characters is 58, as compared with 31 in Breydenbach. The work was written and published to aid Catholic attempts to convert the Muslim inhabitants of southern Spain, which had come entirely under Christian rule only 13 years previously.¹⁴

None of the foregoing occurrences of Arabic in printed books, which Krek has rightly termed "precursors"¹⁵, involved typography, nor were they in any sense Arabic books. Only when substantial Arabic texts, produced from movable type, begin to appear, can one truly speak of Arabic printed books. The identity of the first such book, however, is by no means certain, and some considerable confusion surrounds the matter. There seem to be three possible candidates:-

1. *Kitab Ṣalāt al-Sawā'ī*, 1514. This was printed by the Venetian printer Gregorio de Gregorii, probably in Venice (although Fano is named in the colophon)¹⁶, at the behest of Pope Julius II. As its name indicates, it is a form of prayer-book known as a *Horologion* or "Book of Hours", probably intended for the Arab Melchite Christians of Lebanon and Syria.¹⁷ The book is wholly in Arabic¹⁸ and is printed from movable type of an inelegant design, with some vocal points, set in a clumsy, disjointed manner. It nevertheless represents an

¹³ But the letter 'ayn is rendered by *a* with superscript *hamza*.

¹⁴ Abū Ṣawān, Kamīl Najīb, "Bidāyat al-ṭibā'a al-'Arabīya: zuḥūr al-maṭbū'āt al-'Arabīya al-ūlā sanat 1506", *Al-Abḥāth*, 15 i (1962), pp.40-42; idem (as Aboussouan, Camille), "A Grenade et à Gênes, au XVIe siècle: les premiers pas de l'imprimerie arabe", *Le Livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900 (Exposition)*, Paris 1982, pp.112-113; Fück, J. *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1955, pp.29-30; Krek, op.cit., pp.4-5; Schnurrer, C.F. *Bibliotheca Arabica*, Halle 1811, pp.16-18; Schottenloher, K. "Arabischer Buchdruck", *Lexikon des Gesamten Buchwesens*, hrsg. K.Löffler u. J.Kirchner, Bd.I, Leipzig 1935, p.76; Schwab, M. *Les incunables orientaux et les impressions orientales au commencement du XVIe siècle*, Paris 1883, pp.6-7.

¹⁵ Krek, op.cit., pp.3-5.

¹⁶ Krek, M. "Was the first Arabic book really printed at Fano?", *MELA Notes*, 10 (1977), pp.11-16; idem. "The enigma of the first Arabic book printed from movable type", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 38 (1979), pp.203-212.

¹⁷ Lenhart, op.cit., p.60; Krek, "Enigma", pp.206-207; Bonola, F. "Note sur l'origine de l'imprimerie arabe en Europe", *Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien*, 5/III/2 (1909), pp.77-78; Gdoura, W. "Le livre arabe imprimé en Europe: une étape importante dans les relations orient-occident (1514-1700)", *Revue Maghrébine de Documentation*, 1 (1983), p.40; Balagna, J. *L'imprimerie arabe en occident (XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris 1984, pp.18-20. Schnurrer, however, quoting Assemani, assigns it to the Jacobite rite (op.cit., pp.231-234).

¹⁸ Some copies have an extra Latin preface bearing the imprint Venice 1517. Krek, "Enigma", pp.206-212.

enormous advance on the woodcut letters of 1486-1505 mentioned above.

2. *Psalterium, Hebraeum, Graecum, Arabicum, & Chaldaeum...Mazāmīr 'Ibrānī Yūnānī 'Arābī* [sic] *wa Qaṣḍānī*, Genoa 1516. This polyglot psalter was prepared by Agostino Giustiniani, orientalist and Bishop of Nebbio, and printed by Pietro Paolo Porro. The Arabic shows signs of Maghribi influence¹⁹ in the shapes of the letters, although the *fā'* and *qāf* are dotted according to eastern orthography. Arberry considers that the composition is inferior to that of the *K.Ṣalāt al-Sawā'ī*, but the characters of the fount are more homogenous, making it in some ways more legible.²⁰

The Lebanese scholar Kamīl Abū Ṣawān (Camille Aboussouan) has argued that the printing of this psalter predates the 1514 *Horologion*, despite the later date of 1516 which appears at the end of Giustiniani's dedicatory preface. He bases this proposition on internal evidence that work on it commenced at least ten years earlier, and suggests that MDXVI may have been a misprint for MDVI.²¹ This, however, can be no more than a conjecture.

3. *Qur'ān*, Venice, some time between 1499 and 1538. Much discussion has been devoted to the startling proposition that the Arabic text of the *Qur'ān* may have been printed in Venice by the incunable printer Paganino de' Paganini of Brescia as early as 1499, or maybe in 1518 or as late as the 1530s.²² It seems, however, that the only evidence for the existence of any such edition is two passing references in 16th-century Italian sources to attempts by Guillaume Postel²³ to obtain Paganini's Arabic types for his own use.²⁴ This has been enough to convince modern scholars of the stature of Arberry²⁵ and Grohmann²⁶ that it was indeed the first Arabic printed book, even

¹⁹ Genoa had extensive trading contacts with North Africa.

²⁰ Arberry, *op.cit.*, p.13.

²¹ Abū Ṣawān, *op.cit.*, pp.45-46; Aboussouan, *op.cit.*, pp.114-115. But Amram has mentioned ten *months* as the time taken. Amram, D.W. *The makers of Hebrew books in Italy*, Philadelphia 1909, p.227.

²² Schnurrer, *op.cit.*, pp.402-404; Bodoni, [G.], *Preface to the Manuale Tipografico of 1818*, tr. H.V.Marrot, London 1953, p.55; Bonola, *op.cit.*, p.80; Butler, *op.cit.*, pp.68-70; Aboussouan, C. "Le Coran: l'édition princeps de Hambourg", *Le Livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900 (Exposition)*, Paris 1982, p.136; Gdoura, *op.cit.*, p.41; Balagna, *op.cit.*, pp.23-24. Previous secondary sources are cited from the 19th, 18th and even the 17th century (Erpenius).

²³ See below, p.13.

²⁴ Butler, *op.cit.*, pp.68-69; Nallino, M. "Una cinquecentesca edizione del Corano stampata a Venezia", *Atti (dell') Istituto Veneto*, 124 (1965-66), pp.1-3; Krek, M. *A bibliography of Arabic typography*, Weston (USA) 1976, p.47.

²⁵ *Op.cit.*, p.10: "Towards the end of the fifteenth century, a complete *Qur'an* was printed at Venice". He goes on to suggest that "the conjecture is irresistible" that the movable type used in Postel's *Grammatica Arabica*, ca.1543 (see below, p.13) was in fact Paganini's fount (*ibid.*, p.11).

²⁶ Grohmann, A. *Arabishe Paläographie*, I. Teil, Vienna 1967 (Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse: Denkschriften, 94/1), p.34.

though no copies of it have been found anywhere.²⁷ However, as early as 1883 the orientalist bibliographer Moïse Schwab expressed doubt about its existence²⁸, and recent studies have further undermined the case for it.²⁹ Unless and until a copy is found, or further primary evidence emerges, it is therefore safer to assume that the 1514 prayer-book was indeed the first Arabic book to be published.

As far as can be ascertained, neither the Venice/Fano nor the Genoa fount was ever used again, and no Arabic printing was done in Italy for another fifty years. Meanwhile in Paris the celebrated typographer Geofroy Tory included in his famous *Champ Fleury* of 1529 another wood-cut Arabic alphabet which, while not without its peculiarities, shows a considerable improvement on those of Breydenbach/Reuwich and Pedro de Alcalá/Varela. It is clearly based on calligraphic models, into which some angularities have been introduced.³⁰

However, when the pioneer French orientalist Guillaume Postel published a treatise on oriental languages and alphabets in Paris nine years later³¹, he used a much cruder, although cursive, woodcut script for his Arabic specimens.³² At some time within the next five years, he went on to publish an Arabic grammar³³, in which he used movable wooden types: these, however, were much more primitive and less cursive than the Italian types of 1514 and 1516.³⁴

Further examples of wood-cut Arabic words and letters occur in books published at Vienna and Zürich in 1548 and at Palermo in 1558.³⁵ None of these represents any significant advance, which did

²⁷ This fact gave rise to stories (especially popular in Protestant Germany and Holland) that all copies had been burnt by order of the Pope; but there is no evidence whatsoever for this. Butler, op.cit., p.70.

²⁸ Schwab, op.cit., pp.11-12. Cf. Lenhart, op.cit., p.62.

²⁹ Especially Miroslav Krek, *The tradition of the supposed first printing of the Arabic Koran*, Unpublished thesis (MA), Chicago, 1960, summarised in his *Bibliography of Arabic Typography*, Weston (USA) 1976, p.47. While admitting that results are inconclusive, he produces circumstantial evidence to show that such a publication was highly unlikely at that time and place.

³⁰ Tory, G. *Champ Fleury*, Paris 1529, f. LXXVI (=O.iiiij): "Lettres Persiennes, Arabiques, Aphricaines, Turques, & Tartariennes".

³¹ Postel, G. *Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium alphabetum*, Paris: Lesclucier, 1538. Cf. Schnurrer, op.cit., pp.18-19.

³² Krek, M. *Typographica Arabica*, p.7; Balagna, op.cit., p.24; Arberry, op.cit., p.13 ("An evil, unmelodious hand").

³³ Postel, G. *Grammatica Arabica*, Paris: Gromors, n.d. Cf. Schnurrer, op.cit., #38, p.18.

³⁴ Krek, op.cit., pp.7-8; Balagna, pp.25-26. Arberry, as mentioned above (note 25), was convinced that these were Paganini's *Qur'ân* types and thus "the earliest movable types in Arabic characters ever made"; he went on to venture the even more remarkable opinion that their lack of cursiveness "invested the letters with an inscriptional quality, a revolutionary step without parallel in the history of Arabic typography". Arberry, op.cit., pp.11-12. Poor workmanship seems a more likely, if more prosaic, explanation.

³⁵ Krek, M. *A Gazetteer of Arabic printing*, Weston (USA), 1977, pp.72, 98 & 102. The Vienna example is strictly speaking a wood intaglio rather than a woodcut. Idem, *Typographia Arabica*, p.8.

not occur until 1566, when the Jesuit College in Rome published an exposition of the Catholic faith, in Latin and Arabic³⁶, using types newly commissioned by Pope Pius IV. These were procured by the Jesuit priest Giambattista Eliano, who was responsible for the Arabic version.³⁷ The same types were used for two further editions of the same book, and two other works, between then and ca.1581.³⁸ Arberry was full of praise for this fount³⁹, but the general consensus has been that, although it represents a considerable advance on its predecessors, it is still a somewhat clumsy and inelegant attempt, insufficiently cursive and calligraphic, and lacking adequate sorts for some letters, especially in their medial forms.⁴⁰ The letter *kāf* is especially poor, with its feeble top stroke, added almost as though it were a diacritic.

The early German Protestant missionaries and Bible translators also sought to introduce Arabic into their printed works; but at first they were able to use only wood-blocks, not movable type. In 1582 Jacob Christmann's *Alphabetum Arabicum* was printed by Matthäus Harnisch in Neustadt: it includes passages of Arabic text which are greatly superior to earlier European productions by this method.⁴¹ A year later, Ruthger Spey published his Arabic translation of St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, with a short Arabic grammar annexed. His printer, Jacob Mylius of Heidelberg, employed wood-blocks for whole pages of Arabic text: in this case, however, the results are not beautiful, and in places are barely legible.⁴²

The Latin preface of Spey's book contains an appeal to the Christian princes of Europe, and of Protestant Germany in

³⁶ *Fidei orthodoxae brevis et explicata confessio / I'tiqād al-amāna al-urtuduksīya*. The date is wrongly printed as MDLVI at the foot of the title-page, but this has been corrected by hand in a number of copies, and the Arabic imprint immediately above states the date clearly, in words, as 1566. See Vervliet, H.D.L. *Cyrillic & Oriental typography in Rome at the end of the sixteenth century: an inquiry into the later work of Robert Granjon (1578-90)*, Berkeley 1981, pp.23-25 (where the title-page is reproduced).

³⁷ Schnurrer, op.cit., #237, pp.236-237; Krek, *Typographia Arabica*, p.8; Vervliet, op.cit., p.23; Balagna, op.cit., pp.27-30.

³⁸ Vervliet, op.cit., pp.23-24. The third edition of *I'tiqād al-amāna* was printed by the Roman printer Francesco Zanetti in 1580 (page reproduced ibid., p.26).

³⁹ "[It] may justly be said to represent the true foundation of all subsequent printing...[it] is of really admirable design, thoroughly Arabic in feeling, and fully homogeneous...this pleasant fount...needs not to fear comparison with certain of its much-vaunted successors". Arberry, op.cit., pp.13-14.

⁴⁰ Erpenius, T. *Rudimenta Linguae Arabicae*, Leiden 1620, quoted in Schnurrer, op.cit., p.235; Hottinger, J.H. *Promptuarium*, Heidelberg 1658, quoted ibid., p.237; Krek, *Typographia Arabica*, p.8; Vervliet, op.cit., p.24; Balagna, op.cit., p.30. Even Arberry admits that certain essential sorts are lacking (op.cit., pp.13-14).

⁴¹ "A *naskh* of which an Arab would not be ashamed" - Arberry, op.cit., p.14. Cf. Schnurrer, op.cit., #39, pp.19-20; Füek, op.cit., p.45; Krek, *Gazetteer*, p.68; Balagna, op.cit., p.32.

⁴² *Risālat Bawlus al-rasūl ilā ahl Ghalāṭīya / Epistola Pauli ad Galatas*, Heidelberg 1583. Cf. Schnurrer, op.cit., #317, pp.339-341; Füek, op.cit., pp.46-47; Arberry, op.cit., p.14; Balagna, op.cit., p.32.

particular, to embark upon the work of printing Arabic bibles for export to Islamic Asia and Africa, which would be more effective, in his view, than sending missionaries.⁴³ At least one copy of this work found its way to the Vatican, where it seems to have acted as a spur to the production of improved versions of both sacred and secular Arabic texts, in order to anticipate and counteract any such Protestant moves.⁴⁴

The first fruit of this new Roman initiative in Arabic printing was the great edition of the Four Gospels printed at the Medici Press in 1590. This made use of Arabic types cut by the great French typographer Robert Granjon, who lived and worked in Rome from 1578 until his death in 1590⁴⁵, during which period he produced at least five series of Arabic punches.⁴⁶ The first specimen of his types appeared in 1580 and the first book to make use of them was the *Kitāb al-Busīān fī 'Ajā'ib al-Arḍ wa 'l-Buldān* of Salāmish b.Kundughdī (or Kandghadī) al-Ṣāliḥī, printed by Granjon and Domenico Basa in 1584-85. This was also the first printed Arabic book to consist entirely of a text from a Muslim, rather than a Christian source⁴⁷: it is a work of cosmography and geography from the late Mamluk period.⁴⁸

The Medici Oriental Press, under its scholarly director Giambattista Raimondi, went on to publish a series of major Arabic works, most of which, unlike the Gospels, were also Muslim "secular" texts. These included Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), Idrīsī, Ṭūsī's Euclid and the grammarians Ibn al-Ḥājjib, Ṣanhājī and Zanjānī.⁴⁹ All of these used Granjon's new types, which represent a radical improvement on all their predecessors, setting new standards of elegance and legibility, and greatly influencing later Arabic type design.⁵⁰

The last decade of the sixteenth century can be considered a watershed in the development of Arabic printing and publishing. From

⁴³ Spey, op.cit., ff. B1v-B3r. Part of the passage is quoted, with English translation, in Vervliet, op.cit., pp.25-27. See also Fück, op.cit., p.47; Jones, J.R. *The Arabic and Persian studies of Giovan Battista Raimondi (c.1536-1614)*, Unpublished dissertation (M.Phil.), Warburg Institute (University of London), 1981, p.23; Balagna, op.cit., p.32.

⁴⁴ Vervliet, op.cit., pp.27-28. See further below, pp.48-49.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.7.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p.28.

⁴⁷ With the possible but dubious exception of the Paganini *Qur'ān* mentioned above, pp.12-13.

⁴⁸ Schnurrer, op.cit., #189, pp.174-176; Bonola, op.cit., p.74; Arberry, op. cit., pp.14-15; Vervliet, op.cit., pp.29-30; Jones, op.cit., p.14; Balagna, op.cit., pp.35-36.

⁴⁹ Jones, op.cit., pp.19-21; Balagna, op.cit., pp.36-41.

⁵⁰ Bodoni, op.cit., pp.55-56; Arberry, op.cit., pp.15-16. As Arberry notes, their calligraphic quality was much enhanced by a liberal use of ligatures, derived from the best manuscript models.

that time onwards, the printing of Arabic rested on a firm foundation of established typographical technique. Given a willingness to procure and make use of the founts which were available in Europe, or which could be cut and cast from existing models, Arabic texts could be printed and published without undue technical difficulty. This was bound to give a new dimension to orientalist scholarship. Hitherto, the crude wood-cut blocks and alphabets, and primitive disjointed founts used for the few liturgical, Biblical and doctrinal texts whose publication the authorities would sanction and sponsor, can be said to have constituted only an experimental stage. It is appropriate, therefore, to pause at this point and consider briefly the reasons for the slow progress made in this first century, between Reuwich in 1486 and Granjon in 1585.

The most important question is whether technical difficulties were the cause or the result of the backwardness in Arabic printing and publishing in this period. Certainly the cursive Arabic script, with its proliferation of letter forms and ligatures, does present problems to the typographer which are not posed by the roman and other discrete alphabets, the printing of which was fully mastered well before the end of the fifteenth century. These problems have been emphasised by Schwab and others as a major factor in the slow progress of Arabic typography.⁵¹ The eminent historian of European Arabic studies, Johann Fück, went a stage further, and asserted that the lack of technically adequate Arabic types was a serious impediment to the progress of Arabic studies in general, in the pre-Medici period.⁵² But it is hard to believe that these technical difficulties were really insuperable, when one considers the rapid progress made in other aspects of typography in the decades following the introduction of movable type in Europe. Gutenberg himself, like many of his successors, adopted from the outset a style of typography based closely on a semi-cursive Gothic *ductus*. The first non-roman alphabet to be tackled was Greek: in this case, the first attempt, by Gutenberg's associate Schoeffer in 1465, was, like its later Arabic counterparts, "very crude, some of his letters conveying but a distant suggestion of their originals, and others

⁵¹ Schwab, *op.cit.*, pp.4-5; Lenhart, *op.cit.*, p.59; Krek, *Typographia Arabica*, p.1.

⁵² Fück, *op.cit.*, p.53.

being approximations made up of roman sorts".⁵³ But within thirty years Aldo Manuzio had produced a fine Greek fount and established the "first enduring tradition in Greek printing", which lasted until the 19th century.⁵⁴ This 1495 Aldine fount, moreover, contained many calligraphically inspired ligatures of a complexity not strictly required by the nature of the script: technical difficulties in no way inhibited this refinement. Yet when the same master-typographer came to print Arabic words, in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of 1499, he did not, as we have seen, raise his sights above crude and inaccurate woodcuts.⁵⁵ Not only Greek, but also Syriac, which, like Arabic, uses a cursive script, had by the 1550s been mastered by typographers, with results greatly superior to anything achieved in Arabic at that time.⁵⁶ Moreover, as Balagna has pointed out, from 1595 onwards, a considerable number of different Arabic type-faces of an acceptable standard were soon produced in several European centres, showing that European artisans were able quickly to master the techniques involved, once they turned their hands to it.⁵⁷ It does not, therefore, seem possible to sustain the proposition that the slow progress of Arabic typography before 1585 was due primarily to technical problems.

It appears more likely that the primitiveness of pre-Granjon Arabic printing was the result, not the cause, of the lack of progress in Arabic publishing. No printer or punch-cutter was likely to invest time and money in perfecting type-faces and composing techniques, unless there was a prospect of continuing demand for books which made use of them. This demand was not forthcoming until the closing decades of the 16th century. Earlier attempts to produce Arabic books for missionary purposes, or to supply to Arab Christian communities in the Levant, as in 1514, 1516 and 1566, were only spasmodic⁵⁸; whereas the demand for Arabic texts among European scholars was minimal until the Renaissance revival of classical and

⁵³ Scholderer, V. *Greek printing types 1465-1927*, London 1927, p.1.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.6.

⁵⁵ See above, p.10.

⁵⁶ Viz. Ambrogio, Teseo: *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam atque Armenicam et decem alias linguas*, Pavia 1539, which also included Arabic quotations printed with Syriac type; *Liber Sacrosancti Evangelii* (ed. J-A. Widmanstad), Vienna: M. Zymmerman, 1555. Of the latter, Duverdier says "la beauté de l'impression...[fait] de ce livre imprimé en syriaque une des plus belles impressions orientales". Duverdier, G. "Les impressions orientales en Europe et le Liban", *Le Livre et le Liban*, Paris 1982, p.189.

⁵⁷ Balagna, *op.cit.*, p.128.

⁵⁸ These and subsequent attempts to export Arabic books to the Middle East will be considered further in Section 2.3 below.

Hebrew philology eventually extended to Arabic and other oriental languages⁵⁹, and the practical value of studying Arabic scientific texts in the original began to be appreciated.⁶⁰ Given such a low level of demand, it was inevitable that the development of Arabic typography would be slow and halting.

After the achievements of Granjon and Raimondi in Rome, however, the situation was transformed. Although the publications of the Medici Oriental Press were quite unsuccessful commercially, and Raimondi was obliged to suspend operations in 1595⁶¹, they showed for the first time that Arabic books could be printed to a high technical and aesthetic standard, and the lesson was not lost on Arabists elsewhere in Europe. In that same year, 1595, the Dutch scholar-printer Franciscus Raphelengius (Frans van Raphelingen), inheritor of the famous Plantijn press in Leiden, published the first specimen of his own new Arabic fount, consciously modelled on the Granjon faces.⁶² Although undoubtedly inferior to its models, this fount was the basis on which Arabic typography in northern Europe (including England) was to rest for more than three centuries. Raphelengius and his successor Thomas Erpenius (van Erpen), who used a similar but improved version, published a stream of scholarly Arabic works in the first quarter of the 17th century. These early Dutch founts were subsequently used or copied, despite their deficiencies, and what Arberry calls their "clumsy, aggressively 'European' sentiment", in Paris (Le Bé, 1599-1610), Breslau (Peter Kirsten, 1608-09), London (1635-50)⁶³, Oxford (from 1648)⁶⁴, Amsterdam (Weyerstraet, 1669), Utrecht (Helm & van der Water, 1697), Franeker (Bleck, 1729) and many other centres, surviving well into the 19th century.⁶⁵

After the demise of the Medici Oriental Press, Arabic printing in Rome was revived by the French scholar-diplomat Francois Savary de

⁵⁹ Balagna, op.cit., p.128.

⁶⁰ Jones, op.cit., p.22, citing Christmann, 1582 (see above, p14).

⁶¹ Jones, op.cit., p.20; Balagna, op.cit., p.41. One more Arabic book was subsequently published in 1610. Jones, op.cit., pp.21-22; Balagna, op.cit., p.51.

⁶² *Specimen characterum arabicorum*, Leiden 1595. Schnurrer, op.cit., 44, pp.23-24; Arberry, op.cit., p.16; Gdoura, op.cit., p.54; Balagna, op.cit., pp.41-42.

⁶³ See below, pp.23-24.

⁶⁴ See below, pp.25sq.

⁶⁵ Arberry, op.cit., pp.16-17. The early Dutch Arabic founts, along with their German contemporaries, were criticised as early as 1648 by the German orientalist Christian Raue (Ravis), at that time working in England. Ravis, C. *A generall grammer for the Ebrew, Samaritan, Calde, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic tongue*, London 1648, p.103.

Breves, who commissioned the design and production of an Arabic fount of an elegance and beauty which, according to Arberry, "has never been excelled".⁶⁶ Much has been written about this type-face, which was evidently based directly on Arab or Turkish specimens of calligraphy acquired by Savary while serving in the Ottoman Empire: the punch-cutting, however, was probably executed in Rome.⁶⁷ Its first appearance was in the *Doctrina Christiana* of Roberto Bellarmino, printed at Rome by Etienne Paulin (Stephanus Paulinus) in 1613.⁶⁸ In 1615 Savary returned to Paris and took with him both the fount and several of his assistants (including two Lebanese scholars).⁶⁹ This celebrated type-face, which later passed to the Imprimerie Royale, was the mainstay of Arabic typography in France until the late 19th century; it also provided a model for others, including the monastic presses of 18th-century Rumania, Syria and Lebanon.⁷⁰ It likewise influenced the Arabic founts of the Propaganda Fide, which had a monopoly of Arabic printing in Rome from 1622 onwards⁷¹, and at first re-employed Paulin, the former associate of both Raimondi and Savary de Brèves.⁷² The types used in Spain after the revival of Arabic printing there in the mid-18th century were also modelled on those of Savary.⁷³

A detailed account of the subsequent development of Arabic printing in Europe would be beyond the scope of the present inquiry. Suffice it to say that, the techniques having been mastered, there was a steady flow of Arabic printed books in the 17th and 18th centuries, in most of the European centres of learning. Josee Balagna has identified some 200 of them in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and used this collection to construct a synoptic account of the progress of Arabic publishing in this period.⁷⁴ Christian religious texts and philological scholarship remained the

⁶⁶ Ibid., p.18.

⁶⁷ Duverdier, G. op.cit., pp.159sq. See also idem: "Les caractères de Savary de Brèves, les débuts de la typographie orientale et la présence française au Levant au 17e siècle", *L'art du livre à l'Imprimerie Nationale*, Paris 1973, pp.68-87; Balagna, op.cit., pp.55-58.

⁶⁸ Duverdier, "Les impressions", p.244; Balagna, op.cit., p.54.

⁶⁹ Krek, *Typographia Arabica*, p.14; Balagna, op.cit., p.58.

⁷⁰ Arberry, op.cit., pp.18-19. The Arabic types of 'Abd Allāh Zākhir's press at Aleppo, 1706-11, the first to be used in the Middle East, were modelled on the Rumanian ones, which in turn were modelled on those of Savary de Brèves.

⁷¹ Ibid., p.19; Henkel, W. *Die Druckerei der Propaganda Fide: eine Dokumentation*, Paderborn 1977, pp.9-10.

⁷² Ibid., p.10.

⁷³ Arberry, op.cit., p.19; Krek, *Typographia Arabica*, p.38.

⁷⁴ Balagna, op.cit., *passim*.

two principal categories of works published, but later an interest in Arabic and Islamic culture for its own sake began to develop, resulting in the appearance of works of Arabic literature, history, geography and even philosophy. Islamic religious and legal texts, however, were anathema: the *Qur'ān*, it is true, was printed in Hamburg in 1694 and also appeared elsewhere in extracts, but such subjects as *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *kalām* and *taṣawwuf* are conspicuous by their absence. This is not to be wondered at, when the main patrons of Arabic printing were the Church and the universities, which would not encourage, nor even permit, Christian orthodoxy to be in any way challenged or tainted by its great rival.

Given that the number of Arabic scholars in Europe was very limited, Arabic editions were inevitably small and expensive: probably not more than 500 copies were printed in most cases. Sometimes they proved to be the ruin of their authors.⁷⁵ The only scope for larger sales would be if books could be exported for the use of Arab readers in the Middle East; only then, also, would the development of Arabic printing have an impact on the culture of the Arabs themselves, until such time as printing became locally established. The extent to which this was attempted, in the period before the Malta press, will be considered further below⁷⁶ ; but first, more attention must be paid to the origins and history of Arabic typography in England, which forms the essential background to the Malta venture.

2.2 Arabic printing and publishing in England

Britain was a relative late-comer to Arabic typography, as indeed it was in the development of printing generally. Furthermore, its production of Arabic books remained at a lower level than that of its main European rivals, both in quantity and in quality, at least until the 19th century. But it is to England that we must look to find the origins of the Arabic typography used in Malta, and a survey of the history of the English contribution will therefore not be out of place here.

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp.9-10.

⁷⁶ Section 2.3.

The first English printer was William Caxton, and the first English printed book to contain Arabic was produced by his assistant and successor, Wynkyn de Worde, of Fleet Street in London. The work in question is Robert Wakefield's Latin treatise on the merits of Arabic, Aramaic and Hebrew, of 1524, entitled *Oratio de laudibus & utilitate trium linguarum Arabicae Chaldaicae & Hebraicae*. Wakefield, who died in 1537, was a graduate of Cambridge, and studied and taught Oriental languages at the Universities of Louvain/Leuven and Tübingen. He was later summoned back to England by Henry VIII to be Professor of Hebrew, first at Cambridge and later at Oxford.⁷⁷ His learned disquisition on the Semitic languages obviously needed good, clear Hebrew and Arabic typography, and equally clearly the printer was not competent to provide this. Indeed, the author was obliged to omit a further part of the work because of the lack of adequate types.⁷⁸ The few Arabic characters used, crudely cut on wood, are mis-shapen and lack cursiveness. The best specimen is the *bismillah* incorporated into Wynkyn's elaborate printer's device at the end, in which Caxton's initials form the centrepiece. But the Arabic letters used in places in the text of the book are extremely crude and sometimes barely decipherable.

As we have seen, Arabic printing, in Europe as a whole, was still very much in its infancy at that time: the first book using Arabic type was printed in Italy only ten years earlier.⁷⁹ However, whereas in Italy and other European countries, further experiments were made and the art of Arabic typography eventually greatly improved, in Britain no such development took place. The only other 16th-century English book to contain Arabic, so far as is known, was the English translation of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, probably by Sir Robert Dallington⁸⁰, printed for S. Waterson in 1592.⁸¹ The two woodcuts containing Arabic words are faithfully copied from the original Italian edition of nearly 100 years earlier⁸²; the original errors

⁷⁷ Jones, G.L. *The discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*, Manchester 1983; L(upton), J.H. "Wakefield, Robert", *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. LVIII, London 1899, pp.446-447; Krek, M. *Typographia Arabica*, Waltham (USA), p.7.

⁷⁸ Dibdin, T.F. *Typographical antiquities*, London 1810-19, pp.254-255; Johnson, J. *Typographia*, 2nd ed., London 1824, I pp.326-327; Moran, J. *Wynkyn de Worde*, 2nd ed. London 1976, p.23.

⁷⁹ See above, p.11.

⁸⁰ Introduction by Lucy Gent to the facsimile edition, Delmar 1973, p.xviii.

⁸¹ [Colonna, F.] *Hypnerotomachia. The strife of love in a dreame*, London 1592.

⁸² See above, p.10.

are reproduced with no corrections or improvements whatsoever.⁸³

The next appearance of printed Arabic in England was not until 1614. In that year John Selden, the celebrated jurist, antiquary and orientalist, published his *Titles of Honor*, which was printed by the London printer William Stansby. In it appear a number of Arabic and Turkish words, titles such as *Al-Shaykh*, *Sharīf*, *Sulṭān* and *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, apparently engraved on wooden blocks inserted into the lines of type. They are all repeated in an index of "Words of the Eastern Tongues", at the end. The lettering is mostly crude and malformed, with a number of incorrect ligatures. A second edition was published in 1631, again printed by William Stansby, with only slight improvements to the Arabic, even though the blocks had to be recut to match the larger type used for the main text. The same printer in the same year also used Arabic woodcut words, vocalised but if anything rather more misshapen, in the first edition of Selden's *De successionibus in bona defuncti*.

These wood-blocks, like those used in Austria and Switzerland in the mid-16th century⁸⁴, were an expedient necessitated by the lack of proper movable metal type; for the great progress in Arabic typography made in the late 16th and early 17th century in Italy, the Netherlands and France had had no counterpart in Britain. Authors and scholars who were less fortunate (or less persistent) than Selden, if they wished to publish books containing Arabic at

⁸³ Gent quotes some lines by the 17th-century poet Henry Vaughan which may have been influenced by the *Hypnerotomachia*:

Weake beames, and fires flash'd to my sight,
Like a young East, or Moone-shine night,
Which shew'd me in a nook cast by
A peece of much antiquity,
With Hyeroglyphicks quite dismembred,
And broken letters scarce remembred.
I tooke them up, and (much Joy'd,) went about
T'unite those peeces, hoping to find out
The mystery; but this neer done,
That little light I had was gone.

(Vaughan, H. *Poetry and selected prose*, ed. L.C.Martin,
London 1963, p.249.)

This seems an appropriate reflection of Elizabethan attitudes to Arabic and Arabic script, as manifested in the production of the English *Hypnerotomachia*.

⁸⁴ See above, p13.

all, had to adopt even less satisfactory expedients. Sometimes a space might be left for Arabic words to be inserted by hand in all the copies, as in Richard Brett's *Theses*, containing an Arabic poem, published at Oxford in 1597.⁸⁵ Sometimes romanisation was used, as in the pair of poems, in Arabic and Turkish, included in a collection called *Eidyllia*, to mourn the death of Prince Henry, published at Oxford in 1612⁸⁶; and in William Bedwell's *The Arabian Trudgman and Index Assuratarum Muhammedici Alkorani* (1615).⁸⁷ Another solution was to use Hebrew characters, for which type was available, and which had a long tradition of use for Arabic, by Jews. This was done in Matthias Pasor's *Oratio pro linguae Arabicae*, Oxford 1627⁸⁸; but his quotations from Muslim authors, such as Abū 'l-Fidā, look distinctly incongruous in this guise.

For Selden's next work with Arabic quotations, however, Stansby did use proper movable metal type, for the first time in England. This was the first edition of his famous treatise on the law of the sea, entitled *Mare Clausum* and published in 1635. The typesetting is somewhat disjointed and contains a number of solecisms. The compositor left quite large gaps between letters which should be joined, as well as using in places the wrong letters, or letters with the wrong dots filed off, or incorrect initial/medial/final forms. These defects are hardly surprising, in view of the complete lack of experience of Arabic in the English printing trade.

The provenance of the type used by Stansby is a mystery. It is in the Dutch style of Raphelengius and Erpenius⁸⁹, but it is of a smaller size than the former's Arabic face, and differs in detail from the latter's, which it nevertheless closely resembles. It may perhaps be a copy of the Erpenius face, probably imported from the Netherlands; but this must remain a matter of conjecture until further research is done and more evidence is found.

The same fount was used the following year in the second and greatly expanded edition of Selden's *De successionibus in bona defuncti*, 1636. This was printed by Richard Bishop, who had bought Stansby's

⁸⁵ Madan, *F. Oxford books*, Oxford 1895-1931, I, p.230.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, I, 1612:6; II, 1612: 342.

⁸⁷ Both published as appendices to his *Mohammedis imposturae*, London: R.Field, 1615.

⁸⁸ Madan, *op.cit.*, I, 1627:7 (p.134); II, 590 (p.109).

⁸⁹ See above, p.18.

business in 1635⁹⁰, and involved a more extensive use of Arabic, including one whole page (p.155). The composition, although still not without numerous errors and peculiarities, shows some improvement over Stansby's earlier efforts. The same type was used again by Bishop in Selden's *De iure naturali*, 1640 and *Eutychii Aegyptii... Ecclesiae suae origines*, 1642. The latter consisted of the Arabic text, with juxtaposed Latin translation, of a portion of the Church history of Sa'id b. Baṭrīq. Its Arabic content was thus much more substantial than the previous items, and it can be considered as the first Arabic book to be printed in England.⁹¹

In the meantime, the lack of facilities for printing Arabic, and indeed other learned languages, which reflected the low state of philological scholarship in Britain at that time, had attracted attention in other quarters. In 1629 William Laud became Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and he was determined to raise the standards of learning there to international levels. He also wanted to tilt the balance away from the London printers, who had enjoyed a near monopoly of substantial book production hitherto, and towards the Universities.⁹² As Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633, while remaining Chancellor of Oxford, he was in a powerful position to change matters. He arranged for a charter to be granted, specifically allowing Oxford University to maintain a printing establishment and to print any books not generally prohibited. However, the London Stationers' Company agreed to make an annual payment of £200 to retain its monopoly on bibles and prayer-books, which were the most lucrative publications in those days.⁹³

This money enabled the University to expand its planned printing operations in accordance with the 1636 statutes, in which Laud laid the basis for the University Press.⁹⁴ Laud was very interested in Arabic studies, and had been instrumental in both establishing a Chair of Arabic and acquiring Arabic manuscripts for the Bodleian Library. This being so, he was led to hope that "having many excellent Manuscripts in your Library, you might in time hereby be

⁹⁰ Greg, W.W. *A companion to Arber, being a calendar of documents in Edward Arber's Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*, Oxford 1967, #312, p.100.

⁹¹ Brief notices of this work and its author appear in Fück, *op.cit.*, pp.85-86; in Schnurrer, C.F., *op.cit.*, #171, p.145; and in Balagna, *op.cit.*, p.74.

⁹² Morison, S. *John Fell, the University Press and the 'Fell' types*, Oxford 1967, p.21.

⁹³ *Ibid*, p.21; Bodleian Library. *Printing and publishing at Oxford*, Oxford 1978, p.xi.

⁹⁴ Morison, *op.cit.*, p.22.

encouraged to publish some of them in Print".⁹⁵ For this purpose he set about acquiring the material necessary for printing in Arabic. Whether or not he was aware of the activities of Selden, Stansby and Bishop in this field is not known; but in any case, like them, he eventually turned his attention to the Netherlands, and in 1636 he sent a London bookseller named Samuel Brown to Leiden to buy equipment. In January 1637 Brown purchased from the stock of a recently deceased typefounder of that city, called Arent van Hoogenacker, a set of punches and matrices for oriental characters, including two Arabic alphabets.⁹⁶ This typefounder had, it seems, previously supplied types, from the same matrices, which were used in some works of Erpenius and others - for instance his edition of *Amthāl Luqmān*, published at Amsterdam in 1636.⁹⁷

It is generally reckoned, however, by printing historians, that Oxford University did not get good value for the 2300 guilders which it paid.⁹⁸ Firstly, only one of the two sets of Arabic was complete and fit for use⁹⁹; secondly, the punches were not cut sharply enough to allow the type to give a really clean impression¹⁰⁰; and thirdly, many of the dotted letters were what is called "portmanteau" sorts, that is to say, only one matrix was used to cast each group of letters of the same shape, e.g. *bā'*, *tā'* and *thā'*, with all the possible dots included, and the resulting type had to be filed down to remove the unwanted dots as required¹⁰¹ - obviously an unsatisfactory procedure.

The first use of type from these matrices has been dated by most authorities to 1648.¹⁰² There exists, however, a book dated 1639, in which this type is used. It is John Viccars's ten-language commentary on the Psalms, entitled *Decapla in Psalmos*. Viccars dedicated

⁹⁵ H.Carter, Introduction to Hart, H. *Notes on a century of typography at the University Press Oxford 1693-1794*, Oxford 1900, pp.1970, p.13*. Laud must have been well aware of how far behind England was in the matter of Arabic typography, for he himself possessed a copy of the Venice/Fano *Kitāb Ṣalāt al-Sawāṭ* of 1514: it bears his ownership inscription, dated 1633, and is now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Vet.Or.f.Arab.:1).

⁹⁶ Bodleian Library, op.cit., p.xi; Carter, H.G. *A history of the Oxford University Press*, Vol.I., Oxford 1975, p.33; Morison, op.cit., pp.22 & 233.

⁹⁷ Hart, op.cit., p.182; Morison, op.cit., p.240.

⁹⁸ Carter in Hart, op.cit., p.13*; Madan, op.cit., III, p.456; Morison, op.cit., p.22.

⁹⁹ Carter, op.cit., p.34; idem in Hart, op.cit., p.13*; Morison, op.cit., p.241.

¹⁰⁰ Morison, op.cit., p.241.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p.240.

¹⁰² Carter, op.cit., p.38; Hart, op.cit., p.182; Morison, op.cit., p.241. Krek, on the other hand, attributes the first use of these types to Richard Bishop (*Typographia Arabica*, p.20); but Bishop, as we have seen, used Stansby's Arabic types, which are clearly different from the Oxford ones, and in any case were first used at least two years before the Oxford/Leiden transaction of 1637.

the work to Archbishop Laud, and specifically mentioned, on both title-page and dedication (f. A3r), the new Syriac and Arabic types which had been provided through Laud's endeavours. He also had the complete Syriac and Arabic alphabets printed at the beginning of the work (facing p.1).

However, this book was neither printed nor published in Oxford, but in London, by Robert Young. For despite Laud's intentions, the Oxford University Press had not yet been established and therefore any learned printing, even using the new types, still had to be done by private commercial printers. Viccars, the erudite author of this commentary, although originally a Cambridge man, had by this time moved to Oxford, and so was evidently able to make use of the new matrices in order to have type cast in London to print this ambitious work, which would previously have been impossible in England. Ironically, the same year in Oxford, Thomas Greaves published a Latin treatise on the importance of Arabic studies, in which the Arabic quotations still had to be written in by hand.¹⁰³

The Civil War in the 1640s had an adverse effect on learned activity in the English universities, which for the most part supported the losing side, and suffered in consequence. Laud himself was executed in 1645. Very little progress could be made in the scholarly publishing of Arabic texts, or of any learned work, in such conditions.¹⁰⁴ However, from 1648 onwards, the difficulties, both technical and political, were gradually overcome¹⁰⁵, and a series of increasingly substantial and important contributions was made to the field of Arabic studies by Oxford scholars, using the Leiden types, to which additions and improvements were gradually made.

The credit for this belongs largely to two men: John Greaves and Edward Pococke. Although the latter is more renowned as a scholar, it was the former who took the lead in the matter of Arabic printing - and his scholarly contribution was also considerable. He had himself visited Leiden and was a friend of the great Dutch Arabist Golius; he had also travelled in Turkey and Egypt in 1638-39, under

¹⁰³ Greaves, T. *De linguae arabicae utilitate et praestantia oratio*, Oxford 1639.

¹⁰⁴ Madan, *op.cit.*, II, p.478.

¹⁰⁵ In 1648 the German orientalist Christian Raue (Ravis), at that time working in Oxford, ventured to "hope wee shall shortly make neater worke in that kinde here in England then hath beene done hitherto in Europe". Ravis, *op.cit.*, p.103.

the patronage of Laud, and collected manuscripts.¹⁰⁶ In 1640 he wrote a Persian grammar, but was frustrated to find that he could not get it published for lack of types.¹⁰⁷ He was, however, a mathematician and astronomer as well as being an orientalist, and in 1643 was appointed Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford.¹⁰⁸ In the ensuing years, despite being ejected from his chair during the Civil War, he completed and prepared for publication a work on astronomy by his predecessor, John Bainbridge, and to it he appended the text of the astronomical observations of the Persian astronomer Ulugh Beg. Before it could be published, however, adequate Arabic type, with the extra Persian characters, had to be provided; for this purpose, in January 1648, he borrowed the University's Arabic matrices, and volunteered to have their defects remedied. He took them to London, had new matrices made for the defective letters, and for the Persian ones, and then had a new fount cast (or, probably, more than one). Some of the type was then used by the Oxford printer Henry Hall, in the same year, to print the text of Ulugh Beg. This was the first Arabic printing in Oxford.¹⁰⁹ Greaves also arranged for the London printers Miles and James Flesher to use founts from the same matrices, but with still further extra characters, including a new set of numerals, to produce another Persian astronomical text which he had edited, and also his long-delayed Persian grammar, both of which appeared in 1649. The preface to the grammar laments the fact that it had been delayed for nine years by lack of type.¹¹⁰

In 1650 Greaves went on to publish yet another Persian astronomical text, that of Maḥmūd Shāh Khuljī, and in the same year an Arabic geographical text, Abū 'l-Fidā's description of Central Asia. Both these were also printed in London by Flesher, using types

¹⁰⁶ T. Birch (?), Account of his life & writings, in Greaves, J. *Miscellaneous works*, London 1737, I, pp.iii-x.

¹⁰⁷ Birch (?) in Greaves, op.cit., p.xxxiii; Reed, T.B. *A history of the old English letter foundries*, 2nd ed. revd. by A.F. Johnson, London 1952, p.59.

¹⁰⁸ Carter, op.cit., p.38.

¹⁰⁹ Bainbridge, J. & Greaves, J. *Astronomiae canicularia*, Oxford 1648. Cf. Birch (?) in Greaves, *Miscellaneous works*, 1737, I, pxxvii; Carter, op.cit., p.38; Hart, op.cit., p.182; Bodleian Library, op.cit., p.26; Madan, op.cit., II, pp.474-475; Johnson, J. *Print and privilege at Oxford*, London 1946, p.27; Morison, op.cit., pp.241-242; Shcheglov, V.P. "Rasprostranenie 'Zidzh Ulugbek' v evropeiskoi nechami", *Iz istorii nauki epokhi Ulugbeka*, Tashkent 1979, pp.143-151.

¹¹⁰ *Anonymus Persa de siglis astronomicis*, London 1648; Greaves, J. *Elementa linguae persicae*, London 1649 [sc.1648]. Birch (?) in Greaves, *Miscellaneous works*, 1737, pxxxiii: "In 1649 (n.: or rather 1648, the Printers usually anticipating part of the following year), he had published at London in 4to, *Elementa Linguae Persicae*.....he propos'd to have published it nine years before, but wanting type.....he had been obliged to suspend the edition". Cf. Carter, op.cit., p.39.

from the Oxford matrices.¹¹¹ Greaves died two years later, in 1652.

The fact that Greaves transferred his publishing activities to London after 1648 reflects the demoralised state of Oxford at that time. King Charles I was executed early in 1649, and, as Falconer Madan, the Oxford bibliographer, observed, "with the King's last days a silence fell on the Oxford press".¹¹² In any case, the University still had no money for publishing, and all Greaves's works were published at his own expense. They did, however, reimburse him for the new Arabic matrices and types which he returned to Oxford - £1 and £1-15-0 respectively - although a complaint was made of damage to some of the original matrices.¹¹³

Meanwhile, the other great 17th-century Oxford orientalist, Edward Pococke, had also turned his attention to the press, and in 1648, the same year as Greaves's first published text, he had printed, also by Henry Hall in Oxford, his Latin notes, with extensive Arabic quotations, to a history of the Arabs.¹¹⁴ This, however, was intended as an appendix to his edition and facing Latin translation of extracts from the *Lam' min akhbār al-'Arab* of Abū 'l-Faraj Bar-Hebraeus. The two were eventually published together in 1650. Although printed by Hall in Oxford, they were published at the expense, and presumably also at the risk, of a London bookseller, Humphrey Robinson.¹¹⁵ The 1650s, the period of the Commonwealth, continued to be one of depression for Oxford scholarship. However, Pococke, despite a continual struggle to keep his position in Oxford and avoid deposition, arrest, or worse, as a Royalist and Episcopal sympathiser¹¹⁶, did manage to produce and publish two further Arabic texts during this period. One was, ironically, a further and fuller edition of Euty chius/Sa'id b. Baṭrīq, paid for by John Selden to further his anti-Episcopal notions. It was printed by Henry Hall in

¹¹¹ [Khuljī, Maḥmūd Shāh.] *Astronomica quaedam ex traditione Shah Cholgiū Persae..... Studia et opera Johannis Gravii*, London 1650 (Birch erroneously dates it 1652); [Abū 'l-Fidā.] *Chorasmiae et Mawaralnahrae, hoc est regionum extra fluvium Oxum, descriptio, ex tabulis Abulfedae*, London 1650. Cf. Schnurrer, op.cit., p.122 (#159).

¹¹² Madan, op.cit., II, p.478.

¹¹³ Madan, op.cit., III, p.466; Morison, op.cit., p.241.

¹¹⁴ Pocock, E. *Notae in quibus aliquam-multa quae ad historiam Orientalium apprime illustrandum faciunt*, Oxford 1648.

¹¹⁵ "Impensis Humph. Robinson in Cemetario Paulino". Pococke's voluminous annotations "established his reputation as the foremost Arabic scholar in Western Europe"- Carter, op.cit., p.38. Cf. Bodleian Library, op.cit., p.53; Madan, op.cit., II, pp.475 (#2007) & 488 (#2034); Morison, op.cit., pp.26 & 242; Schnurrer, op.cit., pp.139-140 (#168); Twells, L. *The lives of Dr. Edward Pocock, the celebrated Orientalist, of Dr Z.Pearce, etc.*, London 1816, p.141.

¹¹⁶ Twells, op.cit., *passim*.

1656, using more type cast in London from the University's matrices.¹¹⁷ The other was a curiosity entitled *The nature of the drink Kauhi, or Coffe, and the berry of which it is made, described by an Arabian phisitian*. This was the Arabic text, with English translation, of a work by Da'ūd b. 'Umar al-Baṣīr, edited from a Bodleian manuscript, and published presumably because of the growth of interest in this new exotic drink, only very recently introduced into England. The Arabic typesetting in this work was rather poor, with intrusive gaps between letters.¹¹⁸

The restoration of the monarchy in 1660 was greeted with great jubilation in Oxford, and one of the forms which this took was a volume of joyful verses called *Britannia Rediviva*, to which Pococke himself contributed a poem in Arabic in praise of King Charles II. It was printed by the Oxford printer Lichfield, still using the same basic fount of Leiden types. Pococke, however, had already taken a dislike to some of the characters in the original fount, and had had some new punches and matrices made in London. New type was cast, partly from these and partly from the original matrices, by Nicholas Nicholls at the expense of the University in the 1650s, and was lent to the Oxford printers until the Oxford University Press was properly established in the 1660s.¹¹⁹

The first University Printer, as such, - appointed by the University with the title of Architypographus - was, in fact, an Arabic scholar, Samuel Clarke, who, in addition to his duties at the Press, found time to write a treatise in Latin on Arabic prosody, which was published in 1661, with an additional Arabic title and liberal use of Arabic type for quotations.¹²⁰ This established his credentials as an orientalist as well as a typographer, but unfortunately he died young - because, it is said, of prolonged exposure to the cold in the Bodleian Library.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Euty chius. *Contextio Gemmarum / Sa'īd b. Baṣīr. Naẓm al-Jawhar*. Interprete Edwardo Pocockio, Oxford 1656. Cf. Carter, op.cit., pp.40-41; Madan, op.cit., III, pp.51-52 (#2297); Schnurrer, op.cit., p.145 (#172).

¹¹⁸ Dated 1659, this is, apparently, the earliest published treatise on coffee. Madan, op.cit., III, p.99 (#2438).

¹¹⁹ Carter, op.cit., p.44; Hart, op.cit., p.182; Madan, op.cit., III, pp.xxviii-xxix; Morison, op.cit., pp.241-242; Twells, op.cit., p.229.

¹²⁰ Clarke, S. *Scientia metrica & rhythmica, seu tractatus de prosodia Arabica: 'Ilm al-'arūḍ wa 'l-qawāfi'*, Oxford 1661. Madan, op.cit., III, p.147 (item 2549); Schnurrer, op.cit., p.188. According to Madan, the work "occurs separately, but is properly part of Pococke's *Tograī* [see below, p.31]...and is covered by the title-page of the latter".

¹²¹ Barker, N. *The Oxford University Press and the spread of learning*, Oxford 1978, p.14; Carter, op.cit., p.42; Morison, op.cit., p.28.

Another Arabic and Persian scholar of the period was Thomas Hyde, who published many poems in those two languages in the regular volumes of verses to celebrate royal occasions¹²² - a characteristic part of the early output of the Oxford University Press, for which contributions in oriental languages were considered an especially prestigious form of erudition. In fact, a smattering of Arabic type in University publications of the period became a kind of academic status symbol: an Arabic marginal note is even to be found in a history of Balliol College, published in 1668.¹²³

Ottoman Turkish also entered the Oxford repertoire in 1660, with the publication of a treatise on Christianity translated by William Seaman¹²⁴, the pioneer of Turkish studies in England. He went on to translate and publish the New Testament in 1666¹²⁵ and a Turkish grammar in 1670. This latter was printed in Oxford, but published by E. Millington, a London bookseller.¹²⁶ This was the first Turkish grammar to be published in England, and evidently aroused some interest and curiosity among the educated classes of the period. A copy of it is to be found in the library of Samuel Pepys, now in Magdalene College, Cambridge.¹²⁷ The publication of Turkish texts was facilitated by an additional 41 sorts for extra characters or forms of letters, cut and cast by De Walpergen, a type-founder employed by Bishop Fell, who was the great promoter of University printing in Oxford after the Restoration. In addition, these extra types covered some of the deficiencies in the original Arabic (especially relating to the letter *hamza*) and also the requirements of Persian and Malay.¹²⁸ Malay texts in the Arabic (Jawi) script, however, were not printed at Oxford in this period, and the 1671 edition of the New

¹²² E.g. *Domiduca Oxoniensis*, Oxford 1662; *Epicedia Universitatis Oxoniensis*, Oxford 1669; ditto, 1670; ditto, 1671. Cf. Madan, op.cit., III, pp.156-158,239-242,249-250 (items 2578, 2844, 2845 & 2869).

¹²³ Savage, H. *Balliofergus*, Oxford 1668, p.31. Cf. Madan, op.cit., III, p.222 (item 2794).

¹²⁴ Madan, op.cit., III, p.122 (#2480).

¹²⁵ *Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Testamentum Novum, Turcice redditum: Incil-i Mukaddes*, Oxford 1666. Cf. Darlow, T.H. & Moule, H.F.. *Historical catalogue of the printed editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, London 1911, Vol.II, #9435; Madan, op.cit., III, pp.204-205 (#2727).

¹²⁶ Seaman, W. *Grammatica linguae Turcicae*, Oxford 1670. It was priced 3s 6d. Cf. Madan, op.cit., III, p.247 (#2863).

¹²⁷ Smith, N.A. *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*. Volume I: *Printed books*, Cambridge 1978, p.159.

¹²⁸ Hart, op.cit., p.183, suggests that these Persian, Turkish and Malay types, of whose quality he is highly critical, may have been made for Hyde in London before Fell set up his Oxford type-foundry. Cf. *A specimen of several sorts of letters given to the University by Dr. John Fell*, Oxford, 1693, which includes "A Supplement to the Arabick Alphabet, to print any thing in the Persian, Turkish, and Malayan languages"; Morison, op.cit., pp.72 & 247.

Testament in that language was entirely in roman type.¹²⁹

Returning to the publication of Arabic texts in 17th-century Oxford, we can see that the work of one scholar was clearly pre-eminent, namely Edward Pococke. Some of his achievements up to 1660 have already been mentioned, and it remains to refer briefly to the rest of his career. As well as translations of Western Christian material intended for missionary purposes¹³⁰, he also published a number of literary, historical and philosophical texts, in most cases with Latin translations alongside, including the *Lāmīyat al-'Ajam* of Ṭughrā'ī in 1661, the *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal* of Abū 'l-Faraj in 1663, Ibn Ṭufayl in 1671 (in which his son Edward Pococke also had a hand) and some specimen sheets of an unfortunately abortive edition of the poetry of Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī in 1673.¹³¹ He died in 1691.¹³² It is these works which stand as his most enduring monument, and on which his reputation as the great pioneer of Arabic scholarship in Britain are based. For no Arabic scholar, however learned and however brilliant, could come to occupy such a position in the history of scholarship unless and until his texts could be printed and published in the original language.

Oxford was much the most important centre for Arabic printing and publishing in England in the early years: hence its somewhat extended treatment here.¹³³ Its Arabic types, as we have seen, derived from the Netherlands, with only minor local modifications. The type-faces were therefore in the Dutch tradition of Raphelengius and Erpenius, which in turn derived ultimately from the 15th-century Granjon types of the Medici Press in Rome.¹³⁴ These types continued to be used in Oxford well into the 18th century, and were not without influence on Arabic type styles elsewhere in England.

The only other Arabic printing of any significance in 17th-century Britain was done in London. Apart from early works using

¹²⁹ Hart, op.cit., p.183; Madan, op.cit., III, p.355.

¹³⁰ E.g. Grotius, H. *De veritate religionis Christianae: Kūāb fī ṣiḥḥat al-sharī'a al-Masīḥīya*, tr. E.Pococke, Oxford 1660; *Catechismus Ecclesiae Anglicanae, arabice*, [Oxford 1671]; *Liturgiae Ecclesiae Anglicanae.....in linguam Arabicam traductae, opera Eduardi Pocock*, Oxford 1674. Cf. Madan, op.cit., pp.127, 254 & 293-4 (items 2498, 2885 & 3000); Schnurrer, op.cit., pp.250 & 254 (items 254, 258 & 259). Cf. the Malta editions of the last two works, items 79 & 99 in Appendix A below.

¹³¹ Madan, op.cit., III, p.276 (#2959): "five copies are in the Bodleian Library, the only copies known".

¹³² Twells, op.cit., p.342.

¹³³ 17th-century Oxford typography is also exceptionally well documented: the exhaustive bibliography of Falconer Madan is especially useful, as are the works of Carter, Hart and Morison to which frequent reference has been made.

¹³⁴ Arberry, op.cit., p.16; Krek, op.cit., p.16. See above, p18.

Dutch or Oxford types, which have already been mentioned¹³⁵, the first Arabic typography there was for the famous London Polyglot Bible of 1653-57, prepared by Brian Walton, and printed by Thomas Roycroft. Arabic scholars from Oxford and Cambridge, including Viccars and Pococke, assisted in the preparation of the Arabic text, and in the subsequent proof-reading.¹³⁶ A new type was cut and cast for this work, and in appearance it is quite different from the Leiden/Oxford type-face, being generally clearer and more elegant in style.¹³⁷ It is, in fact, modelled on that of Savary de Brèves¹³⁸, used in the great Paris Polyglot of 1645, which Walton's version was designed to rival. This is clear from certain features common to both faces, notably the forward hook on the isolated *dāl*. These similarities led Arberry to the mistaken assertion that the Savary fount was actually lent to the London Polyglot printers.¹³⁹ Apart from the intrinsic improbability of the Imprimerie Royale lending its founts for the production of a Protestant rival work in Republican England, direct comparison of the two faces reveals numerous points of difference. Roycroft's Arabic types lack the exquisiteness of Savary's; nevertheless they were much superior to anything used in England hitherto.

The Polyglot was followed in 1669 by the *Lexicon Heptaglotton* of Edmund Castell (1606-85), Professor of Arabic at Cambridge. It is a dictionary of six languages, including Arabic, designed as a companion to the Polyglot Bible, on which its author had also worked. It is in the same massive format as the Polyglot, and uses the same types. A few other works were also printed with them in the 17th century, including Walton's own *Introductio ad lectionem linguarum orientalium*, London 1655. The subsequent history of the Polyglot Arabic types is outlined below.¹⁴⁰

In Cambridge, apart from Robert Wakefield, mentioned above¹⁴¹, the first Arabic scholar of any consequence was the famous William

¹³⁵ Pp.23-28 above.

¹³⁶ Berkowitz, D.S. *In remembrance of Creation*, Waltham (USA), 1968, p.105; Darlow & Moule, *op.cit.*, pp.23-26 (#1446); Mores, E.R. *A dissertation upon English typographical founders and founderies (1778)*, ed. H. Carter & C. Ricks, Oxford 1961, pp.11-12; Reed, T.B. *op.cit.*, pp.158ff.; Todd, H.J. *Memoirs of the life and writings of the Rt. Rev. Brian Walton*, London 1821, *passim*.

¹³⁷ Krek, *op.cit.*, p.20.

¹³⁸ See above, p.19.

¹³⁹ Arberry, *op.cit.*, p.18.

¹⁴⁰ Pp.34-37.

¹⁴¹ P.21.

Bedwell (1561-1632), who taught, among others, both Pococke and Erpenius. Bedwell spent some time in Leiden, where he was a friend and colleague of Raphelengius. There is documentary evidence to show that in 1612 he purchased some of Raphelengius's Arabic types, and it is assumed that he took them back to England.¹⁴² This was 25 years before the later Hoogenacker types went to Oxford. However, they were not, as far as can be ascertained, ever used here¹⁴³, and the only subsequent reference to them is to the effect that, when Bedwell died in 1632, he left what was called his "typographia Arabica" to the University of Cambridge, along with the unpublished manuscript of his 7-volume Arabic lexicon.¹⁴⁴ Nothing, however, was printed in Arabic in Cambridge¹⁴⁵, as far as can be ascertained, until as late as 1688, and the type used then was definitely not that of Raphelengius. In the meantime Castell, as we have seen, had his Arabic printing done in London, as did his predecessor in the Cambridge Chair, Abraham Wheelock (1593-1653).¹⁴⁶ The solution to this mystery may lie in the fact that another contemporary document mentions that "When Bedwell received the material [from Raphelengius], he found it 'defective' and could not use it".¹⁴⁷

The 1688 Cambridge publication using Arabic type was a volume of celebratory odes in learned languages called the *Genethliacon*, which included a poem in rather strange Ottoman Turkish by John Luke, Castell's successor as Professor of Arabic. The type used was in many ways similar to that of Oxford, although there are some important differences, notably the much neater terminal and isolated *nūn*, and the curl at each end of the isolated *rā'*, which is

¹⁴² Braches, E. "Raphelengius's Naschi and Maghribi", *Quaerendo*, 5 iii (1975), p.243; Parker, M., Melis, K. & Vervliet, H.D.L. "Typographia Plantiniana, II: early inventories of punches, matrices, and moulds in the Plantin-Moretus archives", *De Gulden Passer*, 38 (1960), p.108; Reed, op.cit., p.59; Voet, L. *The Golden Compasses*, Amsterdam 1972, II, p.77; Hamilton, A. *William Bedwell the Arabist 1563-1632*, Leiden 1985, pp.45-47; id. "Victims of progress: the Raphelengius Arabic type and Bedwell's Arabic lexicon", *Liber Amicorum Leon Voet*, ed. F.de Nave, Antwerp 1985 (*De Gulden Passer*, 61-63), pp.99-102.

¹⁴³ As mentioned above (p.23), Bedwell's Arabic-English glossary & list of *Qur'ān* suras, published in London in 1615, used romanisation. Some time before 1612, Launcelot Andrewes, then Bishop of Ely, had unsuccessfully attempted to obtain Le Bé's Arabic types (see above, p.18) for Bedwell's use in Cambridge; this is revealed in a letter of Isaac Casaubon, quoted in Schnurrer, op.cit., pp.509-510. Cf. Arberry, op.cit., p.19; Hamilton, A. op.cit. (*William Bedwell*), p.47; id. "Victims", p.105.

¹⁴⁴ Letter from J.Greaves, quoted in Reed, op.cit., p.59; Richter, G. *Epistolae selectiores*, Nuremberg 1662, p.485; Hamilton, A. op.cit. (*William Bedwell*), pp.53-54; id. "Victims", p.106.

¹⁴⁵ Archbishop Usher had tried to obtain Arabic matrices from Leiden, for use by the University of Cambridge, as early as 1626, but was unsuccessful. Roberts, S.C. *A history of the Cambridge University Press*, Cambridge 1921, pp.54-55.

¹⁴⁶ *Quatuor Evangeliorum.....versio Persica, per Abraham Whelocum*, London: Typis Jacobi Flesheri, 1657. The Oxford, not the Polyglot types were used.

¹⁴⁷ Parker, Melis & Vervliet, op.cit., p.108; Hamilton, A. op.cit. (*William Bedwell*), p.47; id. "Victims", p.105.

characteristic of some 17th-century Leiden types. It seems likely, although there is no external evidence, that the type was imported from the Netherlands, which was the main sources for all kinds of type in use in Cambridge at a time when English type-founding in general was at a low ebb.¹⁴⁸

The *Genethliacon* was printed by John Hayes of Cambridge, who in 1700 and again in 1702 lent his Arabic fount to the University Press for further volumes of celebratory odes¹⁴⁹; the Arabic texts, moreover, had to be set by Hayes's compositor. This was also true of the Arabic quotations in Simon Ockley's *Introductio ad linguas orientales*, Cambridge 1706. The University Press did not acquire its own Arabic type until the 1730s, when the S.P.C.K. donated a fount of Caslon's Arabic, which was first used for the Arabic contribution to a volume of odes on the death of Queen Caroline in 1738.¹⁵⁰ In the meantime, after Hayes's death in 1705, Hebrew type had to be used for other Arabic odes in 1727, 1734 and 1736¹⁵¹, and Leonard Chappelow (1683-1768), Ockley's successor as Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, had his Arabic grammar of 1730 printed by Charles Ackers in London.¹⁵²

The 18th century was not a great period for Arabic studies in Britain, but there were some significant developments in the field of Arabic typography. The Oxford and Polyglot types continued to be used, and the Polyglot matrices passed through the hands of a number of different London foundries, which added to them and supplemented them in various ways. James and Thomas Grover established a type-foundry in 1674, and at some date between then and ca.1700 acquired the matrices for a number of the Polyglot types, including the Great Primer Arabic.¹⁵³ These matrices passed subsequently to Richard Nutt (ca.1730), John James (1758) and Joseph & Edmund Fry (1782).¹⁵⁴

Robert Andrews's foundry (est. 1683) possessed in 1706 two sets of matrices for Arabic, in Great Primer and English sizes, but their

¹⁴⁸ Carter, H. & Ricks, C., Foreword to Mores, E.R., op.cit., pp.lxxvii-lxxviii; Reed, op.cit., p.184; Roberts, S.C. *The evolution of Cambridge publishing*, Cambridge 1956, pp.4ff.

¹⁴⁹ *Threnodia Academiae Cantabrigiensis*, Cambridge 1700; *Academiae Cantabrigiensis Carmina*, Cambridge 1702.

¹⁵⁰ *Pietas Academiae Cantabrigiensis in funere serenissimae Principis Wilhelminae Carolinae*, Cambridge 1738. Cf. McKenzie, D.F. *The Cambridge University Press 1696-1712*, Cambridge 1966, p.37; Forster, H. "The rise and fall of the Cambridge muses (1603-1763)", *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 8 ii (1982), p.148.

¹⁵¹ Forster, op.cit., pp.148 & 160-161.

¹⁵² Chappelow, L. *Elementa linguae Arabicae*, London 1730.

¹⁵³ Mores, op.cit., pp.12 & 45; Reed, op.cit., p.190; Treadwell, M. "The Grover typefoundry", *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 15 (1980-81), p.51, citing a 1725 MS inventory.

¹⁵⁴ Mores, op.cit., p.46; Reed, op.cit., pp.200, 214, 223, 301-302 & 309 n.2. See further below, pp.36-37.

provenance is unknown. They were purchased by his apprentice John James in 1733, but only the Great Primer survived when the James foundry equipment was sold in 1782.¹⁵⁵

The most important new development, however, in the first half of the 18th century, came from the famous type-founder William Caslon (1693-1766). His great claim to fame is the immensely popular roman type which he designed in 1724-25, and which has continued in widespread use ever since; but before that, in 1721-22, his first major task as a punch-cutter had been to cut a completely new set of Arabic characters for an edition of the Psalms prepared by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.¹⁵⁶ This type-face was modelled directly on Granjon's famous Arabic type used in the late 16th century by the Medici Oriental Press in Rome¹⁵⁷, and it was executed under the guidance of Salomon Negri, a Syrian Christian scholar resident in London.¹⁵⁸ The SPCK's printer, Samuel Palmer, originally proposed to use the Polyglot types from the matrices in the Grover foundry, but it was realised at an early stage that their large size (Great Primer) would mean that the Psalter would cost more to produce than the Society was willing or able at that time to spend. Eventually Caslon was called in, and with great skill cut a set of punches in the smaller "English" size, which aroused great admiration.¹⁵⁹ They became part of the standard range of types on offer from the Caslon foundry for the next century or more¹⁶⁰, and were supplied to both the Oxford and Cambridge University Presses¹⁶¹, as well as to London printers such as William Bowyer¹⁶².

Joseph Jackson (1733-92) was an apprentice of Caslon, who later acquired a high reputation for cutting exotic and scholarly types. His Arabic, with Persian/Turkish additions, seems to have been cut originally for John Richardson's massive *Dictionary, Persian, Arabic, and English*, and types were supplied from his foundry to the Oxford University Press to produce the first edition of that work in 1777;

¹⁵⁵ Mores, op.cit., p.47; Reed, op.cit., pp.187-189, 213 & 220.

¹⁵⁶ *Kūāb Zabūr Da'ūd*, [London,] 1725.

¹⁵⁷ See above, p.15.

¹⁵⁸ Ball, J. *William Caslon 1693-1766*, Kington 1973, pp.190-193 & 313-316.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.313ff.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. their type specimen sheets and books of 1734, 1742, 1764, 1844, etc.

¹⁶¹ Carter, op.cit., p.282; McKenzie, op.cit., p.37.

¹⁶² Used by him for [Rāzī, Abū Bakr b.Zakariyā'.] *Rhazes de variolis et morbillis, arabicè et latinè*, London 1766.

a fount was subsequently purchased for Oxford in 1782.¹⁶³ The type-face had also been used for the same author's *A grammar of the Arabick language*, printed by William Richardson under the patronage of the East India Company in 1776, and continued to be favoured for publications produced under their auspices until supplanted by those of William Martin after 1804.¹⁶⁴ The punches and matrices, however, probably perished in the fire which destroyed Jackson's foundry in 1790.¹⁶⁵

In 1778 the antiquary and typographical enthusiast Edward Rowe Mores gave a summary of all the type-faces in use in Britain up to that date. As far as Arabic and related types were concerned, the position was as follows¹⁶⁶ :-

<u>Size</u>	<u>Foundry possessing matrices and/or punches</u>
Double Pica	James
Great Primer	James
English	Oxford*; James; Caslon; Jackson*
Pica	James (punches only)

* Including Persian, Turkish, and/or Malay letters; Mores lists these separately as "Persic", "Turcic" and "Malaic".

Until the last quarter of the 18th century, all Arabic type used in Britain, with the possible exception of Cambridge, which may have imported Dutch types, came from these four foundries or their predecessors. Towards the end of the century, however, others began to enter the field. After James's death in 1772, his material was purchased by Mores himself, and after the latter's death in 1778, his punches and matrices were sold at auction in 1782. The old Polyglot Great Primer Arabic was purchased¹⁶⁷ by Dr Edmund Fry, who already ran, with his father Joseph Fry, a flourishing type-founding business.¹⁶⁸ But Dr Fry, a learned man with a great interest in "exotic" languages, was not satisfied with just this one antiquated Arabic type-face, and he subsequently cut two more, under the guidance of the orientalist Charles Wilkins: another Great Primer

¹⁶³ Hart, op.cit., p.188.

¹⁶⁴ See below, pp.38-40.

¹⁶⁵ Reed, op.cit., p.318.

¹⁶⁶ Mores, op.cit., p.84.

¹⁶⁷ What became of James's other three Arabics is not known.

¹⁶⁸ Reed, op.cit., pp.223 & 301-2.

and an English, to rival Caslon's.¹⁶⁹

Mention has already been made of William Martin, and especial attention must now be paid to this type-founder, for he it was who first produced the type-face which, with minor modifications, was eventually to be used in Malta. He was also the first English craftsman to describe himself specifically as an "Oriental type founder".¹⁷⁰ William was the brother of Robert Martin, apprentice and successor to the illustrious 18th-century type designer John Baskerville. He received his early training at Baskerville's Birmingham foundry, and went to London about 1786, where he was engaged as a punch-cutter to prepare new fine types for a lavish edition of Shakespeare, printed by the celebrated William Bulmer between 1791 and 1810. The work of both type-cutter and printer, who continued to work in close and almost exclusive association until the former's death in 1815, set new standards in British typography, and greatly influenced the development of the art in the first half of the 19th century.¹⁷¹

One of the publishing bodies attracted by the work of Bulmer and Martin was the East India Company, which, from the turn of the century onwards, employed Bulmer as their principal printer in England, until his retirement in 1819.¹⁷² They were major patrons of works in Arabic and Persian, for the use of their employees, and had previously used, or sponsored, a number of printers, including William Richardson, the Oxford University Press, John Nichols, and the "Arabic and Persian Press" of Samuel Rousseau (1763-1820). These printers had for the most part used Jackson's Arabic types, plus, in the case of the last-named, a *nasta'liq* of unknown provenance.¹⁷³

In the early 1800s, however, the Company requested a new Arabic fount from Martin, for use by Bulmer; and the orientalist Charles Wilkins prepared a new set of models, based on clear

¹⁶⁹ Reed, op.cit., p.309; these and many other exotic types are exhibited in Fry's *Pantographia, containing accurate copies of all the known alphabets in the world*, London 1799, which also contains engraved specimens of Kufic, Maghribi and *nasta'liq*.

¹⁷⁰ Jones, W. *A grammar of the Persian language*, 6th ed. London 1804, title-page: "Printed...from the types of W.Martin, Oriental type founder".

¹⁷¹ Reed, op.cit., pp.324-325; Marrot, H.V. *William Bulmer - Thomas Bentley*, London 1930; Isaac, P.G.C. *William Bulmer, 1757-1830: 'fine' printer*, Sandars Lectures, University of Cambridge, May 1984 (unpublished typescript).

¹⁷² Reed, op.cit., p.326; Isaac, op.cit., pp.28-29.

¹⁷³ First used, apparently, in Rousseau's own anthology entitled *The flowers of Persian literature*, London 1801. The editor explains in the preface (p.v) that he "has been for some years employed as a teacher of the Persian, as well as a printer, of that and other Oriental languages, and the greatest difficulty he has met with has been a want of proper books for the instruction of pupils".

naskhī calligraphy, for Martin to cut. Wilkins had previously, as we have seen¹⁷⁴, helped Edmund Fry to design an Arabic type, and he had himself pioneered Arabic/Persian typography in India, where he had been for long resident in the Company's service.¹⁷⁵

The first use of the new Wilkins-Martin types, which were cut in two sizes¹⁷⁶, was in the 6th edition of Sir William Jones's *A grammar of the Persian language*, London 1804.¹⁷⁷ They next appeared in the new edition of Richardson's Dictionary, revised by Wilkins and published in 1806. It seems, however, that Wilkins had had other requirements, besides those of the East India Company, in mind when he designed this type-face, for he states in his "Advertisement" in the Dictionary that

"the punches were gratuitously designed by myself, and executed, under my superintendence, by that ingenious mechanic, Mr. William Martin, expressly for the purpose of printing a portable edition of the Old Testament in the Arabic language, for which he long since supplied a very large fount of letter; but as the execution of that work, owing to various accidents, particularly the death of that celebrated Arabic scholar and amiable man, the Reverend Mr. Carlisle, who had liberally undertaken the labour of being its editor, has been retarded, there had not occurred, till now, a fair opportunity of exhibiting them. They will, I trust, be found not only legible, but if compared with any that have been before made in this country, not inelegant. I chose the best specimens of Arabic writing for my copy, and I preferred the form which is called *naskh*, because, from its superior regularity and plainness over all other hands, it is, in my humble opinion, the only form which should be used for printing¹⁷⁸, whose object is not only to multiply and disseminate with superior expedition, but to

¹⁷⁴ See p.37 above.

¹⁷⁵ Storey, C.A. "The beginning of Persian printing in India", *Oriental studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry*, London 1933, pp.457-459; Shaw, G. *Printing in Calcutta to 1800*, London 1981, pp.69-71.

¹⁷⁶ The larger was apparently Double Pica and the smaller English, according to measurements based on the guidelines in Gaskell, P. *A new introduction to bibliography*, Oxford 1972, pp.13-15. Unfortunately no specimen book of Martin's types exists (cf. Reed, op.cit., p.326).

¹⁷⁷ "Great improvement has been made in the printing and paper; and it comes forth with an elegant new type, cut after the best examples of writing in the *Niskhi* character, and of which no specimen has before been exhibited"-Advertisement by the Editor [Charles Wilkins], pxxi.

¹⁷⁸ Wilkins was being somewhat disingenuous here: *naskh* was, of course the only form which had been used for printing in England hitherto, apart from Rousseau's work in *nasta'liq* since 1801, mentioned above.

facilitate study by plainness and uniformity of character".¹⁷⁹

The "Carlisle" mentioned in the above passage was Joseph Dacre Carlyle (1759-1805), who had been Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, where he had published at the University Press an edition of Ibn Taghrībirdī in 1792, and a much-admired anthology of Arabic verse in 1796.¹⁸⁰ In 1801 he became Vicar of Newcastle upon Tyne, where he died in 1805. His Arabic Bible was eventually seen through the press by Henry Ford, Reader in Arabic at Oxford, and was printed by Sarah Hodgson of Newcastle in 1811, using Martin's type.¹⁸¹ This publication was a major feat of Arabic typography, on a scale scarcely attempted before in this country, and all the more remarkable for being the product of a provincial printer with very little experience in such work. It was intended primarily for distribution in the Middle East, and it will be discussed further in that context.¹⁸²

There is no doubt that the new Wilkins-Martin Arabic type-face was a considerable improvement on all its predecessors in this country, in clarity, legibility and in its approximation to Arabic *naskhī* hands: some of its characteristics, in the version used in Malta, will be discussed further in a later chapter.¹⁸³ Until Martin's death in 1815, the types which he cast were used almost exclusively (apart from Sarah Hodgson's Bible) by William Bulmer, who went on to print with them a number of notable works, both for the East India Company and its scholar-servants (mainly in Persian and Urdu)¹⁸⁴, and for others, mainly in Arabic.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁹ Richardson, J. *A dictionary, Persian, Arabic, and English*, new edition "with numerous additions and improvements" by Charles Wilkins, London 1806, p.XCV. Wilkins goes on to state his conclusion, based on his own previous experience [in India] that *nasta'liq* cannot be successfully typeset, and can only be printed by "almost a logographic process": in this he showed remarkable foresight, for nearly all *nasta'liq* printing subsequently was to be by lithography (invented by Senefelder only seven years previously and not yet widely known), which was just such a "logographic process".

¹⁸⁰ *Maured allatafet Jemaleddini filii Togri-Bardii, edidit, latine vertit, notisque illustravit J.D.Carlyle*, Cambridge 1792; Carlyle, J.D. *Specimens of Arabian poetry*, Cambridge 1796.

¹⁸¹ *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, in the Arabic language; Al-Kutub al-Muqaddasa wa hiya kutub al-'Ahd al-'Atiq wa 'l-'Ahd al-Jadid*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1811. Cf. Darlow & Moule, op.cit., II, #1663.

¹⁸² Pp.75sq. below.

¹⁸³ See below, pp.261-262.

¹⁸⁴ E.g. *Pendeh-i-Attar: the counsels of Attar*, ed. J.H.Hindley, 1809; Jāmī, *Nisāb-i Tajnīs al-Lughāt: Resemblances linear and verbal*, ed. & tr. F.Gladwin, 2nd ed. 1811.

¹⁸⁵ E.g. Ibn Waḥshīya's *Ancient alphabets and hieroglyphic characters explained*, (*Shawq al-mustahām fī ma'rifat runūz al-aqlām*), ed. & tr. J.Hammer, 1806 - a typographical tour de force, the Arabic text being interspersed with numerous specially-cut characters reproduced from the mysterious alphabets and pseudo-alphabets in the original MS; the second edition of Carlyle's *Specimens of Arabian poetry*, 1810; Murphy, J.C. *The history of the Mahometan Empire in Spain*, 1816, which has an Appendix of Arabic texts of inscriptions in the Alhambra. Cf. Isaac, P.C.G. *A second checklist of books, pamphlets & periodicals printed by William Bulmer*, Wylam 1973.

What happened to Martin's punches and matrices after his death is by no means clear. One authority states that in 1817 his "foundry was united with that of the Caslons"¹⁸⁶ ; however, that firm's specimen book of 1844 did not include any Arabic types, although it mentioned that Caslon's original Arabic (of 1722) was still available.¹⁸⁷ Reed adds that "there is, however, reason for supposing that some of the matrices were retained for the use of the Shakespeare Press [i.e. Bulmer's business, continued by W.Nicol], and that others went into the market and were secured by other founders".¹⁸⁸

One of these founders may have been Richard Watts, who at about that time took over most of the East India Company's printing, as well as other oriental work for the British and Foreign Bible Society. He it was who, in the 1820s, supplied the Arabic type for the Malta press, which, with some minor modifications, was the same as Martin's, and may well have been cast from his matrices. Watts's role will be discussed further in a later chapter.¹⁸⁹

To conclude this review of Arabic typography in England from its beginnings up to the time of the establishment of the Malta press, it will be appropriate to make a few general observations about the nature of Arabic publishing in that period. In the first place, it has to be born in mind that the nature of the output inevitably depended on economic factors. Punch-cutting, type-casting, composing, printing and proof-reading in Arabic characters was bound to be an expensive series of operations; and the market for Arabic books was very small. Therefore, although there were in 17th- and 18th-century England a number of Arabists and orientalist who were capable of good scholarly work in preparing texts and works of reference, what they could publish depended for the most part on what others were willing to finance. A few, with adequate private fortunes, could themselves pay to have their works printed, and could therefore confine themselves to pure scholarship in print. John Greaves in the 17th century, and Sir William Jones in the 18th,

¹⁸⁶ Nichols, J. *Illustrations of the literary history of the eighteenth century*, London 1817-58, Vol. VIII, p.485, quoted in Reed, op.cit., p.327.

¹⁸⁷ Caslon, Henry. *Specimen of printing types*, London (1844). The 1821, 1825 and 1829 specimen books also lack Arabic. Cf. Berry, W.T. & Johnson, A.R. *Catalogue of specimens of printing types by English and Scottish printers and founders 1665-1830*, London 1934, pp.23-24.

¹⁸⁸ Reed, op.cit., p.327.

¹⁸⁹ See below, pp.112-113 & 260-261.

were among the few examples of this. Others were impoverished by their attempts to give the world the fruits of their learning: two Arabic Professors at Cambridge, Edmund Castell and Simon Ockley, whose works have been mentioned, were both imprisoned for debt.¹⁹⁰ Nor did the Universities, in those days, even after the establishment of the University Presses, have much money to devote to subsidising learned publications in Oriental languages. A few historical and philological texts were issued, notably those produced by Pococke at Oxford, but there were strict limits to this. The University Presses, moreover, tended to be conservative in their publishing policies, and preferred reprinting old successes, rather than embarking on new work, especially in the 18th century.¹⁹¹ One of Pococke's texts, part of Abū 'l-Faraj's History, was reprinted at Oxford as late as 1806.¹⁹² They also liked to use their Arabic in volumes of celebratory odes, to curry favour with Kings and Princes.¹⁹³

There were two other sources of finance for Arabic publishing, however, which were rather more forthcoming. One, as we have seen, was the East India Company, especially from the mid-18th century onwards. They were involved in both commerce and administration, and they wanted books to help their servants and officials to learn the languages, and study the cultures and laws, of the areas in which the Company operated, which extended from India westwards into Iran and the Gulf, and involved them in extensive dealings with Muslim populations. To this end, they commissioned sometimes quite lavish editions of Arabic, Persian and Urdu literary anthologies, grammars, dictionaries, legal texts, and the like.

The other major sponsor of publishing in Arabic and other Islamic languages was the Church; or rather, various groups of churchmen, who wanted, firstly, aids to the elucidation of Scripture and church history; and secondly, texts for the use of missionaries or local churches in the Middle East and beyond. They were often prepared to pay quite handsomely for books printed in Arabic type,

¹⁹⁰ Arberry, A.J. *The Cambridge school of Arabic*, Cambridge 1948, pp.11 & 15; idem, *Oriental essays*, pp.11 & 42.

¹⁹¹ They did, however, devote much attention to correcting the profuse typographical errors of the earlier editions. When Thomas Hunt prepared a revised edition in 1740 of Pococke's *A commentary on the Prophecy of Hosea*, Oxford 1635, with its copious Arabic quotations, he claimed to have corrected over 2000 errors in the original edition. Bodleian Library, op.cit., p.42 (#86).

¹⁹² *Specimen historiae Arabum*; auctore Edvardo Pocockio.....edidit Josephus White, Oxford 1806. Cf. Barker, op.cit., p.40.

¹⁹³ See above, pp.30 & 34.

but what they wanted, naturally, were translations and editions of the Bible and other Christian texts. Inevitably therefore, scholars were drawn into the work of preparing such editions. Most of those mentioned in the foregoing survey, from Pococke onwards, were involved in such work. These, moreover, were almost the only Arabic books which were supplied in quantity from Britain to the Middle East itself, in the period in question. Later, in the 19th century, they were to be supplemented by reading-books, and other educational works for use in missionary schools. But what these evangelical bodies did not want were Islamic texts of any sort.

Arabic and orientalist printing and publishing in Britain in the 17th and 18th centuries were, therefore, distorted by this pattern of sponsorship, away from the paths of pure philological, literary and historical scholarship, which the scholars themselves would doubtless have preferred to follow. This began to change in the 19th century, with the expansion of the Universities and other learned bodies, but not until the latter part of that century did the publishing of scholarly or literary texts for their own sake become the norm.

2.3 The export of Arabic printed books to the Middle East before 1825

2.3.1 *From continental Europe*

Most studies of Western influence in the Arab Middle East take as their starting point the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon in 1798.¹⁹⁴ European infiltration of the area by means of the printed word, however, started long before that. The categorical statement by Bernard Lewis that no Western works at all were available in Arabic until the end of the 18th century¹⁹⁵ is entirely without foundation. We have seen that the production of Arabic books in Europe started in 1514¹⁹⁶ and that the supply of Christian texts for missionary work, or for the benefit of oriental Christian communities, was one of the reasons for the development of Arabic printing there.¹⁹⁷ Books for these purposes were destined chiefly for export to the Arabs,

¹⁹⁴ E.g. Abu-Lughod, Ibrahim. *Arab rediscovery of Europe: a study in cultural encounters*, Princeton 1963. This classic study specifically dismisses the significance of earlier contacts.

¹⁹⁵ Lewis, B. *The Middle East and the West*, London 1964, p.41.

¹⁹⁶ See above, pp.11-13.

¹⁹⁷ See above, pp.14-15 & 17-18.

and they represent their only experience of Arabic printed books until the first Arabic presses were established in the Arab world in the 18th century; moreover, because, even then, the output of those local presses was relatively small, European Arabic books continued to constitute a high proportion of printed matter in the Middle East until well into the 19th century.

Whereas many of the Arabic books produced for use by European scholars included translations, or critical apparati, either in Latin or in European vernaculars, those destined for export were, not surprisingly, generally confined to Arabic texts.¹⁹⁸ Sometimes European languages would appear on the title-page or in the preface, sometimes even these were wholly Arabic. Nevertheless, these books, and the lines of text which they contained, were very different from the manuscripts to which Arab readers were accustomed. Their natural resistance to such a break with tradition, especially one emanating from outside, inevitably meant that the demand for these imports would at first be low, and the task of disseminating them one that was unlikely to be successful through the normal commercial channels established for other commodities.

There seem to have been four principal channels of distribution in the Middle East for Arabic books from Europe. The first was individual travellers, who took books in their personal baggage. Most of these were missionaries or ecclesiastical envoys, such as the Jesuits Eliano and Dandini in the late 16th century,¹⁹⁹ and the chaplains of the English Levant Company in the 17th and 18th centuries. Others were Arab Christians, mainly Maronites, returning home after periods of study and training in Rome and elsewhere.²⁰⁰ A few were merchants, but in most cases they carried books because they were also devout Christians or missionary agents, rather than as articles of commerce for their own sake.²⁰¹ Balagna makes the important point that nearly all these travellers, once disembarked in Ottoman territory, joined existing European or local Christian communities and confined their activities to them, rather than

¹⁹⁸ Gdoura, Wahid. *Le début de l'imprimerie à Istanbul et en Syrie: évolution de l'environnement culturel (1706-1787)*, Tunis 1985, p.37.

¹⁹⁹ Gdoura, op.cit., pp.38-39.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p.39.

²⁰¹ For one important exception to this, see below, pp.50-52.

moving at large in Muslim society.²⁰²

The second channel was embassies and consulates of European powers in the cities of the Ottoman empire. These also acted as agents for missionary publications, especially the French, for Catholic books, and the English and Dutch, for Protestant ones. The French embassy in Istanbul and consulates in the Levant played a particularly important role by virtue of their rights as protectors of Christians after 1614.²⁰³ Inevitably political rivalries between the powers came into play, as in the case of the Protestant literature suppressed by the Ottoman authorities in 1628 at the instigation of the French ambassador.²⁰⁴

The third channel was the occasional exchange of gifts between European and Arab rulers, which sometimes took the form of books. For instance, Cardinal de Medici sent the Lebanese Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn II a case of books in 1631, in exchange for a bale of silk.²⁰⁵ The quantities involved, however, were naturally small, normally involving single copies of each title, and they were unlikely to have been seen or read by anyone except the ruler or his immediate entourage - if indeed they were read at all. But at least those rulers thereby became aware of the existence of printed books.

Finally, the fourth channel through which European Arabic books reached the Arabs was agents and book depots, established by missionary organisations in Arab lands. This was a comparatively late development, which did not become a significant phenomenon until the early 19th century, when the growth of European power and influence in the region enabled missionary activities of this sort to be conducted without the severe risks which would earlier have attended them.²⁰⁶

The very first Arabic printed book, the *Kitab Ṣalāt al-Sawā'ī* of 1514,²⁰⁷ was intended primarily for export to the Arab world. Although at one

²⁰² Balagna, op.cit., p.133.

²⁰³ Ibid., p.133.

²⁰⁴ See below, p.53.

²⁰⁵ Carali, P./Qara'ī, Bawlus. *Fakhr al-Din II, principe del Libano e la Corte di Toscana 1605-1635 / Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma'nī al-thānī ḥakīm Lubnān wa dawlat Taskānā 1605-1635*, Rome 1936-38, vol.I, p.364; vol.II, p.316. The complete text of Fakhr al-Dīn's letter of acknowledgement is given.

²⁰⁶ See further below, pp.80sqq.

²⁰⁷ See above, p.11.

time thought to contain Jacobite liturgies,²⁰⁸ it is now generally agreed that it corresponds to the Melkite rite, used by most of the Arabophone Orthodox Christians and their Uniate offshoots.²⁰⁹ That it was intended specifically for Syrian Christians is confirmed by the wording of the Latin preface of 1517 which appears in some copies.²¹⁰ It may have been supplied as a gesture of friendship towards the Melkites on the part of Popes Julius II and Leo X who sponsored it, and probably formed part of the papal strategy to reunite them with the Roman Church.²¹¹ How many copies were sent to the Middle East, what effect they had there, and what eventually became of them, must remain matters for speculation. That nearly all copies were intended for export may be indicated by the use of the bogus Fano imprint to permit the breach of a Venetian monopoly of oriental printing held by another printer: this would have led to difficulties if copies were to be circulated in Italy itself.²¹² Certainly in later centuries it has been regarded as a very rare book,²¹³ and at least one cataloguer regarded it as so unique as to be worth including in a manuscript catalogue.²¹⁴ A copy exists in the National Library (Dār al-Kutub) in Cairo,²¹⁵ but it may have been acquired in Europe in the 19th century.

Giustiniani's polyglot Psalter of 1516²¹⁶ was intended primarily for European scholars, as Giustiniani tells us in the autobiography which he included in his chronicle of Genoa.²¹⁷ However, he did print 50 copies especially on vellum, which he sent to rulers throughout

²⁰⁸ Assemani, S.E. *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum mms. orientalium catalogus*, Florence 1742, p.XLV: "Al-sab' šalawāt al-qānūnīya al-mafrūḍa 'alā 'l-a'wām [sc. 'awwām?] al-Mašīḥīyīn ka-rutbat al-Kanīsa al-Iskandarānīya"; *ibid.*, p.83, item XLV: "Septem horae canonicae, a Laicis hominibus recitandae, iuxta Riturum Alexandrinorum, seu Iacobitarum, Alexandrino Patriarchae subditorum, Arabicè".

²⁰⁹ Schnurrer, *op.cit.*, p.232 points out that the work specifically contains the formula 'alā ṣaqs al-Rūmī; Graf, *op.cit.*, vol.III, p.636, classifies it as Melkite, and refers to the "mehrfachen falschen Angaben" of Assemani. Most other authorities also agree that it is for the Melkites, e.g. Lenhart, *op.cit.*, p.60; Balagna, *op.cit.*, pp.18 & 130; Gdoura, Wahid, "Le livre arabe imprimé en Europe: une étape importante dans les relations orient-occident (1514-1700)", *Revue Maghrébine de Documentation*, 1 (1983), p.40.

²¹⁰ Krek, M. "The enigma of the first Arabic book printed from movable type", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 38 (1979), p.206; Balagna, *op.cit.*, p.20.

²¹¹ Balagna, *op.cit.*, pp.130-131.

²¹² Krek, *op.cit.*, p.212.

²¹³ Graf, *op.cit.*, vol.III, p.636 n.1.

²¹⁴ Assemani, *op.cit.*, pp.XLV & 83.

²¹⁵ Bonola, *op.cit.*, p.78; Shūrbajī, Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn. *Qā'ima bi-awḍ' al-maḥbū'āt al-'Arabīya al-maḥfūza bi-Dār al-Kutub ḥattā sanat 1862 M*, Cairo 1963, p.1.

²¹⁶ See above, p.12.

²¹⁷ Giustiniani, A. *Castigatissimi annali con la loro copiosa tavola della Eccelsa & Illustrissima Republi. di Genoa*, Genoa 1537, f.CCXXIII r.; *id. Annali della Repubblica di Genova*, [ed.] G.B.Spotorno, Genoa 1854, vol.II, pp.460-461. He expected a large response from "prelati ricchi o i Principi", but sold only a quarter of the 2000 copies printed on ordinary paper.

the known world, including non-Christians.²¹⁸ Given Genoa's trading and diplomatic links, the latter would primarily have been Muslim rulers in North Africa: the Arabic text is in fact printed in maghribi type. There is (or was) a copy of this also in Dār al-Kutub in Cairo.²¹⁹

The existence of a Qur'ān printed in Venice in the late 15th or early 16th century is, as we have seen, dubious.²²⁰ If, however, it was attempted, or projected, it may possibly have been intended, as Maria Nallino has suggested, as a commercial venture, for export to the Muslim Middle East, which was known to lack the means of printing.²²¹ In this case, it may have been abandoned when it was realised that it would not be acceptable to Muslims, and would not find any demand elsewhere²²²; or, if in fact published, it may have been withdrawn and destroyed when it was rejected by the Muslims to whom it was offered.²²³ This, rather than its reputed incineration by the Pope, might account for the lack of extant copies. In the absence of documentary evidence, however, such explanations must remain conjectural.

The Arabic publications of the Jesuit press in Rome, printed between 1566 and 1580²²⁴, were from the outset aimed at readers in the Arab world. The Jesuits were inspired by a missionary zeal of which the Arab East was one of the main targets. Furthermore, the Counter-Reformation and the Council of Trent (1545-63) had produced a new Roman Catholic orthodoxy which the Papacy was anxious to impose on all branches of the Christian Church not yet tainted with the Protestant heresies: chief among these were the oriental Christians of the Levant.²²⁵ Pope Pius IV personally paid for Eliano's Arabic Profession of Faith (*I'tiqād al-Amāna*) of 1566, for use by the eastern Churches,²²⁶ or at any rate those which were willing to accept Roman hegemony, chiefly the Maronites. The second edition,

²¹⁸ "Mandai di essi libri a tutti i Re del mondo così Christiani come pagani". Op.cit. 1537, f.CCXXIII r.; 1854, vol.II, p.461.

²¹⁹ Bonola, op.cit., p.79. It is not, however, listed by Shūrbajī.

²²⁰ See above, pp.12-13.

²²¹ Nallino, M. "Una cinquecentesca edizione del Corano stampata a Venezia", *Atti (dell')Istituto Veneto*, 124 (1965-66), p.11.

²²² Lenhart, op.cit., p.62.

²²³ Nallino, op.cit., p.12.

²²⁴ See above, p.14.

²²⁵ Balagna, op.cit., pp.28-29 & 132; Vervliet, op.cit., p.23.

²²⁶ Castellani, G. "La tipografia del Collegio Romano", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 2 (1933), p.15.

printed in the 1570s, also no doubt served as a useful text for the Lebanese and other Arab scholars in the College of Neophytes established in Rome in 1577.²²⁷ In 1580, Eliano visited Lebanon on a Jesuit mission, having been instructed by Cardinal Caraffa specifically to distribute books of doctrine.²²⁸ Whilst there, he attended the Maronite Synod held at Qannūbīn in that year, and secured its approval of the printed Arabic catechism for general use in the Maronite community.²²⁹ The Maronite Patriarch, Mīkhā'īl al-Razzī (or Rizzī), was said to have jumped with joy at the large number of Arabic printed books and other ecclesiastical gifts which had been sent from Rome.²³⁰ The catechism in question seems to have been Eliano's Karshuni version of his colleague Giovanni Flavio Bruno's Latin compilation, printed at the Vatican press of Domenico Basa in 1580 under the title *Al-ta'līm al-Masīhī 'alā jāri 'ādat Kanīsa Rawmīya*.²³¹ Eliano had also earlier been instructed to bring back to Rome a complete Arabic Bible manuscript, so that it could be printed and supplied to the Maronites,²³² but nothing, it seems, came of this project until nearly 100 years later.²³³

At the end of the 1570s the Jesuits published for the first time a book aimed specifically at Muslims. This was an imaginary dialogue exposing the errors of Islam, entitled *Muṣāḥabat [sic] rūḥānīya bayn al-'ālimayn*, probably by Leonardo Abel.²³⁴ That it was intended for distribution among Muslims is indicated by the absence of any imprint, although the typography is that of the Jesuits and its date has been variously estimated as 1570²³⁵, 1579²³⁶ and 1581.²³⁷ But there seems to be no direct record of how or when it was distributed; one

²²⁷ Balagna, op.cit., p.31.

²²⁸ "Istruzione data per ordine di N.S. alli RR. Padri Battista Eliano e Giovanni Bruno, Gesuiti che vanno al monte Libano, mandati da Sua Santità al Patriarca de' Maroniti accio con esso trattino la salute dell'anime di quei popoli, 7 maggio 1580 [Cardinal Caraffa]" in Rabbath, A. *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du Christianisme en Orient*, Paris 1905, vol.I, p.149.

²²⁹ S[imon], R. "Remarques" in Dandini, [G.] *Voyage du Mont Liban*, Paris 1685, pp.385-386; Sacchini, F. *Historia Societatis Iesu pars quarta*, Rome 1652, pp.253-256.

²³⁰ "Tum vero gaudio exilire, cum partem sacri instrumenti, quod Sanctissimus Pater mittebat, aspexit...librorum Arabicè impressorum vim ingentem". Sacchini, op.cit., p.253.

²³¹ S[imon], op.cit., p.385; Sacchini, op.cit., p.254; Levi della Vida, G. *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Rome 1939 (Studi e Testi, 92), pp.387-388 n.4; Graf, op.cit., vol.IV, p.213; Nasrallah, J. *L'imprimerie au Liban*, Beirut 1948, p.XVIII.

²³² "Istruzione" in Rabbath, op.cit., vol.I, p.143.

²³³ See below, p.55.

²³⁴ Levi della Vida, op.cit., p.257 n.3; Balagna, op.cit., p.31.

²³⁵ Ellis, A.G. *Catalogue of Arabic books in the British Museum*, vol.II, 628.

²³⁶ Graf, op.cit., vol.IV, p.214.

²³⁷ Balagna, op.cit., p.134.

can only surmise that Eliano took copies on his visit to Egypt in 1582-84²³⁸, along with the afore-mentioned catechisms for the benefit of the Copts. It may well have been a factor in his arrest and imprisonment by the Muslim authorities in Cairo in 1584, as related by the Jesuit historian Jouveney²³⁹; certainly the work contained much to offend Muslims, showing a considerable ignorance of Islamic tenets and sensibilities.²⁴⁰

The Jesuit publications must have been printed in substantial numbers, for by the early 1580s the types were virtually worn out.²⁴¹ Rather than renew them, Pope Gregory XIII decided to commission a series of greatly superior Arabic founts from Robert Granjon.²⁴² In this he was partly motivated, as we have seen, by moves in Protestant Germany to start producing Arabic bibles and other texts to send to the Muslim world, as advocated by Ruthger Spey in 1583, in his Arabic version of St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.²⁴³ Spey's preface makes it clear that he envisaged the conversion of Muslims through the export of Biblical texts printed in Arabic. He considered, moreover, that

"a great part of the cost could be hoped to be recovered, when some thousand copies would be exported through booksellers or through Venice, and from there could be spread throughout Asia and Africa. If the Hebrew bibles printed in Venice and in other places in Germany can be spread to the Jews of the whole Orient for their use, why not expect the same for copies in Arabic. Once the New Testament has been printed for the first time in Arabic and multiplied through the art of printing and spread over Asia and Africa, the result would be much greater than by sending several thousand missionaries, who do not know Arabic."²⁴⁴

This grandiose and optimistic Protestant project to "séduire l'Islam", as Balagna puts it,²⁴⁵ was not in fact to be attempted for another 150 years, there being no immediate outcome to Spey's appeal

²³⁸ Graf, op.cit., vol.IV, p.212.

²³⁹ Quoted in Rabbath, op.cit., vol.I, p.207.

²⁴⁰ Balagna, op.cit., pp.31-32; Levi della Vida, op.cit., pp.257-258 n.3, points out, for example, that Qur'anic quotations are introduced by the formula *qāla Nabiyunā*, an anathema sufficient to alienate any Muslim immediately.

²⁴¹ Vervliet, op.cit., p.24.

²⁴² See above, p.15.

²⁴³ See above, pp.14-15.

²⁴⁴ Vervliet's translation, in his op.cit., p.27.

²⁴⁵ Balagna, op.cit., p.33.

to Protestant rulers to develop Arabic book production.²⁴⁶ However, it seems that Spey's words cannot have fallen entirely on deaf ears, as some moves were made to persuade Robert Granjon to transfer his Arabic work from Rome to Germany, and Pope Gregory XIII had to pay him generously to induce him to stay.²⁴⁷ The Pope "also ordered that the punches would not leave Rome, for fear that the heretics would try to spread their word by means of the Arabic alphabet, especially in...Oriental countries".²⁴⁸ The Pope's apprehensions were no doubt fuelled by his reading of Spey's proposals: not only is there a copy of his work in the Vatican Library, but the pages containing the appeal have been removed from it,²⁴⁹ a fact to which Vervliet attributes particular significance.²⁵⁰

Rome's reaction, however, was not confined to trying to prevent the Germans from acquiring Arabic type. The Papal authorities were determined to forestall any such Protestant initiatives by improving and expanding their own efforts to export Arabic books to both Christians and Muslims in the Middle East. To this end, as we have seen, they used Granjon's excellent new types for a series of lavishly produced new publications at the Medici Oriental Press under the directorship of Giovan Battista Raimondi.²⁵¹

Pope Gregory XIII's motive in launching this initiative was to provide Christian literature, both for the eastern Churches as his predecessors had done, and for missionary work among Muslims. The first Arabic book produced at the Medici Oriental Press, the famous Gospels of 1591, was in line with this policy, and was, like the earlier Jesuit books, supplied to the Maronites in Lebanon²⁵², as well as elsewhere in the Middle East. Of the purely Arabic edition 1500 copies were printed, followed by a bilingual Arabic/Latin version in an edition of 3500²⁵³: the latter was presumably intended also for use by Western scholars. The Press also reprinted the

²⁴⁶ Fück, op.cit., p.47.

²⁴⁷ Bandini, *Lettera sopra i principi e progressi della Biblioteca Laurenziana*, Florence 1733, quoted in Vervliet, op.cit., pp.24-25 n.157.

²⁴⁸ Bandini, op.cit., translated by Vervliet in op.cit., p.25 n.157. The Italian original uses the word "favella" (speech, language, rather than alphabet), but it is clear that the printed word is meant.

²⁴⁹ Levi della Vida, op.cit., p.328 n.1.

²⁵⁰ Vervliet, op.cit., p.27.

²⁵¹ See above, pp.15 & 18.

²⁵² Nasrallah, op.cit., pp.XIX-XXI.

²⁵³ Balagna, op.cit., pp.36-37.

Jesuits' *I'tiqād al-Amāna* in 1595.²⁵⁴

But Gregory XIII had died in 1586, and the emphasis now changed to the printing of Muslim "secular" texts which, it was hoped, could be sold in the Muslim world. Apart from the enigmatic Venice Qur'an,²⁵⁵ there were two precedents for this. In 1568 an engraved map of the world had been printed in Venice for export to the Turkish market, with spurious Muslim credentials appended²⁵⁶; and in 1585, the first book to use Granjon's Arabic types had been a geographical work, the *Kitāb al-Bustān* of Salāmish b. Kundughdī,²⁵⁷ which was probably intended for sale in the Middle East, especially in Egypt and Turkey.²⁵⁸ The Medici Press followed this latter with editions of Idrīsī's *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq* (1592), Ibn Sīnā's *Qānūn* (1593) and Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's *Tahrīr uṣūl li-Ūqlīdis* [Euclid] (1594), as well as two grammatical works²⁵⁹ intended partly for European use, but regarded also as potentially saleable to Muslims.²⁶⁰

That these books were intended for sale to Middle Eastern readers has been attested by several authorities, beginning with Galland as long ago as 1697,²⁶¹ and it is apparent from the fact that they were issued without any title-pages,²⁶² prefaces, notes or other apparatus in Latin or any other European language. One of them, moreover, the 1594 Euclid, includes by way of a colophon (on p.454) the text of an order of the Ottoman Sultan Murad [III] in Turkish, dated Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 996 [=November-December 1588], permitting European merchants to sell it, and other books in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, in the Ottoman empire.

These Medici publications were, therefore, sent to Turkey, where Arabic was an accepted language of learning. There is unfortunately no evidence of how many were supplied, but they remained in circulation for at least 75 years: Galland reports having seen a

²⁵⁴ Schnurrer #239, p.239; Balagna, op.cit., p.41.

²⁵⁵ See above, pp.12-13 & 46.

²⁵⁶ Ménage, V.L. "'The map of Hajji Ahmed' and its makers", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 21 (1958), pp.291-314.

²⁵⁷ See above, p.15.

²⁵⁸ Balagna, op.cit., p.36.

²⁵⁹ Ibn al-Ḥājjib's *Al-Kāfiya* and Ṣanhāji's *Al-Ājurrūmiya*, both published in 1592. Cf. Jones, op.cit., chapter two.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.73-74.

²⁶¹ "On fit cette grande dépense dans la vue de faire commerce en Levant de ces Livres". Gal[l]and, A. "Discours pour servir de préface" in Herbelot, B.d'. *Bibliothèque orientale*, Paris 1697, f.u r. Cf. Fück, op.cit., p.55; Jones, op.cit., pp.73-74; Gdoura, *Début*, p.37.

²⁶² Some, e.g. the Euclid, were issued separately with bilingual title-pages. Cf. Thomas-Stanford, C. *Early editions of Euclid's elements*, London 1926, p.46.

copy of the *Qānūn* in a bookshop in Istanbul,²⁶³ probably during his first stay there between 1670 and 1673.²⁶⁴ They were also sent, as has been mentioned, to Lebanon: as well as being supplied through the now well-established channels to the Maronite church, they were also probably included in the crate of books which Cardinal de Medici sent to Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn II in 1631.²⁶⁵ Egypt likewise was almost certainly a recipient: most of the Medici books are present in Dār al-Kutub in Cairo,²⁶⁶ and it has also been shown that the Tempesta woodcut illustrations (after Dürer) in the Gospels influenced Coptic miniature painting.²⁶⁷ They even penetrated as far as Ethiopia, where they also served as models for miniatures²⁶⁸; in the 19th century the English adventurer Nathaniel Pearce saw a cache of such books which had been preserved in a monastery there.²⁶⁹

As a commercial venture, however, the Medici Arabic publications were a resounding failure. It proved to be impossible to sell sufficient copies in the Middle East to yield an adequate return.²⁷⁰ Three reasons have been advanced for this. *Firstly*, the typographical, spelling and grammatical errors which the books contain would have alienated Arab readers,²⁷¹ who have always been extremely sensitive to solecisms in their written language. *Secondly*, there was a definite resistance to the printed word among the Muslim 'ulamā', who then and for long afterwards regarded manuscript books as greatly preferable.²⁷² Galland reported that the Medici *Qānūn* which he saw in Istanbul was priced well below manuscript copies of the same work, and still had not sold after being long in stock²⁷³ *Thirdly*, there was a suspicion and distrust of anything emanating from the Christian

²⁶³ Gal[l]and, op.cit., f.u r.

²⁶⁴ Antoine Galland (1646-1715), the famous French orientalist, was twice resident in Istanbul: 1670-73 and 1680-86. Amat,R.d'. "Galland (Antoine)", *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, tome quinzième, Paris 1982, cols. 183-184. During his first visit he kept a diary which abounds in details of his book-buying and book-browsing in the "Bezestein" (i.e. *bezestan* or *bedestan*, covered market for valuable goods). It does not, however, seem to contain any reference to the Medici Ibn Sīnā. Galland,A. *Journal...pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672-1673)*, publié et annoté par C.Schéfer, Paris 1881 (2 vols.).

²⁶⁵ Carali/Qara'lī, op.cit., vol.I, p.364; II, p.316; Gdoura, op.cit., p.38 n.73. See above, p.44.

²⁶⁶ It must be borne in mind, however, that they may have come from Europe in the 19th century: Bonola reported that the Khedivial Library copy of the Ibn Sīnā formerly belonged to the Būlāq Press. Bonola, op.cit., p.76.

²⁶⁷ *The Christian Orient* [Exhibition catalogue], British Library, London 1978, #41 & #49, pp.31 & 40.

²⁶⁸ Ibid, #41 & #65, pp.31 & 49, plates 24 & 25.

²⁶⁹ Pearce,N. *The life and adventures of Nathaniel Pearce, written by himself, during a residence in Abyssinia, from the years 1810 to 1819*, ed. J.J.Halls, London 1831, vol.II, p.148.

²⁷⁰ Fück, op.cit., p.55; Jones, op.cit., p.20; Gdoura, op.cit., p.38.

²⁷¹ Fück, op.cit., p.55; Jones, pp.70-71 & 73.

²⁷² See above, pp.4 & 43.

²⁷³ Gal[l]and, op.cit., f.u r.

West²⁷⁴ ; the Sultan's firman of 1588 had been issued because copies of printed books had previously been subject to seizure by Muslims in Istanbul.²⁷⁵

The Medici venture was the last serious attempt, until modern times, to export "secular" Arabic printed works to the Middle East as a commercial commodity. From then on, the apparent paradox prevailed, that Arabic texts printed from Muslim sources were reserved for European use, while exports were confined to Christian literature, much of it of European origin.

As we have already seen, Protestant-Catholic rivalry vis-à-vis the oriental Churches acted as a spur to the production and export of this Christian literature; and this rivalry soon extended into the political sphere, turning into a struggle for influence between England and Holland on the one hand, and France on the other. In the 16th century, Rome had enjoyed a monopoly of Arabic book exports, despite the visionary projects of Germans such as Ruthger Spey. But in the early 17th century, the Protestant vision began to be realised, with the emergence of a viable Arabic typography in Calvinist Holland. The new press of Thomas Erpenius in Leiden was, from its inception in 1615, employed in printing extracts from the Bible,²⁷⁶ and in 1616 published the *editio princeps* of the complete Arabic New Testament.²⁷⁷ Unlike those of his predecessor Raphelengius, these Arabic texts were not encumbered with Latin versions, and were therefore apt for use in the Middle East; their small, portable format also made them suitable for export.²⁷⁸ In 1621 the new Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lukaris, who had studied in Geneva and been strongly influenced by Calvinism, requested the Netherlands to supply him with Protestant books in Arabic for the use of the Melkites.²⁷⁹ The Dutch ambassador accordingly obtained a large quantity of the Erpenius Biblical texts and presented them to the Patriarch, who distributed them free to his Arabophone clergy.

²⁷⁴ Fück, op.cit., p.55. F.Ingoli, however, claimed in 1642 that a Muslim Qadi in Cyprus had been converted to Christianity as a result of reading the printed Arabic Gospels. Text in Henkel,W. *Die Druckerei der Propaganda Fide: eine Dokumentation*, Paderborn 1977, p.45.

²⁷⁵ Gdoura, op.cit., p.89.

²⁷⁶ Cf. *Risālat Bawlus al-Rasūl ilā ahl Rawmīyah / Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos Epistola*, Arabicè, Leiden 1615. Schnurrer, op.cit., #325, p.359; Balagna, op.cit., p.137.

²⁷⁷ *Al-'Ahd al-Jadīd li-Rabbīnā Yasū' al-Masīh / Novum D.N. Jesu Christi Testamentum Arabicè*, Leiden, In typographia Erpeniana Linguarum Orientalium, 1616.

²⁷⁸ Balagna, op.cit., p.58.

²⁷⁹ Duverdier,G. "Les impressions orientales en Europe et le Liban", *Le livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900 (Exposition)*, Paris 1982, p.266.

This provoked the French ambassador to intervene at the Sublime Porte and instigate the deposition of Lukaris.²⁸⁰ It seems that the Ottoman authorities were greatly alarmed at the danger posed by the propagation of innovatory doctrines by means of the printed word, even if, for the time being, only Christians were involved.²⁸¹

At the other end of the Arab world, it seems that some copies of the Erpenius publications also reached Morocco. In 1622 the young Jacobus Golius (later to become a celebrated orientalist) accompanied the Dutch envoy Albert Ruyl on a visit to the court of Mulāy Zaydān al-Nāṣir, the Sa'dī Sharīf of Marrākush, and took with him some books sent by Erpenius, including the 1616 New Testament.²⁸²

Gdoura states that no further attempts were made to export Protestant Arabic books to the Middle East in the 17th century.²⁸³ In this, however, he is surely mistaken, for in the second half of that century the Church of England was to enter the field, as we shall see.²⁸⁴ But in the meantime the Roman Catholics did not remain inactive in the face of the Protestant threat.²⁸⁵ After the failure of the Medici venture, a new initiative came in 1613 from the French ambassador in Rome (and formerly in Istanbul), Francois Savary de Brèves, who, as we have seen, commissioned a new Arabic fount of a high standard, and published in that year Bellarmino's *Doctrina Christiana*,²⁸⁶ in both Arabic/Latin and Arabic monoglot versions. The latter was specifically intended for the Middle East,²⁸⁷ and both this edition and the many later reprints achieved a wide distribution there.²⁸⁸ Documents in the Vatican reveal that, at the beginning of 1614, 200 copies were supplied to an envoy of the Chaldaean Patriarch; and that in subsequent years further supplies were sent to Jerusalem and Baghdad.²⁸⁹ Lebanese distribution was from the outset assured by the pupils of the Maronite College in Rome,

²⁸⁰ Vitré, A. *Histoire du procez*, Paris 1656, pp.11-11, quoted in Duverdier, op.cit., pp.266-267; Chevillier, A. *L'origine de l'imprimerie de Paris*, Paris 1694, p.299; Balagna, op.cit., p.58; Gdoura, op.cit., p.41.

²⁸¹ Gdoura, op.cit., pp.41 & 90-91.

²⁸² Balagna, op.cit., p.61; Gdoura, op.cit., p.74.

²⁸³ Gdoura, op.cit., p.41.

²⁸⁴ See below, pp.62-66.

²⁸⁵ The Roman Propaganda certainly took a great interest in Erpenius's Arabic publishing activities. Cf. Comelissen, J.D.M. "Thomas Erpenius en de 'Propaganda'", *Mededeelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome* 7 (1927), passim.

²⁸⁶ See above, p.19.

²⁸⁷ Duverdier, op.cit., p.160.

²⁸⁸ Graf, op.cit., vol.III, p.344.

²⁸⁹ Levi della Vida, op.cit., p.372.

and Savary may also perhaps have enlisted the help of the Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn II, who arrived in Italy in 1613.²⁹⁰

After Savary's departure, the Maronite College ran their own press between 1620 and 1625, but their books were all bilingual texts²⁹¹ intended primarily for local use, rather than for Lebanon. They in turn gave way in 1626 to the new press of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. This body had been founded in 1622, specifically to promote Roman Catholic doctrine among heretics and infidels, including those in the Middle East. It turned its attention immediately to printing, and by 1626 had its own printing-office, with Arabic type, and an official monopoly of Arabic printing in Rome.²⁹² It also secured the abandonment of plans on the part of Capuchin missionaries to establish a press in Lebanon²⁹³; this was no doubt mainly to ensure a papal monopoly of Arabic book production for the Levant,²⁹⁴ but another factor was the need to keep the Christian Arabic press away from the danger of Ottoman interference.²⁹⁵

Between 1627 and the end of the 18th century, the Propaganda press published a long series of Arabic books intended for use in the Middle East (as well as some for European students and scholars). At first the emphasis was on catechisms and devotional and doctrinal tracts, such as their first Arabic book, a commentary on the Bellarmino work which Savary had published in 1613.²⁹⁶ These were aimed primarily at Arab Christians, to whom, under the terms of a decree of 1629, they were to be distributed free of charge²⁹⁷; later, in 1632, a hundred copies of each book were allowed to be sold, but without profit.²⁹⁸ The importance of liturgical and

²⁹⁰ Duverdier, G. "Les caractères de Savary de Brèves, les débuts de la typographie orientale et la présence française au Levant au 17e siècle", *L'art du livre à l'Imprimerie Nationale*, Paris 1973, pp.74-75.

²⁹¹ Gdoura, "Le livre arabe", p.45.

²⁹² Huonder, A. *Die Verdienste der katholischen Heidenmission um die Buchdruckerkunst in überseeischen Ländern vom 16.-18. Jahrhundert*, Aachen 1923, p.110; Henkel, W., op.cit., pp.9-10; id. "The polyglot printing-office of the Congregation: the press apostolate as an important means for communicating the faith", *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, vol.I/1, 1622-1700, Freiburg 1971, pp.335-336.

²⁹³ Barenton, H. de. *La France catholique en Orient*, Paris 1902, pp.120-121; Huonder, op.cit., pp.100-101; Henkel "Polyglot", p.338; Duverdier, "Impressions", p.270.

²⁹⁴ Duverdier "Caractères", p.86; id. "Impressions", p.270.

²⁹⁵ Gonzague, L. de. "Les anciens missionnaires capucins de Syrie et leurs écrits apostoliques de langue arabe", *Collectanea Franciscana*, 1 (1931), p.462.

²⁹⁶ *Tafsīr wāsi' 'alā 'l-ta'īm al-Masīhī*, Rome 1627. Schnurrer, op.cit., #243, p.242; Ellis, op.cit., I, 354; Balagna, op.cit., pp.64 & 137.

²⁹⁷ Fumagalli, G. *Lexicon typographicum Italiae*, Florence 1905, p.354; Huonder, op.cit., p.114; Gdoura, op.cit., p.38.

²⁹⁸ Henkel, "Polyglot", p.342.

Biblical texts was also recognised from the outset. Printed versions of these were more than once specifically requested by senior churchmen in the Middle East: in 1626, the Melkite Archbishop of Aleppo asked the Pope for sound Catholic versions of the Scriptures, to counteract the dangers of the Protestant versions of Erpenius which were by then in circulation²⁹⁹ ; in 1638, the Patriarch of Antioch had expressed a need for large quantities of printed Arabic *Euchologia* and *Horologia* for use in local churches, and was willing to pay for them.³⁰⁰ The Melkites continued to make such requests well into the 18th century.³⁰¹

The project for a complete Arabic Bible was also slow to mature, but was eventually realised in 1671: it was essentially a translation of the Vulgate,³⁰² and as such at first met with some resistance among the Eastern churches.³⁰³ In the 18th century, the Catholic Copt Rafā'īl Tūkhī prepared another Arabic version, only part of which was published, in 1752³⁰⁴ ; he was also responsible for a Psalter and several liturgical books in Arabic and Coptic.³⁰⁵ All of these were intended for export to Egypt.³⁰⁶

The Propaganda was also concerned to promote missionary work among Muslims. It has been pointed out that all its Arabic books, even Christian liturgies, were prepared partly with Muslims in mind, since they might at any time fall into their hands³⁰⁷ ; some, such as Brice's translation of Baronius's Church history,³⁰⁸ had been prepared by missionaries in Muslim countries, especially Capuchins in Aleppo and elsewhere, and sent to Rome for printing.³⁰⁹ But they also published in the 17th century some polemical works aimed

²⁹⁹ Text of document given in Henkel, *Druckerei*, pp.42-43.

³⁰⁰ Text of document given in *ibid.*, p.60.

³⁰¹ See below, pp.60-61.

³⁰² *The Bible of every land: a history of the sacred scriptures in every language and dialect into which translations have been made*, London (1848), p.41; Gdoura, "Livres arabes", p.46; Balagna, *op.cit.*, p.86.

³⁰³ Darlow & Moule, *op.cit.*, #1652, p.66; Gdoura, *Début*, p.40.

³⁰⁴ Schnurrer, *op.cit.*, #355, pp.384-386; Ellis, *op.cit.*, vol.I, 365; Darlow & Moule, *op.cit.*, #1660, p.68; Graf, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.97; Balagna, *op.cit.*, pp.110 & 143.

³⁰⁵ Ellis, *op.cit.*, vol.II, 690-691.

³⁰⁶ Graf, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.97.

³⁰⁷ Remiro Andollu, Z. "La Sagrada Congregación frente al Islam: apostolado de la prensa en lengua árabe", *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria rerum*, vol.I/1, 1622-1700, Freiburg 1973, p.714; *idem*, "La Sagrada Congregación y el Islam de los países de lengua árabe durante el siglo XVIII" in *ibid.*, vol.II, 1700-1815, pp.541-542.

³⁰⁸ *Annalium ecclesiasticorum... Arabica epitome / Mukhtaṣar al-tawārīkh al-bī'īya*, Rome 1653. Schnurrer, *op.cit.*, #253, pp.249-250; Steinschneider, M. *Polemik und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache*, Leipzig 1877, #167, p.206; Ellis, *op.cit.*, vol.I, 344; Balagna, *op.cit.*, pp.80 & 139.

³⁰⁹ Gonzague, *op.cit.*, p.321.

specifically at Muslims, such as Guadagnoli's *Ijābat al-qissīs al-ḥaqīr...ilā Aḥmad al-Sharīf b.Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn*, 1637³¹⁰ : its *imprimatur*, granted by Ignatius Lomellinus, expressly states that it is to be distributed among Persians and other Muslims.³¹¹ It is not known how many copies were in fact exported to the Middle East, but that it was distributed there is beyond doubt. Francesco Ingoli, Secretary of the Propaganda, claimed in a report of 1642 that he knew of a case of a Muslim of Alexandria who was converted to Christianity, without the aid of a missionary, by reading this book. He cited this as an illustration of the efficacy of the printed word, and the importance of continuing to produce Arabic books for export.³¹² In 1649 it was considered worthwhile to publish another edition of Guadagnoli's work, under the rather more provocative title *Barāhīn mukhtallifa fī-mā huwa li-Sharīʿat Allāh bi-l-ḥaqq*.³¹³ Another polemical work, by Michael Fébure, was published in 1671 (2nd ed. 1681),³¹⁴ but, according to Remiro Andollu, its appeal to Muslims was vitiated by its bad Arabic style, a fault which it shared with some of the Propaganda's other Arabic publications.³¹⁵

The Propaganda, like its predecessors, distributed its Arabic books in the Middle East by encouraging Maronite students to take them back to Lebanon³¹⁶ ; and by supplying missionaries in the area, especially the Capuchins, some of whom sent their own writings to be published in Rome,³¹⁷ and, in the 18th century, the Franciscans in Egypt.³¹⁸ They also sent books direct to representatives in such places as Istanbul and Jerusalem.³¹⁹

³¹⁰ Latin title: *Pro Christiana religione responsio ad obiectiones Ahmed filii Zin Alabedin*. Schnurrer, op.cit., #247, pp.244-245; Steinschneider, op.cit., #1, p.16; Ellis, op.cit., vol.I, 592; Graf, op.cit., vol.IV, p.252; Balagna, op.cit., pp.70 & 138.

³¹¹ "Quocirca dignam censeo quae typis excudatur & edatur in lucem, diulgandam inter Persas ceterosque; Mohammedanos". Guadagnoli, op.cit., f.[a] r.

³¹² Text in Henkel, *Druckerei*, p.45.

³¹³ Latin title: *Considerationes ad Mahomettanos cum responsione ad obiectiones Ahmed filii Zin Alabedin*. Ellis, op.cit., vol.I, 592.

³¹⁴ *Precipuae solutiones objectionum*. Schnurrer, op.cit., #261, p.254; Steinschneider, op.cit., #100, p.120; Remiro Andollu, "Sagrada Congregación frente al Islam", pp.726-727. Remiro considers that "Michael Fébure" was a pseudonym.

³¹⁵ Remiro Andollu, op.cit., p.727.

³¹⁶ Gdoura, *Début*, p.39.

³¹⁷ Barenton, op.cit., pp.122-123. But the Capuchins, in Aleppo and elsewhere, were obliged to continue the practice of copying works in manuscript, because of the difficulties of getting this done, and reimporting the printed editions. Gonzague, op.cit., pp.464-465.

³¹⁸ Heyworth-Dunne, J. *An introduction to the history of education in modern Egypt*, London 1939, pp.87-90.

³¹⁹ Report by Ingoli, 1644: text in Henkel, *Druckerei*, p.50. Ingoli recommended, surprisingly, that copies should be sent already bound, because of the difficulty of finding binders locally. This must have been because of a reluctance to use Muslim binders.

Rome was not the only place where the Roman Catholics printed Arabic books for export. The Seminary at Padua published a catechism, *Al-ikhtiṣār al-mukhtaṣar fī 'l-kamāl al-Masīhī*, by Timotheus Agnellini Karnuk, Chaldaean Catholic Archbishop of Mardin, in 1688³²⁰; and a Melkite Psalter in 1709.³²¹ But the most important centre, after Rome, was Paris, where Savary de Brèves transferred his Arabic press in 1615. In that year he printed the text, in French and Turkish, of the 1604 treaty between Henri IV and Ahmet I; this was partly for French merchants to take with them to show to local Ottoman officials in support of their claims to the privileges to which the Treaty entitled them.³²²

No Arabic books were produced in Paris for export until the 1630s. Then Louis XIII granted to Cardinal Richelieu, in 1631,

"le droit de faire choix de tels libraires & imprimeurs qu'il jugera capable, pendant l'espace de trente années, à condition que lesdits libraires...imprimeront en même-temps les nouveaux Testaments, les catéchismes & les grammaires ès langues Orientales, & en donneront gratuitement certain nombre qui sera envoyé aux missionnaires d'Orient, pour distribuer à ceux qu'ils desireroient instruire dans la religion".³²³

Richelieu accordingly founded the *Societas Librorum Officii Ecclesiastici*,³²⁴ which included among its members the celebrated Arabic printer Antoine Vitré (or Vitray); under its auspices, and under the Cardinal's firm guidance, he printed, with the Savary types, a number of Arabic texts. Most of them were prepared by, or with the help of, the Lebanese scholars Jibrā'īl al-Ṣahyūnī (Gabriele Sionita), Yuḥannā 'l-Ḥaṣrūnī (Ioannes Hesronita) and Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāqilānī (Abraham Ecchellensis).³²⁵ Some were for the use of missionaries learning the language, and some for distribution to Arabophone Christians in the Middle East.³²⁶ Notable among the latter category were a new edition of Bellarmino's *Al-ta'līm al-Masīhī* in 1635,

³²⁰ Schnurrer, op.cit., #262, pp.254-255; Ellis, op.cit., vol.II, 527; Graf, op.cit., vol.IV, p.55; Gdoura, "Livres arabes", p.48.

³²¹ Schnurrer, op.cit., #341, pp.374-375; Ellis, op.cit., vol.I, 374.

³²² Duverdier, "Caractères", p.75.

³²³ Guignes, [J.] de. "Essai historique sur l'origine des caractères orientaux de l'Imprimerie Royale", *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, tome premier, Paris 1787, p.xxiv; the same wording, with slight variation, appears at the end (p.414) of Richelieu's *Kūab ta'līm al-Masīhī*, Paris 1640.

³²⁴ Duverdier, "Caractères", p.86.

³²⁵ Duverdier, "Impressions", passim.

³²⁶ Duverdier, "Caractères", p.87.

dedicated to Richelieu³²⁷ ; and an Arabic translation of Richelieu's own catechism *Instruction du chrétien*, under the title *Kitāb ta'līm al-Masīhī*, in 1640.³²⁸ This carries on its title-page the instruction, in Arabic, *tu'fā hādhihi 'l-kutub bi-lā thaman*, and, in Latin, *gratis dispensatur*, leaving no possible room for doubt as to Richelieu's insistence on its free distribution on a wide scale. This munificence was acknowledged by Ḥāqilānī the following year, in the preface to one of his own Latin/Arabic editions, in which he makes clear that the catechism was for distribution "per Orientem" and states that the Bishops and eminent men of his people ("gentis nostrae Episcopi & Magnates") were not unaware of the efforts which had been made to safeguard and put to use the Arabic types of Savary de Brèves.³²⁹

The translation of Richelieu's book had been done, however, not by Ḥāqilānī nor his Lebanese colleagues, but by Père Juste de Beauvais, head of the Capuchin mission in Baghdad (*ra'īs al-Kābūsīn al-muqīmīn bi-madīnat Baghdād*, as is stated on the title-page). After the Roman Propaganda had thwarted the Capuchins' plans for a press in Lebanon,³³⁰ they sent, as we have seen, some of their Arabic texts to Rome for printing; but they also saw in Richelieu and Vitré a way of circumventing the Propaganda's monopoly,³³¹ or at any rate an alternative to the latter's somewhat dilatory publishing procedures.³³² Richelieu, for his part, saw the provision of Arabic books through the French Capuchin missions in the Levant (they were nearly all French, and had important establishments, including schools, in Syria and Lebanon, as well as Iraq), as a demonstration to the Arab Christians that the Papacy was not the only Christian power in the West which took an interest in them. This in turn was linked to an active political and commercial role in the area, and the development of the Capitulations.³³³

After the death of Richelieu in 1642, French interest and influence in the Middle East went into temporary decline, and with

³²⁷ Schnurrer, op.cit., #246, pp.243-244; Balagna, op.cit., p.69.

³²⁸ Schnurrer, op.cit., #249, pp.246-248; Steinschneider, op.cit., #178, pp.215-216; Ellis, op.cit., vol.I, 495; Graf, op.cit., vol.IV, pp.193-194; Balagna, op.cit., pp.71-72 & 138.

³²⁹ Ecchellensis, A./Ḥāqilānī, Ibrāhīm al-. *Mukhtaṣar maqāṣid ḥikmat falāsifat al-'Arab / Synopsis propositorum sapientiae Arabum philosophorum*, Paris 1641, f. a iii v.

³³⁰ See above, p.54.

³³¹ Duverdier, "Caractères", p.87.

³³² Gonzague, op.cit., p.320. Gonzague is surely mistaken, however, in attributing the edition of the Arabic translation of Thomas à Kempis, by the Capuchin Ignace d'Orléans, to Paris.

³³³ Duverdier, "Impressions", p.271.

it the desire to export Arabic books.³³⁴ Arabic printing activity in Paris became concentrated on books for the use of European scholars, culminating in the great Polyglot Bible of 1645. Not until 1679 was another Arabic text for the eastern Christians published, the *Sab' mazāmīr al-tawba wa madīha li-l-'Adhrā Miryam* (Seven penitential psalms and eulogy for the Virgin Mary),³³⁵ printed by Pierre le Petit after the expiry of Richelieu's ecclesiastical monopoly³³⁶; this is a devotional work, which carries the formula *majjān akhadtum* [sic] *majjān a'ū* (you have received it free, give it free), which presumably means that it was intended to be circulated without charge among Arab Christians.³³⁷ The Arabic typesetting in this book is poor and there are a number of what Schnurrer takes to be spelling errors³³⁸: these seem, however, to be rather examples of Middle Arabic usage, tending towards the colloquial, which was not uncommon in Christian texts,³³⁹ e.g. *majjān* for *majjānan* and *akhadtum* for *akhadhtum* in the formula quoted above, and elsewhere, as noted by Schnurrer, *qūl* for *qul* and confusion between the letters *tā'* and *thā'*, *sīn* and *šād*, *zā'* and *dād*.

The *Sab' mazāmīr* was the last Arabic book to be printed in France for over 100 years. Most of the French publications, and those of the Roman Propaganda, which continued to be exported, although on a smaller scale, in the 18th century, were aimed at the Maronites. The Melkites, on the other hand, who in this period wavered at different times and in different places between allegiance to Rome and to Constantinople, several times requested the Propaganda to print their Arabic liturgies,³⁴⁰ which they had sent in manuscript to Rome, but the Sacra Congregatio, partly through doctrinal caution and partly through bureaucratic inertia, failed to do so.³⁴¹ In 1700 the Melkite Patriarch of Antioch, Athanasius III Dabbās, who had previously been of Uniate persuasion but had now reverted to

³³⁴ Duverdier, "Caractères", p.87.

³³⁵ Schnurrer, op.cit., #335, pp.366-367; Ellis, op.cit., vol.I, 379; Balagna, op.cit., pp.87 & 140.

³³⁶ Guignes, op.cit., p.lvij.

³³⁷ Schnurrer, op.cit., p.367.

³³⁸ Ibid., p.367.

³³⁹ I am indebted to Dr G.Khan of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, Cambridge University Library, for pointing this out to me.

³⁴⁰ See above, p.55.

³⁴¹ Nasrallah, op.cit., p.14; Raquez, O. "La Congregation pour la Correction des Livres de l'Eglise Orientale (1719-1862)", *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, vol.II, 1700-1815, Freiburg 1973, p.518; Balagna, op.cit., p.96. Gdoura, *Début*, pp.51 & 133;

Orthodoxy, went to Rumania, and arranged for two Arabic liturgical books to be printed at the monastery of Sinagovo (Snagov) near Bucharest, under the auspices of the Voivod of Wallachia, Constantin Brancovan.³⁴² This cooperation was facilitated by the common religious and political interests of Melkites and Rumanians, both being semi-autonomous Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman empire.³⁴³ It is clear from Athanasius's prefaces to the two works³⁴⁴ that they were intended for free distribution to Orthodox priests in Arab countries, to overcome the shortage and high price of manuscript service-books³⁴⁵; it seems that they were well-received in Syria,³⁴⁶ and the venture culminated in the establishment by Athanasius of a new press in Aleppo, under the superintendence of the priest 'Abd Allāh Zākhir, which started production in 1706: it was the first to print in Arabic type in the Arab world.³⁴⁷

A decade later, the patriarchate of Antioch was again veering towards Union with Rome, and in 1717 and 1718 requested the Propaganda to reprint its service-books³⁴⁸; this demand was repeated in 1738³⁴⁹, under the Catholic Patriarch Cyril VI. But in 1744 his Orthodox rival, the Patriarch Sylvester (Sīlbastrus), turned again to Rumania, and another Arabic press was established under the auspices of Ioan Mavrocordato, but with Syrian and Lebanese typographers, at Iasi (Jassy) in Moldavia.³⁵⁰ This produced not only a Liturgicon (*Al-Qandaq*) in 1745 and a Psalter (*Kitāb al-Zabūr al-Sharīf*) in 1747, but also a number of anti-Roman tracts in 1746 and 1747,³⁵¹ which were no doubt disseminated in the Middle East in furtherance of Sylvester's fiercely anti-Catholic policy. Graf states, but

³⁴² Balagna, op.cit., pp.96-97; Gdoura, *Début*, pp.133-135.

³⁴³ Gdoura, *Début*, pp.134 & 137.

³⁴⁴ *Kiṭāb al-Qaddasāt al-thalātha al-ilāhīya*, Sinagovo 1701 (Schnurrer, op.cit., #266, pp.266-272; Graf, op.cit., vol.I, p.633; Gdoura, *Début*, p.136; the title-page is reproduced in Nasrallah, op.cit., p.18) and *Kiṭāb al-Ūrūlūjīyūn ay al-ṣalawāt al-mafrūḍah*, Bucharest 1702 (Fulton, A.S. & Ellis, A.G. *Supplementary catalogue of Arabic printed books in the British Museum*, 564-565; Graf, op.cit., vol.I, pp.636-637; Balagna, op.cit., pp.96-98 141; Gdoura, *Début*, p.137; the title-page is reproduced in Candea, V. "Dès 1701: dialogue roumano-libanais par le livre et l'imprimerie", *Le livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900 (Exposition)*, Paris 1982, p.287).

³⁴⁵ Schnurrer, op.cit., p.269; Gdoura, *Début*, p.137.

³⁴⁶ Balagna, op.cit., p.97; Gdoura, *Début*, p.137.

³⁴⁷ Candea, op.cit., pp.286-288; Gdoura, *Début*, pp.138 sqq.

³⁴⁸ Foskolos, M. "L'Unione parziale del Patriarcato di Antiochia (1724): una delle principali preoccupazioni della S.C. nel Medio Oriente", *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, vol.II, 1700-1815, Freiburg 1973, p.324.

³⁴⁹ Raquez, op.cit., p.524.

³⁵⁰ Nasrallah, op.cit., p.15; Candea, op.cit., p.288; Gdoura, *Début*, pp.181-182.

³⁵¹ Graf, op.cit., vol.III, p.126; Nasrallah, op.cit., facing p.15; Gdoura, *Début*, pp.182-183.

without citing any evidence, that these were subsidised by Russia.³⁵² Sylvester returned to Syria in 1747 and was probably instrumental in the establishment of the first press in Beirut, that of St. George, which published two books in 1751 and 1753.³⁵³

Later in the 18th century, another Melkite Patriarch, Anthimos of Jerusalem (1788-1808), who was notable for his activity in promoting Arab Christian schools in Palestine³⁵⁴, sent two Arabic works of his own to be printed in Vienna. One was a theological handbook³⁵⁵, the other a commentary on the Psalms,³⁵⁶ with a magnificent engraved full-length portrait of Anthimos himself, seated in full regalia upon his throne, with laudatory couplets in Arabic below³⁵⁷: no doubt designed to make the maximum impression on the Palestinian clergy and pious laymen for whom it was intended.

Apart from the polemical works published by the Roman Propaganda³⁵⁸, and by the Missionsinstitut in Halle³⁵⁹, the only Arabic work to be printed in Christian Europe in the 18th century for a Muslim readership was, remarkably enough, an edition of the Qur'ān. This was published in St Petersburg in 1787 under the auspices of Catherine the Great, and was intended for her newly-conquered Muslim (mainly Tatar) subjects.³⁶⁰ A Muslim 'ālim, Mullā 'Uthmān Ismā'īl, prepared the edition³⁶¹; it is not known whether any copies were distributed to Muslims beyond the borders of the Russian empire. Evidently it was in demand, since it was reprinted in 1790, 1793, 1796 and 1798, and further editions were published in Kazan in the early 19th century.³⁶²

³⁵² Graf, op.cit., vol.III, p.125.

³⁵³ Gdoura, *Début*, pp.183-185.

³⁵⁴ Graf, op.cit., vol.III, p.146.

³⁵⁵ *Al-hadiya al-qawīma ilā 'l-amāna al-mustaqīma*, Vienna 1792, according to Schnurrer, op.cit., #312, p.326; *Al-hidāya al-qawīma ila 'l-imāna al-mustaqīma*, Vienna 1792, according to Graf, op.cit., vol.III, p.147.

³⁵⁶ *Kiṭāb Tafṣīr al-Zabūr al-ilāhī al-sharīf*, Vienna 1792. Schnurrer, op.cit., #365, pp.393-395; Ellis, op.cit., vol.I, p.375; Graf, op.cit., vol.III, pp.147-148; Balagna, op.cit., pp.121-122 & 146.

³⁵⁷ Reproduced in Balagna, op.cit., p.123.

³⁵⁸ See above, pp.55sqq.

³⁵⁹ See below, pp.72-74.

³⁶⁰ Schnurrer, op.cit., #384, pp.418-420; Röhling, H. "Koranausgaben im russischen Buchdruck des 18. Jahrhunderts", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1977, pp.206-207; Balagna, op.cit., pp.117 & 145; Gdoura, *Début*, p.108.

³⁶¹ Schnurrer, op.cit., p.418; Balagna, op.cit., p.145; Gdoura, op.cit., p.108.

³⁶² Röhling, op.cit., p.207 n.14.

2.3.2 From Britain (and Saxony)

17th century: Boyle and Huntington

As England lagged behind her main European rivals in developing Arabic typography, so inevitably was she late in the field when it came to exporting books to the Middle East. As we have seen, the first books containing substantial Arabic texts were printed in London in 1642 and in Oxford in 1648.³⁶³ These early books, and their successors in the following decade, were all designed for the use of scholars and orientalists.³⁶⁴ This was true not only of the editions of Arabic authors by Selden, Greaves and Pococke, but also of the great polyglot Bible of 1653-57; although copies of the latter did later find their way into Ottoman territory, mainly for the use of Europeans resident there. A copy was provided for the library of the Levant Company in İzmir in 1666³⁶⁵, and another set came into the possession of the Capuchin missionaries at Aleppo in 1671.³⁶⁶ The Arabophone Samaritan community of Nablus also possessed a copy of the first volume, which their chief priest showed to Maundrell in 1697, and which "he seem'd to esteem equally with his own Manuscript" of the Pentateuch.³⁶⁷ Some leaves still remained in use in the early 19th century, when the missionaries Connor and Jowett visited Nablus.³⁶⁸

Not until 1660 was a work printed in Arabic in England for an Arab readership. This was Pococke's translation of Grotius's *De veritate religionis Christianae*, entitled *Kitāb fī ṣiḥḥat al-sharī'a al-Masīḥīya*.³⁶⁹ As well as appearing as an appendix to the Latin edition, it was also published separately, without even a Latin title: of these issues

³⁶³ See above, pp.24-27.

³⁶⁴ However the German orientalist Christian Raue (Ravis), who worked in Oxford in the 1640s, urged the printing of Arabic scriptures for export: "England, England, ... Couldst thou but love the men of Asia and Africa, (as well as thou dost their Sylkes and precious Stones,) give them the ... Arabic bible, teach them thy art of printing ..., what a thankfulle minde wouldst thou finde amongst these ignorant men ... All the ports of Africa, and Asia will admit you with the Arabic bible. And if yee had thousands thereof, Turkes, Jewes and Christians would buy them of you in Asia and Africa, if you would but go unto those parts where the grand Signor of Constantinople hath not so great authority, or else to the Ethiopians (who are Christians like us) and so from behind the Muhammedans bring in their printed Bookes". Ravis, C. *A discourse of the orientall tongves viz. Ebrew, Samaritan, Calde, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic*, London 1649, pp.92-93. But the appeal fell on deaf ears at that time.

³⁶⁵ Pearson, J.B. *A biographical sketch of the chaplains to the Levant Company*, Cambridge 1883, pp.57 & 65.

³⁶⁶ Gonzague, op.cit., 2 (1932), p.468, n.1.

³⁶⁷ Maundrell, H. *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, at Easter, A.D.1697*, 2nd ed. Oxford 1707, p.62.

³⁶⁸ Connor, J. "Visit of the Rev. James Connor, in 1819 and 1820, to Candia, Rhodes, Cyprus, and various parts of Syria and Palestine", appendix to Jowett, *Christian researches in the Mediterranean from MDCCCXV. to MDCCCXX.*, London 1822, p.425; Jowett, W. *Christian researches in Syria and the Holy Land in 1823 and 1824*, London 1825, p.198.

³⁶⁹ Schnurrer, op.cit., #254, p.250; Ellis, op.cit., 591; Graf, op.cit., IV, p.277; Balagna, op.cit., pp.83 & 140.

one bibliographer has remarked: "being designed for oriental use, they have had all earmarks of western civilization removed".³⁷⁰ It was sometimes bound with another treatise on Christianity by John Ball, translated into Turkish by William Seaman and published at about the same time.³⁷¹ Pococke's intention in translating and publishing this work was from the outset to provide a text which would help to evangelise Arabic-reading populations in the Middle East.³⁷² Publication was, however, delayed by his inability to pay the high costs of printing it, very little of which could he hope to recoup through sales.³⁷³ Eventually, however, the costs, which amounted to £75-0-6, were defrayed by Robert Boyle, the famous scientist and promoter of missionary endeavours, who also rewarded Pococke for his labours on it.³⁷⁴ Boyle fully shared Pococke's desire for its wide distribution in the Middle East, as is shown by a letter of 1659 to the educationist Samuel Hartlib, in which he wrote: "we would gladly be advised, how it may be disposed into several parts of the East, to the greatest advantage of the design wch he and I persue in it".³⁷⁵

The Arabic Grotius was intended by Pococke and Boyle for both Christians and Muslims in the Levant.³⁷⁶ In order to avoid unnecessarily offending the latter, and to prevent trouble with the Ottoman authorities, Pococke made certain alterations to Grotius's original text, which contained some unsubstantiated libels against Islam: in this he had the author's agreement and consent.³⁷⁷ Boyle arranged for copies to be sent via various merchants and mercantile companies to "the East"³⁷⁸ ; more specifically, "a considerable number" were supplied to the factory of the Levant Company at Aleppo³⁷⁹ and in particular to Robert Huntington, their Chaplain

³⁷⁰ Fulton, J.F. *A bibliography of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, Oxford 1961, p.157.

³⁷¹ Madan, op.cit., III, #2480, pp.122 & 127.

³⁷² Twells, op.cit., p.239; Fück, op.cit., p.87.

³⁷³ Twells, op.cit., p.241.

³⁷⁴ [Burnet,] Gilbert, Bishop of Sarum. *A sermon preached at the funeral of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, London 1692, p.26; Birch, T. *The life of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, London 1744, p.293; Twells, op.cit., p.241; Maddison, R.E.W. *The life of the Honourable Robert Boyle F.R.S.*, London 1969, p.96.

³⁷⁵ Quoted by Hartlib in a letter to John Worthington, 7 November 1659. Worthington, J. *The diary and correspondence*, ed. J.Crossley, Vol.I, Manchester 1847 (Remains historical & literary ... published by the Chetham Society, XIII), p.161; Maddison, op.cit., p.96.

³⁷⁶ Letter from Boyle to "a gentleman in the Levant", 10 December 1673, reproduced in Birch, op.cit., pp.212-213; Twells, op.cit., p.239.

³⁷⁷ Twells, o.cit., pp.77-78 & 239-241; Schnurrer, op.cit., p.250; Madan, op.cit., III, p.127.

³⁷⁸ Birch, op.cit., pp.211-213; Twells, op.cit., pp.242-244.

³⁷⁹ Twells, op.cit., p.244.

there from 1670 to 1681.³⁸⁰ Thirty were sent to him in 1671³⁸¹ and further supplies at his request subsequently.³⁸² Huntington, an enthusiastic orientalist as well as being a propagator of Anglicanism in the Levant³⁸³, distributed them not only to local ecclesiastics, including the Maronite Patriarch of Antioch³⁸⁴, but also to Muslims. The latter evidently reacted against the last section of the book, the refutation of Islam, even after Pococke's alterations, as Huntington was obliged to excise it from some of the copies which he distributed.³⁸⁵ Some of the local Christians, especially the "Romanists", also, it seems, objected to the book and obstructed its distribution.³⁸⁶

In 1671 Pococke's Arabic translation of the Catechism of the Church of England was printed at Oxford: it was wholly in Arabic without Latin or English title or imprint.³⁸⁷ It was intended for "young Christians in the East"³⁸⁸, and quantities were supplied to Huntington in Aleppo (36 were sent in 1671).³⁸⁹ Although a later Roman Catholic missionary reported that copies were trampled underfoot, torn to pieces and burnt by the local Christians³⁹⁰, Huntington himself found that it met with considerable approval among its recipients, who admired its Arabic style³⁹¹; he accordingly suggested to Pococke that he should translate and publish an Arabic version of the *Book of Common Prayer*, and offered £20 towards its cost.³⁹² This Pococke did, and it was published in 1674 under the Arabic title *Al-ṣalawāt li-kull yawm 'alā 'ādat Bī'at al-Inkilīz*.³⁹³ Despite Huntington's offer, the full cost was met by the University of

³⁸⁰ Ibid, p.245; Pearson, op.cit., pp.18 & 22-23.

³⁸¹ Twells, op.cit., p.288; Madan, op.cit., III, p.254.

³⁸² Twells, op.cit., p.245.

³⁸³ Smith, Thomas. "The life and times of the Right Rev. and learned Dr. Robert Huntington", *Gentleman's Magazine* 95 i (1825), passim.

³⁸⁴ Huntington, R. *Epistolae*, ed. Thomas Smith, London 1704, p.3, n.(a); Twells, op.cit., pp.245-246.

³⁸⁵ Letters from Huntington to Pococke, quoted in Twells, op.cit., pp.247 & 299.

³⁸⁶ Ibid, pp.246-247 & 298-299.

³⁸⁷ Schnurrer, op.cit., #258, p.254; Madan, op.cit., III, #2885, p.254; Graf, op.cit., IV, p.277.

³⁸⁸ Twells, op.cit., p.288.

³⁸⁹ Ibid, p.288; Madan III, p.254.

³⁹⁰ *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères*, nouvelle ed.: *Mémoires du Levant*, Tome II, Paris 1780, p.170. Although the letter is undated, it is juxtaposed with others of the 1730s. A partial English translation appears in Jowett, *Christian researches in Syria* (op.cit.), pp.25-28.

³⁹¹ Twells, op.cit., pp.293-294.

³⁹² Wood, A.a. *Athenae Oxonienses*, new ed. by P.Bliss, Vol.IV, London 1820, 321; Twells, op.cit., pp.293-295; Madan, op.cit., III, p.293.

³⁹³ Schnurrer, op.cit., #259, p.254; Ellis, op.cit., 950; Madan, op.cit., III, #3000, pp.293-294; Graf, op.cit., IV, p.277.

Oxford³⁹⁴ , and according to the contemporary Oxford historian Anthony à Wood (1632-95), "most of the copies were sent into Turkey".³⁹⁵ Huntington volunteered, however, to "recover what I can by the religious distribution of the books"³⁹⁶ , although he anticipated that "it should meet with the greatest hindrance from the Latin fathers: for they are unwilling that the people should know too much".³⁹⁷ He also offered to pay for having the Prayer-Books bound with marbled paper, "the most taking and proper dress for them in those countries".³⁹⁸ How many copies were supplied, and what became of them, is not readily ascertainable. Pococke's version was reprinted in part in London in 1826 and in full in Calcutta in 1837³⁹⁹ , and thus continued to serve until the publication of Fāris al-Shidyāq's translation in Malta in 1840.⁴⁰⁰

Turkish books were also printed in 17th-century Oxford for export to the Middle East. As well as Ball's treatise of which mention has already been made, William Seaman also translated the whole of the New Testament into Turkish and it was published in 1666.⁴⁰¹ Like Pococke's translations, this was largely financed by Robert Boyle, although the Levant Company were its official sponsors⁴⁰² , and it was intended for missionary purposes. It is not known how many were distributed, nor exactly where, although it is recorded that copies were sent to İzmir in 1672.⁴⁰³ On internal evidence, it seems that parts of it (the Gospels of St Matthew and St Mark), may also have been issued separately.⁴⁰⁴

Pococke and Boyle both died in 1691, and Huntington in 1701, having left Aleppo twenty years earlier. Their demise marked the end of the first phase of English production and export of Arabic books, and it was not until nearly a quarter of a century later that such activity was resumed.

³⁹⁴ Twells, op.cit., p.247.

³⁹⁵ Wood, op.cit., p.321.

³⁹⁶ Letter to Pococke, 13 May 1675, quoted in Twells, op.cit., p.298.

³⁹⁷ Further letter to Pococke, quoted *ibid.*, p.299.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.300.

³⁹⁹ Ellis, op.cit., 950-951.

⁴⁰⁰ Item 99 in Appendix A below.

⁴⁰¹ See above, p.30.

⁴⁰² Burnet, op.cit., p.26; Birch, op.cit., p.293; Canton, W. *A history of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, Vol.I, p.180 n.; Madan, op.cit., III, pp.204-205; Maddison, op.cit., p.111.

⁴⁰³ Pearson, op.cit., pp.57 & 65.

⁴⁰⁴ Madan, op.cit., III, p.204.

18th century (1): Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge

The SPCK was founded in 1698 to combat a perceived "Inundation of Profaneness and Immorality" in England at the time⁴⁰⁵, but soon turned its attention to the circulation of Christian (more specifically, Anglican) literature in foreign countries also. As early as 1700 it considered proposals to reprint Pococke's Arabic version of Grotius for distribution in the Ottoman Empire⁴⁰⁶, and to prepare "a small Scriptural catechism" which "would be liable to less exception than the books of our Church" such as Pococke's "Common Prayer-book, printed in Arabick at Oxford, and distributed in the Levant, [which] did not meet with so kind a reception there as could be wished".⁴⁰⁷ Furthermore, "for want of small books to teach ye Boys, the poor Schoolmasters are forced in ye Levant to write down what the boys are to learn to read. So yt printing ye elements of the Christian Religion and dispersing them there ... might in time produce some good effect".⁴⁰⁸

Nothing was done, however, for another two decades. Then in 1720 the Society received proposals from an Arab Christian living in London, Sulaymān al-Aswad al-Ṣāliḥānī, who had europeanised his name to Solomon Negri.⁴⁰⁹ On 28 March of that year he wrote them a letter in which he expounded the desirability of a new edition of the Arabic New Testament, together with the Psalter, for the use of Arab Christians. He advanced two principal reasons:-

1. The lack of printing presses in the Arab world made books (i.e. manuscripts) very expensive, so that most Christians could not afford them;

2. Previous printed editions were either too scarce and expensive (Rome, 1591; Leiden 1616; London Polyglot 1653-57) or only acceptable to Roman Catholics (Rome 1671: "the Vulgar Translation by Maronites, a people little versed in the true knowledge of the Arabick language"). They were also for the most part too bulky for

⁴⁰⁵ SPCK Minutes, 1700, quoted in Allen, W.O.B. & McClure, E. *Two hundred years: the history of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1898*, London 1898, p.10.

⁴⁰⁶ *A chapter in English church history: being the minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the years 1698-1704*, ed. E. McClure, London 1888, pp.77 & 297-298; Allen & McClure, op.cit., p.68.

⁴⁰⁷ Proposals by W.H. Ludolf, 23 December 1700, reproduced in *A chapter* (op.cit.), pp.102-103.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.103.

⁴⁰⁹ For biographical details, see Graf, op.cit., IV, p.279; Fück, op.cit., pp.96-97; Ball, Johnson, op.cit., pp.190-191; Balagna, op.cit., pp.103-104.

convenient popular use. He therefore proposed that the SPCK should publish a new version, and distribute it in "Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia and Egypt" via English consular representatives there, who would supply the Patriarchs of the Eastern churches.⁴¹⁰

Negri's proposal was supported by the orientalists Humphrey Prideaux and Samuel Lisle, as well as by other ecclesiastics with experience of the Middle East.⁴¹¹ Lisle, unlike Negri himself, it seems, was aware of the earlier output of the Aleppo press of 'Abd Allāh Zākhir between 1706 and 1711⁴¹², but, "as the Press has lain still for some years; so it does not seem to me ever likely to be set on Work again".⁴¹³ Another endorsement came from the Archimandrite Gennadius of Alexandria, who was at that time chaplain to the Russian Embassy in London.⁴¹⁴

Encouraged by these recommendations, the SPCK went ahead and printed the Psalter in 1725 and the New Testament in 1727, under the supervision of Negri himself, using new small types prepared by William Caslon.⁴¹⁵ Immediately "2025 were bound, and sent by the last Turkey Fleet to Scanderoon", from where they were forwarded to Rowland Sherman, a merchant at Aleppo.⁴¹⁶ The New Testaments were subsequently sent out by the same route, and the British consul at Aleppo, Nevil Coxe, was also involved.⁴¹⁷

The policy of the Society, guided by its Secretary, Henry Newman, was to do everything possible to secure local acceptance of the books by, firstly, making efforts to obscure their Western origin - they carry a date but no imprint, and no roman type is used except in the page signatures; and, secondly, by obtaining the express approval of the Archbishop of Aleppo for them.⁴¹⁸ Furthermore, it was hoped "that the Popish clergy, if they pleased, might arrogate the glory of having done it at Rome, so they will but let the copies be

⁴¹⁰ *An extract of several letters relating to the great charity and usefulness of printing the New Testament, and Psalter, in the Arabic language*, London 1725, pp.6-11.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp.11-26.

⁴¹² See above, p.19, n.70 & p.60.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, p.16. In fact Zākhir did start printing again at Shuwayr in Lebanon in 1734.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.20-22.

⁴¹⁵ See above, p.35.

⁴¹⁶ "Society's Letters" of the SPCK, cited in Cowie, L.W. *Henry Newman: an American in London, 1708-43*, London 1956, p.68; "Postscript" to *An extract of several letters* (op.cit.), p.30.

⁴¹⁷ Cowie, op.cit., p.70.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.70.

dispersed quietly through Palestine, etc."⁴¹⁹ This prediction, however, turned out to be unduly optimistic. The Roman Catholics and clergy of the Uniate churches reacted by proscribing and burning all the copies on which they could lay their hands: a measure later reported with satisfaction by the Maronite scholar Stephanus Evodius Assemani (Istifān 'Awwād al-Sim'ānī, 1711-82). He bitterly denounced the edition of the New Testament especially, for nefariously perverting the doctrines of the Catholic Church and fraudulently planting false illusions in the minds of oriental Christians.⁴²⁰ Assemani also asserted that thousand of copies had been distributed free to Copts, Melchites, Jacobites and Maronites before they were destroyed.⁴²¹ The director of the Propaganda Press in Rome in 1759, Costantino Ruggieri, also reported that 8000 copies of the New Testament had been sent all over the Levant.⁴²² Modern writers have likewise stated that the two books achieved a wide distribution.⁴²³ Nevertheless, Newman and the SPCK were not satisfied with the distribution, as they found themselves with substantial stocks left on their hands. Newman himself attributed this to "the ferment of late years among the Ecclesiasticks in those parts".⁴²⁴ It must be borne in mind, however, that in their enthusiasm the SPCK had had printed no fewer than 10,000 New Testaments, and 6250 Psalters.⁴²⁵ According to the Society's first published report, issued in 1733, 5498 Psalters and 2512 New Testaments "have been already dispersed in those Parts [Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, etc.] which were most thankfully received, and the rest are reserved to be sent as occasion shall offer".⁴²⁶ It is clear from this that the bulk of the psalters were distributed as planned, but that the New Testaments, having met with Roman Catholic and other resistance, were much less in demand than expected. Two years later, in 1735, the position was

⁴¹⁹ Newman, quoted *ibid.*, p.70.

⁴²⁰ Assemani, *op.cit.*, p.65; also quoted in Schnurrer, *op.cit.*, p.378.

⁴²¹ Assemani, *op.cit.*, p.65; Schnurrer, *op.cit.*, p.378.

⁴²² Henkel, *op.cit.*, pp.92-93.

⁴²³ "Grosse Verbreitung erlebte die ... Ausgabe" - Graf, *op.cit.*, I, p.140; Balagna, in *op.cit.*, p.104, reports that the copy of the Psalter in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris carries a MS note stating that copies were "répandus".

⁴²⁴ Cowie, *op.cit.*, p.70.

⁴²⁵ *An extract of several letters* (*op.cit.*), p.30; "An account of the origin and designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge", appended to [Clavering,] Robert, Lord Bishop of Peterborough: *A sermon preached at St. Sepulchre's Church; April the 5th, 1733*, London 1733, p.6; Cowie, *op.cit.*, pp.68-70.

⁴²⁶ "An account of the origin" (*op.cit.*), p.6.

exactly the same.⁴²⁷ Furthermore, it seems that some people acquired copies only for the purpose of destroying them, believing, like Assemani, that the translation was corrupted to suit Protestant doctrine.⁴²⁸ By 1799 it was reported that only 200 were left in Syria; and that, although they were no longer suspected of Protestant heresies, the fact that their phraseology differed from approved versions still caused them to be rejected.⁴²⁹

Other means therefore had to be found of disposing of the surplus Testaments. A few were no doubt taken by individuals to the Middle East in their baggage: it is reported that the Moravian missionary Johann Danke took copies of both Psalter and New Testament in Arabic to Upper Egypt in 1770, and narrowly avoided having them confiscated by the "Turkish" authorities.⁴³⁰ But, in view of the low level of Protestant missionary activity in the Arab world in the 18th century, no mass distribution was possible by this means. Eventually the Society shipped quantities of them to St Petersburg, so that they could be tried out on the Muslim subjects of the Russian Empire⁴³¹; others went to Estonia and were given to "some Persian prisoners in the Russian garrisons there"⁴³²; some were sent to Danish missionaries in southern India⁴³³; and a few were even sent to America, for "the Mohametan Africans in Carolina".⁴³⁴ By 1796 the number distributed had risen to 4246⁴³⁵: this was still less than half of those printed, but by 1801 it was being reported that "most" of them had been sent out, including some to Sierra Leone.⁴³⁶ The Christian gentlemen who wrote this report cannot be suspected of having been less than wholly truthful, so this must mean that at

⁴²⁷ "An account of the origin and designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," appended to Pearce,Z.: *A sermon preached at St. Sepulchre's Church; April the 17th, 1735*, London 1735, p.7.

⁴²⁸ Letter from John Barker, British Consul, Aleppo 1817, *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 5/14 (1818), p.127.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.127.

⁴³⁰ Smith,Thomas: *History and progress of the missionary societies*, Vol.I, London 1839, p.293. The editions were not mentioned, but it seems almost certain that they were the SPCK's, as no other versions would have been available to Protestant missionaries.

⁴³¹ Cowie, op.cit., p.70; *The Bible of every land: a history of the sacred scriptures in every language and dialect into which translations have been made*, London (1851), p.41. Michaelis stated that it was being bound and circulated there as a Russian edition - Michaelis,J.D. (tr. Marsh,H.) *Introduction to the New Testament*, Vol.II, pt.I, Cambridge 1793, p.94.

⁴³² Cowie, op.cit., p.70.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, p.70.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.71.

⁴³⁵ "An account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge", appended to Huntingford,G.I. *A sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London: on Thursday, June 2, 1796*, London 1796, p.8.

⁴³⁶ "An account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge", appended to Lewis,T. *A sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London: on Thursday, May 21, 1801*, London 1801, p.8.

least 5001 had by then gone. A query by a correspondent in 1805, however, elicited the information that "the venerable Society for promoting Christian Knowledge have still on hand some Arabic Testaments"; the correspondent suggested that they be sent to Algiers for distribution by the British Consul there: it is not known whether this was done.⁴³⁷ But some, it seems, were sent to Malta, and from there to Tunis, in 1810.⁴³⁸

As well as the Psalter and New Testament, the SPCK also published in 1728 a 46-page booklet with the somewhat solecistic title of *Mukhtaṣar tawārīkh al-muqaddasa*⁴³⁹, referred to in their records as "an Abridgement of the History of the Bible".⁴⁴⁰ It is apparently a translation of J.C.Ostervald's *Abrégé de l'histoire sainte et du catéchisme*. Like the other books, it carried no imprint nor other indication of its origin, and, as Balagna says, it was no doubt intended for missionaries to take in their baggage.⁴⁴¹ 5000 were printed and 2000 had been distributed by 1735⁴⁴²; however in 1796 this had increased only to 2248, so it is apparent that this book, too, found no continuing demand, presumably again because of lack of missionary work in the Middle East in that period.

One other contemporary work in Arabic has been attributed to the SPCK. This is a treatise called *Ṣakhrat shakk*, an exposition of the origin of the schism between the Eastern and Western churches, which is blamed therein on "the avidity of the Roman bishops to expand their authority" (*ḥirṣ al-asāqifa al-Rawmānīyīn li-ajl tawṣī' riyāsatihim*). It was translated by the Patriarch Athanasius Dabbās from an earlier Greek work by Elias Meniates entitled *Πετρα σκανδαλου*, and published in 1725 or 1726. The Aleppo press of Athanasius had ceased operation in 1711, but the wording on the title-page, *baraza ... fī madīnat Ḥalab ... bi-himmat ... Athanāsiyūs al-Baṣṣīk al-Anṣākī fī sanat 1721* ("it came out in Aleppo ... through the endeavour of Athanasius the Patriarch of Antioch in 1721"), has led some authorities to suppose that the press had been

⁴³⁷ Y.,R. "Inquiries respecting some religious institutions", *The Christian Observer*, 4 (1805), pp.532 & 773. Cf. Schnurrer, op.cit., pp.378-379.

⁴³⁸ See below, p.90.

⁴³⁹ Schnurrer, op.cit., #275, pp.275-276; Steinschneider, op.cit., #182, p.217.

⁴⁴⁰ "An account", 1733 (op.cit.), p.6; Allen & McClure, op.cit., p.201.

⁴⁴¹ Balagna, op.cit., p.104.

⁴⁴² "An account", 1735 (op.cit.), p.7.

restarted there.⁴⁴³ However, Schnurrer says that there can be no doubt that it was printed in London⁴⁴⁴, and Ellis also catalogued it thus.⁴⁴⁵ Nasrallah cites two 18th-century Lebanese manuscript sources which state that Athanasius paid to have the work printed in England⁴⁴⁶, and this finding is endorsed by Gdoura.⁴⁴⁷ Schnurrer was, however, surely wrong in stating that the type-face is the same as that of the SPCK Psalter and New Testament⁴⁴⁸: an examination of the *Ṣakhrat shakk* reveals that it uses the 17th-century Oxford type-face, which continued in use in the 18th century.⁴⁴⁹ In fact, the records of the Oxford University Press reveal that the book was indeed printed there, and this is confirmed by a note in a transcript of the work in the Bodleian Library, which probably served as printer's copy.⁴⁵⁰

Although the subject-matter of the book might have appealed to the Anglicans of the SPCK, it nevertheless seems unlikely, therefore, that they had anything directly to do with it. Indeed the Oxford MS states that it was printed at the Patriarch's expense, and that "all the copies, with very few exceptions, were sent to Aleppo in Syria".⁴⁵¹ The number of copies is not known.

The problems which the SPCK encountered in disposing of the Arabic New Testament discouraged them from publishing any more foreign books during the Secretaryship of Henry Newman⁴⁵², and indeed from doing any further work in Arabic for the rest of the 18th century. In the early 19th century they contributed £500 towards the cost of the Newcastle Arabic Bible of 1811⁴⁵³, and also purchased and distributed the Bible Society's subsequent edition in 1822.⁴⁵⁴ Later, from the 1830s onwards, they did again publish some

⁴⁴³ Graf, *op.cit.*, III, p.132; Levenq,C., cited in Gdoura, *op.cit.*, p.150; Candea and Aboussouan, cited in Nasrallah,J. *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*,(Vol.IV, tome I:1516-1724), Louvain/Paris 1979, p.142, n.324.

⁴⁴⁴ Schnurrer, *op.cit.*, #274, p.275.

⁴⁴⁵ Ellis, *op.cit.*, I, 328.

⁴⁴⁶ Nasrallah, *op.cit.*, p.142, n.324.

⁴⁴⁷ Gdoura, *op.cit.*, pp.150-151.

⁴⁴⁸ Schnurrer, *op.cit.*, p.275.

⁴⁴⁹ See above, p.32.

⁴⁵⁰ Carter,H., *op.cit.*, pp.308-309 & 498.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.309.

⁴⁵² Cowie, *op.cit.*, p.71.

⁴⁵³ "An account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge", appended to Marsh,H. *The national religion the foundation of national education*, London 1811, p.215. On this edition see above, p.39 and below, pp.75sq.

⁴⁵⁴ *Report of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, London 1823, p.105.

Arabic books for the Middle East, the most important being a new version of the Bible by Fāris al-Shidyāq in 1857; but these lie beyond the boundaries of the present study.

18th century (2): Institutum Judaicum, Halle

The missionary endeavour which had given rise to the SPCK's Arabic work had a close counterpart in a Lutheran Pietist establishment at Halle in Saxony, called the Institutum Judaicum; and in fact the two organisations worked in quite close co-operation. As its name indicates, the Institute was concerned in the first place with converting Jews, and had been founded for that purpose in 1728.⁴⁵⁵ But at an early stage its founder and driving force, Professor Johann Heinrich Callenberg (1694-1760), turned his attention also to Islam, and established an Arabic letter-foundry and printing press to produce small Arabic tracts and Bible extracts for export to Muslim countries.⁴⁵⁶ Between 1729 and 1744 some 16 Arabic, 4 Turkish, 3 Persian and 2 Urdu tracts were produced, mostly in small portable format, and with vocalised text. What purports to be a full list was given in Latin by Dreyhaupt in 1755.⁴⁵⁷ Several of the books had evidently ceased to be extant by the time Schnurrer compiled his bibliography in 1811: he records only 12 of the Arabic titles⁴⁵⁸; they are lacking in other catalogues and bibliographies also.⁴⁵⁹

The Lutheran Protestant tone of the series was set by the first Arabic book published, a translation of Luther's own Catechism (*Al-ta'līm al-Masīhī*, 1729): this was specifically stated on the title-page to be "in usum certae gentis Muhammedanae"⁴⁶⁰, a formula repeated, with minor variations, on many of the subsequent tracts. Luther's text had been translated into Arabic by Solomon Negri (Sulaymān al-Aswad), who worked with Callenberg at Halle for a number of years before preparing the SPCK's Arabic editions in London.⁴⁶¹ In the preface Callenberg wrote that most of the copies were destined for

⁴⁵⁵ Dreyhaupt, J.C. von, *Pagus Neletici et Nudzici, Zweyter Theil*, Halle 1755, p.44; Simon, G. *Der Islam und die christliche Verkündigung: eine missionarische Untersuchung*, Gutersloh 1920, p.76; Graf, op.cit., IV, p.278; Latourette, K.S. *A history of the expansion of Christianity*, Vol.III, London 1940, p.61.

⁴⁵⁶ Dreyhaupt, op.cit., II, pp.44-45; Steinschneider, op.cit., pp.208-209; Graf, op.cit., IV, p.278.

⁴⁵⁷ Dreyhaupt, op.cit., II, p.47.

⁴⁵⁸ Schnurrer, op.cit., pp.276-285 & 379-381.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. Steinschneider, op.cit., pp.208sq.; Simon, op.cit., pp.76-77.

⁴⁶⁰ Schnurrer, op.cit., #276, p.276; Steinschneider, op.cit., #176, p.214; Ellis, op.cit., I, 976-977.

⁴⁶¹ Graf, op.cit., IV, p.278; Fuck, op.cit., p.97. See above, pp.66-67.

Muslims, and that only a few were offered for sale locally.⁴⁶²

In the following year, 1730, Callenberg's own translation of a catechism by August Francke, his Pietist mentor and professor at the University of Halle, was published under the title *Fāṭiḥat al-ṣā'īm al-Naṣrānī*.⁴⁶³ This was also intended almost entirely for export to Muslim countries.⁴⁶⁴ Other Protestant tracts followed during the 1730s, including new editions of the anti-Islamic and anti-Jewish sections of Pococke's translation of Grotius made nearly a century before. The former was published under the title *Al-maqāla fī ibṭāl dīn al-Islām*⁴⁶⁵, which was hardly likely to gain it a favourable reception among Muslims.

In 1737 Callenberg reprinted the SPCK's version of Ostervald's *Mukhtaṣar tawārīkh al-muqaddasa*⁴⁶⁶, but intended it "in usum Muhammedanorum", rather than for the oriental Christians for whom the SPCK published it. In 1738 he also reprinted the Roman Propaganda translation of Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, under the title *Kitāb al-Iqīdā bi-'l-Maṣīḥ*, but purged of all references to the cult of saints, Purgatory and "other errors of that kind".⁴⁶⁷

Although they have Latin title-pages⁴⁶⁸ in addition to their Arabic ones, and also roman page-signatures, these little books published in Halle are otherwise entirely in Arabic, and in small format, suitable for bulk export and personal distribution.⁴⁶⁹ Some of them were printed on special coloured paper⁴⁷⁰; and large engraved Arabic words were used on the Arabic title-pages, albeit in a rather crude and uncalligraphic style.⁴⁷¹ The type-face, in the Leiden tradition, but with vocalisation, is also rather unappealing to anyone used to calligraphic norms.

⁴⁶² "Maxima exemplarium pars genti illi Muhammedanae destinata est; pauca hic venalia exponentur." Quoted in Schnurrer, op.cit., p.276.

⁴⁶³ Schnurrer, op.cit., #277, p.276; Steinschneider, op.cit., #170, p.211; Ellis, op.cit., I, 545; Graf, op.cit., IV, p.278.

⁴⁶⁴ "Exempla fere omnia in Moslemorum regiones sunt deportata". Schnurrer, op.cit., p.277.

⁴⁶⁵ Steinschneider, op.cit., p.124; Ellis, op.cit., I, 591-592.

⁴⁶⁶ Steinschneider, op.cit., #182b, p.217; Balagna, op.cit., pp.107 & 142. A misprint in Schnurrer, op.cit., #286, p.283, where he indicated it to be a reprint of his earlier #274 instead of #275, led Graf to state erroneously that this was a new version of Athanasius's *Ṣakhrat shakk* (see above, pp.70-71) - Graf, op.cit., III, p.132; but cf. *ibid.*, IV, p.279, where it is correctly attributed.

⁴⁶⁷ Preface quoted in Schnurrer, op.cit., #288, pp.284-285. Cf. Steinschneider, op.cit., #175c, p.213; Ellis, op.cit., I, 601; Graf, op.cit., IV, pp.244-245 & 279; Balagna, op.cit., p.107.

⁴⁶⁸ These may perhaps have been omitted from export copies.

⁴⁶⁹ Balagna calls them "livres de poche" - Balagna, op.cit., p.106.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.106.

⁴⁷¹ E.g., those in *Risālat al-Qadīs Bawlus ilā Ahl Rawmīya*, 1741 and ... *ilā 'l-'Ibrānīyīn*, 1742.

Precise information on how, in what quantities, and where these books were distributed is hard to come by. It seems that the Institute itself trained and sent out missionaries who "were itinerant and travelled in many lands".⁴⁷² The oldest account of it, by Dreyhaupt in 1755, states that Arabic books were despatched to Russia, Siberia, Vienna, Istanbul, Batavia, Tranquebar and other places in India, and were distributed among the Muslims as occasion permitted.⁴⁷³ It seems from this that the Arab world itself was not among the main export destinations at the time. Other authorities have confirmed that India (where the German Lutherans co-operated closely with Danish and English missions) was particularly favoured.⁴⁷⁴ Much later, in 1818, the Swiss missionary Christoph Burckhardt, working for the British & Foreign Bible Society, reported that he had distributed some copies of the "Epistles of St Paul to the Romans and Hebrews, in Arabic" to Christians in Bethlehem⁴⁷⁵ : as no other separate versions of these texts had been published by then, they can only have been the Halle editions of 1741 and 1742.

Callenberg's later activities, in the 1740s, were in the field of Persian and Urdu publishing, rather than Arabic⁴⁷⁶ , probably because of the concentration on India as a mission field. After Callenberg's death in 1760, the Institute went into decline. It published nothing more in Arabic, and finally closed in 1792.⁴⁷⁷

19th century (1): British & Foreign Bible Society

The second half of the 18th century saw little missionary activity directed at the Middle East, but by the turn of the century a new evangelical fervour had arisen in the English churches, both Established and Non-conformist, and with it a new determination to spread the Gospel among both the oriental Christians and their Muslim and Jewish neighbours. British commercial, political and military contacts with the area greatly increased after the conquest

⁴⁷² Latourette, op.cit., III, p.61.

⁴⁷³ Dreyhaupt, op.cit., II, pp.44-45.

⁴⁷⁴ Balagna, op.cit., p.105.

⁴⁷⁵ *Missionary Register* 1819, p.74.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. list in Dreyhaupt, op.cit., p.47; Blumhardt, J.F. *Catalogue of Hindustani books in the Library of the British Museum*, London 1889, 53-54; Darlow & Moule, op.cit., II, p.1202.

⁴⁷⁷ Latourette, op.cit., III, p.61.

of most of India and the Napoleonic campaigns in Egypt and Palestine. Increased awareness of the Muslim world gave rise to a feeling that Africa and the East lay waiting for the beneficent influence of Christian truth, and English Protestant truth in particular. There was also a strong conviction that this truth could best be made available through the distribution of copies of the Bible, regarded by evangelicals as the Word of God which, if read and understood, could not fail to convince both unbelievers and ignorant nominal Christians.

To this end, a number of influential figures of different denominations established in 1804 the British and Foreign Bible Society. It succeeded in attracting substantial support, and was soon printing and publishing the Bible, and parts thereof, in a wide variety of editions and languages. At an early stage it turned its attention to Arabic, and in 1810 subscribed £250 to the cost of producing the great edition of the Arabic text of the London Polyglot, edited by Joseph Carlyle and printed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1811 under the patronage of the Bishop of Durham.⁴⁷⁸ As already mentioned, the SPCK also made a contribution⁴⁷⁹, as did its sister body, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG).⁴⁸⁰ The Bible Society received 1439 copies⁴⁸¹ for distribution in Africa and Asia.

The Society was, however, never wholly committed to this edition, which it did not originally commission, and about which it had a number of reservations.⁴⁸² In fact it did meet with a certain resistance among Arab readers, as we shall see.⁴⁸³ New versions were therefore soon undertaken, the first of which was a new translation of the New Testament made in India by an Arab Muslim convert to Christianity, Jawād, alias Nathaniel, Ṣābāt⁴⁸⁴, under the supervision of the famous missionary-scholar Henry Martyn.⁴⁸⁵ This

⁴⁷⁸ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1/6 (1810), pp.289 & 395; Schnurrer, *op.cit.*, pp.395-397; Darlow & Moule, *op.cit.*, II, #1663, p.69; Kahle, P. *Die arabischen Bibelübersetzungen*, Leipzig 1904, p.IV. See above, p.39.

⁴⁷⁹ See above, p.72.

⁴⁸⁰ Pascoe, C.F. *Two hundred years of the S.P.G.*, London 1901, p.805; Darlow & Moule, *op.cit.*, II, p.69.

⁴⁸¹ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 3/11 (1815), p.513; *Summary account of the proceedings of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, London 1816, p.xxxvii.

⁴⁸² Canton, *op.cit.*, p.134.

⁴⁸³ See below. pp.95 & 97.

⁴⁸⁴ See Wolff, J. *Missionary journal*, Vol.II, London 1828, p.344.

⁴⁸⁵ Darlow & Moule, *op.cit.*, #1664, p.69.

was printed at Calcutta in 1816 and was mainly intended for Indian Muslims, although the missionary Joseph Wolff did distribute it in Egypt, Palestine and Syria in 1821-22⁴⁸⁶, and others may have done likewise. Its allegedly Qur'anic style, however, encountered resistance among Arabophone Christians.⁴⁸⁷ The latter, of all denominations, preferred the version published at Rome by the Propaganda in 1671, which was now in very short supply⁴⁸⁸, and for the next decade and more the Bible Society therefore concentrated on issuing reprints of that text. The New Testament appeared in 1820⁴⁸⁹; it was reprinted in 1821⁴⁹⁰, and in that year the Book of Genesis was also published, in an edition of 4500.⁴⁹¹ The following year the Society issued the complete Rome Arabic text of the whole Bible (minus the Apocrypha), edited by the orientalist Samuel Lee of Cambridge and John Macbride of Oxford⁴⁹²; 3000 were printed.⁴⁹³ The Gospels and Acts of the Apostles appeared separately in 1825.⁴⁹⁴ Meanwhile, the Society had also issued in 1819 3000 copies of a reprint of the Arabic Psalter, in the version originally published at Aleppo in 1706⁴⁹⁵; 2000 more were printed in 1821.⁴⁹⁶ Ṣābāt's Calcutta version of the New Testament was also reprinted, after revision by Lee and Macbride, in London in 1825.⁴⁹⁷

* * * * *

The other bodies which had subscribed to the Newcastle Bible of 1811 played some part in distributing it. The SPCK was at first rather slow to act, reporting in 1813 that a "large number" remained in store and "will be disposed of, when proper opportunities occur of sending them abroad"⁴⁹⁸; by 1816, however, "new opportunities"

⁴⁸⁶ Wolff[J.], *Missionary journal*, [Vol.I], ed.J.Bayford, London 1824, pp.112sqq.

⁴⁸⁷ Darlow & Moule, op.cit., p.69.

⁴⁸⁸ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 5/14 (1818), p.126. See below, p.83.

⁴⁸⁹ Darlow & Moule, op.cit., #1666, p.69.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., #1667, p.69.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., #1668, p.69.

⁴⁹² *Missionary Register* 1820, p.397; Ellis, op.cit., I, 364; Darlow & Moule, op.cit., #1669, pp.69-70; Kahle, op.cit., p.IV.

⁴⁹³ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/19 (1823), p.lxxviii.

⁴⁹⁴ Darlow & Moule, op.cit., #1671, p.70.

⁴⁹⁵ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 5/15 (1819), pp.xciv & 331; Ellis, op.cit., I, 376; Darlow & Moule, op.cit., #1665, p.69.

⁴⁹⁶ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 6/17 (1821), p.lxxxiv.

⁴⁹⁷ Darlow & Moule, op.cit., #1670, p.70.

⁴⁹⁸ "A report (of the proceedings of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the year 1813)", appended to [Law.]G.H., Lord Bishop of Chester, *A sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of St.Paul, on Thursday, June 3, 1813*, London 1813, p.47.

had occurred of distributing them via Aleppo and in Egypt⁴⁹⁹, and the following year it sent further quantities to Aleppo, Alexandria, Istanbul and Bombay.⁵⁰⁰ The SPG, for its part, sent 100 bibles to Alexandria in 1818⁵⁰¹ and further supplies to Egypt in 1819-20⁵⁰², as well as other consignments to areas in which it was active.⁵⁰³ Both the SPCK and the SPG, however, in 1820 sent their remaining supplies from Aleppo to the Bible Society depot in Malta.⁵⁰⁴ The Church Missionary Society (CMS) was also involved in its distribution, sending 50 copies "neatly bound" to Aleppo in 1817, as well as 50 to Alexandria, 20 to Istanbul and 50 to Bombay in the same year.⁵⁰⁵ The Edinburgh Missionary Society (EMS), which maintained missions in Russian Tartary, reported in 1818 that it had distributed Sabat's New Testament in Astrakhan.⁵⁰⁶

But there is no doubt that the Bible Society itself played the main role in shipping the Arabic bibles and arranging their distribution in the Middle East and beyond. The most significant development in this respect was the establishment in 1816 of a depository in Malta.⁵⁰⁷ Already in 1811 Malta had been used as a distribution point, 50 Arabic bibles having been sent in September of that year to Dr Naudi and Rev. Laing⁵⁰⁸; and in 1815 the Society requested the co-operation of the CMS missionary William Jowett, newly arrived in Malta⁵⁰⁹, in making greater use of this strategically situated British haven and base. The result was the establishment, first of the depository, to which a further 50 Arabic bibles were sent in August 1815 and again in June 1816⁵¹⁰, and then, in 1817, of the Malta Bible Society. This was on the initiative of Henry Drummond, an eccentric banker and religious enthusiast, Dr Cleardo Naudi, a Maltese already involved with the CMS⁵¹¹ and

⁴⁹⁹ *The Annual Report of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* 1816, pp.60-61.

⁵⁰⁰ *Annual Report* 1817, p.87.

⁵⁰¹ *Missionary Register* 1819, p.368.

⁵⁰² Pascoe, op.cit., p.380l.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.805.

⁵⁰⁴ Malta Bible Society: Fair Minutes of Proceedings of the Committee, p.44, 24.7.1820.

⁵⁰⁵ *Missionary Register* 1818, p.500.

⁵⁰⁶ *Missionary Register* 1818, pp.367-368.

⁵⁰⁷ *Missionary Register* 1816, p.257; Canton, op.cit., pp.138-142.

⁵⁰⁸ British & Foreign Bible Society: Alphabetical List of Grants, to 1821, p.107; *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 2/7 (1811), p.101.

⁵⁰⁹ *Missionary Register* 1815, p.467. On Naudi and Jowett, see further below, chapters 3, 5 & 6.

⁵¹⁰ BFBS Grants, p.108.

⁵¹¹ See further below, pp.105-106.

Jowett.⁵¹² Although not formally an Auxiliary of the BFBS, because of local sensitivity to the operation of English Protestant bodies in Malta, it nevertheless acted as their agent and the BFBS contributed £500 to its funds at the outset.⁵¹³

The Malta depot soon became the main distribution point for the Mediterranean and the Middle East. In 1817 it received from London no fewer than 653 bibles and 992 Testaments "in various languages"⁵¹⁴, of which a high proportion must have been in Arabic. Certainly substantial quantities of the Newcastle Bible were kept in stock there⁵¹⁵, and in 1819 500 Arabic psalters were sent there from London⁵¹⁶, followed by a further 1100 in 1820.⁵¹⁷ 2000 New Testaments were also supplied in the latter year.⁵¹⁸ In 1822 4150 copies of the 1821 Arabic *Genesis* were shipped, out of 4500 printed⁵¹⁹, as well as 500 bibles, 1000 New Testaments and 2000 psalters.⁵²⁰ The following year the Malta Bible Society received 1000 copies of the 1822 Arabic Bible and 2000 of the New Testament⁵²¹, and in 1825 1000 Gospels and 100 *Acts*.⁵²² Although the Malta depot also handled scriptures in Italian, Greek, Hebrew, Armenian, Persian, Malay, Urdu and other languages, it was reported in 1824 that, out of 10,486 volumes issued, much the largest number (5390) were in Arabic.⁵²³

Some copies were on occasion distributed to shipping in the harbour at Valletta⁵²⁴, presumably to those vessels with Arabs or Muslims among the crews or passengers, but the great majority of copies were consigned specifically to the Middle East and North Africa. By the 1820s there was a regular commercial sea-route in operation Malta-Alexandria-Jaffa, and this provided a useful means of shipping substantial quantities of Arabic bibles to Middle

⁵¹² *Missionary Register* 1817, p.352; Wilson, S.S. *A narrative of the Greek Mission; or sixteen years in Malta and Greece*, London 1839, p.69.

⁵¹³ *Missionary Register* 1817, p.352.

⁵¹⁴ BFBS Grants, p.109.

⁵¹⁵ *The Sixth Report of the Bible Society established in Malta, delivered May 24th MDCCCXXIV, with a list of the scriptures on sale at the Society's depository*, Malta 1824, p.6.

⁵¹⁶ BFBS Grants, p.110; *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 6/16 (1820), p.258.

⁵¹⁷ BFBS Grants, p.111.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.112.

⁵¹⁹ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/19 (1823), p.45; Darlow & Moule, *op.cit.*, #1668, p.69.

⁵²⁰ BFBS: Grant Book no.2, 1821-29, p.72.

⁵²¹ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/20 (1824), pp.xliv & 157.

⁵²² BFBS Grant Book 2, p.74; *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 8/22 (1826), pp.xxxv & 54.

⁵²³ *Sixth Report ... Malta* 1824 (*op.cit.*), pp.11-12.

⁵²⁴ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/18 (1822), p.lxii; *Missionary Register* 1823, p.22.

Eastern destinations.⁵²⁵

Some Arabic scriptures were also supplied direct to the Middle East from the British & Foreign Bible Society in London. In 1820 a quantity of Arabic psalters was sent to the Society's agent in Jerusalem, via Istanbul. This, however, elicited a protest from the Malta Committee, which had just sent him 300 on its own account, and a request that in future all supplies for the Middle East and Mediterranean should be channelled through Malta.⁵²⁶

* * * * *

Who actually distributed these books to their intended readers in the Arab world? Some resident diplomats were involved: the British Consul in Cairo from 1815 to 1827, Henry Salt, for instance, was a willing collaborator, receiving 50 copies of the Newcastle Bible in 1818⁵²⁷, and further supplies in 1819-20⁵²⁸, as well as 150 New Testaments in 1822⁵²⁹ and 50 each of the Bible and Psalter in 1823⁵³⁰; so also was his colleague in Alexandria, Peter Lee, who took the same quantities in the latter two years.⁵³¹ The British Consul in Fezzan in 1818 received copies for use in "Tripoli and elsewhere"⁵³²; two years later, his colleague in Algiers, Macdonald, received 20 Arabic psalters and 2 bibles for local distribution, with a promise of more when fresh supplies were available.⁵³³ Also in 1820, the British Honorary Consul in Acre, Malagamba, agreed to undertake the distribution of Arabic scriptures in northern Palestine.⁵³⁴ Not only British representatives were involved: in 1823 the Swedish Consul-General in Tripoli (Libya) distributed 75 New Testaments, 50 copies of *Genesis* and 55 psalters to Christians and Muslims there.⁵³⁵

Individual travellers and adventurers also played a part. In 1817, for instance, a Captain Smyth travelled to Tripoli (Libya) and

⁵²⁵ Jowett, *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean* (op.cit.), p.426.

⁵²⁶ Malta Bible Society: Fair Minutes of Proceedings of the Committee, pp.100-102, 11 December 1820.

⁵²⁷ *Missionary Register* 1818, p.500.

⁵²⁸ Pascoe, op.cit., p.3801.

⁵²⁹ Malta Bible Society Minutes, p.248, 4.6.1822.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.4.1823.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, p.248, 4.6.1822; 7.4.1823.

⁵³² *Missionary Register* 1818, p.470.

⁵³³ Malta Bible Society Minutes, p.30, 3.7.1820.

⁵³⁴ Jowett, *Christian researches in the Mediterranean* (op.cit.), p.423.

⁵³⁵ Malta Bible Society Minutes, 14.7.1823; *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/20 (1824), p.lix.

offered Arabic bibles to the "Marabuts".⁵³⁶ The following year the African traveller Joseph Ritchie likewise took Arabic books to Libya.⁵³⁷ In 1821 25 Arabic psalters were supplied to a "gentleman travelling in Syria"⁵³⁸ , and in 1823 the famous actor, strong-man and Egyptologist Giovanni Belzoni sold bibles to Copts in Rosetta⁵³⁹ ; the same year an Englishman named Warton took copies of the Arabic New Testament and *Genesis* with him on his journey to Iran.⁵⁴⁰ Another traveller, Elwood, tried unsuccessfully to give away Arabic Testaments in Yemen in 1826.⁵⁴¹

But much the most important channels of distribution were of course the missionaries, agents and colporteurs who acted directly on behalf of the Bible Society. Not all of these came from Britain: the American Presbyterian missionaries who arrived in the Mediterranean in the early 1820s⁵⁴² took substantial quantities (several thousands) of Arabic scriptures from the Malta depot to distribute in Palestine, Lebanon and Egypt.⁵⁴³ As early as 1823, their industrious pioneer, Pliny Fisk, reported that they had distributed 827 copies of the scriptures in the Levant⁵⁴⁴ , and the following year he was made the main distribution agent there for the Malta Bible Society, receiving 1500 bibles for his depot in Beirut.⁵⁴⁵

The other missionaries and agents were mostly British, or working on behalf of British organisations or patrons. These were men like Rev. William Jowett of the Church Missionary Society⁵⁴⁶ , Rev. Christoph Burckhardt of the Basle Bible Society (but working on behalf of the BFBS under the patronage of Henry Drummond)⁵⁴⁷ , Rev. James Connor of the CMS⁵⁴⁸ , Benjamin Barker, the Bible Society agent

⁵³⁶ *Missionary Register* 1817, p.397.

⁵³⁷ *Missionary Register* 1818, p.439.

⁵³⁸ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/18 (1822), p.96.

⁵³⁹ *Missionary Register* 1824, p.493; *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/20 (1824), p.97.

⁵⁴⁰ *Missionary Register* 1824, pp.493-494; *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/20 (1824), p.98.

⁵⁴¹ Elwood,[A.K.C.] *Narrative of a journey overland from England by the continent of Europe, Egypt, and the Red Sea, to India*, London 1830, Vol.I, pp.328-329. See further below, pp.88 & 301.

⁵⁴² See below, pp.114-115.

⁵⁴³ Malta Bible Society Minutes, pp.210 & 276, & 7.4.1823; *Sixth Report ... Malta* (op.cit.), p.10; *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/20 (1824), pp.lxi-lxii & 8/21 (1825), p.70; *Missionary Register* 1824, pp.28 & 492; *ibid.* 1825, p.39; Kawerau, *P.Amerika und die orientalischen Kirchen*, Berlin 1958, p.201.

⁵⁴⁴ Malta Bible Society Minutes, 23.12.1823.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.5.1824; *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 8/21 (1825), p.70.

⁵⁴⁶ See below, pp.106-113 & 177-182.

⁵⁴⁷ See below, p.82.

⁵⁴⁸ See below, pp.84-85.

in Aleppo⁵⁴⁹ , the eccentric Joseph Wolff, missionary of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (but at first sponsored privately by the wealthy and equally eccentric Henry Drummond)⁵⁵⁰ , and Rev. Messrs. W.B.Lewis , Lewis Way and Melchior Tschudi, his three more conventional colleagues of the same Society. These people travelled all over the eastern Mediterranean, and sometimes further afield, in the ten years before 1825, distributing at every opportunity the plentiful supplies of Arabic printed bibles which the BFBS and the Malta Bible Society made available to them. Their personal safety, unlike that of some of their predecessors in earlier periods, was for the most part guaranteed by firmans issued by the Ottoman authorities (or, in Egypt, by Muḥammad 'Alī's officials) under pressure from British consular representatives.⁵⁵¹

* * * * *

What countries and areas were the main targets of this evangelical bombardment of printed Arabic bibles? Egypt, which under Muḥammad 'Alī was unprecedentedly receptive to both European travellers and European influence, was usually the first country visited. The active role of the British consuls there, Peter Lee and Henry Salt, has already been mentioned⁵⁵² , and they also played host to, and facilitated the progress of, a succession of missionary colporteurs. The first seems to have been Rev. Christoph Burckhardt who arrived in 1818, and distributed numerous Arabic bibles (presumably the Newcastle edition) to the indigenous population in Cairo. "I can with exultation say," he wrote to Naudi in Malta, "that if I had twice or three times as many Arabic Bibles as I brought with me⁵⁵³ , I could sell them in a few days, among the Christians and Arabs, and the Mussulman schoolmasters." He also gave one to the Coptic Patriarch, who promised to promote the sale of bibles among the Copts. Concerning the Turkish ruling class, however, he was less optimistic: "As the Turks do not like to read PRINTED books, it will not be easy to sell many Bibles among

⁵⁴⁹ See below, pp.83-84 & 86-87.

⁵⁵⁰ Wolf[f], op.cit., p.66; Gidney, W.T. *The history of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, from 1809 to 1908*, London 1908, p.102; see below, pp.82, 85-88 & 92-94.

⁵⁵¹ E.g., the firman procured for Wolff from the Governor of Cairo by the chancellor at the British Consulate in December 1821. Wolf[f], op.cit., p.185.

⁵⁵² See above, p.79.

⁵⁵³ About 20, according to a subsequent report in *Missionary Register* 1819, p.73.

them."⁵⁵⁴ This latter remark may throw light on Salt's own report the previous year that there was no demand for printed bibles in Cairo⁵⁵⁵ : as Consul-General, Salt would have come into contact primarily with these Turkish elements. In 1819 Jowett was in Egypt, and succeeded in selling, by November of that year, 106 Newcastle bibles, mainly to Copts, in both Lower and Upper Egypt, including 25 to the "Lay Head of the Coptic Church" and 18 to "Coptic educational establishments".⁵⁵⁶

In 1821 Joseph Wolff on his first visit to Egypt brought supplies of Ṣābāt's Calcutta version of the Arabic New Testament⁵⁵⁷ , and of the Psalter. He distributed them in Alexandria and Cairo⁵⁵⁸ , where he gave one to, among others, 'Uthmān Nūr al-Dīn Efendi⁵⁵⁹ , who was Muḥammad 'Alī's principal translator and director of one of his early educational establishments.⁵⁶⁰ He also took them into Sinai and gave them to the monks at St Catherine's monastery, where they were well received, and further supplies requested.⁵⁶¹ On his second visit to Alexandria in October 1822 he also sold "a great quantity of Arabic Bibles and Testaments" from the stocks held by Consul Lee. He "afterwards observed many of the purchasers reading the books in the street".⁵⁶²

Meanwhile, in January of that year, the American missionaries Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons had arrived in Alexandria⁵⁶³ , and distributed some Arabic psalters to Coptic clergy.⁵⁶⁴ A year later, after the death of Parsons, Fisk returned with another American, Jonas King, and 2000 bibles (or parts thereof)⁵⁶⁵ of which 1124 were in Arabic.⁵⁶⁶ During a three-month stay in Lower and Upper Egypt,

⁵⁵⁴ *Missionary Register* 1818, p.389.

⁵⁵⁵ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 5/14 (1818), p.114.

⁵⁵⁶ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 6/16 (1820), pp.160-161 & 170-174; *Missionary Register* 1819, pp.368 & 403-405; *ibid.* 1820, p.204.

⁵⁵⁷ Wolff[f], *op.cit.*, p.111.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.133sq.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.191.

⁵⁶⁰ Heyworth-Dunne, *op.cit.*, pp.105 & 108-110.

⁵⁶¹ Wolff[f], *op.cit.*, pp.176-177 & 186-187.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, p.339.

⁵⁶³ Bond, A. *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk*, Edinburgh 1828, p.157.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.176.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.210.

⁵⁶⁶ Malta Bible Society Minutes, p.276, 20.12.1822.

they distributed some 900 bibles, to Copts, Jews and Muslims.⁵⁶⁷

But Egypt, receptive though it may have seemed, was regarded by many of the bible-peddling missionaries as but a stepping-stone to the principal destinations, Palestine and Syria. The visionary idea of "redeeming" the inhabitants of the "Holy Land" was a potent one, and Jerusalem, Beirut, Damascus and Aleppo, with the surrounding and intermediate areas, became the primary field of operations. As early as 1812, a quantity of Newcastle Arabic bibles was sent to Aleppo for the use of the "episcopal churches"⁵⁶⁸ In 1817 the British Consul there, John Barker, reported in a letter to the Bible Society that the Rome Arabic Bible of 1671 "is now become so scarce, that there are probably not fifty copies in all Arabia; when offered for sale, it fetches 10l. to 15l."⁵⁶⁹ : there was plenty of scope, therefore, for distributing the BFBS's cheaper versions. 50 more copies of the Newcastle Bible, "neatly bound", were accordingly sent to Barker the following year.⁵⁷⁰

In 1820 the new BFBS Arabic Psalter was being distributed at Aleppo and "has proved most acceptable"⁵⁷¹ , so much so that it was suggested the following year that 3000 more were needed for Syria and Lebanon.⁵⁷² This advice came from the Society's new agent, Benjamin Barker, who enjoyed the considerable advantage of being the brother of the British Consul at Aleppo, John Barker, whose previous report to the Society has already been mentioned. Three more cases, containing 500 New Testaments and 650 psalters, did reach him in the summer of 1822, and local Christians crowded in to purchase them from the depot: 499 Testaments and 640 psalters were sold in three days.⁵⁷³ A further 460 Testaments and 90 psalters were promptly shipped from Malta in October 1822⁵⁷⁴ , but the severe earthquake which struck Aleppo in August 1822 had temporarily put a stop to operations there.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁶⁷ *Missionary Register* 1824, pp.28 & 492-498; *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/20 (1824), pp.lxi-lxii & 97-103; *Sixth Report ... Malta* (op.cit.), p.10; Bond, op.cit., pp.210-243; Smith,L.E. [et.al.] *Heroes and martyrs of the modern missionary enterprise*, Hartford (USA) 1852, p.381.

⁵⁶⁸ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 2/8 (1812), p.206.

⁵⁶⁹ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 5/14 (1818), p.126.

⁵⁷⁰ *Missionary Register* 1818, p.500.

⁵⁷¹ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 6/17 (1821), p.63.

⁵⁷² *Missionary Register* 1822, p.165.

⁵⁷³ *Missionary Register* 1823, p.21.

⁵⁷⁴ Malta Bible Society Minutes, p.266, 15.10.1822.

⁵⁷⁵ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/19 (1823), p.104.

In February 1820 Rev. James Connor arrived in Beirut and proceeded almost immediately to Sidon (Ṣaydā') where he secured the agreement of a French resident, a physician named Bertrand, to undertake the distribution of Arabic bibles and psalters throughout Lebanon and the Damascus area.⁵⁷⁶ Going on to Acre, he arranged with the British Consul there to distribute them in northern Palestine.⁵⁷⁷ But his most significant achievement was in Jerusalem, which he reached shortly afterwards. There he drew up an agreement with the chief agent of the Greek Patriarch, Procopius, whereby the latter would establish and maintain a regular depot there for scriptures, distributing them both to the local Orthodox population, and to visiting pilgrims at the Holy Sepulchre. A commission of 10% was payable, and Procopius was to account for his sales to Jowett in Malta.⁵⁷⁸ Connor gave Procopius an initial stock of 83 Arabic psalters, 2 bibles and 3 New Testaments (as well as Greek versions), all of which he had sold before Connor's departure on 19 April⁵⁷⁹; later that year, 300 more psalters were sent to Procopius from Malta⁵⁸⁰ and 500 from London.⁵⁸¹ The following year he paid over 500 piastres to Parsons, to be forwarded to the Malta Bible Society.⁵⁸² In 1822 he supplied Joseph Wolff with bibles during his visit to Jerusalem.⁵⁸³ Soon after this, however, the death of Procopius brought an end, it seems, to the functioning of this depot⁵⁸⁴, although a further 100 Arabic bibles and 25 psalters had been sent from Malta in April 1823.⁵⁸⁵ It was not until 1824 that a new one was established, in the Greek convent of Mār Mīkhā'īl, directly under the care of Fisk and his fellow missionaries.⁵⁸⁶

After leaving Jerusalem, Connor returned to Beirut, where he found eight cases of bibles sent by Jowett via Alexandria, some of which he forwarded to Jerusalem, Sidon and Latakia. In Beirut itself

⁵⁷⁶ *Missionary Register* 1820, p.261; Connor, J., op.cit., p.422.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.423.

⁵⁷⁸ The text of the agreement is given in Connor, op.cit., pp.428-429.

⁵⁷⁹ *Missionary Register* 1820, p.387; Connor, op.cit., p.430.

⁵⁸⁰ Malta Bible Society Minutes, p.76, 12.10.1820.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp.100-102, 11.12.1820; *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 6/16 (1820), p.lxx.

⁵⁸² Malta Bible Society Minutes, p.178, 13.9.1821.

⁵⁸³ Wolff, op.cit., p.294.

⁵⁸⁴ Jowett, *Christian researches in Syria* (op.cit.), pp.225-226.

⁵⁸⁵ Malta Bible Society Minutes, 7.4.1823.

⁵⁸⁶ Jowett, *Christian researches in Syria* (op.cit.), p.414; *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 8/22 (1826), p.111.

he sold a number of Arabic bibles and psalters⁵⁸⁷ before going on to Damascus, where he secured the agreement of the Patriarch of Antioch (resident in Damascus) to promote the sale and distribution of scriptures throughout his Patriarchate; denominations other than Greek Orthodox were to be supplied by Bertrand at Sidon.⁵⁸⁸ At the close of his journey, in June 1820, Connor noted with satisfaction: "the Channels are now opened for the introduction of the Scriptures into these parts, and for their general circulation. By means of our friends in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Acre, Saide, Beirut, Damascus, Tripoli, Latichea, Scanderoon, and Aleppo, they will be offered for sale in every part of the country".⁵⁸⁹ Not all these channels continued to operate for long, but the flow of printed Arabic books into the Levant was now virtually unstoppable.

In 1822 Joseph Wolff arrived in Palestine. In Jaffa he sold 13 Arabic psalters from the stocks which had been sent from Malta to the British Consul there⁵⁹⁰, before going on to Jerusalem, where he commenced operations by presenting copies of the Arabic Bible, New Testament and Psalter, as well as a Persian New Testament, to the Ottoman Governor and his "principal officer".⁵⁹¹ He then sold or gave away to the local populace a further 269 psalters from the stocks in Procopius's depot.⁵⁹² He subsequently travelled on into northern Syria distributing bibles wherever he went, including 124 in Latakia and many more in Aleppo and Antioch (Antakya). The following year he was in Tripoli (Lebanon) where he sold further large quantities, both in the market-place and from the house where he was staying.⁵⁹³ Later he supplied bibles to Muslim shaykhs in Damascus, before setting off on his travels further east.⁵⁹⁴

The American missionaries also turned their attention to Palestine and Syria at an early stage. Already in 1821 Parsons had sold 99 psalters in Jerusalem⁵⁹⁵, and in April 1823 Fisk and King arrived there with a large supply of New Testaments and psalters, of

⁵⁸⁷ *Missionary Register* 1820, p.394; Connor, op.cit., p.447.

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.449-450.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.453-454.

⁵⁹⁰ Wolff, op.cit., p.253.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp.259-260.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, pp.264, 278 & 294.

⁵⁹³ Wolff, op.cit., II, p.175.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.192.

⁵⁹⁵ Smith, L.E., op.cit., p.391.

which they distributed 70.⁵⁹⁶ In that month a further supply of 100 Testaments and 500 psalters were despatched to them from Malta.⁵⁹⁷ From Jerusalem they went on to Lebanon, and established a depot in Beirut, becoming in effect the principal agents there of the Bible Society. In November 1823 Fisk sold 400 psalters there.⁵⁹⁸ A further 500 Arabic bibles and 1000 New Testaments were sent from Malta to Beirut in May 1824, and by the end of that year it was reported that the Americans had sold between 2000 and 3000 bibles in Palestine and Syria altogether⁵⁹⁹ , of which a high proportion must have been in Arabic.

In 1823 Jowett himself started an extended visit to Palestine and Syria. He was undoubtedly the "English clergyman" reported as taking 3467 bibles (or parts thereof) in Arabic and other languages from Malta to the "Holy Land" in that year.⁶⁰⁰ Starting in Lebanon, he moved gradually southwards. In Tyre (Sur) he sold Arabic psalters to local schoolboys, who could not, however, afford the New Testament⁶⁰¹ ; in Acre he sold a number of bibles, and more in Nazareth, to the local Greek Orthodox community.⁶⁰² He then spent some time in Jerusalem, where further distribution took place in 1824.⁶⁰³

Finally, also in 1824, Benjamin Barker returned to Aleppo, where life had now nearly returned to normal after the devastating earthquake of 1822. After re-establishing the depot, he sold 800 bibles in two months, as well as making a tour of Syria, in the course of which he disposed of 500.⁶⁰⁴ In June 1824, he also established a sub-depot in Beirut, from which 78 psalters and 4 New Testaments were forthwith sold to local Orthodox schoolboys. By the end of November, 800 bibles had been distributed from there, including 500 in Anti-Lebanon.⁶⁰⁵ The following year Barker extended

⁵⁹⁶ *Missionary Register* 1824, p.28.

⁵⁹⁷ Malta Bible Society Minutes, 7.4.1823.

⁵⁹⁸ Wolff, op.cit., II, p.189. Jonas King claimed that 4000 bibles, or parts thereof, had been distributed by the Americans in Syria, Palestine "and other places" by the time of his departure in 1825. King, J. *Extraits d'un ouvrage écrit vers la fin de l'année 1826 et au commencement de 1827 sous le titre Coup d'oeil sur la Palestine et la Syrie, accompagné de quelques réflexions sur les missions évangéliques*, Athens 1859, p.145.

⁵⁹⁹ *Missionary Register* 1825, p.39.

⁶⁰⁰ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/20 (1824), p.1; a "large supply of Scriptures, chiefly in Arabic", according to *Sixth Report ... Malta* (op.cit.), p.10.

⁶⁰¹ Jowett, *Christian researches in Syria* (op.cit.), p.131.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, pp.148, 159 & 161.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.211.

⁶⁰⁴ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 8/21 (1825), p.xli.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.66-67.

his activities to Damascus, where numerous copies were distributed, including 100 psalters ordered by the Orthodox Patriarch for use in schools, as well as 75 sold by Barker direct to schoolboys.⁶⁰⁶ He also sold some New Testaments cheaply in nearby Orthodox villages.⁶⁰⁷

Although Egypt and Syria/Palestine received the great majority of printed Arabic bibles in this period, other areas were not entirely neglected. In Iraq, the East India Company Resident, Claudius Rich (1786-1821), who was in effect the British consul in Baghdad, and was himself an Arabic scholar and bibliophile, had been involved in distributing Armenian, Syriac and Hebrew bibles for the BFBS.⁶⁰⁸ In 1816, having made known to the Society the dearth of Arabic scriptures in the Pashalik of Baghdad⁶⁰⁹, he was sent 20 Newcastle bibles by H.Lindsay, their agent in Istanbul.⁶¹⁰ Later, in 1822, Barker sent a supply of Arabic New Testaments and psalters from Aleppo by caravan to Baghdad, a previous consignment having all been disposed of.⁶¹¹ Two years later, the redoubtable Joseph Wolff travelled through Iraq, spending some time in Mosul, Baghdad and Basra, where he distributed bibles, mainly to Jews⁶¹²; but he also gave a bible and Testament to the Mufti of Zubayr, near Basra.⁶¹³

Even the Arabian peninsula was not impregnable to bible-peddling: in 1818 it was reported that the Bombay Bible Society had "endeavoured to extend its influence to the distant shores of the Persian Gulph; and it has there distributed several Arabic Bibles, partly through the means of the British Resident at Bussorah [Basra]"⁶¹⁴; by 1822 more had been sent there by the Archdeacon of Bombay, acting on behalf of the SPCK.⁶¹⁵ In 1815 it had been reported that Newcastle bibles were eagerly read by Arabian merchants in Batavia, and were taken back by them to Arabia⁶¹⁶, presumably to the Hadramawt. In Yemen, however, a traveller in 1826 who took Arabic New Testaments

⁶⁰⁶ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 8/22 (1826), pp.xxxviii-xxxix & 108-109.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.111.

⁶⁰⁸ Alexander, C.M. *Baghdad in bygone days, from the journals and correspondence of Claudius Rich*, London 1928, p.86.

⁶⁰⁹ Canton, *op.cit.*, p.140.

⁶¹⁰ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 4/12 (1816), Appendix, p.133; *Missionary Register* 1816, p.258.

⁶¹¹ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/19 (1823), p.100.

⁶¹² Wolff, *op.cit.*, II, pp.273-375.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.344-345.

⁶¹⁴ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 5/14 (1818), p.6.

⁶¹⁵ *Report of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, 1822, p.83.

⁶¹⁶ *Missionary Register* 1815, p.523.

there found that, though the locals showed great interest, they did not accept them, because, he thought, they were forbidden by the "Moollahs".⁶¹⁷

In Turkey, although Arabic was not the principal language, there was a certain demand for printed Arabic bibles. In 1815 the Chaplain of the British Embassy reported that Syrian priests in Istanbul wanted them⁶¹⁸, and supplies were sent there in 1818 by the CMS⁶¹⁹; 200 Arabic psalters were also sent to Izmir in 1819.⁶²⁰ In 1822 the BFBS agent in Istanbul reported that he was despatching a "considerable number" of bibles, in Arabic and other languages, to Christian communities at Diyarbekir, Mardin and elsewhere in southern Anatolia; he requested a further supply of "some hundred" Arabic Testaments and psalters for use in those parts.⁶²¹ Two years later the ubiquitous Wolff travelled through the area and sold Arabic Testaments in Urfa and Mardin.⁶²²

Of the other non-Arab areas of the Muslim world, Iran was visited in 1824 by a Mr Warton, an English traveller, who took a supply of Arabic editions of the New Testament and Genesis which had been given to him in Cairo by Fisk and King; he had, it seems, also distributed bibles to Muslims there in previous years.⁶²³ The indefatigable Wolff also spent a considerable time there in 1824 and 1825.⁶²⁴ In Central Asia and Russian Tartary, the Edinburgh Missionary Society distributed Arabic New Testaments from its establishment at Astrakhan: one of them was taken by "an Effendi employed by the Khan of Bucharia himself", and a Persian New Testament was accepted by another "Effendi" from Afghanistan. Both of these persons were said to be pilgrims passing through Astrakhan en route to Mecca.⁶²⁵ India, where missionaries and Bible Societies were thick on the ground, naturally also received a good many Arabic bibles aimed at Muslims, including 300 sent to Bombay by the BFBS in 1816⁶²⁶ and 50 by the CMS

⁶¹⁷ Elwood, op.cit., I, pp.328-329.

⁶¹⁸ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 3/11 (1815), p.470.

⁶¹⁹ *Missionary Register* 1818, p.500.

⁶²⁰ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 6/16 (1820), p.261.

⁶²¹ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/19 (1823), p.94.

⁶²² Wolff, op.cit., II, pp.234 & 251.

⁶²³ *Missionary Register* 1824, p.493; *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/20 (1824), p.98.

⁶²⁴ Wolff, op.cit., III, pp.1-184.

⁶²⁵ *Missionary Register* 1818, pp.367-368.

⁶²⁶ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 4/12 (1816), p.41.

in 1818.⁶²⁷ Even Indonesia became a target area: after the report about Arabian merchants in Batavia already mentioned, a supply of 50 more Newcastle bibles was sent to Java in 1816.⁶²⁸

The continent of Africa was another important destination. The Arab "Regencies" of the Maghrib attracted considerable attention as part of the Mediterranean field of operations. Gibraltar was regarded as a suitable point from which to send bibles into Morocco, and in 1823 some parcels of the Arabic edition of *Genesis* were sent there from Malta for this purpose⁶²⁹ ; they were duly distributed in Tangier, and 100 more were ordered to be sent.⁶³⁰ It was reported that another 50 were despatched from Gibraltar to Tangier in 1825.⁶³¹ 24 bibles were also given to Moroccans in quarantine at Malta, and taken back to Morocco by them.⁶³² The role of the British Consul in Algeria in 1820 has already been mentioned⁶³³ ; further supplies were sent to Algiers in 1822⁶³⁴ , 1824⁶³⁵ and 1825.⁶³⁶ Some were also given to Algerian prisoners at Malta.⁶³⁷ But in July 1825 it was reported that a quantity of Arabic scriptures had been returned from Algiers, as it had not been possible to distribute them there.⁶³⁸ As previously mentioned, Libya received Arabic bibles in 1817 at the hands of Captain Smyth, in 1818 via the British Consul in Fezzan and in 1823 from the Swedish consul in Tripoli.⁶³⁹ The last-named reported an unfulfilled demand there, and further supplies were sent the following year.⁶⁴⁰

But of the North African countries, it was Tunisia to which most attention was directed, no doubt partly because of its proximity to Malta. As early as 1810 six Arabic New Testaments (presumably the SPCK edition of 1727) had been sent to Tunis, four of them by the Captain of a Tunisian ship, who, it was said, received them

⁶²⁷ *Missionary Register* 1818, p.500.

⁶²⁸ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 4/12 (1816), p.41.

⁶²⁹ Malta Bible Society Minutes, 10.2.1823.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.5.1823.

⁶³¹ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 8/21 (1825), p.69.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, p.70.

⁶³³ See above, p.79.

⁶³⁴ Malta Bible Society Minutes, p.266, 15.10.1822.

⁶³⁵ *Missionary Register* 1824, p.28.

⁶³⁶ *Missionary Register* 1825, p.41.

⁶³⁷ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 8/21 (1825), p.70.

⁶³⁸ Malta Bible Society Minutes, 11.7.1825.

⁶³⁹ See above, pp.79-80.

⁶⁴⁰ *Missionary Register* 1825, p.41.

enthusiastically, and two by way of an American traveller.⁶⁴¹ Although the British Consul in Tunis wrote to Jowett in 1817 that the local people were "strictly prohibited from studying, or even reading, any other works than the Koran, and the various comments written in explanation of it"⁶⁴², the Malta Bible Society was not discouraged, and in 1822 it was decided to send a quantity of the Arabic *Genesis* there⁶⁴³; more scriptures were sent the following year.⁶⁴⁴ In 1824 Joseph Greaves, an official of the Society, himself went to Tunis, taking with him 500 bibles in Arabic and other languages.⁶⁴⁵ In the course of a four-month stay, he distributed a fair number of Arabic bibles to local merchants and 'ulamā', including some in Sousse, Sfax, Bizerta and Sidi Bou Zeid, as well as in Tunis itself.⁶⁴⁶ One was even supplied to the Zaytuna mosque-university, with the prospect of a bulk order if it was approved by them: evidently it was not, as no such order was forthcoming.⁶⁴⁷ Before leaving, Greaves appointed a Muslim schoolmaster as agent for future bible sales⁶⁴⁸, but it does not seem that any further orders resulted.

It remains to mention that Muslim areas of West Africa also saw substantial distribution of Newcastle bibles, mostly by CMS missionaries. It seems that a considerable demand was found among tribal 'ulamā' there, especially in Sierra Leone.⁶⁴⁹ Indeed it is apparent that this was regarded as one of the main reasons for the production of the Newcastle edition.⁶⁵⁰ The BFBS also sent 50 copies of its Arabic New Testament to East Africa in 1822.⁶⁵¹

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It was always a vexed question for the Bible Society in this period whether to sell Arabic bibles in the Middle East or to distribute them freely. On the one hand it wanted to maximise

⁶⁴¹ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 2/7 (1811), pp.101-102.

⁶⁴² *Missionary Register* 1817, pp.402-403.

⁶⁴³ Malta Bible Society Minutes, p.266, 15.10.1822.

⁶⁴⁴ *Missionary Register* 1824, p.28.

⁶⁴⁵ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 8/21 (1825), p.liii; Greaves, J. "Journal of a visit to some parts of Tunis", appendix to Jowett, *Christian researches in Syria* (op.cit.), p.461.

⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.468-514.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.503.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.511.

⁶⁴⁹ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 4/13 (1817), pp.54 & 335.

⁶⁵⁰ Canton, op.cit., pp.133-134.

⁶⁵¹ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/18 (1822), p.96.

distribution among populations whose disposable income was often very meagre or non-existent; on the other hand, it needed to recoup at least some of its high printing and production costs, and to ensure as far as possible that copies went only to genuine readers and not to the merely acquisitive or to those who aimed to resell at a profit. Different missionaries and colporteurs adopted different attitudes. Burckhardt, on his visit to Egypt in 1818, evidently was able to sell bibles without difficulty⁶⁵², although "never at more, and generally at less than half, of the cost price".⁶⁵³ Jowett also normally sold rather than gave: he obtained 20 piastres (then equivalent to 10/-) each for 22 bibles from Copts in Upper Egypt in 1819, and 400 piastres (£10) for a further 25 which he supplied to the "Lay Head of the Coptic Church"⁶⁵⁴; but he also sent 18 free, it seems, to Coptic educational establishments.⁶⁵⁵ Later, in 1823, he sold Arabic psalters to schoolboys in Tyre (Şūr), but "the price of the New Testament was above their means".⁶⁵⁶ Connor was also concerned to obtain a financial return for the Society from bible distribution, and the agreement which he drew up with Procopius in Jerusalem in 1820 contained precise stipulations that "the Books ... must be sold at a stated moderate price", that 10% commission only was allowable, and that all books sold and money received must be strictly accounted for.⁶⁵⁷ Whether Procopius kept strictly to this agreement is not known, but he did remit 500 piastres the following year to the Malta Bible Society, via Levi Parsons.⁶⁵⁸

Joseph Wolff, on the other hand, at first seems to have adopted an enthusiastic policy of giving copies away liberally to anyone who appeared to be unable to purchase. He gave, for instance, 50 Arabic psalters to an Orthodox priest in Jerusalem for free distribution to his flock⁶⁵⁹; he also often sold at very low prices, e.g. 1 piastre each for psalters to poor Orthodox boys, also in Jerusalem.⁶⁶⁰ The Committee of the Malta Bible Society had felt constrained to write

⁶⁵² *Missionary Register* 1818, p.389.

⁶⁵³ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 5/15 (1819), p.228.

⁶⁵⁴ *Missionary Register* 1819, pp.368 & 403-405; *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 6/16 (1820), pp.160 & 170-172.

⁶⁵⁵ *Missionary Register* 1820, p.204.

⁶⁵⁶ Jowett, *Christian researches in Syria* (op.cit.), p.131.

⁶⁵⁷ Connor, op.cit., pp.428-429.

⁶⁵⁸ Malta Bible Society Minutes, p.178, 13.9.1821.

⁶⁵⁹ Wolff, op.cit., pp.278-279.

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.278.

to him that sales were preferable to free distribution "however reduced the price may be"⁶⁶¹ and in 1823 the Bible Society in London asked him to raise his prices.⁶⁶²

The American missionaries, like Wolff, adopted a policy of giving away bibles when they felt it necessary or desirable: in 1823 in Egypt they gave away 256, as well as selling 644 for a total of 2380 piastres.⁶⁶³

Barker in Aleppo was also inclined to make concessions to his impecunious customers, reporting in 1822 that "being most of them of the lowest class of the people, we gave them at very low prices".⁶⁶⁴ Later, in Beirut in 1824, he sold 78 psalters to poor schoolboys at 10 paras (equivalent to less than 2d) each. The next year in Damascus and vicinity he again sold many Arabic New Testaments and psalters to poor Christians at "a price which I knew they were able to give".⁶⁶⁵

No clear overall policy or criteria seem to have been adopted in this period, and the question remained a source of tension between the prudent Committees of the Bible Societies and the enthusiastic missionaries in the field.

* * * * *

Who were the recipients and readers of all these Arabic bibles? It is clear that the great majority were indigenous Christians, mainly Copts in Egypt and Greek Orthodox in Syria and Palestine. Not only the clergy, but also very many ordinary laymen bought or were given printed Arabic scriptures, and numerous copies were also supplied to schools or to individual schoolboys. Even women took an interest on occasion, although they were for the most part illiterate: the American missionary William Goodell reported in 1824 that (Christian) Arab women called at the mission station in Beirut and were taught to read in the Arabic bibles which were now so readily available.⁶⁶⁶

Jews in the Arab world were also recipients of Arabic printed bibles. Although the Hebrew Old Testament was naturally regarded as

⁶⁶¹ Malta Bible Society Minutes, p.194, 15.11.1821.

⁶⁶² Wolff, *op.cit.*, II, p.161.

⁶⁶³ *Missionary Register* 1824, p.28; Bond, *op.cit.*, p.243.

⁶⁶⁴ *Missionary Register* 1823, p.21.

⁶⁶⁵ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 8/22 (1826), p.110.

⁶⁶⁶ *Missionary Register* 1824, p.545.

the authoritative text, and Bible Society editions of it were widely distributed, a high proportion even of literate Arabophone Jews could not really understand it, and there was therefore some demand for Arabic editions. No Judaeo-Arabic edition was available in quantity, so the Newcastle and other BFBS Arabic versions were bought or accepted. The New Testament was generally unacceptable, but the Arabic version of it was regarded with less repugnance than the Hebrew one also published by the BFBS. Burckhardt in 1818 sold some Arabic bibles to Jews in Cairo⁶⁶⁷, as did the Americans in 1823-24.⁶⁶⁸ But the most important of the Society's agents in this respect was Joseph Wolff, himself a former Jew, who made it his business to supply as many Hebrew and Arabic bibles as possible to Jewish communities wherever he went in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Iraq and beyond.⁶⁶⁹

The idea that many Muslims also might be "saved" by reading the Bible in their own language was one that was seriously held by some missionaries and Bible Society enthusiasts. In 1815 Rev. John Paterson, of the Bible Society in Russia, wrote to Josiah Pratt, Secretary of the CMS:

"it is a most encouraging circumstance, that, at this very moment, the Holy Scriptures are printing in Arabic, in Turkish, in Tartar, and in Persian, the four great languages of the votaries of the False Prophet. If your Society follow up its plans ... and send out Missionaries to distribute them, ... you have every reason to expect success".⁶⁷⁰

This was published in *The Missionary Register*, which also, later the same year, included the observation that "there will soon not be a Mahometan in the world who may not read *in his own tongue, wherein he was born, the wonderful works of God!*"⁶⁷¹ Although most of the missionaries and colporteurs who worked in the Middle East perforce took a more realistic view, and concentrated their efforts on the Christian communities, nevertheless opportunities were taken to sell or give copies to Muslims whenever they presented themselves. Burckhardt in

⁶⁶⁷ *Missionary Register* 1819, p.73.

⁶⁶⁸ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/20 (1824), pp.lxi-lxii.

⁶⁶⁹ Wolff, *op.cit.*, *passim*.

⁶⁷⁰ *Missionary Register* 1815, p.259.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.524.

Cairo in 1818 reported a demand from "Mussulmen Schoolmasters"⁶⁷² , and both Wolff and the Americans gave some copies to Muslims in Egypt and Palestine in 1822-24.⁶⁷³ Wolff even employed a local Jew in Jerusalem to sell psalters to Muslims: he succeeded in selling 20 within a few days.⁶⁷⁴ In Lebanon the American Jonas King "sold one Arabic Bible to a Mussulman of the Green Turban"⁶⁷⁵ , and Wolff reported a similar success in Tripoli (Lebanon) in 1823; he also sold three copies of the Arabic *Genesis* to a Turk there, and related the remarkable story of a Christian being rebuked by a Muslim bystander for refusing to pay the price for it.⁶⁷⁶ Later Wolff supplied bibles to Muslim Shaykhs in Damascus⁶⁷⁷ , and, as already mentioned, to the Mufti of Zubayr in southern Iraq.⁶⁷⁸

The Arabic bibles which, as we have seen, were supplied to West, East and North Africa⁶⁷⁹ were also destined almost entirely for Muslims. In Tunisia, as has been mentioned, the 'ulamā' took some interest in them, and they achieved some circulation there.⁶⁸⁰ The opportunity was also taken, both at Tunis and at Malta, of distributing scriptures among pilgrims en route by sea to or from the Hijaz.⁶⁸¹

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It remains to consider what impact this unprecedented influx of printed bibles had on the Arab recipients, and what reactions it produced. The Bible Society and its missionary agents clearly had high expectations. Jowett, for instance, considered that the "present generation of zealous [Western] Christians" had achieved a position of superiority even over the original Apostles "by the invention of the Art of Printing"⁶⁸² , which "would enable the word of God" to be spread rapidly and efficaciously, transforming the

⁶⁷² *Missionary Register* 1818, p.389.

⁶⁷³ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 7/20 (1824), pp.lxi-lxii & 97-103; Wolff[f], op.cit., pp.191 & 259-260.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.278.

⁶⁷⁵ *Sixth Report ... Malta* (op.cit.), p.19.

⁶⁷⁶ Wolff, op.cit., II, p.175.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.192.

⁶⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.344; see above, p.87.

⁶⁷⁹ See above, pp.89-91.

⁶⁸⁰ See above, p.90.

⁶⁸¹ Greaves, op.cit., p.484; *Sixth Report ...Malta* (op.cit.), p.11; *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 8/21 (1825), p.70.

⁶⁸² Jowett, *Christian researches in the Mediterranean* (op.cit.), pp.293-294. See further below, p.107.

outlook of those from whom it had hitherto been wholly or partly concealed.

Printed books were not, of course a complete novelty, especially not to the Christian communities. Not only had their own presses in Syria and Lebanon been in operation, albeit on a small scale, for more than a century⁶⁸³, but, as we have seen, several other presses in European countries had exported books to the Middle East since the 16th century. Chief among these had been the Propaganda Press in Rome, and the Bible Society was obliged to recognise at an early stage the firm hold which their editions had taken in the Eastern Churches, especially among the Maronites and other Uniates, even though the Propaganda Press was no longer functioning. Burckhardt, ardent Protestant as he was, reported in 1818 that "it is to Rome ... that all the Levant has been indebted, for many ages past, for a quantity of books printed in the Eastern Languages, for the use of Orientals".⁶⁸⁴ In Egypt, too, Jowett found that some Coptic clergy were well used to the Rome Arabic Bible (of 1671).⁶⁸⁵ Moreover, the text of that edition was regarded throughout the area as sacrosanct, and other editions which did not conform to it, such as the Newcastle Arabic Bible of 1811, tended to be rejected. John Barker made this point strongly to the BFBS in 1817⁶⁸⁶, as did Connor in his report to the CMS in 1820.⁶⁸⁷

The BFBS Psalter of 1819 was much more acceptable, however, as its text was the same as the approved version⁶⁸⁸ and it was moreover the text-book used for basic reading and writing instruction in all Christian schools.⁶⁸⁹ The Bible Society went on to produce and distribute exact reprints of the Rome text of the New Testament, *Genesis* and the complete Bible in the early 1820s.⁶⁹⁰ But opposition was growing on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities in the Levant, partly because of the previous distribution of Newcastle bibles, and partly because awareness was increasing of the

⁶⁸³ See below, pp.107-108.

⁶⁸⁴ *Missionary Register* 1819, p.78.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.405.

⁶⁸⁶ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 5/14 (1818), p.126.

⁶⁸⁷ Connor, *op.cit.*, pp.452-453. Cf. *Bible of every land* (*op.cit.*), p.41.

⁶⁸⁸ It was in fact reprinted from the Aleppo Psalter of 1706, at Barker's suggestion. Darlow & Moule, *op.cit.*, #1665, p.69; *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 5/14 (1818), p.126.

⁶⁸⁹ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 6/17 (1821), p.63; Connor, *op.cit.*, pp.448 & 453.

⁶⁹⁰ See above, p.76.

Protestant character of the Bible Society. Even in Egypt doubts were raised as to the accuracy of the text of the Arabic *Genesis*.⁶⁹¹ By 1820, Connor found that Arabic bibles distributed by Burckhardt in Jaffa in 1818 had been burnt by the priests there.⁶⁹² The Roman Catholics clearly became alarmed at the initial success of the bible distribution in the Levant, and came to entertain, according to Jonas King, "a general expectation that, if many more Bibles are distributed here, they will be very much injured".⁶⁹³ The Pope himself felt it necessary to intervene, and in 1823 banned further distribution amongst Catholics and Uniates.⁶⁹⁴ This was reinforced the following year by an order of the Maronite Patriarch specifically prohibiting the purchase or use of any Arabic Bibles, or parts thereof, printed in England; copies already distributed were to be destroyed.⁶⁹⁵ Nevertheless, some BFBS psalters continued to be bought by Maronites in Syria⁶⁹⁶, and the Arabophone Greek Orthodox communities were unaffected.⁶⁹⁷

By this time the Ottoman authorities were also becoming alarmed, partly because of the attempts to distribute among Muslims, and partly because of Roman Catholic pressure via certain ambassadors at the Porte.⁶⁹⁸ They may also have suspected attempts to form an "English party" among Ottoman Christian subjects.⁶⁹⁹ In 1824 a firman was issued banning all printed bibles and books issued by the Bible Society and ordering their sequestration.⁷⁰⁰ In Aleppo Barker was forced to suspend his operations⁷⁰¹ and in Jerusalem Fisk was arrested and closely questioned about the large quantities of books which he had been distributing, *being released only on giving assurances that they were not intended for Muslims.*⁷⁰² Apart from

⁶⁹¹ [Mackworth, Sir Digby] *Diary of a tour through southern India, Egypt, and Palestine, in the years 1821 and 1822*, London 1823, p.257.

⁶⁹² Connor, *op.cit.*, p.426.

⁶⁹³ Quoted in Wolff, *op.cit.*, II, p.339.

⁶⁹⁴ Jowett, *Christian researches in Syria* (*op.cit.*), p.92.

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.120; *Missionary Register* 1824, pp.28 & 545.

⁶⁹⁶ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 8/22 (1826), p.109.

⁶⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.66-67 & 109.

⁶⁹⁸ Barker (J.) *Syria and Egypt under the last five Sultans of Turkey*, ed. E.B.Barker, Volume I, London 1876, pp.339-341.

⁶⁹⁹ Jowett, *Christian researches in Syria* (*op.cit.*), p.159.

⁷⁰⁰ *Missionary Register* 1825, p.8 (incl. translation of the firman); *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 8/22 (1826), pp.xxxix & 103.

⁷⁰¹ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 8/22 (1826), p.103.

⁷⁰² *Missionary Register* 1825, pp.321-324.

this, however, little serious attempt seems to have been made to enforce the firman, and elsewhere Barker and others went on distributing bibles without hindrance.⁷⁰³

Although textual discrepancies may have been the original pretext for the attempts to ban the printed bibles, it seems likely that the establishment, both ecclesiastical and Ottoman, sensed that this sudden irruption of printed books posed a threat to the existing monopolies of knowledge and doctrine, and hence of authority, upon which they relied. In this they were surely not mistaken, for, however textually unexceptionable these BFBS bibles, Testaments and psalters may have been, the provision of them in quantities which enabled them to be individually owned and read by thousands (and potentially millions) of people opened up the possibility of a new independence of mind and cultural self-consciousness which in time might have immeasurable social and political consequences.

But at the individual level the bibles were found to have other drawbacks. Ironically some Arab readers, used to the Rome Arabic Bible, complained about the absence of pagination and running heads in the Newcastle Bible - a deficiency which it shared with manuscript books.⁷⁰⁴ The small type sizes used in both that and later BFBS editions were also a cause of complaint: they were compared unfavourably with other European and local editions in this respect.⁷⁰⁵ In general also the bibles had a "foreign" look, derived from paper and type-styles, which Jowett felt may have impeded their acceptance.⁷⁰⁶

For Muslims there were greater objections. In the first place, there was the inevitable disdain and/or distrust for the Christian Bible which prevailed among them. Jonas King reported that on one occasion a Muslim Sharīf who had bought an Arabic bible "the next day asked me to take it again, saying that he knew all its contents".⁷⁰⁷ But in addition, there was resistance to printed books per se. Printing, although established at Istanbul, and in the process of being established at Bulaq, was still something

⁷⁰³ *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 8/22 (1826), pp.108-112.

⁷⁰⁴ *Missionary Register* 1819, p.73.

⁷⁰⁵ Greaves, op.cit., pp.492 & 497; *Missionary Register* 1824, p.540; Jowett, *Christian researches in the Mediterranean* (op.cit.), pp.319-320.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.320.

⁷⁰⁷ *Sixth report ... Malta* (op.cit.), p.19. Cf. also the reaction of some Yemenis, above, p.88.

completely new to Muslims in Egypt and the Levant. As we have already seen, Burckhardt in 1818 found that the Turks in Egypt were resistant to printed books⁷⁰⁸, and he even went so far as to suggest the use of lithography to overcome the problem⁷⁰⁹ - a revolutionary idea at the time. The following year he stated more definitely that "Mahomedans are not permitted to read printed books".⁷¹⁰ Nevertheless, as we have seen, a number of printed bibles were distributed to Muslims in different places. Clearly in some cases their interest and curiosity were aroused by the novelty of printed texts, which thereby produced a positive rather than a negative reaction: this was so, for instance, in Tunisia in 1824.⁷¹¹ But the print revolution, for the Arab Muslims, still lay some years into the future.

19th century (2): other missionary publications before 1825

As well as bibles, there are several references in the missionary literature of the period to the distribution of "tracts" in the Middle East. Pliny Fisk disposed of more than 100 of them in Egypt in 1822⁷¹² and, together with King and Wolff, a further 3700 there in 1823⁷¹³, as well as more than 300 in Jerusalem the same year.⁷¹⁴ By 1825 the American missionaries in Palestine and Syria were said to have distributed as many as 7000 tracts.⁷¹⁵ Although many of these publications may have been in Hebrew, Greek, Italian or even English, it is certain that at least some were Arabic: this is specifically mentioned more than once.⁷¹⁶

Exactly what these Arabic publications were is difficult to determine. Arabic missionary publications of the period, apart from bibles, do not, with two or three exceptions⁷¹⁷, seem to have survived in major collections. Nevertheless, sufficient bibliographical and other evidence is available to allow a brief

⁷⁰⁸ See above, p.82.

⁷⁰⁹ *Missionary Register* 1818, p.389.

⁷¹⁰ *Missionary Register* 1819, p.80.

⁷¹¹ Greaves, op.cit., p.468.

⁷¹² Bond, op.cit., pp.193 & 196.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*, p.243; *Missionary Register* 1824, p.28; Smith, L.E., op.cit., p.381.

⁷¹⁴ *Missionary Register* 1824, p.28; Smith, L.E., op.cit., p.382.

⁷¹⁵ *Missionary Register* 1825, p.39.

⁷¹⁶ Bond, op.cit., pp.193 & 221. Bond's memoir was drawn almost entirely from Fisk's own letters and journals in the possession of the American Board of Missions.

⁷¹⁷ See below, pp.100-102.

sketch of some of the items involved, and their distribution.

In April 1805 it was reported in the *Christian Observer*, à propos of a Mr Brunton, missionary in Tartary, that "An Arabic tract which he drew up, in order to expose the delusions of the Mohammedan superstition, is printing for distribution among the Mussulmen".⁷¹⁸ In August the same year, it was further reported that this tract had been printed at the expense of the "Mission Society to Africa and the East" (i.e. the Church Missionary Society), in conjunction with the Edinburgh Missionary Society, and that it was intended for distribution in Africa.⁷¹⁹ This was the 31-page booklet entitled *Khiṭāb min ṣadiq li-Musulmān* [sic], printed by A. Wilson in London, of which Schnurrer was extremely critical, both as to its bad Arabic and its offensiveness to Muslim susceptibilities.⁷²⁰ It was also criticised "very unfavourably" by the Cambridge orientalist Samuel Lee, who worked for the CMS.⁷²¹ Whether it was distributed in Africa is not known, but 750 copies were sent in May 1805 to Karass in Russian Tartary⁷²², where Brunton was later said to have "dispersed it with success".⁷²³

The Edinburgh Missionary Society (EMS), to which Brunton belonged, also shipped from Leith at the same time a press with an Arabic fount.⁷²⁴ This was used mainly for publications in Tatar and Persian, but in 1817 an Arabic tract, consisting of Bible extracts, was printed in an edition of 800, as well as 2000 copies of a Bible history and catechism.⁷²⁵ In 1823, by which time they were known as the Scottish Missionary Society, they also printed at Astrakhan, in an edition of 500, an Arabic tract by Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī, a local convert to Christianity.⁷²⁶ It seems unlikely, however, that any of these publications found their way to the Arab Middle East.

The Religious Tract Society, formed in 1799, although primarily concerned with English propaganda, also took an interest in foreign fields, including the Mediterranean. According to an early historian

⁷¹⁸ "Religious intelligence: Tartary", *Christian Observer* 4 (1805), p.257.

⁷¹⁹ "Religious intelligence: Mission Society to Africa and the East", *Christian Observer* 4 (1805), pp.506-507.

⁷²⁰ Schnurrer, *op.cit.*, #314, pp.332-335. Cf. Steinschneider, *op.cit.*, p.47, #28b.

⁷²¹ Hole, C. *The early history of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East to the end of A.D.1814*, London 1896, p.597.

⁷²² "Religious intelligence: Edinburgh Missionary Society", *Christian Observer* 4 (1805), p.574.

⁷²³ Pearson, H. *A dissertation on the propagation of Christianity in Asia*, Oxford 1808, p.63.

⁷²⁴ "Religious intelligence: Edinburgh Missionary Society" (*op.cit.*), p.574.

⁷²⁵ *Missionary Register* 1817, p.491.

⁷²⁶ *Missionary Register* 1824, p.552; 1825, p.44.

of the Society, William Jones, in 1806 it "printed tracts in the Italian, Greek, and Arabic languages, and sent them to Malta, where they were kept, as in a spiritual storehouse, to be scattered, on all fitting opportunities, among the people of various nations. These supplies were continued for twenty years".⁷²⁷ These Arabic items may perhaps have been amongst those distributed by Fisk and others in the early 1820s; but if so, it is surprising that not one of them seems to have survived, and no other record or mention of their existence is to be found in contemporary sources. It seems more likely that Jones was here recording a policy or intention, rather than an accomplished fact. However, the RTS did later, as we shall see, become involved in the printing of Arabic tracts in Malta after 1824.⁷²⁸

As far as can be ascertained, the only other body to publish Arabic tracts in this period was the Church Missionary Society (CMS). Founded in 1799 by the evangelical wing of the Church of England⁷²⁹, it turned its attention at an early stage to the Muslim world and the Mediterranean. As early as 1801 it resolved to open a special account for printing religious tracts in Oriental languages⁷³⁰, the first call on which was their share in Brunton's *Khiṭāb*, which has already been mentioned.⁷³¹ In 1811 there was a plan to stereotype the Arabic translation of Ostervald's abridged Bible history, *Mukhtaṣar tawārīkh al-muqaddasa*, originally published by the SPCK in 1728⁷³², and send the plates to Africa for local printing, to be followed by further tracts later.⁷³³ This was presumably the Arabic tract mentioned as "now stereotyping" in 1814, and "intended to circulate, as opportunities may offer, in those countries where that widely-extended language is known".⁷³⁴ It was in fact printed not in Africa, but in London in 1815.⁷³⁵ The 18th-century Caslon types were used for

⁷²⁷ Jones, W. *The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society*, London 1850, p.372.

⁷²⁸ See below, pp.133, 237-238 & 330.

⁷²⁹ Hole, op.cit., chapters I & II.

⁷³⁰ Ibid., p.68.

⁷³¹ See above, p.99.

⁷³² See above, p.70.

⁷³³ "Report of the Committee, delivered to the Annual General Meeting, held June 4, 1811", appended to Home, M. *A sermon preached at the Parish Church of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe and St. Anne, Blackfriars, on Tuesday in Whitsun week, June 4, 1811, before the Society for Missions to Africa and the East*, London 1811, pp.255-256.

⁷³⁴ *Missionary Register* 1814, p.51.

⁷³⁵ *Mukhtaṣar tawārīkh al-muqaddasa*, no imprint, 1815. Copies exist in Cambridge University Library and in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Cf. *Missionary Register* 1818, p.470; *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society* 21 (1820-21), p.xv.

the text, as they had been for the original 1728 edition, but William Martin's larger Arabic face⁷³⁶ appears on the title-page.

Also in 1814, John Macbride, Professor of Arabic at Oxford, was requested to "carry through the press selections from Grotius in Arabic"⁷³⁷, which he agreed to do in November of that year.⁷³⁸ The result was an abridgement of Pococke's 1660 translation, now eloquently entitled *Kitāb Miftāḥ al-Khazā'in wa Miṣbāḥ al-Dafā'in*, and printed at the Oxford University Press.⁷³⁹ This must also have been printed in 1815, as it was stated to have been "put in circulation", along with the Ostervald, in 1816.⁷⁴⁰ In that year the decision was also taken to stereotype, in Arabic and in Persian, a tract entitled *The way of truth and life*⁷⁴¹, but it is doubtful whether this was done, as no further reference was made to it subsequently.

In 1817 the CMS sent to the EMS in Astrakhan a "set of stereotype plates of an Arabic tract, and several copies of Grotius ... also in Arabic".⁷⁴² The plates were most probably for the Ostervald *Mukhtaṣar*, and this may well have been the "Bible history and catechism" published at Astrakhan, of which mention has already been made.⁷⁴³ If so, copies must have been quickly distributed, and the plates worn out, as supplies of the Ostervald, as well as more of the Grotius, were sent to Astrakhan the following year.⁷⁴⁴ A thousand more copies of the Grotius, presumably also from stereotype plates, were printed at Astrakhan in 1823.⁷⁴⁵

But the CMS Arabic tract which seems to have achieved the greatest circulation, and aroused the greatest interest, in the Middle East before 1825, and which was specifically mentioned by several of the missionaries, was not an explicitly religious work at all. It was a description of the new Lancasterian system of

⁷³⁶ See above, pp.39-40.

⁷³⁷ Hole, op.cit., p.424.

⁷³⁸ Ibid., p.596.

⁷³⁹ Cf. Ellis, op.cit., I, 591, where a suggested date of 1833 is given, on what grounds is not known. Copies exist also in the Bodleian Library, Oxford and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (D.36844).

⁷⁴⁰ *Missionary Register* 1816, p.360.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid., p.360.

⁷⁴² *Missionary Register* 1817, p.493.

⁷⁴³ See above, pp.99-100.

⁷⁴⁴ *Missionary Register* 1818, p.470.

⁷⁴⁵ *Missionary Register* 1824, p.33.



"national" education⁷⁴⁶, prepared by Macbride with the assistance of the Syrian Christian poet and littérateur Mīkhā'īl Şabbāgh, and published in 1818 under the splendidly literary title of *Risālat al-Īdāh li-l-Şirāṭ al-Mustaqīm fī Sha'n al-Ta'līm*.⁷⁴⁷ It is well produced, using Martin's Arabic type-face⁷⁴⁸ and has no obviously Christian connexions: in fact, although London is stated as the place of publication, it carries the Muslim date 1233. It was stereotyped and immediately put into circulation "as opportunities offer": a large number was "sent to Malta for circulation among Mahomedans", from where copies were sent to Libya in 1818.⁷⁴⁹ The missionary James Connor mentioned that he had distributed many copies of it in Syria during his tour there in 1820.⁷⁵⁰ It evidently was read, and provoked some reaction, as he also later added that in future only scriptures should be sent there, not tracts, because of local suspicions concerning British political motives.⁷⁵¹

But the greatest impact made by this book was in Egypt. Copies were taken there by Fisk on his first visit in 1822⁷⁵²; but it seems that it had been circulated there earlier than that, perhaps by Burckhardt or Jowett. Félix Mengin, in his survey of contemporary Egypt, mentioned it, although he was under the mistaken impression that it was lithographed⁷⁵³; and it seems that some copies had come into the hands of Muḥammad 'Alī's officials and even of the Pasha himself. Moreover a school organised on the Lancasterian system, which had been established in Malta by Cleardo Naudi and others, was visited by an Egyptian whom Naudi called "Sadick Gibraltar ... son of Ismael Gibraltar, a man of much influence in Egypt, and much esteemed by the Viceroy".⁷⁵⁴ This Şādiq took a great interest in the system and undertook to promote it in Egypt, whither he returned

⁷⁴⁶ A system devised by the Quaker educationist Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838), according to which instruction was shared by senior pupils or monitors who drilled or exercised a number of classes within one school under the control of one schoolmaster. It was adopted and promoted by the British and Foreign Schools Society, and was regarded in England as the "national" system for educating the poor, until further reforms took place in the mid-19th century. Cf. F(itc)h,J.G. "Lancaster, Joseph", *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. S.Lee, Vol.XXXII, London 1892, pp.39-42.

⁷⁴⁷ Ellis, op.cit., II, 4-5.

⁷⁴⁸ See above, pp.39-40.

⁷⁴⁹ *Missionary Register* 1818, pp.439 & 470.

⁷⁵⁰ *Missionary Register* 1820, p.398; Connor, op.cit., p.454.

⁷⁵¹ *Missionary Register* 1820, p.525.

⁷⁵² Bond, op.cit., p.193.

⁷⁵³ Mengin,F. *Histoire de l'Égypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly*, tome second, Paris 1823, p.619, n.2.

⁷⁵⁴ Naudi,C. "Extracts of a letter to the Rev. Pliny Fisk, dated Malta, June 22, 1821", *Missionary Herald* 18 (1822), p.58; Kawerau, op.cit., p.186.

early in 1822; Naudi and his colleagues were to write to his father Ismā'il and to Muḥammad 'Alī himself in order to describe and commend it, and Ṣādiq would suggest sending two Egyptian students to Malta to study it.⁷⁵⁵ This last proposal does not seem to have been carried out, but Muḥammad 'Alī nevertheless was clearly interested in the Lancasterian idea; so much so, it appears, that he ordered the *Risālat al-Ṭḍāḥ* to be reprinted on his own press, newly established at Bulaq. Fisk saw "an Arab boy setting types" for this purpose on his visit there in May 1822.⁷⁵⁶ If this was in fact printed there at that time, it would have been among the earliest of all the Bulaq productions; but no copy of such a reprint seems to have survived, nor is it to be found in any of the lists of Bulaq editions which have been published.⁷⁵⁷ But in any case Muḥammad 'Alī continued to take an interest in the Lancasterian system, and later authorised its use in a school for Arab-Egyptian children run by Europeans in Alexandria in the 1830s⁷⁵⁸, and in special experimental classes (*fuṣūl tajrībīya*) in the Nāṣirīya Primary School between 1843 and 1848.⁷⁵⁹

* * * * *

These three Arabic tracts published by the CMS were intended to be part of "a series ... adapted to meet, in the most intelligible and impressive manner, the state of society, opinions, and information in various ... Mohamedan countries; and for the use of such Native Schools as may be established therein".⁷⁶⁰ At first it was hoped that they would all be written, translated and printed in Britain⁷⁶¹, and that "the Society will avail itself of the numerous facilities furnished for their distribution, by that empire of the seas, and that boundless intercourse with the nations, with which our country has been favoured".⁷⁶² But following the establishment of the Mediterranean Mission in 1815, and the appointment of William

⁷⁵⁵ Naudi, op.cit., p.58.

⁷⁵⁶ Bond, op.cit., p.193.

⁷⁵⁷ Reinaud [J.T.] "Notice des ouvrages arabes, persans et turcs imprimés en Egypte", *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* 8 (1831), pp.333sq.; Bianchi, T.X. "Catalogue général des livres arabes, persans et turcs, imprimés à Boulac en Egypte depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie dans ce pays", *Journal Asiatique* IV/2 (1843), pp.24sq.; Riḍwān, Abū 'l-Furūḥ, *Tārīkh Maḥba'at Būlāq*, Cairo 1953, pp.446sq.

⁷⁵⁸ St John, J.A. *Egypt and Mohammed Ali*, London 1834, Vol.II, pp.405-406; Heyworth-Dunne, op.cit., pp.281-282; Salāma, Jirjis, *Tārīkh al-ta'līm al-ajnabī fī Miṣr*, Cairo 1963, p.46.

⁷⁵⁹ 'Abd al-Karīm, Aḥmad 'Izzat, *Tārīkh al-ta'līm fī 'aṣr Muḥammad 'Alī*, Cairo 1938, pp.201-209.

⁷⁶⁰ *Missionary Register* 1814, p.51.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.52.

⁷⁶² *Ibid.*, pp.51-52.

Jowett as the first CMS missionary in the area, based in Malta, the policy changed. It was thereafter decided, under pressure from Jowett, that Arabic printing and publication could best be undertaken nearer to the Arab world; and so steps were taken to establish an Arabic press in Malta itself.

3. THE ORIGINS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ARABIC PRESS IN MALTA

The island of Malta occupies a central and pivotal position in the Mediterranean, between Europe, North Africa and the Middle East. Culturally, it is an amalgam of Arab and European elements, and geographically it lies on the main communications and trading axes between east and west, north and south. In 1800 it came under British rule, after which its importance as an entrepôt greatly increased, and it also became a base for the extension of British power and influence in the Mediterranean. As the French consul in that era expressed it, "cette île, en communication active avec l'Italie, l'Adriatique, le Levant, la mer Noire, l'Égypte, la Barbarie, l'Espagne, avait été considérée comme un magasin sur et le grenier de l'Angleterre".¹ Even the printed word was part of the traffic: it was reported as early as 1805 that an Italian paper printed in Malta was being distributed in Asia Minor and North Africa.² It was natural, therefore, when in 1815 the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) of London decided to establish a Mediterranean Mission for evangelising the peoples of southern Europe, North Africa and the Middle East, that their attention should be directed to Malta as an appropriate base and headquarters for such a venture.

Already in 1811 a Maltese, Dr Cleardo Naudi, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Malta, and subsequently local agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society³, had written to Josiah Pratt, Secretary of the CMS, urging that missionaries be sent for the purpose of "propagating the Christian Faith among Infidels, and of confirming it among the Ignorant".⁴ He was particularly concerned with "the multitude of Christians of different denominations in the

¹ Miège, D. *Histoire de Malte*, vol. III, Paris 1840, p. 500; cf. Miège, J.L. "Malte, île entrepôt", *Iles de Méditerranée: Actes de la table ronde du Groupement d'Intérêt Scientifique, Sciences Humaines sur l'Aire Méditerranéenne, Aix-en-Provence - octobre 1980*, Paris 1981 (Cahiers du Groupement, 4), pp. 39-48; Joffé, E.G.H. "British Malta and the Qaramanli dynasty (1800-1835)", *La vie économique des provinces arabes et leurs sources documentaires à l'époque ottomane*, tome III, ed. Abdeljelil Temimi, Zaghuan 1986, pp. 23-40; also in *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine / Al-Majalla al-Tārīkhīya al-Maghribīya*, 12 (1985), pp. 23-40.

² "Literary and philosophical intelligence, &c. &c.: Malta", *Christian Observer* 4 (1805), p. 442.

³ Sant, K. *It-traduzzjoni tal-Bibbja u l-ilsien Malti 1810-1850*, [Msida] 1975, p. 3. See above, p. 77.

⁴ Quoted in Stock, E. *The history of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. I, London 1899, p. 223.

Levant", where apparently he already had contacts.⁵ The Committee of the CMS responded positively, being probably influenced by, among other factors, a desire to supplant the Roman Catholic *Propaganda Fide*, and to rival the Latin missions in the Middle East.⁶ Naudi himself had pointed to the eclipse of the Propaganda at that time, resulting in the "ignorant Christians" being "deprived of the true light of the Gospel".⁷ The Committee were also "deeply impressed with the conviction that Malta has not been placed in our [British] hands merely for the extension and security of our political greatness", but that the Church of England "is called to the discharge of an important duty there" - to "collect the scattered remnants" of the Roman and other churches in the Mediterranean.⁸

Accordingly the CMS invited Naudi to London in 1813 to discuss their plans, and sent him back as their correspondent in Malta; in the same year they chose a young Cambridge graduate, William Jowett, as their "Literary Representative", to go to the Mediterranean, and to the Middle East in particular, to investigate the different religious communities there, Christian, Muslim and Jewish, and to formulate plans for "propagating Christian Knowledge" among them. Malta was to be his base; it was already, as we have seen, becoming a centre for bible distribution⁹, and the aim now was to make it a centre for publishing Christian literature for the whole Mediterranean.¹⁰

Jowett set out in 1815 and spent nine years sojourning and travelling in the eastern Mediterranean, from Malta to Greece, Turkey and Egypt, and later to Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. His experiences on these travels, his impressions of those among whom he went, and his vision for the future, are recorded in two books.¹¹ In both these works he laid great emphasis on the importance of education as a *sine qua non* for the spread of enlightenment and the evangelical message.¹² He established two criteria for assessing the

⁵ Hajjar, J. *L'Europe et les destinées du Proche-Orient (1815-1848)*, Tournai 1970, pp.10-11.

⁶ Tibawi, A.L. *British interests in Palestine 1800-1901*, London 1961, pp.20-22. On the Propaganda's role in the Middle East, see pp.54-56 above.

⁷ Stock, *op.cit.*, p.223.

⁸ CMS Report for 1812, quoted in Stock, *op.cit.*, pp.223-224 and in Sant, *op.cit.*, pp.6-7.

⁹ See above, pp.77-79.

¹⁰ Stock, *op.cit.*, pp.224-225.

¹¹ Jowett, W. *Christian researches in the Mediterranean, from MDCCCXV to MDCCCXX*, London 1822; *id.* *Christian researches in Syria and the Holy Land in 1823 and 1824*, London 1825.

¹² See especially *op.cit.* (*Mediterranean*), pp.305-315 and *op.cit.* (*Syria*), pp.335sq.

educational state of a people or community: firstly, the rate of literacy, and secondly, the nature of the books in use among them. "According to this index", he wrote, "it is truly lamentable to reflect how degraded, and, in some cases, how nearly extinct, is Education, in the countries of the East ... Every approach, therefore, towards conferring this blessing upon ignorant and untaught people, is worthy of the encouragement of every benevolent mind". But there were great difficulties in the way of this: these benighted people had a "habitual indifference to knowledge" and especially an "unwillingness to receive it from those whom they may consider as dangerous teachers".¹³

The most important task, therefore, was to prepare and provide a range of books which, it was thought, could overcome these difficulties and lay a foundation for Christian education and "enlightenment". In this endeavour, the greatest advantage which the missionaries could have on their side was the power of the printing press, on which Jowett expounded at length.¹⁴ "The power of the Press in the diffusion of knowledge", he asserted, "leads to intellectual superiority in every country, in proportion to the wisdom and vigour with which it is conducted".¹⁵ In the Mediterranean area, great benefits had already accrued to the Greeks and Armenians from printing; but "on the Asiatic and African shores of these seas the use of the Press is but little known", and it was confined to Christians, "Mahomedans nowhere, as yet, availing themselves of this powerful disseminator of knowledge: they have, in fact, a strong prejudice against printed books".¹⁶ In this Jowett was mistaken, as the Muslim Turks had introduced printing nearly a century before; however, as far as the Arab world was concerned, what he said was still substantially true, although in the same year that his book was published the Bulaq press came into operation in Egypt. Even there, though, the prejudice which he mentioned persisted for some time afterwards: in the 1830s, Lane was to describe the reluctance of Egyptian '*ulamā*', and even booksellers, to accept printed books as

¹³ Op.cit. (*Mediterranean*), p.305.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp.314-326.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.314.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.316.

legitimate.¹⁷ As for the Christian communities, "the Printing Establishment at the Convent of Mar-Hanna Souère [i.e. Shuwayr] on Mount Lebanon, has been of late years, the chief source of supply for the Scriptures and other Books in Arabic ... They proceed, however, but slowly; as they have but one Press, and are much hindered by their numerous Saints' Days".¹⁸ This press was described in greater detail by Jowett's fellow missionary James Connor, in a report included as an appendix to Jowett's book: he was told by the monks that their average yearly output was only 180 volumes, of which the greater part were psalters.¹⁹ Jowett omitted to mention the Syriac press at the Maronite convent of Quzḥayya, but otherwise his survey of printing activity, or lack of it, in the Arab Middle East seems fairly accurate. The earlier Arabic presses at Aleppo and Beirut were by that time defunct, and printing was not revived in those centres until later.²⁰ In the rest of the Arab world, the printing of Arabic books was yet to commence.

One response to the lack of printed books in the Middle East might have been to supply them direct from London. In the preceding chapter an account has been given of how Jowett, his predecessors and colleagues did distribute Arabic bibles, and a few tracts, printed in England.²¹ However, in Jowett's view this was not really satisfactory, because missionary books "should bear, as much as possible, a native aspect. The kind of paper and typography to which the eye is accustomed, will give more ready acceptance to Books", whereas Arabic books printed in England looked foreign, and also had too small a type-face.²²

So the conclusion was reached, "that it is desirable to encourage Printing Establishments among the People of the Mediterranean. The formation of one at Malta has been long in contemplation by the Society: and no place offers, perhaps, so many advantages to an undertaking of this nature".²³ He went on to enumerate some of these

¹⁷ Lane, E.W. *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, 5th ed. London 1860, pp.281-282. Lane was describing the state of affairs in the mid-1830s.

¹⁸ Jowett, op.cit. (*Mediterranean*), pp.316-317.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.448.

²⁰ Shaykhū, Luwīs, "Tārīkh fann al-ṭibā'a fī 'l-Mashriq", *Al-Mashriq* 3 (1900), pp.251-7, 355-362 & 501-503; Nasrallah, J. *L'imprimerie au Liban*, Beirut 1948, p.46; Gdoura, Wahid. *Le début de l'imprimerie à Istanbul et en Syrie: évolution de l'environnement culturel (1706-1787)*, Tunis 1985, pp.150-152 & 185.

²¹ See above, pp.79-103.

²² Jowett, op.cit. (*Mediterranean*), pp.319-320.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.320.

advantages. Besides the geographical one already mentioned, there was the climate, less harsh for Europeans than the mainland of North Africa or the Levant. Then there was the protection afforded by British sovereignty over the island, together with "a degree of comfort seldom to be attained in foreign countries", making it a suitable location for families, and a place to which missionaries in the Middle East could resort for reasons of health or literary activities. Last, but not least, it was a suitable centre for the study of Arabic, both colloquial (of which Maltese is a variety) and classical.²⁴

The CMS Committee in London were impressed by Jowett's reasoning, and when he wrote to them from Malta in June 1822, asking "that you without the least delay proceed to furnish me with a Press",²⁵ they immediately put the matter in hand, and by the end of August the chief Secretary, Josiah Pratt, was able to write back to Jowett: "the Printing Press was sent off ... several weeks since. We have written to Paris, and have directed the types which you fixed on to be forwarded without delay".²⁶

Nevertheless, the establishment of a printing press in Malta was not entirely a straightforward matter, and to understand why this was so, it is necessary to glance briefly at the previous history of printing there.²⁷ Although the first book was printed in Malta in 1643²⁸, and a few books, including Abela's famous work on the topography and history of the islands²⁹, were published there in the 17th century, it was not until the 18th century that printing really became established, and the continuous and authenticated history of Malta printing begins in 1756.³⁰ The press was established by the government of the Order of St John, which had ruled the islands since 1530, and it was from the start subject to rigorous censorship

²⁴ Ibid., pp.376-388.

²⁵ CM/O39/7, Jowett to Secs., 21.6.1822.

²⁶ CM/L1/19, Pratt to Jowett, 31.8.1822. The press was not transferred from Beirut, as stated in Agius, D. *Malta, centru għat-tagħlim ta' l-Għarbi fil-Mediterran (seklju sbatax sas-seklju dsatax)*, Valletta 1980, p.30.

²⁷ Parnis, E. *Notes on the first establishment, development and actual state of printing press in Malta*, Malta 1916; McMurtrie, D.C. *A memorandum on early printing on the island of Malta*, Chicago 1936; Gauci, A. *Origine e sviluppo della stampa in Malta*, Rome 1937; Clair, C. *The spread of printing: Eastern Hemisphere: Malta*, Amsterdam 1969; Pirota, J. *Duecento anni di stampa maltese (1643-1850)*, unpublished thesis (Tesi di Perfezionamento), Università degli Studi di Parma, Facoltà di Magistero, 1985-86.

²⁸ McMurtrie, D.C. *A Malta imprint of 1643*, Chicago 1939, cited in Clair, op.cit., p.8; Pirota, op.cit., pp.18-20 & 117.

²⁹ Abela, G.F. *Della descrizione di Malta*, Malta 1647 (title-page reproduced in Clair, op.cit., p.9).

³⁰ Clair, op.cit., pp.15-16; Pirota, op.cit., pp.31-43 & 119-122.

in the interests both of the Knights and of the Roman Catholic Church. Although a fleeting gesture towards press freedom was made by the French during their brief occupation (1798-1800), the British administration which took over in 1800 decided to continue the censorship, which could most conveniently be exercised by maintaining the monopoly of the Government Press. Therefore nobody was allowed to use a printing press without a licence from the Chief Government Secretary, which was issued only in exceptional circumstances.³¹

The main reason for this restrictive policy seems to have been a desire on the part of the British authorities not to antagonise the Roman Catholic Church, which had for long been dominant in Malta³², and on whose goodwill the British relied in maintaining their rule there. The Church was afraid that press freedom would result in "a flood of immoral and irreligious writings"³³ and, perhaps more likely, in the introduction of propaganda and missionary material by the Protestants, whom the British authorities might tacitly support. To allay such fears, the Governor issued proclamations and minutes in 1812, 1814 and 1825, banning all religious controversy or discussion in print.³⁴

It was against this background of monopoly and censorship that Jowett sought to establish his printing office for the CMS in 1822. Naturally the Roman Catholic hierarchy was alarmed at the prospect of a specifically Protestant and evangelical press operating on the island: already the local clergy had protested against the activities of the Bible Society established in Malta by Jowett and Naudi in 1817³⁵, which had distributed Italian and Maltese scriptures locally, as well as others further afield. The Government was therefore somewhat reluctant to sanction what might prove to be a threat to the religious, and consequently to the political, *status quo* in the colony. Nevertheless, Jowett managed to persuade the

³¹ Sir George Cornwall Lewis wrote in 1836 that the "system is as close as anything can well be. The Government permit no press, except one in their own control" - Lewis, Sir G.C. *Letters*, London 1870, p.69. Cf. Parnis, op.cit., p.7; Harding, H.W. *Maltese legal history under British rule*, Malta 1968, p.405; Clair, op.cit., p.18; Pirota, op.cit., pp.90sqq.

³² Figures given by Miège in 1840 indicate that 113,804 out of a population of 118,800 were Roman Catholics, the rest being mainly members of the British community. Miège, op.cit., I, p.160.

³³ Clair, op.cit., p.26.

³⁴ Bonnici, A. "The Church and freedom of the press in Malta", *Melita Historica*, 2 (1957), p.105.

³⁵ Wilson, S.S. *A narrative of the Greek mission; or sixteen years in Malta and Greece*, London 1839, p.69; Clair, op.cit., p.21. Cf. above, pp.77-78.

Chief Secretary that the press was intended only for printing material for use elsewhere, and, in view of the fact that American Protestant missionaries had already been granted permission to establish a press earlier in the same year³⁶, it was felt that permission could not reasonably be withheld. However, prior censorship of all publications was required, and "you must pledge yourself that none of them be issued, or made use of, in any way, in these Islands".³⁷ As we shall see, this pledge was not always to be honoured.

Although Jowett now had his press, and permission to use it, he still lacked types and a qualified printer. In March 1823 he received from France his first batch of roman types, but he was obliged to write to London to "renew my petition to you to send Arabic & Greek types".³⁸ However, he had to wait until May of the following year before he received an Arabic fount, and even then, "the imperfections ... are so numerous that we can make no use whatever of [it]". For instance, it entirely lacked the *tā' marbūṭa* (*hā' al-ta'nīth*) and certain essential ligatures, and had insufficient quantities of some other sorts. So although several Arabic texts were ready for printing, no progress could be made.³⁹ Not until the beginning of 1825, after further lengthy delays at the type-founders, was it possible to commence work in Arabic, and even then "some parts of the Arabic [fount] are still incomplete: but we can for the present just hobble on".⁴⁰ A trained printer, Henry Andrews, arrived early in 1824, but although Jowett had specifically requested that "the printer you send out be thoroughly versed in Arabic Printing", in fact he turned out not to be, and Jowett had to set the Arabic type himself, "to the great annoyance of my eyes and fingers' ends".⁴¹

At last, by May 1825, the first Arabic pages came off the press: primers and spelling-books, intended particularly for the American mission schools in Lebanon, and printed in editions of 2000 copies.⁴² Nevertheless, all was still not running smoothly, and by December

³⁶ See below, p.115.

³⁷ Communication from Chief Secretary to Jowett, quoted in CM/039/12, Jowett to Secs., 26.11.1822.

³⁸ CM/039/16, Jowett to Secs., 28.3.1823.

³⁹ CM/039/31a, Jowett to Secs., 29.5.1824.

⁴⁰ CM/039/44, Jowett to Secs., 7.3.1825; CM/L1/69, Bickerstoth to Jowett, 8.4.1825.

⁴¹ CM/039/21 & 50, Jowett to Secs., 18.7.1823 & 20.5.1825.

⁴² CM/039/50 & 51, Jowett to Secs., 20.5.1825 & 7.7.1825.

Jowett was again complaining that "it is quite impossible for me to touch Arabic at present".⁴³ The problem was not shortage of material, as a number of tracts and portions of the Bible had been translated into Arabic especially for the missionaries, mainly by 'Īsā Buṭrus, a Palestinian Christian recruited for this purpose by the American missionary Pliny Fisk.⁴⁴ It seems that the main difficulties were: firstly, the ill health of Andrews⁴⁵ ; secondly, continuing deficiencies in the type-fount⁴⁶ ; and, thirdly, Jowett's own lack of competence in Arabic.⁴⁷

The first problem was tackled by replacing Andrews, in January 1826, by another printer, August Köllner, who was joined the following year by John Kitto, who had gained some experience of Arabic type-setting in the London office of Richard Watts, the CMS's printer and type-founder.⁴⁸ They were followed in 1828 by Matthäus Weiss, a competent Swiss printer seconded by the Missionary Society in Basle, who remained with the Malta establishment until the end (and after).

The second problem continued to hamper operations, to greater or lesser degree, and in December 1826 Jowett, after more complaints of deficiencies in the Arabic Great Primer fount, made a further plea: "As our demand, our Labourers, and our Competitors, are all on the increase, it seemed desirable that this most important branch of the Printing Establishment should at length be placed on an efficient footing".⁴⁹ Nevertheless, nothing seems to have been done until in 1829 a new Arabic fount was requested, which the CMS Committee was at first reluctant to sanction. After all, wrote Dandeson Coates (who had succeeded Pratt as Secretary), "you have already two Founts - Great Primer and English⁵⁰ - and these ought not to be laid aside by the introduction of a new Fount, unless very strong reasons can be assigned for doing so".⁵¹ However, they were eventually persuaded

⁴³ CM/O39/60, Jowett to Secs., 16.12.1825.

⁴⁴ CM/O39/55, Jowett to Secs., 10.9.1825. See below, pp.136-137.

⁴⁵ See below, p.154.

⁴⁶ "The Arabic Great Primer ... must be *doubled*, to say the least of it" - CM/O39/67, Jowett to Secs., 28.2.1826.

⁴⁷ "Jowett was no Arabic scholar, and there is no evidence that he learned to read the language fluently" - Tibawi, *op.cit.*, p.24. This may perhaps be overstated, but it is at least partly corroborated by his continued failure properly to distinguish between literary and colloquial Arabic, and by the errors and solecisms which occur in the early editions for which he was responsible. See further below, pp.135-136 & 178-179.

⁴⁸ See below, p.182.

⁴⁹ CM/O39/84, Jowett to Secs., 21.12.1826. The principal "Competitor" was of course the Bulaq press in Egypt.

⁵⁰ These are type sizes: the reference is to Arabic type.

⁵¹ CM/L1/252-252, Coates to Jowett, 10.11.1829.

to commission Watts to produce the new fount, and it was sent to Malta in September 1830.⁵² But even this turned out to be "almost unfit for use", with some letters missing and others of the wrong size, so it was decided to try to obtain types from Paris.⁵³ Nothing came of this, however, and by September 1832 it was reported that the original Arabic types were "visibly wearing out".⁵⁴ The solution eventually adopted was to cut and cast Arabic type in Malta. A Swiss type-founder came from Basle in 1836 and prepared matrices so that, as Coates put it, "you would thus be enabled at all times to supply your own want of Arabic Types, without risk of delay, or imperfections, or variations in the size & form of the Letters".⁵⁵ Another larger and better set of punches was made at the beginning of 1837, and after some delays in casting, the new fount was eventually brought into use in 1838.⁵⁶

The third problem, the lack of persons competent in Arabic, was solved in two ways. On the one hand more missionaries were sent out to assist Jowett, and eventually to replace him, and care was taken to select those who attained a modicum of competence in literary Arabic, or showed sufficient aptitude for doing so. On the other hand, it was decided to recruit also Christian Arabs from the Middle East, to assist in the translation and typographical work. Both these policies were put into effect in the late 1820s, and by the early 1830s there was in Malta the nucleus of a team, later to be enlarged, of persons who were capable of producing Arabic printed books of an acceptable standard.

⁵² CM/L1/295 & CM/L2/3, Coates to Jowett, 7.7.1830 & 15.9.1830.

⁵³ CM/O18/11, Brenner to Coates, 3.12.1831; CM/O67/5, Weiss to Coates, 28.4.1832.

⁵⁴ CM/O18/14, Brenner to Coates, 11.9.1832.

⁵⁵ CM/L2/406-407, Coates to Schlienz, 30.3.1836.

⁵⁶ CM/O18/33 & 44, Brenner to Secs., 14.1.1837 & 6.9.1838; CM/O65/47, Schlienz to Secs., 10.3.1837.

4. OTHER MISSIONARY PRESSES IN MALTA

The geographical and political advantages of Malta as a missionary base for the Mediterranean and Middle East in the first half of the 19th century attracted others besides the CMS. These others also established presses there for the production of Christian literature, and this has led to considerable confusion, not least concerning the provenance of Arabic missionary publications.

The CMS was a specifically Anglican body, albeit evangelical; but there also existed in England an inter-denominational Protestant group, slightly older than the CMS, called the London Missionary Society (LMS). Their first representative had come to Malta in 1809, and ten years later they sent out one Samuel Wilson, who remained there until 1834.¹ In June 1822, just before Jowett and the CMS were ready, he applied to the Governor for permission to operate a press²; but like Jowett, he experienced long delays with equipment and type, and did not commence printing until 1 June 1826. By 1834 the LMS press in Malta had printed 132,000 books.³ Wilson makes it clear in his own account of the mission that "I was 'a debtor to the Greeks', and to them I turned my attention. Greece was 'my proper study'".⁴ Except for a few Italian works, nearly all the output was in modern Greek⁵, and no Arabic or other Middle Eastern languages were attempted. Clair, in his history of printing in Malta, unfortunately conflated the LMS and CMS presses and treated them as one, making Wilson the founder and Jowett the "regular printer".⁶ This has contributed to the considerable confusion surrounding the subject.

The greatest source of this confusion, however, has been the activity of the American missionary presses in Malta. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), a Congregationalist and Presbyterian body based in Boston

¹ Wilson, S.S. *A narrative of the Greek mission; or sixteen years in Malta and Greece*, London 1839, pp.62 & 75.

² CM/O39/7, Jowett to Secs., 21.6.1822.

³ Wilson, *op.cit.*, p.109.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.86.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.109. An 1827 visitor also observed that "the Independent [i.e. LMS] missionary press attends chiefly to publications in modern Greek" - Bigelow, A. *Travel in Malta and Sicily, with sketches of Gibraltar*, in *MDCCCXXVII*, Boston (USA) 1831, p.201.

⁶ Clair, C. *The spread of printing: Eastern Hemisphere: Malta*, Amsterdam 1969, p.22.

(Massachusetts), resolved in 1818 to establish a mission in "Jerusalem and ... parts of Western Asia".⁷ They sent out two missionaries, Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk, who after a brief meeting with Jowett in Malta at the end of 1819, spent some time travelling and residing in various parts of the Middle East. Fisk returned to Malta in April 1822 and joined Daniel Temple, who had brought from Boston a small printing press for the use of American missionaries in the Mediterranean. This had been purchased from subscriptions raised for the purpose "through the liberality of gentlemen in New York and Boston".⁸ Although it was intended to print propaganda mainly for Greece and Palestine, Malta was chosen as the location, because it offered more security.⁹ As the Board's Assistant Secretary (later Secretary) Rufus Anderson put it, "the location of the press at Malta, was not the result of design, but because printing could not be done safely, if at all, either at Smyrna or at Beirut".¹⁰ On 1 July 1822 the Governor of Malta granted permission for the press to operate, subject to prior censorship¹¹, and the first tracts were printed in December.¹² Temple, although described by a later fellow missionary as "of a grave and serious temperament, looking on the dark side"¹³, nevertheless went so far as to predict that "Malta is, perhaps, destined by Providence to be in our times another Wittenberg, in promoting the Reformation of the nineteenth century".¹⁴

These tracts, however, were in Italian and Greek, not in Arabic¹⁵,

⁷ Tibawi, A.L. *American interests in Syria 1800-1901*, Oxford 1966, p.12. The history of American missions in the Middle East, and their presses, has given rise to a considerable literature. What follows is drawn mainly from Tracy, J. *History of American missions*, Worcester (USA) 1840; Choules, J.O. & Smith, T. *The origin and history of missions*, 6th ed. Boston (USA) 1842; Anderson, R. *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, Boston 1872-73; Laurie, T. *The Ety volume, or, the contributions of our foreign missions to science and human well-being*, 2nd ed. Boston (USA) 1885; Strong, W.E. *The story of the American Board*, Boston 1910; Burke, W.J. "The American mission press at Malta", *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 41 (1937), pp.526-529; Kawerau, P. *Amerika und die orientalischen Kirchen*, Berlin 1958; Tibawi, op.cit.; Field, J.A. *America and the Mediterranean world, 1776-1882*, Princeton 1969; Daniel, R.L. *American philanthropy in the Near East, 1820-1960*, Athens (USA) 1970; Abu-Ghazaleh, Adnan, *American missions in Syria*, Brattleboro 1982 (*The Search*, 3 iv). Much the best researched are the contributions of Kawerau and Tibawi, both of whom made extensive use of the ABCFM archives.

⁸ Choules & Smith, op.cit., vol.II, p.299; Laurie, op.cit., p.206.

⁹ Burke, op.cit., p.526.

¹⁰ Anderson, op.cit., vol.I, p.73.

¹¹ Bond, A. *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk*, Edinburgh 1828, p.194.

¹² Tibawi, op.cit., p.52, quoting ABCFM sources. Burke was evidently wrong in giving August as the starting date (op.cit., p.526); likewise Clair, op.cit., p.22.

¹³ Jessup, H.H. *Fifty three years in Syria*, London 1910, vol.I, p.47.

¹⁴ Quoted by Burke, op.cit., p.527. Wittenberg was the German town from which most of Luther's massive output of printed propaganda emanated.

¹⁵ Kawerau, op.cit., pp.204-205; Tibawi, op.cit., p.52.

even though the nature of the American missionary work which was envisaged, especially in Lebanon and Palestine, made the provision of Arabic books a prime requirement. This was because Temple had no Arabic type, and in any case did not know the language; nor for that matter were any of the other missionaries yet competent in it, although Jonas King, who passed through Malta at the end of 1822, had studied with Silvestre de Sacy in Paris¹⁶, and Fisk received Arabic lessons from a Maltese priest.¹⁷ In view of this, it was natural that there should at first be some co-operation and division of labour with the CMS press, which, as we have seen, was being established at precisely the same time. Jowett, who had at first viewed the Americans' plans with some consternation, as rivalling his own, was by July 1822 himself thinking along these lines: "the American Missionaries will give up to us, I have no doubt, the conducting of an Italian Periodical Publication ... Greek, no doubt, they will take. I may perhaps beg Arabic of them".¹⁸ The CMS Secretary, Pratt, however, wrote from London that "as the Americans are not likely to settle in Malta, you may consider them, I think, as in no way superseding your own plans, or as likely to render your use of Greek and Arabic at your press unnecessary".¹⁹ Nevertheless, Jowett continued to think in terms of a division of labour, and the following January reported that the Americans had Roman, Greek and Armenian types, but "omitting Arabic ... because they understand that the Church Missionary Society intends to furnish Arabic - This instance of courtesy may surely serve to quicken our activity in commencing Arabic".²⁰

This co-operation between the two missionary establishments continued, and is reflected in the fact that many of the Arabic publications of the CMS were supplied to, and to a certain extent designed for, the American missions, especially in Lebanon, where they were shipped in substantial quantities.²¹ Jowett furthermore made use of Fisk, Goodell and other American missionaries, in commissioning Arabic translations from Palestine and elsewhere.²² The

¹⁶ Tibawi, *op.cit.*, p.22.

¹⁷ Bond, *op.cit.*, pp.201-202.

¹⁸ CM/O39/8, Jowett to Secs., 22.7.1822.

¹⁹ CM/L1/19, Pratt to Jowett, 31.8.1822.

²⁰ CM/O39/14, Jowett to Secs., 7.1.1823.

²¹ CM/O39/50 & 51, Jowett to Secs., 20.5.1825 & 7.7.1825. See further below, pp.290-295.

²² CM/O39/55 & 81, Jowett to Secs., 10.9.1825 & 19.10.1826.

CMS also later printed two polemical tracts written in Arabic by Americans, Jonas King's *Farewell* [1833] and Isaac Bird's *Thirteen letters* (1834), as well as an account by Bird and Goodell of the death of Fisk (1827).²³

Despite this, the Americans continued to entertain the idea of using their own press for printing Arabic. In 1824 a second press was acquired and in 1825 Jonas King was sent to Europe to procure supplies of both Armenian and Arabic types, using funds raised for the purpose in France and Britain. Although he quickly succeeded with the Armenian, and printing started in that language (or rather Armeno-Turkish) in Malta in 1828, the Arabic took longer. It was not until late in 1829 that it was delivered, having been cast, like that of the CMS, by Richard Watts in London and obtained through the good offices of Jowett.²⁴

Two other problems, however, besides the late arrival of the type-fount, were holding up Arabic work at the American press. One was the lack of a competent printer. Temple, it seems, lacked the necessary aptitude, and at an early stage Fisk reported that "there will be continual difficulties, hindrances, and perplexities, until we have a missionary printer, an able, faithful, pious man".²⁵ Continual difficulties there were, even after Temple was joined in 1826 by Homan Hallock, a qualified printer, but "eccentric, sarcastic, and resentful of authority", with whom he was unable to work well.²⁶ Neither Hallock nor Temple knew Arabic, and Temple pointed out in July 1828 that when "the expected Arabic fount" arrived, they would need an extra man for that.²⁷

This lack of knowledge of the language, on the part of both printers and missionaries, was the third, and major, problem delaying the production of Arabic books. As an American visitor to the Malta establishment in 1827 remarked, "The missionary ... must be well conversant with the language of a people whom he addresses, else the trumpet gives an uncertain sound".²⁸ At the end of 1826, the American missionaries in Beirut had sent the Lebanese scholar Fāris

²³ See below, pp.238-240.

²⁴ Tracy, *op.cit.*, p.145; H[aines], F.E. *Jonas King, missionary to Syria and Greece*, New York 1879, pp.200-201; Burke, *op.cit.*, p.528; Kawerau, *op.cit.*, pp.207-208; Tibawi, *op.cit.*, p.52.

²⁵ Bond, *op.cit.*, p.209.

²⁶ Daniel, *op.cit.*, pp.22 & 32; Clair, *op.cit.*, p.22; Tibawi, *op.cit.*, p.49.

²⁷ CM/O39/121, Temple to Jowett, 25.7.1828.

²⁸ Bigelow, *op.cit.*, p.203.

al-Shidyāq, then in danger of his life because of his Protestant connections, to Malta to assist with Arabic translation.²⁹ However, because the Americans had as yet no Arabic type, and no competent missionary to supervise his work, he was employed instead at the CMS press, at first as an Arabic tutor, then also, by 1828, as a translator.³⁰ In the meantime, a new American missionary, Eli Smith, had been sent out in 1826, specifically to undertake the task of preparing and publishing missionary literature in Arabic; for this purpose he went on to Egypt and Lebanon almost immediately, to improve his knowledge of the language.³¹ In May 1828, along with all the other missionaries in Lebanon, he returned to Malta because of insecurity resulting from the Greco-Turkish war.³² There it was arranged with Jowett that Smith was "to have an equal share of the benefit of his [Shidyāq's] assistance", with his salary to be paid partly by the CMS, and partly by the Americans.³³ However, this gave rise to difficulties and tensions, and in July 1828 Temple wrote to Jowett that the arrangement for Shidyāq "to serve two masters" was unsatisfactory and that he was therefore no longer required.³⁴ By the time the Arabic fount arrived in 1829 he was in Egypt, whither he had gone, it seems, partly because of ill-health exacerbated by the pressures which the Americans had put upon him.³⁵ He later returned to Malta to work for the CMS, and his role there will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

By the end of the 1820s, therefore, the Americans in Malta had still made hardly any progress with Arabic work. Temple regretted in July 1828 that "we have, as yet, not a single sentence translated into Arabic".³⁶ So when the Arabic fount finally arrived at the end of 1829, they were still unable to make use of it. Smith reported hopefully at that time that they looked forward to getting "our Arabic fount into active operation, so as to furnish them [the missions in Lebanon] with a variety of tracts in the native dialect

²⁹ See below, pp.207-208.

³⁰ CM/O65/1 & 4, Schlienz to Secs., 24.5.1827 & 20.5.1828. See further below, pp.208sqq.

³¹ Choules & Smith, *op.cit.*, II p.300; Burke, *op.cit.*, p.528; Kawerau, *op.cit.*, p.206.

³² Tibawi, *op.cit.*, p.50.

³³ CM/O39/110, Jowett to Schlienz, 24.4.1828.

³⁴ CM/O39/121, Temple to Jowett, 23.7.1828.

³⁵ See below, pp.209-211.

³⁶ CM/O39/121, Temple to Jowett, 25.7.1828.

[sic] of the country".³⁷ However, the next two years were occupied almost entirely in the preparation and printing of material in Greek and Armeno-Turkish³⁸, and Eli Smith was away, first in Turkey and Armenia (1830-31), then in the United States (1832-33). When in February 1833 the celebrated American writer Ralph Waldo Emerson visited his compatriots in Malta, he noted that they "print in modern Greek, in Italian, in Armenian, & in Turkish" - no mention of Arabic.³⁹ This is confirmed by Smith himself, who in the same year reported that "our own press had not begun to print in Arabic".⁴⁰ By the time he himself returned to Malta in October of that year, a definite decision had been taken to remove the entire American missionary establishment away from the island, and to set up separate presses, for Armenian, Greek and Turkish in İzmir, and for Arabic in Beirut.⁴¹

By the time these transfers took place, some 350,000 copies of books and tracts had been printed in Malta.⁴² Strong, in his history of the ABCFM, says that they had there three presses and founts in seven languages, but "most of the printing was done in but three, Italian, modern Greek, and Armeno-Turkish".⁴³ The Arabic fount, in the end, was never used there: Smith, the only one competent to supervise its use, did not return to Malta until October 1833, and in December the move to Beirut began. As Kawerau points out, it is hardly likely that any books were printed between those two months.⁴⁴ This is confirmed by the fact that Isaac Bird's polemic against the Maronites, *Thalātha 'ashara risāla*, which was completed in the summer of 1833 and sent to Malta for printing, was in fact printed at the CMS press.⁴⁵

Kawerau therefore asserts that "alle Malta-Drucke in arabischer Sprache sind demnach Erzeugnisse der Druckerei der Church Missionary

³⁷ Choules & Smith, op.cit., II, p.302.

³⁸ Ibid., p.302; Tracy, op.cit., p.213; Burke, op.cit., pp.528-529.

³⁹ Emerson, R.W. *The journals and miscellaneous notebooks*, ed. A.R.Ferguson, vol.IV, Cambridge (USA) 1964, p.118. The "Turkish" would have been Armeno-Turkish.

⁴⁰ Smith, E. *Missionary sermons*, Boston (USA) 1833, p.167, quoted in Kawerau, op.cit., p.209 n.216.

⁴¹ Tibawi, op.cit., p.61.

⁴² Burke, op.cit., p.529; Clair, op.cit., p.25.

⁴³ Strong, op.cit., p.85.

⁴⁴ Kawerau, op.cit., p.209 n.216.

⁴⁵ Tracy, op.cit., p.237. See below, p.239 and item 55 in Appendix A.

⁴⁶ Kawerau, op.cit., p.209 n.216.

Society"⁴⁶ , and Tibawī arrives at the same conclusion⁴⁷ , which all the available evidence does indeed support. Furthermore, with only one exception, all the Arabic books with Malta imprints or attributable to Malta, in the library catalogues and collections in Britain and elsewhere which have been investigated for this study, correspond with contemporary lists and references to be found in the CMS archives.⁴⁸ If the Americans had printed Arabic books in Malta, it would be surprising if none were extant.

Despite this weight of evidence, however, the notion that they did do so has been a remarkably persistent one.⁴⁹ Its origins seem to lie in false claims to that effect by two 19th-century historians of the American missions. In 1872-73 Rufus Anderson, Secretary of the ABCFM, wrote a two-volume history of the Board's missions, in which he stated that "previous to the arrival of the Mission Press at Beirut, the following tracts had been issued from it at Malta": King's *Farewell letter*, As'ad al-Shidyāq's *Statement* and Bird's *Reply to the Maronite Bishop*.⁵⁰ In fact all these three, although issued primarily on behalf of the Americans, had definitely been printed at the CMS press.⁵¹ It is strange that Anderson, who was already Secretary of the Board at that time, and himself initiated the transfer of the press to Beirut⁵² , should have made such a mistake. It may perhaps be attributed to his personal desire to present the American Press as a pioneer in Arabic publishing, in which he was followed by another senior missionary of the period, Thomas Laurie, who also asserted, in his survey of American missionary activity, that "up to 1835 our Arabic printing was done in Malta".⁵³ His junior colleague in the field, Henry Jessup, gave further currency to this

⁴⁷ Tibawi, *op.cit.*, p.71.

⁴⁸ See Appendix A below. The one exception (item 98 in Appendix A) is printed with the types cast in Malta for the CMS in 1838 (more than four years after the Americans had left), and was probably inadvertently left off the lists.

⁴⁹ Recent examples of it are the article "Printing and publishing: Arabic" by D.H.Partington in *Encyclopaedia of Library and Information Science*, vol.24 (1978), p.65; the guide to an exhibition entitled *Early Arabic printing* at the British Library, London 1979, p.[2]; an article "Arabic and the art of printing" in *ARAMCO World Magazine* 32 ii (1981), p.34; the large-scale exhibition catalogue entitled *Le livre et le Liban*, Paris 1982, pp.308-313; and the contribution of Prof. G.Endress on "Die Anfänge der arabischen Typographie und die Ablösung der Handschrift durch den Buchdruck" in *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, Bd.I, Wiesbaden 1982, p.293.

⁵⁰ Anderson, *op.cit.*, II, p.514.

⁵¹ Items 45, 49 and 55 in Appendix A. See also pp.238-240 below.

⁵² Tibawi, *op.cit.*, p.62.

⁵³ Laurie, *op.cit.*, p.208. This was not strictly untrue, because, as mentioned above, several of the CMS Arabic publications were done primarily for the Americans and distributed by them; but he failed to state that the American press did not itself do the printing.

misconception in his widely read semi-autobiographical account of the Syrian mission.⁵⁴

Meanwhile, the well-known Lebanese literary historian Luwīs Shaykhū (Louis Cheikho) had published a comprehensive survey of Arabic printing in the Levant up to the beginning of the 20th century, in a series of articles in the periodical *Al-Mashriq* in 1900-02, in which he jumped to the same erroneous conclusion; although, as a Roman Catholic and Jesuit, he can have had no interest in promoting American Protestant missionary claims to have been pioneers in such matters. He even went so far as to publish a list of the Arabic works supposedly printed by the Americans in Malta: however, all the titles which he listed are CMS publications. As many of these carry dates after 1833, he further erroneously deduced that "a section of its [the American Press's] equipment remained in Malta at least until 1842".⁵⁵ Shaykhū was followed by another Catholic literary historian, Georg Graf, who, in his monumental work on Christian Arabic literature, also attributed certain books, such as Farḥāt's grammar, to the American press in Malta, although he was aware that the CMS published many Arabic works there.⁵⁶ Later Nasrallah, in his history of printing in Lebanon, also followed Shaykhū in regarding the Malta establishment as "le noyau de l'Imprimerie Americaine de Beyrouth", citing some of the titles from Shaykhū's list⁵⁷; likewise the French scholar Demeerseman, in an important contribution to Arabic printing history published in 1954.⁵⁸ Finally the Muslim and modern Arab historians of printing have also fallen into the same error⁵⁹, which, as we have seen, continues to manifest itself even in quite recent publications and exhibitions.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Jessup, op.cit., I, p.45. Several subsequent accounts of American missionary and educational activities in the Middle East, relying on these sources, have perpetuated the error, e.g. Avery, R. *Ink on their thumbs: the antecedents of the Redhouse Press*, Istanbul 1970; Winger, F.L. "Books and the early missionaries in the Near East", *Journal of Library History* 6 (1971), pp.26-28.

⁵⁵ Luwīs Shaykhū, "Tārīkh fann al-ṭibā'a fī 'l-Mashriq", *Al-Mashriq* 3 (1900), p.504.

⁵⁶ Graf, G. *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Rome 1944-53, vol. III, p.47 & IV, p.273.

⁵⁷ Nasrallah, J. *L'imprimerie au Liban*, Beirut 1948, p.50.

⁵⁸ Demeerseman, A. *L'imprimerie en Orient et au Maghreb*, Tunis 1954, p.2 n.10. Also published in *IBLA* 17 (1954).

⁵⁹ Boubakeur, H. "La prensa árabe", *Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos* 14 (1951), p.19; Abū 'l-Futūḥ Ridwān, *Tārīkh Maḥba'at Būlāq*, Cairo 1953, p.25; Khaḥlī Ṣabā, *Tārīkh al-ṭibā'a fī 'l-Sharq al-'Arabī*, 2nd ed. Cairo 1966, pp.47-48.

⁶⁰ See above, p.120, n.49.

The perpetuation of the myth of the 'American Arabic Press in Malta might perhaps be regarded as a trifling inaccuracy, of slight importance in the history of Arabic printing and publishing, were it not that it has led to an inflated assessment of the importance of the American missions in the Arab renaissance (*nahḍa*) in the 19th century. George Antonius, for example, in his very influential book *The Arab awakening* (1938), attributed to them a vital and seminal role in that movement, by virtue of what he regarded as their pioneering activity in printing and publishing⁶¹, and later writers have also made extravagant claims.⁶² However, when it is realised that the American Arabic press did not start printing until 1835, after it had moved to Beirut, and even then at first only reprinted a few earlier CMS books⁶³, then the matter appears in a different perspective. For by 1835 two other presses had already been producing Arabic books for the Middle East for a decade or more, actively seeking in their different ways to spread enlightenment by typographic means, and thereby both to alter the mental habits and consciousness of the Arab literate classes, and to widen those classes. These were Muḥammad 'Alī's press at Bulaq, and the CMS press in Malta.⁶⁴ Of the two, Bulaq was undoubtedly the more important; but the Malta press, especially after Shidyāq and other scholars had joined the establishment, did play a significant part, and further consideration must now be given to its policies, personnel and achievements.

⁶¹ Antonius, G. *The Arab awakening*. London 1938, pp.37sqq.

⁶² E.g. Grabill, J.L., *Protestant diplomacy and the Near East*, Minneapolis 1971, p.22: "The Protestants converted Near Easterners to America's bookish culture ... [American] Protestants had an important place ... in bringing the Gutenberg epoch to the Ottoman Empire".

⁶³ Tibawi, op.cit., p.82. The tendency to overestimate the importance of the American missions in this field clearly incensed this author, who has gone into the subject at some length in this work, and in two others: "Al-lughā al-'Arabīya fī kutub al-mubashshirīn al-awwalīn", *Majallat Majma' al-Lughā al-'Arabīya bi-Dimashq* 47 (1972) and *Arabic and Islamic themes*, London 1976, pp.259 & 305-306.

⁶⁴ The Ottoman state press at Istanbul also published some Arabic works in this period, mainly grammatical and legal. But it is not clear to what extent, if at all, they were distributed in the Arab world. Reinaud [J.T.] *Notice des ouvrages arabes, persans, turcs et français, imprimés à Constantinople*, Paris (1831), pp.2-5.

5. THE POLICIES OF THE C.M.S. PRESS IN MALTA

5.1 The extension of knowledge

We have already seen that the establishment of the CMS press in Valletta resulted from Jowett's view, endorsed by the Committee in London, that effective missionary work in the Middle East depended on the spread of education, which in turn depended on a supply of suitable books to help diffuse both literacy and enlightened knowledge. Already in the 18th century the celebrated French savant and traveller Volney had pointed out the importance of printed books in the spread of enlightenment, and how the lack of them was a major reason for the backwardness and stagnation which he conceived to be characteristic of Arab society at that time.¹ In support of this contention, he cited the increase in reading and writing, "and even a sort of information", among the Christians since the establishment of the press at the Monastery of Mār Ḥannā at Shuwayr in Lebanon in the 1730s. However, in his view the press's potential for such improvement was vitiated by the exclusively religious nature of the books printed. Jowett and the CMS of course did not share Volney's atheistic view of the deadening effect of Christian literature, but they did, like him, look to the press as a powerful agent in creating an Arab public receptive to the diffusion of "sound principles and useful knowledge".²

In Jowett's view, characteristic, perhaps, of the optimism of contemporary Britain, entering an era of unprecedented economic and political expansion, there was almost unbounded scope in this field: "I see no limits to our Arabic Works for many years to come; in fact, I see no limits at all".³ This idea of the limitless diffusion of knowledge, which would have seemed quite strange, even sacrilegious, to traditionally-minded Arabs at that time, underlay much of the work of the Malta press, however limited its achievements may have been in practice. The preface to a text-book on geography printed at Malta in 1836, for instance, states that "knowledge (*'ilm*) has an extent (*madan*) the extreme limit (*ghāya*) of

¹ Volney, C.F. *Travels through Syria and Egypt in the years 1783, 1784 and 1785*, London 1787, vol. II, pp. 448-454.

² Jowett, W. *Christian researches in the Mediterranean*, London 1822, p. 321.

³ CM/O39/97, Jowett to Secs., 9.11.1827.

which shall not be attained".⁴ The importance of the wide availability of books in the extension and transmission of knowledge is even stressed in a book of exercises, written by Fāris al-Shidyāq and George Badger for Arabs learning English, in which the sentences include: "in London alone, there are ... nearly 1000 new books issued annually, with numberless reviews, magazines, periodicals &c. from the different literary, scientific, and religious institutions in the country, and from private individuals", whereas in the East, "much of our literature⁵ is lost to us, and what remains is possessed by a few individuals who do not think it their interest to give it a wider spread among the people" - hence "it is much easier to procure books in Europe than it is in the East", and "there are many private gentlemen [in Europe] who have very extensive libraries, and no person who can afford it is without a choice collection of books".⁶

The message and intentions are therefore clear: the advantages which Europe has gained from the adoption of printing and the organisation and extension of knowledge through the printed word, could accrue also to the Arabs, if printed books were likewise to be made available to them. The Malta press was not of course alone in the field. Apart from the Shuwayr press in Lebanon, which Jowett had mentioned in his survey of 1822⁷, he had become aware by the beginning of 1823 that "At Cairo the Bashaw has an Arabic printing-press, & they have been printing our Arabic Tract on Education".⁸ By 1828, serious attention had to be paid to what Muḥammad 'Alī was having published at Bulaq, and the CMS missionaries in Egypt were requested to send "a List & 2 sets of all the books printed at the Bashaw's Press"⁹, in addition to certain others that had already been supplied.¹⁰

⁴ [Mitchell, J. & others] *Kitāb al-Kanz al-mukhtār*, 3rd ed. Malta 1836, pp.6-7. The preface was almost certainly written by Fāris al-Shidyāq. See below, pp.251-252 & item 70 in Appendix A.

⁵ Literature in the broadest sense: *funūn* in the Arabic rendering.

⁶ [Badger, G.P. & Fāris al-Shidyāq] *Kitāb al-Muḥāwara al-unsīya fi 'l-lughatayn al-Inkilīziya wa 'l-'Arabīya*, Malta 1840, pp.99 & 133. See further below, pp.245-247 & item 92 in Appendix A.

⁷ See above, p.108.

⁸ CM/O39/14, Jowett to Secs., 7.1.1823. This is a reference to the essay entitled *Risālat al-Īdāḥ li-l-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm fi sha'n al-ta'līm*, London 1233 [1818]. See above, pp.101-103.

⁹ CM/L1/198, Jowett (London) to Schlienz, 5.11.1828.

¹⁰ CM/O65/4, Kruse (Alexandria) to Schlienz, 1.3.1828.

5.2 Typography & lithography

The interest in the Bulaq publications was no doubt prompted by a natural desire to see what other printed books were competing for readers in the Arab world, and especially in Egypt, which had the largest literate class. But another reason was the desire to find or emulate a suitable Arabic type-face. We have already seen that the first types sent from London had proved defective and inadequate, that even replacements sent in 1839 were unsatisfactory, and that eventually in 1836 the decision was taken to prepare punches and matrices for a new fount, to be cast locally in Malta.¹¹ For this purpose, Jowett's successor Christoph Schlienz was determined to adopt a new style which would appeal to Arab readers. Already in 1831 his assistant Peter Brenner had reported that "the Arabs generally dislike the characters of the books issued from our Press"¹², and in 1837 Schlienz observed that

"there are two types, employed for printing, at present, which have Arabic taste, the type of the Grand Sultan & the Pasha of Egypt, & that of the Propaganda of Rome ... this latter one we of course cannot get, & the first one, though we might perhaps get it, is so ill cast, that it looks like the Turkish houses, everywhere out of joint, & ready to tumble to the ground".¹³

But the same year their own type-founder had, with the aid of Matthäus Weiss, the CMS printer in Malta, George Badger and Fāris al-Shidyāq (who had in his youth been a professional scribe), succeeded in producing what Schlienz regarded as "the most perfect types in Arabic that I have ever seen".¹⁴

As an alternative to movable type, lithography was also considered at an early stage, but in 1824 Jowett wrote that, for the reproduction of texts, it was impracticable without "perfect Masters - (& less than perfect will not do) - in the Art of Oriental Penmanship".¹⁵ Nevertheless, when in 1832 Schlienz discovered that a German lithographer named Brocktorff was living in Malta, the opportunity seemed too good to miss, and not only was he contracted

¹¹ See above, pp.112-113.

¹² CM/O13 11, Brenner to Coates, 3.12.1831.

¹³ CM/O65 50, Schlienz to Secs., 1.9.1837.

¹⁴ CM/O65 47, Schlienz to Secs., 10.3.1837. These types, and their predecessors, are discussed further in Chapter 7, section 2 below.

¹⁵ CM/O34 36, Jowett to Secs., 23.10.1824.

to execute specific work, but also his son was taken into the service of the CMS establishment: "a clever youth ... whom we intend chiefly to employ in Lithography. He will prepare maps, large Arabic writing lessons, perhaps soon in the Cufic Characters etc."¹⁶ The maps were issued the following year, in the form of an atlas¹⁷, and the writing lessons in the form of a large calligraphic copying-book, possibly prepared by 'Isa Rassam, who was working for the Malta press at that time. Kufic, however, must have proved beyond him, as no specimen of that style was included.¹⁸ Lithography also proved useful for illustrations, as an alternative to the rather crude wood engravings otherwise used. However, no attempt was ever made to reproduce complete manuscript texts in Arabic script by lithography, as later became common practice in Egypt, North Africa, Iran, India and elsewhere.¹⁹

5.3 Readership

5.3.1 Muslims, Christians & Jews

For whom were the Arabic books intended? The difficulties of conducting missionary work among the Muslims, who constituted the great majority of the Arab population, were realised from the outset. For one thing it was contrary to the Islamic *Shari'a*, which was still the fundamental law of the Ottoman state, of which the Arab countries were provinces, and Christian instruction of any sort among Muslims would therefore not be tolerated by the Turkish authorities.²⁰ In any case, as Jowett pointed out, Muslims would automatically reject Christian religious books²¹, and there were limits to the proper functions of such a body as the CMS in supplying secular reading materials for Muslims.²² Still, it might be possible to provide some acceptable books, even though direct educational work among Muslims was "not, as yet ... the immediate and proper work of a Missionary Society", because "there are,

¹⁶ CM/O65/21, Schlienz to Secs., 30.6.1832. On the Brocktorffs, see further below, pp.164-165.

¹⁷ See below, pp.252-253 & items 51 & 66 in Appendix A.

¹⁸ See below, p.243 & item 68 in Appendix A.

¹⁹ Cf. Demeerseman, A. *La lithographie arabe*, Tunis 1954, passim; also published in *IBLA* 16 (1953). But a lithographed Syriac primer, written by Rassam, was printed in Malta in 1833: see below, p.188.

²⁰ This point is emphasised by Tibawi in his *British interests in Palestine*, London 1961, pp.22-23.

²¹ Jowett, op.cit., p.306.

²² *Ibid.*, p.309.

indeed, parts of that work in which a Missionary may assist".²³

So Jowett, and his superiors in London, did not entirely rule out the publication of books for Muslim readers, and the idea periodically came to the fore in their policy-making. In 1829, for instance, after the Graeco-Turkish war and its aftermath, Bickersteth wrote to Malta that "the weakening of the Turkish Empire cannot fail to tend to weaken that Imposture of which it was one of the main bulwarks & we trust many an inlet will be thus afforded for those little messengers of mercy that the Malta press is increasingly sending forth".²⁴ Again in 1833, the Egyptian occupation of Palestine and Syria, and the extension of Muḥammad 'Alī's relatively liberal policies there, prompted Coates to observe, in scarcely less sanctimonious language, that "the progressive opening of the countries where Arabic is vernacular to the reception of our publications, affords the strongest encouragement to the prosecution of this [Arabic] branch of our labours. You will, we doubt not, constantly keep in view the importance of improving this advantage by bringing forward, as circumstances favour and permit, Works adapted to impart to the Mahomedan population an acquaintance with Scriptural Christianity and to impress on their hearts the influence of the saving truths of the Gospel".²⁵

Such a direct approach, however, was naively impractical, and was not in fact what Schlienz, Jowett's successor as Superintendent in Malta, had in mind. Already the previous year he had outlined a somewhat more sophisticated response to the "liberal" policies of Muḥammad 'Alī and Ibrāhīm in Egypt and Syria. In his words,

"We deem it our duty to prepare works for the direct use of Mahomedans adapted to their present state. These will be (a) works on education, & (b) works for the distribution among the adults ... [including] Fable, Proverb, History, Geography, Natural History, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy etc. This plan is recommendable, not only, because the Mahomedans show themselves much disposed at present for the study of these things, but also, because it is most essential for the

²³ Ibid., p.312.

²⁴ CM/L1/257-258, Bickersteth to Schlienz, 16.11.1829. Edward Bickersteth was Clerical Secretary of the CMS, a man whose "evangelical fervour was irresistible" - Stock, E. *The history of the Church Missionary Society*, Vol. I, London 1899, p.253.

²⁵ CM/L2/211, Coates to Schlienz, 15.6.1833. Dandeson Coates was Lay Secretary of the CMS, a man of "firm but somewhat narrow mind" - Josiah Bateman, quoted in Stock, op.cit., I, p.252.

regeneration of mankind, that the senses be properly developed and cultivated ... Moreover it will bring into less use their reading of the Coran & the grammatical & sophistical plays, for which they lose so much time. Beside this ... even the best Mohammedan writers on such subjects have always endeavoured faithfully to discharge the duty owing to their religion: to cherish and to propagate by their writings the superstitions of the (less instructed) people. And we shall no doubt do well, in our system of education to care by the sowing of the seed at the same time for the removal of the weeds".²⁶

The aim therefore was twofold: to give Muslims the benefit of "modern" education in those subjects which were thought to develop and cultivate the senses, in what amounted to a European humanistic framework; and at the same time to undermine Islam and Islamic culture by diverting Arabic education and literary activity away from the Qur'ān and the traditional Islamic disciplines.

To this end, there emanated from the Malta press during the ensuing decade a number of Arabic books on geography, astronomy, world history and zoology, as well as Arabic and English grammars and other works of a didactic nature. They will be discussed in greater detail in a later chapter: it is sufficient to remark here that it was these works which were intended partly for Muslim readers, rather than the more specifically religious writings which constituted most of the rest of the output, and which were aimed primarily at the Christian Arabs who were the main recipients of the Malta books.²⁷

The concentration on books for the indigenous Christians in the Middle East was partly a reaction to the difficulties of missionary work among Muslims, and partly because the Oriental churches were seen as a possible bridgehead for the efforts of evangelical Christianity in the area. If only they could be brought out of their lamentable state of lethargy, ignorance and superstition, and imbued with a true sense of the power and truth of the Gospel, thought

²⁶ CM/O65/23, Schlienz to Secs., 8.11.1832.

²⁷ One partial exception to this may have been 'Abd Allāh Zākir's *Al-Burhān al-ṣarīḥ*, Malta 1834 (item 57 in Appendix A). This was a treatise on the doctrine of the Trinity, by a Syrian priest (and pioneer of Arabic printing in 18th-century Syria and Lebanon): according to Schlienz, "its chief object is to confute the objections commonly raised against this doctrine by the Muhammedans" - CM/O65/31, Schlienz to Secs., 4.4.1834. But it is likely that even this was mainly intended to strengthen the faith of the Christians in the face of Muslim polemic, rather than to sway the Muslims themselves.

Jowett and his colleagues, then they would set such a shining example to their Muslim compatriots as would eventually result in a steady conversion of the Muslim masses to Christianity.²⁸ So the first task of the Malta Arabic press was to supply basic reading material for Christians, both for use in schools - their own existing ones, as well as the new missionary establishments - and among literate adults. How this task was carried out, and with what degree of success, will be considered further in later chapters.

The third main religious group among the Arabs, to whom some attention was also directed, was the Jews. There already existed an English missionary organisation aimed specifically at them, called the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (London Jews' Society), founded in 1808, with which Naudi had been connected in Malta before he joined the CMS.²⁹ Although their main publishing activities were concentrated on Hebrew material, they were evidently aware that, since Arabic was the native language of most Middle Eastern Jews, some Arabic tracts might be useful. In 1825 the IJS missionary to Palestine, Johann Nikolaisen, spent some time in Malta working at the press with Jowett, who reported that "he employed a portion of his time in composing - (with Arabic types) - the second Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. It made a neat little tract of eight pages - I printed 1000 copies for him".³⁰ In 1828 Nikolaisen returned to Malta and discussed with Schlienz the need for more elementary school-books in Arabic.³¹ However, although the Malta establishment provided such assistance to the IJS, and also to other missionaries to the Jews, such as the notorious Joseph Wolff, it does not seem that any of its publications were solely or specifically designed or prepared for that section of the Arab population.

5.3.2 Children & adults

The intended readership of the Malta Arabic publications can also be divided in another way: into schoolchildren and students on the one hand, and adults on the other. From the outset, Jowett had suggested publishing "extracts of an entertaining and useful nature; to be

²⁸ Jowett, *op.cit.*, *passim*.

²⁹ Tibawi, *op.cit.*, pp.5-7. On Naudi, see also above, pp.105-106.

³⁰ CM/O39/58, Jowett to Secs., 23.11.1825.

³¹ CM/O65/7, Schlienz to Secs., 10.7.1828. On Nikolaisen, see further below, pp.185-186.

printed, not as Tracts, but expressly as School-Books. These would extend the period and the amount of School-Reading: they would prepare the way for studies of a superior class".³² This was to be the first task of the Malta press, and, to this end,

"the arts now skilfully applied to the elucidation of such books in this country [Britain], might render these publications both more intelligible and more alluring to the Native Youth ... these Elementary Books, compiled with a skilful reference to the notions and manners of the respective people ... would insensibly undermine false opinions, and diffuse sound principles and useful knowledge".³³

These school-books were to range from basic spelling-books - much in demand by the American missionaries in Lebanon³⁴, as well as by the CMS - through hymn-books for school singing³⁵, to religious tracts of different kinds, grammars, etc. There was also a plan "for a series of books, adapted to educate young men of 20 to 25 years of age in Egypt & Syria".³⁶ As for adults of maturer years, these were divided between potential teachers to assist in the schools, for whom was needed "a good series of books in Arabic: for you cannot train Masters without books"³⁷; and the general reading public, of whom Jowett was thinking when he wrote that "we must constantly bear in mind to furnish all the countries of the Levant with Libraries of Useful Knowledge in their own languages".³⁸

These categories were not, of course, mutually exclusive. Many of the tracts and scriptural extracts were clearly intended for all of them; and even a work of "Useful Knowledge", such as Mitchell's manual of geography already mentioned, as well as being of general adult use³⁹, was also specifically stated to be "for the benefit of boys of the primary and secondary schools (*al-makātib wa 'l-madāris*)".⁴⁰

³² Jowett, op.cit., p.307.

³³ Ibid., pp.320-321.

³⁴ "The American Missionaries at Mt. Lebanon cry aloud for Arabic Spelling Books" - CM/O39/50, Jowett to Secs., 20.5.1825. See further below, pp.290sqq.

³⁵ CM/O65/23, Schlienz to Secs., 8.11.1832.

³⁶ CM/L1/188, Jowett to Schlienz, 8.10.1828.

³⁷ CM/L1/194, Jowett to Kruse, Muller & Lieder, 5.11.1828. This applied particularly to the Egyptian mission, to which this letter was addressed.

³⁸ CM/L1/201, Jowett to Schlienz, 3.12.1828. There were limits, however: "some of the hints which Brethren throw out on this subject are too vast, & rather too remote from Missionary Work to be, at present, practicable".

³⁹ An Egyptian edition, 1250 [1834], was published by and for the use of Muhammad 'Ali's Artillery School. See above, pp.123-124 & below, pp.248-252.

⁴⁰ [Mitchell & others,] op.cit., p.7.

5.4 Translations

5.4.1 Selection of material

It is appropriate now to consider how, and from what sources, Arabic reading material was chosen for printing in Malta, to suit the various categories of intended readership which have just been outlined. In his first survey of the field, Jowett had criticised the Roman Catholics, and their local Uniate churches, for publishing, at Shuwayr and elsewhere, works in Arabic which were "importations from the West".⁴¹ Nevertheless, he soon concluded that this was inevitable, if the spirit and teachings of Western Christianity were to be propagated in the Middle East. This was partly because existing Arabic literature was predominantly Islamic, in content or in ethos, and even the relatively small amount of Christian Arabic material reflected the traditional liturgical and ecclesiastical background which the missionaries were seeking to transform; but, more than this, the results of the European "spirit of free and rational study have, to a very limited extent only, been transferred into the Oriental Languages" - especially Arabic. On the other hand, "there exists a greater quantity of well-arranged and intrinsically valuable materials of knowledge in the Languages of Europe, than can be found in the languages of any other similar portion of the globe; greater, perhaps, than in all the rest of the world taken together".⁴² So from this position of assumed cultural superiority, Jowett went on to propose a programme of translation of European (mainly English) works for publication. Apart from elementary primers, these were divided into two main categories: Religion and History. The former class was to include, as well as the Scriptures themselves, commentaries, catechisms, didactic books (including sermons, essays, etc.), narrative tracts and dialogues, and critical explanations and illustrations of the Scriptures. History was divided into ecclesiastical, profane (ancient and modern), biography, and the associated disciplines of geography and chronology. These subjects, wrote Jowett, "comprehend nearly every thing that can possibly claim the attention of a Missionary", which

⁴¹ Jowett, *op.cit.*, p.368. He cited as an example the writings of St Thomas Aquinas.

⁴² Jowett, W. *Christian researches in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1825, p.417. There can perhaps be detected here a prelibation of Macaulay's infamous dictum that "a single shelf of a good European library is worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia".

was necessarily limited "to such subjects as have a religious bearing". Some other subjects, such as the natural sciences, might indeed be useful, but "the translation of such books ... may safely be left to secular persons".⁴³

As far as the first category was concerned, primary importance was attached to the Bible itself, as might be expected from an evangelical body with a fundamentalist outlook, as the CMS was at that time. Jowett regarded the Scriptures as the principal source of evidence for the truth of Christianity, the reading of which, neglected among Eastern Christians, could combat infidelity among them, and also, he thought, help to convince Muslims.⁴⁴ He had already previously suggested that this would in any case provide a good opening among the local Christian communities, for "where they are but scantily furnished with books, it would be an acceptable act of kindness, to reprint for them those which are in the greatest request; such as, the Psalter, Portions of the Gospels and Epistles, &c."⁴⁵ Separate books were to be published first⁴⁶, from both the Old and New Testaments, with introductions and commentaries, which, in the view of Josiah Pratt, CMS Secretary, would be "of incalculable benefit to Christians, Jews, and Mahomedans".⁴⁷ Jowett thought that Genesis would be particularly suitable for Muslims.⁴⁸ In fact, little new Bible translation work was done in the early stages, and most of the Biblical extracts published in Arabic at Malta in the 1820s and -30s were taken from the Arabic Bible published at Rome in 1671, and reprinted, as we have seen, by the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, specifically for the use of missionaries in Malta and the Middle East.⁴⁹ In 1825 the Malta Bible Society "granted to Mr Jowett one Arabic Bible for the purpose of reprinting portions".⁵⁰ Later the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in London sponsored a complete new Arabic translation of the Bible, to be prepared and published at Malta by the CMS, which in fact occupied much of the time and efforts of

⁴³ Ibid., pp.418-424.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp.419-420.

⁴⁵ Jowett, W. *Christian researches in the Mediterranean*, London 1822, p.307.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p.322.

⁴⁷ CM/L1/52, Pratt to Jowett, 6.4.1824.

⁴⁸ Op.cit., pp.322-325.

⁴⁹ See above, p.76.

⁵⁰ Malta Bible Society: Fair Minutes of Proceedings of the Committee, 22.4.1825.

Schlienz and Shidyāq during the late 1830s and early 40s.⁵¹ However, it never saw the light of day, partly because, after only a small part of the work was completed, it was decided that their Arabic style was "too high"⁵²; and partly because of Schlienz's progressive insanity towards the end of his career in Malta.⁵³ Shidyāq later went to England collaborate on a further new Arabic version with Samuel Lee, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, which was published under the auspices of the SPCK in the 1850s.⁵⁴

The other specifically religious books in the initial period were translated mainly from the publications of the Religious Tract Society, which body in fact paid a subsidy to the Malta press for this purpose.⁵⁵ Later, more substantial books on theology and church history were undertaken. The main criterion used in selecting most of these works seems to have been, not so much their effectiveness in combating Islam, nor even the unacceptable doctrines of the Oriental Churches, but rather their specifically Protestant, anti-Catholic character. For the Roman Catholics were seen as the main obstacle to evangelisation in the Middle East, both because of the strength of the Uniate churches (especially the Maronites in Lebanon), and because of the previous and continuing work of their own missionaries, particularly the Jesuits. For their part, the Roman Catholic hierarchy saw the Protestant efforts and propaganda as a threat to their own position, and steps were taken, both directly and through the Ottoman authorities, to outlaw or at least to discourage their activities.⁵⁶ This is what gave rise to the polemics by the American missionaries Jonas King and Isaac Bird, published in Arabic at Malta in the 1830s⁵⁷, as well as the account by As'ad al-Shidyāq, brother of Fāris, who was persecuted and died at the hands of the Maronites, of his conversion to Protestantism.⁵⁸

⁵¹ CM/L2/476, Coates to Schlienz, 26.1.1837; CM/L3/37, Coates to Brenner, 27.10.1838; CM/O18/51, Brenner to Coates, 8.8.1839. See further below, pp.197sq. & 215sq.

⁵² CM/O28/42, Gobat to Coates, 12.7.1841; CM/L3/225, Coates to Gobat, 31.1.1842. See further below, p.217.

⁵³ See below, pp.198sq.

⁵⁴ Alwan, M.B. *Ahmad Fāris ash-Shidyāq and the West*, unpublished dissertation, University of Indiana 1970, pp.52-57 & 196-201.

⁵⁵ CM/L1/188, Jowett to Schlienz, 8.10.1828: "last month the Religious Tract Society voted to our Press in Malta one hundred Pounds for Arabic Tracts". Cf. Jones, W. *The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society*, London 1850, pp.372-375.

⁵⁶ See further below, pp.290-291.

⁵⁷ *Widā' Yūnus Kūr*, Malta 1833 and *Thalātha 'ashara risāla*, Malta 1834. See above, pp.119-120 & below, pp.238-240; and items 45 & 55 in Appendix A.

⁵⁸ *Khabariyat As'ad al-Shidyāq*, Malta 1833. See below, p.239 and item 49 in Appendix A.

Not all the tracts were directly polemical, but even those which were not, such as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's progress* and Isaac Watts's *The end of time*, were very much designed to propagate a Protestant ethic or a fundamentalist approach to the Bible.⁵⁹ Others contained specifically Anglican material, from the *Book of Common Prayer*.⁶⁰ All these works, as well as the Bible translations, were forbidden reading for Roman Catholics and members of the Uniate churches, under the terms of a Papal bull issued in 1817.⁶¹

As for Jowett's other broad category, History, this was primarily intended as an aid to the study of the Bible, and to provide the necessary background material for an understanding of the role of Christianity. The only substantial works undertaken were the church histories of Barth and Milner⁶² : general history was confined to Pinnock's elementary "catechism".⁶³ Biography, which Jowett had also mentioned, did not receive much attention, apart from Martin Luther and some other Protestant worthies.⁶⁴ Geography, however, was accorded a little more importance: Mitchell's geography book, already mentioned, was published in 1833 and in a revised edition in 1836, and a fine atlas of the world, using Brocktorff's lithography, in 1833 (reprinted in 1835).⁶⁵ On seeing a proof of one of the maps, Jowett wrote from London to Schlienz that "the inhabitants of Egypt, Mount Lebanon, & ere long of North Africa also, will have their eyes enlightened on Sacred History by the help of those two great lamps, Geography & Chronology".⁶⁶ In fact the maps were modern in their content, as was Mitchell's work, which was what gained them some acceptance in Egypt⁶⁷ and probably elsewhere. As for chronology, this "great lamp" shone rather dimly in the Malta output: only Pinnock's "catechism" can be said to come into this category, and, as will be discussed later, it was not very illuminating.⁶⁸

⁵⁹ Items 17, 32 & 56 in Appendix A.

⁶⁰ Items 79 & 99 in Appendix A.

⁶¹ Richter, J. *A history of Protestant missions in the Near East*, Edinburgh & London 1910, p.95. This was repeated and reinforced in 1823: see above, p.96.

⁶² Items 104 & 82 in Appendix A.

⁶³ Item 48 in Appendix A.

⁶⁴ Items 101 & 107 in Appendix A.

⁶⁵ Items 51 & 66 in Appendix A.

⁶⁶ CM/L2/220, Jowett to Schlienz, 21.6.1833.

⁶⁷ See below, pp.248-253 & 284.

⁶⁸ See below, pp.254-255.

Other "secular" subjects, however, although excluded by Jowett from his original scheme, were later included in the programme. Books on arithmetic, astronomy, and natural history (zoology) were translated and published from 1829 onwards.⁶⁹ A drawing-book, with plates for copying, also appeared⁷⁰, and even a novel, albeit of a didactic character - Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.⁷¹ Clearly, in these "secular" fields, it was decided to choose for translation for the most part fairly simple and basic texts, originally intended mainly for schoolchildren. The nature of these publications will be discussed more fully in Chapter 7 below.

5.4.2 How the translations were done

The methods and techniques adopted in making all these translations into Arabic were the subject of some confusion and considerable change as the work of the press developed. In the first place it must be said that Jowett had an unclear, not to say erroneous view of the nature of the Arabic language. He failed to appreciate the gulf which existed, then as now, between the colloquial dialects and the literary language, and he seemed to think, although he nowhere stated this clearly or specifically, that it was possible to translate and publish books in a "modern" Arabic which would correspond with the speech of the people. In his first survey of the field, he wrote of trying to "fix the languages and dialects of the Mahomedan Countries, with a view to the translation of the Scriptures and useful Books".⁷² While this could be interpreted as referring to languages other than Arabic, there is no such ambiguity in a further passage, in which he suggested first translating books into Maltese, which he realised was an Arabic dialect, and then, by transliterating it into Arabic script, producing works in the Arabic dialects of North Africa. From Maltese, he thought, "the transition into Modern Arabic would not be difficult".⁷³ There seems little doubt that this misconception about the uses of written and

⁶⁹ Items 30, 46 & 103 in Appendix A.

⁷⁰ Item 67 in Appendix A.

⁷¹ Item 63 in Appendix A.

⁷² Jowett, *op.cit.*, p.312.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp.321-322.

colloquial Arabic⁷⁴ influenced the nature of the first translations printed at the Malta press. Although Jowett did not carry out his scheme to produce Arabic texts through the medium of Maltese, nevertheless under his influence, and that of his like-minded colleague Samuel Gobat, who worked for a short period as an editor in Malta in 1826⁷⁵, the early output was in a language described by Tibawi as "little better than colloquial", or at best poor (*saqīma*).⁷⁶

Fortunately, however, Jowett did not try to pursue his endeavours alone; not only did he call in better qualified missionary assistants, but he also admitted that, even "after many years practice in Arabic", a European could not "be trusted as a Translator: idiom, except by something approaching to miracle, he will never catch: that must be left for native minds".⁷⁷ He therefore felt obliged to make use of Arab assistants as well.

In the initial period, until about 1828, most of the translation work was done by Christian Arabs in the Middle East, to whom the original material was sent via missionaries stationed there. As early as 1823, Jowett's account of his expenditure on behalf of the CMS at Malta included an amount paid for Arabic translation work, and these payments continued to be made intermittently until June 1830. In 1825 a particularly large amount was debited under this heading, £47-13-0, which was specifically stated to include "200 Span[ish] Doll[ars] remitted for Arabic Translations to be done in Syria".⁷⁸ These were, it seems, chiefly executed in Jerusalem by 'Īsā Buṭrus, a Palestinian Arab Orthodox priest, who had already been employed as a translator by the American missionary Pliny Fisk: the first two or three of his translations were in fact supplied by Fisk to Jowett for printing. Buṭrus had, it seems, a penchant for such work: according to Jowett, he had a "natural love of languages" and knew Greek, Italian, French, Syriac, Ethiopic and Armenian, as well as English and his native Arabic.⁷⁹ He had previously translated,

⁷⁴ Jowett's attempt at an analysis of the different forms of Arabic is set out in his op.cit., p.120. He distinguishes four categories: 1. The "literal", being the language of the Qur'an; 2. The "ecclesiastical" which he describes as "an attempt at the literal"; 3. The "commercial", which he vaguely says is "well understood of all, but somewhat superior to the Vulgar"; and 4. The "language of the People". The last category is clearly what he thought ought to be used by missionaries.

⁷⁵ See below, pp.170-171.

⁷⁶ Tibawi, op.cit., p.24; id., "Al-lugha al-'Arabiya fi kutub al-mubashshirīn al-awwālīn", *Majallat Majma' al-Lugha al-'Arabiya bi-Dimashq* 47 (1972), p.779.

⁷⁷ Jowett, W. *Christian researches in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1825, p.382.

⁷⁸ CM/O4/4-7, Rev.Jowett's Acct., 1822-27; also CM/O4/17, 1830.

⁷⁹ Jowett, op.cit., p.220. Jowett calls him "Ysa Petros".

among other books, the whole of Charles Rollin's massive work on ancient history⁸⁰ for Basil Fakhr, a bibliophile merchant of Damietta, "who, to his extensive commercial engagements, added a very laudable ambition to furnish his library with useful books, translated from European languages into his own".⁸¹ With such a background, it is perhaps not surprising that Buṭrus was inclined to criticise the crude evangelical nature of the tracts and sermons which Jowett gave him to translate.⁸² Nevertheless he did the work, and his association with the missionaries seems to have attracted the adverse attentions of the Ottoman authorities: in September 1825 Jowett was outraged to learn that he had been arrested on a trumped up charge, bastinadoed and fined 1500 piastres.⁸³

Whether this put an end to Buṭrus's connections with the CMS is not clear; at any rate, much smaller payments were made for Arabic translation work in subsequent years, and in 1830 a substantial refund was made by the Americans on this account, presumably in respect of work which could not be carried out.⁸⁴ However, after the establishment of a CMS mission in Egypt in 1826, it had become possible to commission Arabic work there instead, and in fact a number of tracts that had already been translated, and in some cases printed, were sent to Cairo for correction and revision. At first, it seems, this had to be done without reference to the English originals, which elicited a protest from one of the missionaries.⁸⁵ Probably because of this, and also because of the inevitable transport and communication difficulties, delays were experienced, and at one stage Jowett impatiently suggested that the reprints

⁸⁰ Rollin, C. *Histoire ancienne des Egyptiens, des Carthaginois, des Assyriens, des Babyloniens, des Mèdes, des Perses, des Macedoniens, des Grecs*, Paris 1730-38, 15 vols., & numerous later editions.

⁸¹ Jowett, *op.cit.*, p.222. Fakhr's role in making and sponsoring Arabic translations of European works in Egypt before the era of printing was also mentioned by the 19th-century Lebanese scholar and Protestant convert Mfkhā'il Mishāqa, on whom they had a formative influence. Hourani, A. *Arabic thought in the liberal age*, London 1962, p.59; Philipp, T. "Class, community, and Arab historiography in the early nineteenth century - the dawn of a new era", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 16 (1984), pp.167-168 & n.9; *id.* *The Syrians in Egypt 1725-1975*, Stuttgart 1985. On Mishāqa, see further below, p.295.

⁸² Jowett, *op.cit.*, p.222.

⁸³ CM/O39/55, Jowett to Secs., 10.9.1825.

⁸⁴ CM/O4/17, Jowett's Accounts, 1.1-30.6.1830: a credit entry reads: "From the American Brethren received the residue of Deposit for Arabic Translations in Syria, Sc338" (the *scudo* was the Maltese currency unit at that time).

⁸⁵ CM/O65/4, Kruse (Alexandria) to Schlien, 1.3.1828: "we ought to have the Original of every Tract that is to be corrected: for it is impossible to correct the Arabic without having the original from which it is translated".

should be done without benefit of the corrections.⁸⁶ It soon became clear that sending material to Egypt for translation or revision was not an adequate solution to the problem of producing satisfactory Arabic translations, although a certain amount of this continued to be done: the Arabic version of Pestalozzi's arithmetic, for example, published at Malta in 1829, was initiated and carried out entirely by August Kluge, an associate of the missionaries in Egypt.⁸⁷ In that year also there are references to translation work being done there by a "Luigi Assemanni"⁸⁸ - presumably Luwīs al-Sam'ānī, a member of the famous Maronite family of scholars, previously staunch enemies of the Protestants and their books.⁸⁹

What was really needed, as Jowett and his colleagues realised at an early stage, was competent Arab assistants attached to the establishment in Malta, to cooperate directly with the editors and printers at all stages in the production of Arabic books. But, as Jowett observed in 1825, these "are by no means to hand".⁹⁰ Not until 1828 was Fāris al-Shidyāq, who had first been brought to Malta by the Americans, employed in this capacity.⁹¹ He soon proved very useful, to the extent that, in May of that year, Schlienz was to write that "in every thing I translate with him or teach him he proves a touch-stone to me".⁹² However, in the following month he fell ill, and for a brief period recourse was had to the services of a Tunisian Jew residing in Malta.⁹³ By October Shidyāq had left Malta

⁸⁶ CM/L1/188, Jowett (London) to Schlienz, 8.10.1828: "What communications ... do you receive from our brethren in Egypt? Do they send the notes correcting the Arabic Tracts, so that you can reprint them? Probably you can venture to reprint without their corrections". A month later, writing direct to the missionaries in Egypt, he urged the importance of their cooperation in "preparing for the Press a good series of books in Arabic", and also complained that "I have never yet heard that the Arabic Tract on Redemption, which Mr Gobat took with him [to Egypt] from Malta, is returned for printing" - CM/L1/194, Jowett (London) to Kruse, Muller & Lieder (Cairo), 5.11.1828. At the same time he again wrote to Schlienz: "perhaps, even if you have not recd. any *Corrigenda* from Egypt, you may still venture to reprint most or all of the Tracts already done" - CM/L1/198, Jowett (London) to Schlienz, 5.11.1828.

⁸⁷ (Kluge, August) *Ṭarīq ta'līm al-ḥisāb al-'aqlī*, Malta 1829, title-p. & introd. Item 30 in Appendix A.

⁸⁸ CM/O45/8, Kruse to Coates, 28.5.1829.

⁸⁹ See above, p.68.

⁹⁰ CM/O39/44, Jowett to Secs., 7.3.1825.

⁹¹ See above, pp.117-118 and below, pp.207-208.

⁹² CM/O65/4a, Schlienz to Jowett, 20.5.1828.

⁹³ CM/O65/6, Schlienz to Secs., 18.6.1828. The name of the Tunisian is not given. Several years before, another missionary, Joseph Greaves, had spent some time in Tunis (see above, p.90), where he had employed a local Jew, Mordechai Naggiar, as his Arabic tutor and had given him the *First Catechism* of Isaac Watts to translate. Naggiar had returned it to him without having rendered a word of it into Arabic (it was probably quite incomprehensible to him). Later he did supply Greaves with some Arabic proverbs, from a compilation of his own, for inclusion in one of the primers to be printed at Malta; but Greaves rejected them because some were "inconsistent with common delicacy". Greaves's account of this is given in an appendix to Jowett, op.cit., pp.473-498.

for Egypt⁹⁴, and translation work was again held up. At the beginning of the following year, Schlienz resignedly declared: "As to a translator, well qualified for our labours, we must wait, till the Lord is pleased to supply us with this deficiency. Without the assistance of such a person we can do nothing materially in Arabic". Part of the problem was competition for qualified people from Muḥammad 'Alī's schools and press in Egypt: "the Pashaw of Egypt so well pays his servants ... & there are so very few persons, well educated, to be found both in Syria & Egypt".⁹⁵ Towards the end of 1829, Schlienz was still complaining of "the failure of getting a good Arabic translator".⁹⁶

Eventually, however, in 1831, the missionaries in Egypt contracted an Iraqi Christian called 'Īsā Rassām, who came to Malta to do the work, and gradually during the 1830s a team of translators was built up. It was greatly strengthened when, at the end of 1835, Shidyāq returned. The missionaries themselves also were in this latter stage much more proficient in Arabic. Schlienz was a distinctly superior linguist to Jowett, and in 1837 George Percy Badger - later an orientalist and lexicographer of note - joined the translation team. All this was in line with the policy of the CMS Secretaries in London at that time, who desired tht "the best possible provision should be made [for] translational and editorial assistance at Malta".⁹⁷ The characters, abilities, careers and roles of these assistants will be considered in greater detail in Chapter 6 below.

5.4.3 *The Arabic style*

What sort of Arabic was aimed at in these translations? As already mentioned, Jowett laboured under the illusion that it was possible to write in a "modern Arabic" corresponding to the vernacular speech of the people. Of his first batch of tracts, presumably the ones translated by 'Īsā Buṭrus, he wrote: "all these works are in Modern Arabic".⁹⁸ However, they are not really in colloquial, but rather in a debased style of literary Arabic: this may be the result of

⁹⁴ CM/O65 8B, Schlienz to Secs., 20.10.1828. See further below, p.211.

⁹⁵ CM/O65 9, Schlienz to Secs., 3.1.1829.

⁹⁶ CM/O4,14, Schlienz to Secs., 28.11.1829.

⁹⁷ CM/L2,476, Coates to Schlienz, 26.1.1837.

⁹⁸ CM/O39 77, Jowett to Secs., 23.8.1826.

Jowett's or Gobat's revision, or possibly Buṭrus was instructed to write thus, as a condition of payment. After more competent hands were applied to the work, however, much higher literary standards were aimed at. This was especially true after Fāris al-Shidyāq had joined the translation team. Shidyāq had a marked literary bent, and sought both to maintain classical standards in Arabic prose, and to increase the Arabic lexis from the inner resources of the language, to express new and extraneous concepts.⁹⁹

Shidyāq's efforts obviously made a marked difference, for the better, to the standard of translation; however, there were still those in the CMS who hankered after the Arabic of "the common people". Samuel Gobat, who returned as Schlienz's deputy and eventually successor in charge of the Malta establishment, and of whose literary and linguistic abilities, especially in Arabic, the latter had a low opinion¹⁰⁰, thought that "if I am not altogether mistaken in my appreciation of the capacities of the arabs ... amongst one thousand who can read, not more than two will be able to understand the greatest part" (of Shidyāq's translation of Keith's *The evidence of the truth*). For "many important truths have lost more or less of their power under the accumulation of technical and grammatical forms, or by being clothed in the language of the Coran".¹⁰¹ Likewise Shidyāq's and Schlienz's translation of the Bible he described as "very correct; but the style is much too high for the common people: that is: there are too many expressions, which are only understood by a few of the most learned". He conceded, however, that there was a case for using such a style "in the hope that in future the people speaking the Arabic will be better educated than they are at present".¹⁰² Here Gobat put his finger on a central dilemma in the publishing policies of the Malta press. Were the Arabic printed books to cater for the existing literate elite in the Arab world, and thereby remain incomprehensible to the masses until they had acquired the education which was the property of that elite? Or were they to use the new potential of mass circulation to go, as it were, over the heads of the elite, and appeal directly to the "common people", perhaps even using their everyday vernacular?

⁹⁹ See further below, pp.228-230.

¹⁰⁰ CM/O65/61, Schlienz to Secs., 27.12.1838.

¹⁰¹ CM/O28/38, Gobat to Coates, 25.4.1840.

¹⁰² CM/O28/42, Gobat to Coates, 12.7.1841.

Evangelical missionaries like Jowett and Gobat clearly hoped to do the latter, but they failed to realise the insuperable obstacles that were placed in their way by the very nature of the Arabic language, whose only written form was based on that same "language of the Coran" which Gobat wished to avoid. Shidyāq and his colleagues, of course, had taken a very different view and had adopted a policy, the only one in truth that was really open to them, of producing translations in correct literary Arabic¹⁰³ of an acceptable style, even though Gobat continued to protest that it was "not ... adapted for the present wants of the people".¹⁰⁴

5.5 Original Arabic texts

Having discussed the policies of the Malta press with regard to translations, it remains to consider briefly its role in the publication of works originally written in Arabic. We have already seen that existing Arabic literature was for the most part regarded as unsuitable¹⁰⁵, and the writing or commissioning of new original works was beyond the capacity of the missionary establishment. The missionaries themselves were not sufficiently proficient in Arabic, and their Arab assistants were not creative writers - with the exception of Shidyāq, who was not, however, regarded as sufficiently sound or trustworthy in matters of religion.¹⁰⁶ So, in fact, few original works were printed, apart from elementary reading-books. Some of these had as texts the famous Fables of Luqmān¹⁰⁷ - long a favourite with European orientalists - which, it was thought, would be more acceptable to Muslim pupils than the Biblical texts otherwise used. Shidyāq later produced his own reading-book, with stories taken from Arabic literature.¹⁰⁸ Grammars, vocabularies and exercises were also produced for Arab students of English, as well as the Arabic grammars of Jabrīl Farḥāt¹⁰⁹, whose work on preaching

¹⁰³ Shidyāq, in the preface to his book of Arabic-English exercises and dialogues written in collaboration with Badger, admitted apologetically to having used some dialect expressions, but this was only when "no equivalents could be discovered in classical Arabic". Badger & Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.3-4. See further below, p.229.

¹⁰⁴ CM/O28/44, Gobat to Secs., 27.11.1841.

¹⁰⁵ See above, p.131.

¹⁰⁶ See below, pp.222-223.

¹⁰⁷ Items 10 & 74 in Appendix A.

¹⁰⁸ Item 85 in Appendix A. "Mr Fares' Reading Book ... may be said to contain the flower of Arabic literature" - CM/O65/61, Schlieniz to Secs., 27.12.1838. Schlieniz was apt to exaggerate.

¹⁰⁹ See below, pp.243-244 & item 69 in Appendix A.

was also published.¹¹⁰ The new edition of Zākhir's treatise on the Trinity has already been mentioned.

As well as books, an Arabic periodical was also envisaged by Jowett in his preliminary survey.¹¹¹ This would be used for "communicating useful intelligence to the surrounding countries".¹¹² It seems, however, to have been accorded a low priority in the publishing programme, and did not appear until 1833, in newspaper format, under the title *Akhhbār al-Qāṣid*. Further consideration will be given to its nature and content later.¹¹³ It seems to have been issued monthly, and was discontinued after only 18 issues.¹¹⁴

5.6 Turkish

The Arabic types could be used not only for Arabic, but, with certain additions, for Ottoman Turkish also. An elementary reading-book in that language, with phrases and fables¹¹⁵, was first published in 1834, and a work on natural history the following year.¹¹⁶ In March 1835, Coates was writing of the possibility of acquiring a special Turkish fount from Vienna¹¹⁷, the centre of European Turkish scholarship and publishing at that time, but nothing came of this. Later that year, a Turk named Yusuf Efendi came to Malta to assist in the Turkish section of the press¹¹⁸, and advantage was subsequently taken of the new, improved, locally cast Arabic types for Turkish work also.¹¹⁹ Most of the Turkish works were prepared by, or under the supervision of Peter Fjellstedt, a Swedish missionary employed by the CMS in İzmir, working with Yusuf Efendi, and the subsequent progress and vicissitudes of Turkish printing at the Malta press will be considered further, in connection with their careers, in Chapter 6 below.

¹¹⁰ Item 106 in Appendix A.

¹¹¹ Jowett, W. *Christian researches in the Mediterranean*, London 1822, pp.325-326.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p.376.

¹¹³ See below, pp.256-257 & 269.

¹¹⁴ CM/O4/21-23, Papers concerning the CMS Establishment and Printing Press at Malta, 1833-34.

¹¹⁵ Item 58 in Appendix A. Revised & enlarged editions, 1836 & 1839: items 73 & 89.

¹¹⁶ Item 61 in Appendix A.

¹¹⁷ CM/L2/405, Coates to Schlienz, 1.3.1836.

¹¹⁸ CM/L2/433, Coates to Jetter & Fjellstedt, 14.7.1836. See further below, pp.233-235.

¹¹⁹ CM/O18/44, Brenner to Coates, 6.9.1838, mentions "the first proofsheets of Turkish printed in the small alphabet of our new types".

5.7 Size of editions

How many copies of each Arabic title were printed? Figures are available only for some of those published before 1832.¹²⁰ They reveal no very clear policy: the size of editions varied from 500 to 3000 copies, except for the basic school primer and reading-book, of which 8000 copies were printed in its various forms. As time went on, the print runs seem to have been varied according to how active the missionaries were in distributing the books in the Middle East.

Several of the titles went into more than one edition. As we have seen, corrections were solicited from missionaries and their local contacts in Egypt, but were not always received in time to be incorporated into the reprints.¹²¹ However, in one notable case significant alterations were made in the second edition of a book as a result of revisions "by the Sheichs in Egypt".¹²²

Another policy was to devise and print books in such a way as to enable sections of them to be bound and published separately. This was done, for instance, with an Arabic translation of the Parables of Jesus, with commentaries: "it will be so printed as to form one volume, and, at the same time, to furnish a series of Tracts".¹²³

5.8 The missionary press and Western imperialism

Many Muslim writers, and some others also, have regarded all Christian missionaries in the Middle East as agents of Western imperialism, and all their activities as serving the needs and interests of imperial powers¹²⁴: establishments such as the CMS press in Malta would inevitably be tarred with this brush. Any assessment of this question must first take into account that the term "imperialism" in such a context can be construed in two distinct but related senses. On the one hand it can mean a conscious policy, intention or attitude of mind, aiming at the subjection, and

¹²⁰ See Appendix A below.

¹²¹ See above, pp.137-138.

¹²² CM/O65/47, Schlienz to Secs., 10.3.1837. This was Mitchell's geography book, *Kanz al-mukhtār*, which had been revised by Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Ṭaḥṭāwī for an edition published in Egypt. See further below, pp.248-252.

¹²³ CM/O39/99, Jowett to Secs., 8.12.1827. A further memorandum the following month confirmed this policy: "In the course of printing this work, it will also be subdivided into a Series of small tracts of from 10-20pp. each" - CM/O4/11, Stock of Works, 18.1.1828. The Parables of the Sower, the Prodigal Son, and the King's Marriage were thus produced as offprints from the complete edition of the Parables, *Amḥāl Rabbīnā Yasū' al-Masīḥ wa tafsīruhā*, in 1828 (items 19, 21, 23 & 24 in Appendix A). However, the first two were reprinted separately, in 1829 and 1831 (items 29 & 35), before the second edition of the whole in 1840 (item 93).

¹²⁴ E.g. Muṣṭafā Khālīdī & 'Umar Farrūkh, *Al-tabshīr wa 'l-isti'mār fī 'l-bilād al-'Arabīya*, Beirut 1970, passim.

ultimately annexation, of countries and peoples perceived as culturally, economically and militarily inferior, the control of which is thought to serve both the interests of the imperial power and the welfare of those subjugated. On the other hand, it can signify any activities which serve to advance, or which simply harmonise with, an historical process, driven by ineluctable economic, social and political forces, which leads to such subjugation and annexation, by economically and culturally advanced powers, of less developed ones: whether or not they are deliberately directed to this end is immaterial.

It is not the intention here to discuss the merits of either of these views of imperialism, or of the respective historical roles of the conscious human will and of impersonal socio-economic forces. It is simply necessary to point out that, although no doubt these facets are related, and have a mutual influence in the spheres of political and economic activity, it is desirable to draw a distinction between them, particularly when discussing the policies and roles of those engaged in the communication of ideas. It is possible, indeed probable, that the translating and publishing activities of the Arabic press in Malta did serve to some extent to advance the process whereby Western Europe, during the nineteenth century and after, established an economic, political and cultural hegemony over most of the Arab world. But, in concluding this account of the policies of the CMS press, it is pertinent to consider here rather the conscious attitude of its European controllers to the relationship between Western and Arab/Islamic societies. Was that attitude an imperialistic one?

There can be no doubt that Jowett and his missionary colleagues were deeply hostile to Islam. Jowett's first book is full of calumniations of the Prophet Muḥammad and deprecations of the degraded spiritual and moral state of the Muslims. Josiah Pratt, Secretary of the CMS, wrote in 1823 in the *Missionary Register* (of which he was editor) of the Ottoman Empire as "the stronghold of the Mohammedan Antichrist" and of the "delusions of the False Prophet ... which ... for twelve centuries blinded the eyes and besotted the hearts of countless millions of mankind".¹²⁵ Jowett's Swiss colleague Samuel Gobat (later Superintendent in Malta, and later still

¹²⁵ Quoted in Stock, *op.cit.*, I, p.230.

Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem) was at that time studying the Qur'ān, which he later described as "that horrible book ... [containing] masses of nonsense and puerility, gross immorality, perversion of the truth, blasphemies".¹²⁶ When confronted with such bigotry, Muslim historians, such as Tibawi¹²⁷, have tended to see in it the beginning of that menace to Muslim sovereignty in the Middle East which later British activities were to pose: because of the intimate and organic connection between religion and polity in Islam, attacks on the Islamic religion are seen *ipso facto* as threats to Muslim political independence. Certainly the missionaries themselves were aware of this connection. Jowett, in his analysis of the "moral and religious state of Syria and the Holy Land", published in 1825, put to the forefront of his observations the fact that "the religious opinions of the various bodies of men in Syria and Palestine, are, for the most part, intimately interwoven with their political feelings"¹²⁸, and he amplified this by pointing out that "the Mahomedans, actual possessors of the country, in no case recognise a separation of the civil from the religious right of dominion".¹²⁹ The missionaries were naturally not loth to take advantage of any weakening of that dominion in promoting their cause.¹³⁰

Nevertheless, an examination of their attitudes and policies does not support the view that the missionaries connected with the Malta establishment sought directly or indirectly to undermine the existing political structures in the Middle East, or to promote the extension of European power there. It is true that they lapsed at times into military terminology: Malta might be referred to as an "arsenal"¹³¹ or a "base of operations"¹³², and the activities there as a form of "spiritual warfare".¹³³ But these were clearly metaphorical usages, aimed at boosting their own morale and recruiting new

¹²⁶ Gobat, S. & others, *Samuel Gobat, Bishop of Jerusalem*, London 1884, p.51.

¹²⁷ Especially in his *British interests in Palestine*, London 1961, of which the first chapter contains an account of the CMS Mediterranean Mission and Jowett's reconnaissances.

¹²⁸ Jowett, W. *Christian researches in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1825, p.319.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.320.

¹³⁰ After the Graeco-Turkish war of 1828, for instance: see the remark of Bickersteth, quoted above, p.127.

¹³¹ Wolff, J. *Researches and missionary labours*, London 1835, p.523.

¹³² CMS *Proceedings*, quoted in Tibawi, *op.cit.*, p.19. Tibawi considered the use of these military terms significant and indicative of aggressive intentions.

¹³³ Bigelow, A. *Travel in Malta and Sicily*, Boston (USA) 1831, p.202. This imagery persisted in missionary literature. More than three-quarters of a century later, a missionary historian wrote of this period: "Mr Jowett's labours at Malta consisted chiefly in the preparation of that Arabic literature which future missionaries might make use of as weapons of missionary warfare" - Watson, C.R. *In the valley of the Nile*, New York [1908], p.120.

support, much as the Salvation Army was to adopt a military style for its entirely peaceful purposes later in the century.

Jowett, in his first survey, dealt with the problems posed to missionary activity by the prevalence of Muslim power and authority, and in particular the prohibition, on pain of death, of apostasy from Islam to Christianity. This, he wrote, "has impelled many to think, that, while the domination of the Turks continues, the progress of Christianity will be very small. But, to extirpate, is utterly repugnant to the object of a Christian Mission. The plans of the Christian Church must take things at their worst". The most that could legitimately be expected was some degree of assistance and protection for the missionaries themselves, as individuals, from their countries' ambassadors and consuls in the Middle East.¹³⁴ He specifically excluded the idea that the European powers should exert pressure to protect converts or others associated with the missionaries, and "to no other instrument but Christian Persuasion can we put our hand ... [we] must enter on our duties in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling ... this work shall be effected, not by power, nor by might, but by the Spirit of the Lord of Hosts".¹³⁵

Jowett was, moreover, aware of the difficulties which would inevitably be caused if the CMS or other Protestant missionaries acted in any way which might give rise to the idea that their activities were aimed at creating a specifically "English party" or British-protected community in the Ottoman Empire. He therefore warned strongly against "such unholy mingling of secular glory, or national or party interest, with holy things".¹³⁶ A missionary must renounce "the bias of a strong predilection for his own Nation, his own Government, or [even] his own Communion" in favour of the idea "that they come ... solely to promote the good of those, among whom they exercise their office".¹³⁷

This good was to be served principally by spreading education and Christian knowledge through printed books. These books of course were not designed to flatter Muslim sensibilities, but neither did

¹³⁴ Jowett, op.cit. (*Mediterranean*), p.255.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p.357. These passages indicate that Tibawi was mistaken in asserting (op.cit., p.23) that Jowett sought through the British Government official tolerance of Muslim converts to Christianity, contrary to the *Shari'a*.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p.159.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p.382.

they adopt a polemical approach to Islam. In so far as they openly attacked religious beliefs to which they were opposed, it was Roman Catholicism which was their main target. As for the more "secular" books, although they were, to a certain extent, intended, as we have seen, to "bring into less use their reading of the Coran"¹³⁸, and to give Arab readers the benefit of modern Western knowledge and sciences, the same could equally be said of the many translations of European books published at the Government presses in Egypt. There was no attempt to suggest directly that Europeans or European society were intrinsically superior to, or fitted to rule over, Arabs.¹³⁹

The publishers of Arabic books in Malta cannot therefore reasonably be accused of pursuing an imperialist, or even a quasi-imperialist policy. What can, however, be fairly laid at their door, is a charge of naïvety and ignorance in their view of the Arab reading public, and its receptiveness to the kinds of books, especially the Protestant propaganda, which they were publishing. They were intended as "mighty engines for conquering the Kingdom of the Devil"¹⁴⁰, but the impression conveyed by many of them is one of feebleness; for the missionary publishers failed to realise that what was suitable for an English Sunday School was going to have precious little impact among readers brought up in a society and a culture with profoundly different traditions, assumptions and mores. Nevertheless, there were a number of significant exceptions, and some surprising contrasts are to be found among the books published in Malta. These arose in large part from the different personalities and backgrounds of those who worked at the press, and to them we now turn.

¹³⁸ CM/O65/23, Schlienx to Secs., 8.11.1832. As mentioned above (p.128), the intention was to undermine Islam in favour of Christianity, but by indirect means, and for spiritual, not political, purposes.

¹³⁹ The one possible exception to this is the English-Arabic conversation book, *Kitāb al-Muḥāwara al-unsīya*, Malta 1840 (item 92 in Appendix A), of which mention has already been made. This does abound in passages suggesting the intellectual, social and commercial superiority of Europe, especially Britain. These, however, were written at least partly by Fāris al-Shidyāq, who also refers therein, significantly, to the cultural legacy of the Arabs, particularly in the field of literature, and the need for a revival of it. See above, p.124, and below, pp.245-247.

¹⁴⁰ Wolff, op.cit., p.523.

6. PERSONS EMPLOYED IN ARABIC & TURKISH PRINTING IN MALTA

General

Sources of recruitment

The Malta establishment of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), and its press, were founded, as we have seen¹, by the English missionary William Jowett. He was, however, the only English clergyman to be sent there by the Society, although he was joined for brief periods in the early years by English printers (Henry Andrews and John Kitto), and other English staff (but not missionaries) were later to be recruited locally (most notably George Percy Badger). But after Jowett, the missionary personnel, both clergy and laymen, were supplied entirely by the Seminary of the Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft at Basle. This institution, described by one early missionary historian as a "School of the Prophets"², was founded in 1815, being a later outcome of the same Lutheran pietism which had earlier inspired Callenberg to seek to convert Jews and Muslims by the printed word.³ At an early stage it entered into a close relationship with the CMS, receiving funds from it and, from 1817 onwards, sending its alumni to serve in the CMS mission fields.⁴ Indeed to a large extent in this period it relied on the English body to find suitable outlets for its men⁵, as the CMS in turn relied on it to make up the deficiency in suitable English recruits.

In 1820 a wider missionary association of Swiss, German and French Protestants was formed, under the direction of the Basle Seminary, which took a particular interest in the Mediterranean and

¹ Above, pp.106sq.

² Childe,C.F. *The finished course: brief notices of departed Church missionaries*, London 1865, p.158. Joseph Wolff, on the other hand, wrote contemptuously of "so many tanners and shoemaker journeymen, who, not able to go on with their profession, go to Basle under the pretext of being converted, in order to become missionaries". Wolff,J. *Journal ... containing an account of his missionary labours from the years 1827 to 1831; and from the years 1835 to 1838*, London 1839, p.332.

³ See above, pp.72-74. On the origins of the Basle Seminary, see Schlatter,W., *Geschichte der Basler Mission 1815-1915*, Basle 1916, Bd.I, pp.1-27; Staehelin,E.(ed.), *Die Christentums-gesellschaft in der Zeit von der Erweckung bis zur Gegenwart: Texte aus Briefen, Protokollen und Publikationen*, Basle 1974 (Theologische Zeitschrift, Sonderband IV), pp.1-11; Latourette,K.S., *The nineteenth century in Europe: the Protestant and Eastern Churches*, London 1960 (Christianity in a Revolutionary Age, Vol.II), pp.67-68 & 215.

⁴ Stock,E., *The history of the Church Missionary Society*, Vol.I, London 1899, pp.120 & 124.

⁵ *Die orientalische Frage der deutsch-evangelischen Kirche*, Berne 1843, p.62.

Black Sea areas as fields of operation.⁶ It therefore supplied numerous men for the CMS Mediterranean Mission, of whom no fewer than eight served in Malta at different times. One of these (Samuel Gobat) was a Francophone Swiss and another (Peter Fjellstedt) was a Swede, but the rest were all German-speaking, either from Switzerland or from neighbouring Württemberg, a stronghold of Lutheran Pietism. They included the Superintendent of the mission throughout the 1830s, the Arabist Christoph Schlienz, as well as the Secretary, Peter Brenner, and the chief printer from 1829 onwards, Matthäus Weiss. Most of them received some training at the CMS college in Islington, between graduating from Basle and taking up their posts.⁷

With the possible exception of Schlienz, none of these European missionaries had any very extensive knowledge of Arabic or Turkish (although both Jowett and Gobat seem to have entertained the notion that they had mastered the former language). They therefore were obliged to rely very heavily on Arab and Turkish assistants recruited from the Middle East, who not only revised the translations and corrected the proof-sheets, but in most cases also did the bulk of the work of preparing them. At first, as we have seen, Jowett sent texts to the Middle East to be translated into Arabic there, by 'Īsā Buṭrus and others⁸ ; and the same was done later for Turkish.⁹ But this involved sending the English texts to Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon or Turkey, receiving back manuscripts of translations, checking them and suggesting revisions, sending them back for amendment, receiving back amended manuscripts, sending back proofs for checking, receiving back the corrected proofs, and then ensuring that type corrections were accurately effected. Since the transit time by sailing ships was at least four weeks and often much longer¹⁰ , this was found to be an impossibly time-consuming process. Sometimes short cuts were taken¹¹ , with unfortunate results. It was,

⁶ Letter from Theophilus Blumhardt, Inspector of the Basle Missionary Institution, published as Appendix XVIII in *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East*, 21 (1820-21), pp.367-368; Schlatter, *op.cit.*, pp.38sq.

⁷ Stock, *op.cit.*, I, p.245.

⁸ See above, pp.136-137.

⁹ See below, pp.166-167.

¹⁰ By the late 1830s steamers were sometimes available, but even these took far too long for the process to be practical. Cf. Fjellstedt's remarks in 1839, p.167 below.

¹¹ See above, pp.137-138.

as has already been mentioned¹² , eventually realised that the only practical way to proceed was to employ Arab (and later Turkish) assistants in Malta itself, so that all the work of translation, correction, type-setting and proof-reading could be done on the spot. The first to be so employed was the young Lebanese Fāris al-Shidyāq, but he quickly left, and was replaced after an interval by the Iraqi 'Isā Rassām. After Rassām left, Shidyāq returned and remained with the establishment until the end, apart from brief excursions elsewhere. He was joined later by his former pupil, the Egyptian Ḥannā Jāwalī (Gauli). Although the Turkish output of the press was much smaller, two Turks were also employed at different times: Yusuf Efendi, recruited in İzmir, and Halil Efendi.

The fourth area of recruitment for the Malta press was Malta itself. The original idea for the Mediterranean Mission came, as we have seen¹³ , from a Maltese, Dr Cleardo Naudi, and he assisted in promoting its objectives there until the mid-1830s, although it does not seem that he was involved in Arabic work.¹⁴ Later a young Englishman of a poor family resident on the island, George Percy Badger, was recruited for his linguistic and typographic talents, and subsequently became a notable orientalist. It is also recorded that in 1828 a Tunisian Jew resident in Malta assisted with the compilation of a collection of Arabic proverbs¹⁵ , and in 1839 a Turkish resident assisted with copying and correcting Turkish publications.¹⁶ But most of the other local recruits, both Maltese and foreign, performed only the humbler tasks, as compositors, lithographers or "labourers" of various kinds. The missionary-printer in charge was by no means always satisfied with their work, remarking in 1831 that "the [Printing] Office here can not be compared with an Office in England, where one Press alone is able to produce with much more nicety [*sic*] more than double the work. Though I dare say that it never will be brought to so high a degree of perfection in this part of the world".¹⁷ Two years later, however, he

¹² See above, p.138.

¹³ Above, pp.105-106.

¹⁴ According to one observer, however, he read the Scriptures in Arabic and had Arabic books in his "valuable" library. Bigelow, A. *Travel in Malta and Sicily, with sketches of Gibraltar, in MDCCCXXVII*, Boston (USA) 1831, p.258.

¹⁵ CM/065/6, Schlienz to Secs., 18.6.1828.

¹⁶ CM/025/21, Fjellstedt to Coates, 9.1.1840.

¹⁷ CM/067/4, Weiss to Coates, 29.1.1831.

grudgingly acknowledged that at least some of the Maltese employees were not without merit: "Saverio is becoming a good Arabic compositor and Michaele is a strong assistance in body to the Press; good for him that the active companion Joseph rouses him up, when he begins [sic] to fall asleep".¹⁸

But in January 1837 the Maltese "labourers" rebelled. Until that time the Government and missionary presses were the only ones allowed in Malta, but with the announcement of press freedom in 1836, the prospect of alternative employment presented itself. Most of the CMS workers were, it seems, "attached towards the Revolutionary party here"¹⁹, and they ceremoniously walked out of the CMS printing office and marched through the streets with a band to join the nationalist leaders Mitrovich and Sciberras, who promised them employment in the new "patriotic" press. The actual granting of press freedom and the establishment of the new presses were, however, postponed somewhat²⁰, and in the meantime most of the workers returned to the CMS, only to find themselves locked out by Weiss, the missionary-printer, who consented to re-engage only one worker.²¹ The effect of this was to bring the press virtually to a halt for several months.²² But production had been resumed by August of the same year²³, although whether with the original workers or new ones is not clear. By February 1840 Weiss reported that the Maltese "labourers" had been brought "to some perfection, so that printing goes on with considerable [sic] more despatch than in former years".²⁴ But only two years later the CMS authorities, who had not hesitated to apply the word "perfidy" to the departing workers in 1837, proceeded abruptly to dismiss all their employees in the Malta press after deciding to discontinue operations there.²⁵

Functions

Precise information about the personnel and their functions, especially at the lower level, is hard to come by, and in any case

¹⁸ CM/067/6, Weiss to Jowett, 28.8.1833.

¹⁹ CM/067/9, Weiss to Jowett, 14.1.1837.

²⁰ It did not come into effect until early 1838. Michel, E., "La libertà di stampa a Malta (1837-1839)", *Malta Letteraria*, 1 (1926), pp.267sq.

²¹ CM/067/9, Weiss to Jowett, 14.1.1837; CM/018/33, Brenner to Secs., 14.1.1837.

²² CM/065/47, Schlienz to Secs., 10.3.1837.

²³ CM/065/50, Schlienz to Secs., 1.9.1837.

²⁴ CM/067/11, Weiss to Jowett, 26.2.1840.

²⁵ CM/L3/250-251, Coates to Gobat, 16.7.1842.

the establishment varied considerably from period to period. The only comprehensive account of the printing workers seems to be that given by the missionary-printer, Matthäus Weiss, in a report dated 29 January 1831²⁶, but relating to the latter part of 1829. At that time, he says, the printing-office employed two persons as compositors, two "for printing", i.e. pressmen, two binders, and two women as folders and stitchers (under the care of Mrs Weiss), making a total of eight employees.²⁷ This pattern was probably fairly typical of the establishment during the 1830s, the main period of the press's activity, except that at a later date lithographers, punch-cutters and typesetters were also employed.²⁸ In 1834 a casual visitor reported that at that time the CMS had "a considerable printing establishment in Malta, chiefly for Arabic and Greek works".²⁹ But in 1830 the total of employees had been reduced temporarily to seven, apparently by shedding one of the compositors, as in December of that year, according to Weiss's report, "the Press was brought nearly to a full stop, the only compositor ... being detained from the Office by the smallpox".³⁰ This demonstrated the vulnerability of a small printing establishment to interruption by the loss of essential skilled personnel. Moreover, as far as compositors were concerned, it must be borne in mind that the men employed did not themselves read Arabic, and in the early years Schlienz reported that "I get sometimes proofs which make me weep"³¹; later, however, the compositors became used to the task and matters improved, although whenever a new compositor started he had to be trained afresh in an alphabet quite unfamiliar to him.

In charge of the office was the missionary-printer, a post held successively for brief periods in the 1820s by Andrews and Köllner, and then from 1829 to the end in 1842 by Matthäus Weiss.

Outside the printing workshop, but working in close association with it, were the proof-readers and correctors. As far as Arabic (and Turkish) work was concerned, these were usually the Arabs (and

²⁶ CM/O67/4, Weiss to Coates, 19.1.1831.

²⁷ Two years previously, Kitto had observed that, in addition to himself and Köllner, only two Maltese and two "Anglo-Maltese" were employed in the office. Letter from Kitto, 4.12.1827, in Ryland, J.E., *Memoirs of John Kitto*, Edinburgh 1856, p.262.

²⁸ Their role will be discussed further below, pp.261 & 267-268.

²⁹ MacBrair, R.M., *Sketches of a missionary's travels*, London 1839, p.51.

³⁰ CM/O67/4, Weiss to Coates, 29.1.1831.

³¹ CM/O65/4a, Schlienz to Jowett, 20.5.1828.

Turks) employed also as translators and editors and recruited mainly from the Middle East, as mentioned above; but the Europeans also took a hand at times, especially Jowett and Schlienz in the 1820s, and Badger in the late 1830s.

The translators and editors (of original Arabic works, and of those already translated elsewhere) worked generally as teams, the basic work being done by the Arabs (or Turks), with the European Arabists (mainly Jowett, Schlienz, Badger and Gobat) checking their output to try to ensure fidelity to the originals, and renderings which were in keeping with their evangelical intentions. The close supervision sometimes involved is illustrated in an account given by Schlienz in 1838: "The manner in which Mr Badger proceeds with Hanna [al-Jāwalī] is: to remain with him from 8 o'clock in the morning till 12, & from 2 o'clock till five in the afternoon at the Office. During this time the business of translating and correcting is done".³² But Fāris al-Shidyāq insisted, it seems, on pursuing a more independent course at times, and some of his writings and translations published at Malta were clearly done mainly on his own.³³ Rassām, Jāwalī and their Turkish colleagues, however, seem to have operated very much under the direct control of their missionary minders.

Also attached to the Malta establishment was a Secretary, sometimes called a Lay Assistant, who was responsible for the day-to-day administration, as well as occasionally helping out with practical or literary tasks. He also deputised for the Superintendent when the latter was away, sick or, as was often the case in the late 1830s, insane. For most of the period this post was held by Peter Brenner.

Finally, the overall control of the establishment was exercised by the Superintendent, a senior missionary, who was responsible to the Committee of the Church Missionary Society in London. His regular letters to them, reporting on the activities of the mission, are a prime source of information concerning its history. Moreover, throughout the period he also acted as local agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society and had charge of their depot in Malta, from where substantial numbers of Arabic and other editions of the Bible, and parts thereof, were supplied to the Middle East and North Africa, alongside the books printed in Malta: this was a

³² CM/O65/61, Schlienz to Secs., 27.12.1838.

³³ See further below, pp.226-227.

continuation of the earlier activity in this field which has already been outlined.³⁴ The letters and reports sent to the Bible Society headquarters in London³⁵ therefore also provide interesting information about the operations of the missionaries and their work in distributing Arabic books. The post of Superintendent was held successively by Jowett (1815-30), Schlienz (1830-42, but effectively 1830-39) and Gobat (1842-43 but effectively 1839-43), all of whom were, or considered themselves to be, Arabic scholars, and took an active part themselves in the translation, editing and publishing of the Arabic books.

* * * * *

As can be inferred from the foregoing summary, the balance between evangelical and literary concerns in the Malta establishment was a somewhat delicate one, which tilted in different directions according to the circumstances of the times, or the personnel in place at any given juncture. Jowett and his colleagues started out in the 1820s with the idea of transforming the Christian communities in the Middle East and eventually converting the Muslims to evangelical Christianity: printing and publication were seen as means to this end, and as aids to missionaries in the field. But as time went on, such prospects came to seem at best remote and at worst impossible; by then, however, the publishing of Arabic books had acquired a momentum of its own. One ex-employee of the press, 'Īsā Rassām, remarked, perhaps somewhat cynically, that the missionary work in the Mediterranean had become a "business". "The Missionary," he said, "makes a kind of trade of writing and translating the tracts & books: for otherwise the inutility of their mission would be too evident".³⁶ Jaundiced though this remark may have been, it contains more than a grain of truth. The careers and attitudes of the individual participants in this "trade" will now be considered in more detail, taking them in alphabetical order.

³⁴ See above, pp.77-98.

³⁵ Now in Cambridge University Library.

³⁶ William Palmer's record of conversations with Christian Rassam in 1837-38, Lambeth Palace MS 2817, p.20.

ANDREWS, Henry

Missionary-Printer, 1824-25

In June 1823 the CMS Secretary in London wrote to Jowett: "We have the prospect of sending you, at an early period, an *English printer*, thoroughly qualified to take charge of your Printing Establishment. His name is Andrews, a pious young man".³⁷ He did not, however, arrive in Malta until February 1824, with his wife, and took up residence with the Jowetts.³⁸ It seems that he knew no Arabic, nor did he try to acquire any, although he did take steps to learn Italian, another language in which tracts were printed.³⁹ He was not, it appears, happy in his new surroundings, and his Protestant piety was offended by the life-style of the Catholic Maltese, especially their "violation of the Sabbath".⁴⁰

By the autumn of 1824, he had fallen ill, and Jowett reported that his poor health was holding up work.⁴¹ By March 1825 he was contemplating returning to England for health reasons; but he pointed out that his sickness was not the main reason for the delay in printing tracts, which was rather due to defective types, the moving of the printing office and Jowett's preoccupation with writing his memoirs.⁴² Later that year he recovered somewhat and resumed some of his duties, but without being able to take over full responsibility for the printing office.⁴³ At the end of 1825 a replacement (Köllner, q.v.) was sent out.⁴⁴ By June 1826 Andrews had become fatally ill, and he died in September of that year.⁴⁵

ANDREWS, Mrs

Folder & stitcher, 1824-28

Henry Andrews's wife accompanied her husband to Malta, and stayed on after his death. She was from the outset employed in folding and stitching the printed sheets into gatherings, ready for binding.⁴⁶

³⁷ CM/L1/35, Coates to Jowett, 3.6.1823.

³⁸ CM/O8/6, Andrews to Pratt, 28.2.1824.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ CM/O39/36, Jowett to Secs., 23.10.1824.

⁴² CM/O8/8, Andrews to Pratt, 7.3.1825. Jowett's *Christian researches in Syria and the Holy Land* was published later that year.

⁴³ *Missionary Register*, 1826, p.60.

⁴⁴ *Missionary Register*, 1825, p.598; 1826, pp.60 & 222.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 1826, p.352.

⁴⁶ CM/O8/6, Andrews to Pratt, 28.2.1824.

Nevertheless he was employed, at some time in or before 1834, as a teacher in a boys' school in Malta run by, or associated with, the CMS. At the same time he also became involved with the Methodist mission there, and was engaged by their minister, a Mr Brownell, who reported that he was "a Young Man of undoubted piety and considerable talents for usefulness, who can write and preach in Maltese ... He is translating some religious publications, intended soon to be committed to the Press".⁵⁶ These Maltese tracts, Badger's first professional work as a translator and writer, do not in fact seem to have been published. As a preacher, he seems to have allowed enthusiasm to override discretion, on one occasion invading a Catholic village church and holding forth from the pulpit during Vespers.⁵⁷ His sermons at the Methodist chapel caused the majority of his pupils in the CMS school to desert his classes, whereupon the CMS was obliged to dismiss him.

However, recognising his talents, Schlienz wrote to London suggesting that they should take him into the printing establishment, rather than let him enter into a permanent engagement with the Methodists.⁵⁸ Although Coates in London agreed that "it seems important to attach him to the Mission"⁵⁹, nothing was immediately done, and meanwhile Badger had become involved with the American Congregationalist missionaries: he had long been acquainted with Daniel Temple, their principal representative in Malta at that time⁶⁰, and now entered their service as a printer.⁶¹ But, as we have seen⁶², the Americans were unable to print in Arabic in Malta, and in 1834 they moved the section of their press intended for that purpose to Beirut. In 1835 Badger followed them there⁶³, and as well as working in their press, he set about acquiring a good knowledge of Arabic. In a letter to Schlienz in June of that year, he

⁵⁶ *Missionary Register* 1836, p.93.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.93.

⁵⁸ CM/O65/32, Schlienz to Secs., 2.10.1834.

⁵⁹ CM/L2/330, Coates to Schlienz, 22.11.1834.

⁶⁰ CM/O65/32, Schlienz to Secs., 2.10.1834.

⁶¹ Laurie, *op.cit.*, p.219. Another American missionary who visited Malta in 1833 stated that he was at that time the foreman in their press there. Perkins, J. "Attempt to interfere with the Nestorian Mission", *Christian Work*, N.S.2 (1868), p.306.

⁶² Above, pp.117-120.

⁶³ "The press has waited for a printer, nor was it till the present year [1835] that one was obtained. He is a young man formerly connected with the press at Malta". *Missionary Herald* 32 (1836), p.8. Although the "young man" was not named, it seems certain that he was none other than Badger.

mentioned that he was to receive tuition from one "Tannoos".⁶⁴ It is tempting to imagine that this was Ṭannūs al-Shidyāq, elder brother of Fāris and a notable Maronite historian, who had previously been employed as an Arabic tutor by the American missionaries⁶⁵ ; but by this date he had almost certainly broken off relations with them, following the defection of his brothers As'ad and Fāris⁶⁶ , and Badger's tutor is more likely to have been Ṭannūs al-Ḥaddād, another teacher employed in the American mission schools.⁶⁷

Meanwhile, he maintained contact with the CMS, and put himself forward for Anglican ordination and employment as a missionary by them; this the CMS declined to do, but again suggested that he should be taken on by Schlienz at the press in Malta.⁶⁸ Schlienz accordingly wrote to him in Beirut early in 1836, inviting him to return⁶⁹ , but he felt unable immediately to take up the offer, because he had "engaged to complete a work for Mr Smith".⁷⁰ At the same time he expressed his frustration at having to work as a printer when his real desire was to preach the Gospel in Arabic.⁷¹ In November of the same year Schlienz was again hoping that, with an improved knowledge of Arabic gained in Lebanon, he would be able to render useful service at the Malta press⁷² ; and shortly afterwards he did indeed return there, which prompted the CMS Committee to formulate fresh proposals for his employment.⁷³

By mid-January 1837, as well as "devoting part of his time to private study", Badger was reported to be "assisting Mr Weiss in adjusting the punches of another Arabic alphabet ... being well qualified for the work ... in conjunction with Mr Fares [i.e. Fāris al-Shidyāq], as he had been employed in the same in Syria".⁷⁴ The CMS in London thereupon urged Schlienz to engage Badger for

⁶⁴ CM/O73/78, Badger (Beirut) to Schlienz (Malta), 30.6.1835.

⁶⁵ Alwan, M.B. *Ahmad Fāris ash-Shidyāq and the West*, unpublished dissertation, University of Indiana 1970, p.26. Alwan drew his information from ABCFM sources.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.30sqq.

⁶⁷ Laurie, T. *Historical sketch of the Syria Mission*, Boston (USA) [1866], p.17.

⁶⁸ CM/L2/380, Coates to Schlienz, 1.12.1825

⁶⁹ CM/O65/44, Schlienz to Secs., 3.2.1836.

⁷⁰ CM/O11/1, Badger to Schlienz, n.d. (received 2.5.1836). This was the famous Eli Smith, the founder of the American Press in Beirut and promoter of Arabic typography there. See above, pp.118-119, & below, pp.296-297.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² CM/O65/45, Schlienz to Coates, 16.11.1836.

⁷³ CM/L2/463, Coates to Brenner, 1.12.1836.

⁷⁴ CM/O18/33, Brenner to Secs., 14.1.1837.

"translational and editorial assistance", for "his proficiency in Arabic & his acquaintance with the business of the Press would render his services very valuable to you"; moreover "it would not be advisable to lose his services for the sake of 50 or 100 scudi in his salary".⁷⁵ A contract was therefore concluded, and by March Badger was working with Shidyāq on Arabic translations, as well as continuing his punch-cutting operations.⁷⁶

But Badger, although he apparently entered happily and diligently into the work, still entertained hopes of being ordained as a missionary, and requested the CMS to bring him to England for that purpose. Schlienz, however, while accepting the idea of his taking holy orders, hoped that he would return to the Malta press afterwards, because he regarded him as "the fittest person among the Society's Missionaries ... for this kind of engagement".⁷⁷ But in 1839 Badger disgraced himself in the eyes of the Committee, by having printed at the Society's press in Malta, albeit on his own account⁷⁸, a polemical tract defending a Mr J. Richardson, a local newspaper editor, who had received a gaol sentence for publishing an attack on the Roman Catholic Church. In it Badger strongly attacked the Ordinance governing press freedom in Malta, and the Maltese judiciary.⁷⁹ The involvement of the CMS press and one of its employees in such a controversy greatly displeased the Committee in London⁸⁰, and they ruled out, for the time being, any prospect of Badger's ordination.⁸¹

In March 1840 Badger married Maria Wilcox, a school-mistress employed by the CMS on the Greek island of Syra.⁸² In October of that year he was preparing to go to the Levant to distribute books, but the political and military situation there at that time caused the Committee to veto the idea.⁸³ In December, he renewed his application to come to England for ordination, and coupled it with a proposal that he should then go on a Mission to the Druzes in Lebanon, where

⁷⁵ CM/L2/476, Coates to Schlienz, 26.1.1837.

⁷⁶ CM/O65/47, Schlienz to Secs., 10.3.1837.

⁷⁷ CM/O65/61, Schlienz to Secs., 27.12.1838.

⁷⁸ CM/O4/26, List of publications, May 1842.

⁷⁹ Badger, G.P. *Trial of Mr J. Richardson, for an alleged libel against the Roman Catholic religion*, Malta 1839, passim.

⁸⁰ CM/L3/85, Coates to Schlienz, 6.7.1839; CM/L3/90, Coates to Brenner, 20.7.1839.

⁸¹ CM/L3/86, Coates to Schlienz, 6.7.1839.

⁸² CM/L3/116, Coates to Gobat, 14.3.1840.

⁸³ CM/L3/139, Coates to Schlienz, 10.10.1840.

he would also distribute "the books & tracts which are accumulating in our depository"⁸⁴ ; this proposal was accompanied by an eight-page report on the Druzes, presumably based partly on his observations in 1835-36.⁸⁵ In March 1841 the CMS Committee finally relented and agreed to his coming to England for ordination, on condition that he be prepared to serve anywhere in the Mediterranean Mission.⁸⁶ He arrived in London in July of that year, but was found to be so "backward in Latin & Greek" that his ordination had to be postponed while he undertook a course of study in the Society's college at Islington.⁸⁷ He was finally ordained as a deacon in December 1841⁸⁸ and as a priest early in 1842.⁸⁹ But by then his opinions and attitudes had undergone a profound change. Already in Malta in 1839, unbeknown to the CMS, he had been corresponding with the extreme Anglo-Catholic theologian William Palmer (1811-79), with whom he had been put in touch by his brother-in-law 'Īsā Rassām (q.v.)⁹⁰ , and Palmer went to great lengths to convert him to the High Church cause, and to instil in him a strong spirit of opposition to the evangelical missionary endeavours of the CMS and others who sought to "convert" the oriental Christians. After his ordination, Badger went to stay with Palmer in Oxford⁹¹ , and from then on professed "gross Puseyism", as his CMS colleague Samuel Gobat (q.v.) disgustedly put it.⁹²

By then Badger had been appointed by the Bishop of London to go on a mission to the Nestorian church in Kurdistan⁹³ , and in April 1842 he arrived back in Malta en route to the Middle East.⁹⁴ There he quarrelled violently with Gobat, ostensibly over the disposal of his effects⁹⁵ , but also no doubt on account of his new anti-evangelical convictions. Gobat for his part remarked that "after all that I know and hear of Mr Badger, I cannot but congratulate the Society for

⁸⁴ CM/O11/4, Badger to Coates, 28.12.1840.

⁸⁵ CM/O11/4a, Badger: "Druzes in Mount Lebanon", 28.12.1840.

⁸⁶ CM/L3/177, Coates to Schlienz, 27.3.1841.

⁸⁷ CM/L3/185, Coates to Schlienz, 15.7.1841.

⁸⁸ Lambeth Palace MS 2819, p.248.

⁸⁹ Crockford's *Clerical Directory*, 1888, p.47.

⁹⁰ Copies of the correspondence in Lambeth Palace MS 2819, pp.1-16 & 266sqq.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.248.

⁹² CM/O28/50, Gobat to Secs., 26.5.1842.

⁹³ CM/L3/229, Coates to Schlienz, 26.2.1842.

⁹⁴ CM/O28/48, Gobat to Secs., 27.4.1842.

⁹⁵ CM/O28/50, Gobat to Secs., 26.5.1842; CM/O28/50A, Badger to Gobat, 11.5.1842.

having got rid of him; whilst I deplore the fact that he has been chosen and sent a representative of the Church of England to the Nestorians".⁹⁶ By then the Malta press was being wound up, and in June 1842 Fāris al-Shidyāq was dismissed by Gobat; whereupon Badger incited Fāris to demand compensation and a passage to Egypt.⁹⁷

Badger then left Malta for Turkey and Kurdistan, where he launched himself energetically into his mission, and particularly into a campaign against the American missionaries of his former employers, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM).⁹⁸ In October 1844 he returned to Malta for the last time⁹⁹; and it seems that, as a result of his contacts there with George Tomlinson, Bishop of Gibraltar (an SPCK colleague), and with Weiss (q.v.), he formulated proposals for having the Arabic Bible, then being prepared for the SPCK (by Shidyāq and others), printed in Malta, using the Arabic founts which Weiss had taken over from the CMS, and which had lain unused since 1842. Other Arabic works were also envisaged. According to Weiss, the SPCK's Committee wanted them printed at Cambridge, but Badger "intends to exert himself to the utmost to have them printed in Malta"; however Weiss, still an evangelical although temporarily laid off by the CMS, distrusted Badger's "extreme views", and was reluctant to print "works of so high importance without having to submit his labours to a revision of some person of sound Doctrine".¹⁰⁰ But in any case, nothing came of the proposal.

The rest of Badger's career, which lies outside the scope of this study, was spent in ecclesiastical, diplomatic and intelligence work in India, Aden, Oman, Iran, Egypt and Zanzibar, as well as scholarly research and writing.¹⁰¹ His *magnum opus* was his great *English-Arabic lexicon* of 1881, which he spent 10 years in compiling, and for which he is chiefly remembered. He died in 1888. His books, including several of the Malta Arabic imprints, passed from his widow to Cambridge University Library, where they still are.

⁹⁶ CM/O28/50, Gobat to Secs., 26.5.1842.

⁹⁷ CM/O28/51, Gobat to Secs., 25.6.1842.

⁹⁸ Badger, G.P. *The Nestorians and their rituals*, London 1852, Vol.I, passim; Laurie, *Dr Grant*, pp.219sq.; Perkins, op.cit., passim.

⁹⁹ A letter from there, dated 26.10.1844, appears in his op.cit., Vol.I, pp.91-92.

¹⁰⁰ CM/O67/32, Weiss to Coates, 18.12.1844.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Roper, op.cit.

Badger's great linguistic ability, and in particular his mastery of Arabic, is testified by several contemporaries. As early as 1834, when he was only 19, Schlienz reported that "he already has considerable knowledge of the Italian, French, Latin & Malta [sc. Maltese] & is well versed in English literature. He also has some knowledge of the Greek & the Arabic".¹⁰² Four years later, after his stay in Lebanon and his studies there, he had become "well versed in Arabic" and the most useful of the missionaries in this respect, comparing favourably with Gobat and other senior colleagues.¹⁰³ Moreover his knowledge was not just based on reading and literature, but was founded upon his earlier mastery of the Maltese colloquial dialect¹⁰⁴, to which others were later added. An obituary written by one of his colleagues observed that "Dr Badger knew Arabic not only theoretically, but as a living tongue. In its colloquial use few Europeans have ever surpassed him".¹⁰⁵

Badger had a hand in translating or revising most of the Arabic books published in Malta between 1839 and 1841. It is specifically recorded in the CMS archives that he worked on "Luther's life" [*Qiṣṣat Martīn Lūthir*, 1840], the "Prayer Book" [either *Kitāb al-Ṣalawat*, 1839 or *Kitāb al-Ṣalawāt al-Āmma*, 1840], "Horne's Protestant Memorial" [*Dhikrā 'l-Birūtistānt*, 1841], "Dialogues" [*Kitāb al-muhāwara al-unsīya*, 1840], "Mavor's Natural History" [*Sharḥ ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān*, 1841], a "Companion to the Bible" [Calhoun's *Murshid al-ṭālibīn*, 1840] and "Keith on Prophecy" [*Al-bayyina al-jalīya*, 1840]¹⁰⁶; according to Gobat, he was one of "the two chief translators" of the last-named, the other being Faris al-Shidyāq.¹⁰⁷ In fact Badger worked in close partnership with Shidyāq on most of these books, except for a period when Hanna Jawali was his principal collaborator.¹⁰⁸ His partial authorship of *Al-muhāwara al-unsīya* (1840) will be discussed in the next chapter.¹⁰⁹

As well as these Arabic publications, Badger was also engaged at this time in writing other works in English and Italian, which he had printed at the CMS press. Apart from the polemic on the trial of

¹⁰² CM/O65/32, Schlienz to Secs., 2.10.1834.

¹⁰³ CM/O65/61, Schlienz to Secs., 27.12.1838.

¹⁰⁴ C(arlyle), op.cit., p.94.

¹⁰⁵ Obituary in *The Academy*, 23/826 (3.3.1888), p.155.

¹⁰⁶ CM/O65/61, Schlienz to Secs., 27.12.1838. Items 101, 86, 99, 107, 92, 108, 95, 96 in Appendix A below.

¹⁰⁷ Gobat, S. & others, *Samuel Gobat, Bishop of Jerusalem: his life and work*, London 1884, p.189.

¹⁰⁸ CM/O65/61, Schlienz to Secs., 27.12.1838.

¹⁰⁹ See below, pp.245-247.

Richardson, which has already been mentioned, these include an admirably concise and informative description of Malta (1838; several times reprinted), an English grammar in Italian (1838), a treatise on Maltese education, also in Italian (1839), and proposals on the use of Maltese in schools (1841).¹¹⁰ He was also involved in journalism, being a contributor to and proof-reader for *The Phosphorus* (Italian and English, with occasional pieces in Maltese)¹¹¹, as well as writing for "a new Maltese journal"¹¹², which was almost certainly a Maltese edition of *The Harlequin* (edited by the notorious Mr Richardson), entitled *L'Arlecchin jew kaulata Inglisa u Maltija*.¹¹³ In addition to all this, Badger also found time to embark upon a major project, in conjunction with Shidyāq, for an English-Arabic dictionary.¹¹⁴ This must have arisen partly from the difficulties which they encountered in translating such works as Keith's *The evidence of the truth* and Mavor's *Elements of natural history*, with their specialised terminology, for which suitable Arabic equivalents did not spring readily to mind. Shidyāq's interest in lexicography and lexical development is well known¹¹⁵, and for Badger also it became a life-long concern. Although the project was rendered at this stage abortive by his early departure from the Malta press, it was taken up by him years later when he embarked on his great *English-Arabic lexicon* which has already been mentioned. He stated in his preface to that work that "his first essay to carry it out was made nearly forty years ago in conjunction with Ahmad Faris, Efendi"¹¹⁶; and that moreover he had continued to consult him on several subsequent occasions, quoting also Shidyāq's favourable mention of the project in the latter's famous periodical *Al-Jawā'ib*, published in Istanbul.¹¹⁷

BRENNER, Peter

Lay Assistant & Secretary, 1828-42

Brenner was one of the Basle missionaries who were seconded to the

¹¹⁰ Full details of these are given in Roper, op.cit., pp.145-146.

¹¹¹ CM/O65/60, Schlienz to Secs., 26.12.1838. Cf. Sapienza, A.F. *A checklist of Maltese periodicals and newspapers*, [Msida] 1977, #868.

¹¹² CM/O65/61, Schlienz to Secs., 27.12.1838.

¹¹³ Cremona, A. & Saydon, [P.P.], *The development of Maltese as a written language*, Valletta [1928], p.10; Aquilina, J., *Papers in Maltese linguistics*, 2nd ed. Msida 1970, p.87. In both sources Badger is stated to have been the editor.

¹¹⁴ CM/O65/61, Schlienz to Secs., 27.12.1838.

¹¹⁵ See below, pp.229-230.

¹¹⁶ Badger, G.P., *An English-Arabic lexicon / Kitāb al-Dhakhīra al-'ilmīya*, London 1881, p.viii.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.ix-x. Cf. Rebhan, H. *Geschichte und Funktion einiger politischer Termini im Arabischen des 19. Jahrhunderts (1798-1882)*, Wiesbaden 1986, p.13.

Church Missionary Society for service in the Mediterranean. On his background and early life, no information seems to be available. He arrived in London in November 1827¹¹⁸, and after only the briefest period of further training was sent to Malta early in 1828.¹¹⁹ From then until the winding up of the Mission in 1842 he faithfully served as "Lay Assistant" or Secretary, receiving the not ungenerous salary of £300 p.a., according to information leaked to Palmer by Rassām in 1837.¹²⁰

His duties were mainly administrative, preparing reports and returns, and deputising for the Superintendent when he was absent or sick. He does not seem to have been closely involved with the Arabic work at the press, for the most part merely relaying information supplied by others when required. But in 1829 he was responsible for preparing a statement concerning the new Arabic fount, which, however, the supplier of the fount, Richard Watts of London, considered "too indefinite to be acted upon".¹²¹ In 1832 it was reported that he was "much occupied with the composing in Arabic"¹²², but this does not seem to have been one of his regular tasks. In 1839 he offered to work with Shidyāq on the Arabic translation of the Bible during Schlienz's absence, pointing out that as a Hebrew scholar he could render useful assistance¹²³: but this was intended only as a temporary measure.

In 1841 Brenner took 25 weeks' leave of absence in Switzerland¹²⁴, but otherwise he seems to have been at his post continuously until June 1842, when he was told to leave as soon as possible after it had been decided to wind up the Malta establishment.

From what little is known about him, it seems unlikely that Brenner was an Arabic scholar. There were no facilities for learning Arabic in Basle where he was trained, and his stay in London in 1827-28 was too brief for him to have undergone any significant tuition in the language. When he offered to work with Shidyāq on the Bible, it was primarily as a Hebrew scholar. Although in 1832 he

¹¹⁸ *Missionary Register* 1827, p.567.

¹¹⁹ "Dreizehnter Jahresbericht der evangelischen Missions-Gesellschaft zu Basel", *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der evangelischen Missions- und Bibel-Gesellschaften*, [13] (1828), p.360.

¹²⁰ Lambeth Palace MS 2821, p.196.

¹²¹ CM/L1/252-253, Coates to Jowett, 10.11.1829.

¹²² CM/O65/21, Schlienz to Secs., 30.6.1832.

¹²³ CM/O18/51, Brenner to Coates, 8.8.1839.

¹²⁴ BFBS Foreign Corres. Inwards, 1841/4/131.

apparently proposed a scheme for compiling a Maltese lexicon arranged according to the roots¹²⁵, there is no evidence that he proceeded with it, or that he was really qualified to do so. Nevertheless, there is one Arabic book published in Malta which he has more than once been credited with translating. This is the *Kitāb Īdāh al-ta'lim al-Masīhī*, a catechism published in 1833. In his *Catalogue of Arabic books in the British Museum* (1894), A.G.Ellis stated that it was translated by Brenner¹²⁶, and this attribution has been repeated by Graf¹²⁷ and in certain other catalogues.¹²⁸ It does not seem possible to ascertain what source Ellis was using when he wrote this catalogue entry: certainly Brenner's name does not appear in the book itself. The introduction is written in a "high" style, partly in saǰ', and was probably the work of Schlienz and/or Rassām.¹²⁹ It may, however, be that Brenner did advise on Biblical or theological points in the course of the work of translation.

BROCKTORFF, Frederic & Luigi de Drawers & lithographers, 1832-40

In June 1832 Schlienz sent a letter to the CMS headquarters in which he said: "You will see in this letter a specimen of our Lithographic Press. It was executed by Mr de Brocktorff, a German residing here ... Now we have taken the son of Mr Brocktorff, a clever youth, into the office, whom we intend chiefly to employ in Lithography. He will prepare maps, large Arabic writing lessons, perhaps soon in the Cufic Characters etc." (the specimen was printed on the back of the letter).¹³⁰ The following year Matthäus Weiss (q.v.), the chief printer at the Malta press, reported that Frederic Brocktorff was employed as a "drawer", and he and other recent recruits in the office, were "new Subjects and all beginners, although F.de Brocktorff is the most usefull of them".¹³¹

In the ensuing years a number of Arabic and other books printed at Malta were indeed furnished with lithographic maps and illustrations, and a calligraphic Arabic copy-book was also produced. These items will be further considered in Chapter 7 below.

¹²⁵ CM/L2/124, Jowett to Schlienz, 6.6.1832.

¹²⁶ Vol.I, 450.

¹²⁷ Graf, G. *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Rome 1944-53, Bd.IV, p.285.

¹²⁸ E.g., that of Cambridge University Library (unpublished): 8828.d.7.

¹²⁹ On Rassam's possible role in, and disgust with, this work, see below, pp.189-190.

¹³⁰ CM/O65/21, Schlienz to Secs., 30.6.1832.

¹³¹ CM/O67/6, Weiss to Jowett, 28.8.1833.

Most of them carry the names "F.(de) Brocktorff", "L.Brocktorff" or "Luigi Brocktorff", the latter probably being the father, presumably originally called Ludwig Brocktorff. The last such items were the maps in *Murshid al-tālibīn* (1840)¹³², after which presumably the Brocktorffs' services were discontinued. It has not been possible to find any further information concerning them.

BROCKTORFF, Francesco de

Binder, 1833-18??

Weiss's report in 1833 also mentioned that Frederic de Brocktorff's brother Francesco was newly employed as a binder. It is not possible to ascertain for how long he worked at the Malta press, nor whether he was affected by the lock-out in 1837.¹³³

FJELLSTEDT, Peter

Turkish translator and editor, 1839

Born in 1802 in the Swedish province of Värmland, Fjellstedt graduated in theology from Lund University in 1825, and was ordained in the Lutheran church in 1828.¹³⁴ In 1829 he entered the service of the CMS, studied Arabic, Ethiopic, Coptic and Persian at their college in Islington, as well as, briefly, Greek at the Basle Seminary, and in 1831 was posted to Tinnevely in southern India, where he served as a missionary until 1835.¹³⁵ He was then obliged to return to Europe for medical reasons, but after a few months' recuperation he went to Turkey, where he joined the CMS station previously established by J.A.Jetter at İzmir.¹³⁶

In İzmir Fjellstedt set about learning Turkish from Yusuf Efendi (q.v.), who had already been employed for the same purpose by Jetter.¹³⁷ He believed that there were opportunities for educational work among the Turks of western Anatolia, but reached the conclusion that "before all, it is necessary to prepare school books, without which nothing can be done".¹³⁸ Jetter, with the help of Yusuf, had already prepared a basic spelling and reading book and sent it to Malta to be printed¹³⁹, "but the typographical errors are very numerous, because there was no corrector there who understands the

¹³² Item 95 in Appendix A below.

¹³³ See above, p.150.

¹³⁴ Rodén,N. "Fjellstedt, Peter", *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, red. E.Grill, Band 16, Stockholm 1966, pp.85-86.

¹³⁵ Ibid., pp.85-87; Church Missionary Society, *Centenary Volume, 1799-1899*, London 1902, p.622, #169.

¹³⁶ Stock, op.cit., p.350; Roden, op.cit., pp.85-87.

¹³⁷ CM/O25/3, Fjellstedt to Coates, 15.4.1836.

¹³⁸ CM/O25/5/, Fjellstedt to Coates, 22.6.1836.

¹³⁹ *Okumak kitab.dır*, Malta 1834: see item 58 in Appendix A below.

Turkish".¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, he remained convinced that "our chief immediate object must naturally be ... preparing school books on the elements of the various branches of education, & this is what we at present [September 1836] endeavour to do".¹⁴¹ He accordingly set about translating Pinnock's catechisms of moral and social duties and of ancient history into Turkish.¹⁴²

Difficulties with Yusuf, however, held up the work for a time¹⁴³, and Fjellstedt spent part of 1837 travelling to Trieste and in Anatolia with Jetter.¹⁴⁴ At the beginning of 1838, however, he returned to the matter, formulating a new plan for Turkish school-books and beginning with Yusuf on a "General History adapted for the use of Turkish schools" (never published); he ventured the opinion at this time that, provided satisfactory arrangements could be made for proof correction, the use of the Malta press would obviate the need to establish one in Turkey itself, which would be a difficult and dangerous undertaking.¹⁴⁵ But by May of that year he had come to the conclusion that school-books would not after all be acceptable to the Turks, and that the preparation of them should be abandoned in favour of religious books for adults.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, his own translation of a catechism of sciences, entitled *Medhal-i ulûm ve mebd-i fûnun*, was printed at Malta in the following year¹⁴⁷, the proofs having been corrected by Fâris al-Shidyâq in Malta and Yusuf Efendi in İzmir.¹⁴⁸

But the remaining two Turkish books of Fjellstedt were of a religious nature: *On manners and morals*, drawn from the Bible and published under the title *Kitab-ı ilm-i edeb ve merasim-i ülfe*¹⁴⁹, and a treatise on the attributes of God (*Ulûm ul-hakayık*). Both were ready for printing in 1839, and Fjellstedt decided to go to Malta himself

¹⁴⁰ CM/O25/6, Fjellstedt to Coates, 1.9.1836.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² CM/O25/10, Fjellstedt to Jowett, 8.12.1836.

¹⁴³ See below, p.234.

¹⁴⁴ CM/O37/134, Journal of J.A.Jetter, Oct.1837.

¹⁴⁵ CM/O25/13, Fjellstedt to Secs., 4.1.1838.

¹⁴⁶ CM/O25/16, Fjellstedt to Secs., 26.5.1838.

¹⁴⁷ CM/O4/26, List of publications, May 1842. Items 83-84 in Appendix A. Cf. Linnström, H., *Svenskt boklexikon: åren 1830-1865*, förra delen, Stockholm 1883, p.350, where the date is wrongly given as 1837; Özege, M. Seyfettin, *Eski harflerle basılmış Türkçe eserler kataloğu*, İstanbul 1971-82, #12677.

¹⁴⁸ CM/O65/60, Schlienz to Secs., 26.12.1838.

¹⁴⁹ Item 87 in Appendix A. Linnström, op.cit., p.350 (again wrongly dated 1837); Karatay, Fehmi Edhem, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe basmalar alfabe kataloğu: memleketimizde ilk Türk matbaasının kuruluşundan yeni harflerin kabulüne kadar (1729-1928)*, İstanbul 1956, p.26; Özege, op.cit., #10946, where the place of publication is wrongly given as Beirut.

to see them through the press, "as the printing goes on a great deal too slowly in the way hitherto tried, by sending the proof-sheets backwards & forwards with the steamers, making only 2 or 3 sheets a month".¹⁵⁰ He arrived there with Yusuf Efendi in September 1839¹⁵¹, and soon became confirmed in his view that "it would be utterly impossible to print anything of consequence in the Turkish even tolerably correct without being present where the press is".¹⁵² He went to some trouble to standardise the orthography of Yusuf's manuscript copy for the three above-mentioned texts before giving them to the compositor.¹⁵³ The books were "nearly finished" by December, the remaining proofs "being corrected by a Turk, who happened to live there for a time & who assisted us much in copying & correcting even before we left".¹⁵⁴ But lack of types prevented Fjellstedt from proceeding any further with Turkish printing, so he left Malta and returned to İzmir.¹⁵⁵

In July 1840 Fjellstedt was granted furlough by the CMS, and he spent the next two years in Germany and Switzerland, working on a revision of the Turkish version of the Bible¹⁵⁶ and a translation of the Church of England *Book of Common Prayer*.¹⁵⁷ Then he returned to his native Sweden, where he passed most of the rest of his life in evangelical and educational work. He died in Uppsala in 1881¹⁵⁸, leaving his important collection of books in Arabic, Turkish and other languages, including many of the Malta imprints, to the library of the University of Tübingen, where they still are.

FRANZ, Friedrich Wilhelm

Punch-cutter & type-founder, 1836

A former carpenter's apprentice from Württemberg, Franz worked for several years, until January 1836, as a mechanic in a military workshop in Algiers.¹⁵⁹ Chosen by the committee of the Easle society to serve as a missionary in Baghdad, he then proceeded first to

¹⁵⁰ CM/O25/18, Fjellstedt to Coates, 25.7.1839.

¹⁵¹ CM/O25/19, Fjellstedt to Coates, 5.9.1839.

¹⁵² CM/O25/20, Fjellstedt to Coates, 16.10.1839.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ CM/O25/21, Fjellstedt to Coates, 9.1.1840.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.; CM/O18/55, Brenner to Coates, 29.12.1839.

¹⁵⁶ Keen, R. *A catalogue of the papers of the missions of the Africa (Group 3) Committee*, Vol.6: *Mediterranean and Palestine missions 1811-1934*, London 1981, p.32; Rodén, op.cit., p.87.

¹⁵⁷ Published in Leipzig in 1842 under the title *Kitab-ı Dua*. Linnström, op.cit., p.350.

¹⁵⁸ Rodén, op.cit., p.89.

¹⁵⁹ Stachelin, op.cit., pp.60 & 528.

Malta to consult with Schlienz, who persuaded him to stay there temporarily and apply his mechanical skills to the preparation of a new fount of Arabic type.¹⁶⁰

Franz's main task was, it seems, the cutting of punches for the Arabic alphabet.¹⁶¹ In this he must have been guided closely by Schlienz and/or Shidyāq, as it seems that his own knowledge of Arabic was slight.¹⁶² As well as cutting punches, the CMS were anxious that he should also use them to produce matrices so that "you will be enabled at all times to supply your own want of Arabic types, without risk of delay, or imperfections, or variations in the size & form of the letters".¹⁶³

After a few months, both Franz and his sponsors in Basle were anxious that he should leave Malta to engage in more active missionary work in Palestine (the Baghdad project having been postponed).¹⁶⁴ The CMS, however, were equally insistent that "Mr Franz should complete the matrices for your Arabic Founts & cast what Types may be requisite before he leaves Malta".¹⁶⁵ He eventually arrived in Egypt en route to Palestine at the beginning of February 1837.¹⁶⁶ In the summer of that year he returned to Malta and resumed his old acquaintanceships¹⁶⁷, but it does not seem that he did any further work for the Arabic press.

GOBAT, Samuel

Editor, 1826; Tutor & translator, 1839-42;
Superintendent, 1842-43

Because of his subsequent career, Gobat became the most celebrated, in the West, of those who had participated in the Arabic work of the Malta press. As a result, his life and work are probably the best

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., pp.60 & 521, #406 (Letter from Schlienz to Spittler in Basle, 24.3.1836).

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p.525, #412 (C.G.Barth to W.Kruse, 20.8.1836); CM/L2/406-407, Coates to Schlienz, 30.3.1836.

¹⁶² "Da er aber des Arabischen gar wenig mächtig ist ... könnte ich ihn zu dem erwarteten Zwecke nicht brauchen" - G.H.Schubert to C.G.Barth, Cairo 6.2.1837, in Staehelin, op.cit., p.530, #420; Carmel, A. *Christen als Pioniere im Heiligen Land*, Basle 1981 (Theologische Zeitschrift, Sonderband X), p.28. But Schubert may have been referring primarily to his fluency in colloquial Arabic.

¹⁶³ CM/L2/406-407, Coates to Schlienz, 30.3.1836.

¹⁶⁴ Staehelin, op.cit., p.525, #412 (Barth to Kruse, 20.8.1836); ibid., p.527, #415 (Franz to Spittler, 28.9.1836); ibid., p.528, #417 (Barth & Spittler, 24.10.1836); ibid., p.529, #418 (Barth to Spittler, 24.10.1836). Cf. Carmel, op.cit., pp.27sq.

¹⁶⁵ CM/L2/438, Coates to Brenner, 1.8.1836.

¹⁶⁶ Staehelin, op.cit., p.530, #420 (Schubert to Barth, Cairo 6.2.1837).

¹⁶⁷ Schubert, G.H. von, *Reise in das Morgenland in den Jahren 1836 und 1837*, Erlangen 1838-39, Bd.III, p.528. Cf. Staehelin, op.cit., p.530 n.1029; Carmel, op.cit., p.28.

documented, with a number of published biographies¹⁶⁸ and an autobiography.¹⁶⁹ The latter is a useful primary source, both for his overall career and for certain aspects of the Arabic work at Malta, as well as providing clues to his character and propensities.

Born in 1799 in the Jura, then part of France, later in Francophone Switzerland¹⁷⁰, Gobat went to Basle in 1820 and studied German for a year, as well as gaining practical experience in a printing establishment, before entering the missionary college in 1821.¹⁷¹ In 1823 he went to Paris to study Arabic with Silvestre de Sacy and Garcin de Tassy, and claimed to have been able after nine months to "read and understand the Koran in the original nearly as well as the Bible in my native tongue".¹⁷² In 1825 he was ordained in Baden and then sent, against his inclinations¹⁷³, to England, where he spent seven months in the CMS college in Islington, studying Hebrew, Arabic and Ethiopic in preparation for a missionary journey to Egypt and Ethiopia.¹⁷⁴ The CMS Committee formed a high opinion of his abilities¹⁷⁵, but he for his part took a characteristically dim view of his fellow students, regarding them as "very deficient, not only in knowledge, but also in intellectual capacity and true piety".¹⁷⁶

At the end of 1825, on the instructions of the CMS, Gobat set off, with his fellow missionaries Müller and Lieder (q.v.), for Malta en route to Egypt and Ethiopia.¹⁷⁷ After a long and devious journey they arrived there on 25 April 1826¹⁷⁸; but while Müller and Lieder went on after a few weeks to Alexandria, Gobat stayed in Malta at the request of Jowett to work on editing and correcting Arabic tracts which had been translated in the Middle East.¹⁷⁹ These

¹⁶⁸ Roehrich, L., *Samuel Gobat, ancien missionnaire en Abyssinie et évêque anglican de Jérusalem*, Paris 1880; Schölly, T., *Samuel Gobat, evangelischer Bischof in Jerusalem*, Basle 1900; Schick, F., *Samuel Gobat, der Bischof von Jerusalem*, Giessen & Basle 1958; Kober, A., *Samuel Gobat: vom Juradorf nach Jerusalem*, Basle 1968.

¹⁶⁹ Gobat & others, op.cit.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p.3; Staehelin, op.cit., p.65.

¹⁷¹ Gobat & others, op.cit., pp.29-32.

¹⁷² Ibid., p.45.

¹⁷³ Ibid., p.57: "I had strong prejudices against the English".

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., pp.59-63. He later claimed that by 1836 he knew 11 languages. Roehrich, op.cit., p.10.

¹⁷⁵ Stock, op.cit., I, p.351.

¹⁷⁶ Gobat & others, op.cit., p.60.

¹⁷⁷ *Missionary Register* 1825, p.549; Gobat & others, op.cit., pp.63-65.

¹⁷⁸ *Missionary Register* 1827, p.45.

¹⁷⁹ CM/O39/71, Jowett to Secs., 15.5.1826; CM/O28/2, Gobat to Coates, 23.5.1826; *Missionary Register* 1827, p.46; Gobat & others, op.cit., p.69. Schölly (op.cit., p.32) says that he also worked on Italian books and tracts.

translations had been done mainly by 'Īsā Buṭrus in Jerusalem¹⁸⁰, and Gobat expressed the opinion that the "peculiar dialect of the Translator ... the Modern Arabic used in Syria" had affected the "purity of the translation"; and that, moreover, "further imperfections will inevitably arise ... from the manner of thinking among the people of those parts, from the want of thorough knowledge of the language from which the translation is made [i.e. English], and from a defective view oftentimes of the real meaning and import of Scripture".¹⁸¹ Whether Gobat's own knowledge of Arabic, based on less than a year's study, qualified him to make such judgments is open to doubt; but at least, unlike Jowett¹⁸², he did realise the necessity of avoiding colloquial dialects in texts for reading.

Five Arabic tracts were edited and seen through the press by Gobat in 1826.¹⁸³ In addition, he revised five others¹⁸⁴, but only one was published, in 1827.¹⁸⁵

Although Jowett considered that Gobat's detention in Malta "will in the end prove to have been a most advantageous & necessary step"¹⁸⁶, Gobat himself was anxious to proceed on his mission to Ethiopia, regarding the editing of tracts as "rather tedious work".¹⁸⁷ He finally left Malta on 26 August¹⁸⁸ bound for Alexandria, taking with him the manuscript of another Arabic tract "on Redemption", because he wished "to ascertain on the spot the accuracy of various theological terms used therein", before returning it to Malta for printing.¹⁸⁹ Over two years later, Jowett queried its non-arrival¹⁹⁰, and it does not seem in fact ever to

¹⁸⁰ See above, pp.136-137.

¹⁸¹ *Missionary Register* 1827, p.41.

¹⁸² See above, pp.135-136.

¹⁸³ Items 6, 7, 9, 12 & 13 in Appendix A below. The list is given in *Missionary Register* 1827, p.41; also by Gobat himself in "Briefe des Missionars Samuel Gobat aus Aegypten", *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der evangelischen Missions- und Bibel-Gesellschaften* [12] (1827), p.439.

¹⁸⁴ *Missionary Register* 1827, p.41.

¹⁸⁵ Watts's *Ba'd asfār mufīda 'an ghāyat al-zamān* (item 17 in Appendix A below): this is listed in the *Missionary Register* (ibid.) as "End of Time". The others mentioned are "Serious Thoughts on Eternity", "Negro Servant", "Chrystostom on Reading the Scriptures" and "Treatise on Prayer, by the late Rev. Pliny Fisk", but they do not seem to correspond with any of the extant works, nor any on the list in the CMS archives (CM/O4/26). But the first sounds like an alternative version of the title of *Ba'd asfār*, and the last may represent a confusion with Bird's and Goodell's *Ghalabat al-Īmān mawjūda fī akhbār mawt al-Sinyūr Fisk* (1827; item 14 in Appendix A below), which does contain some letters of Fisk on the subject of prayer.

¹⁸⁶ CM/O39/71. Jowett to Secs., 15.5.1826.

¹⁸⁷ Gobat & others, op.cit., p.69.

¹⁸⁸ *Missionary Register* 1826, p.445.

¹⁸⁹ *Missionary Register* 1827, p.41.

¹⁹⁰ CM/L1/198. Jowett to Kruse, Müller & Lieder, 5.11.1828.

have been published.¹⁹¹

Gobat spent over three years in Egypt, with journeys to Palestine and Syria, preaching, distributing tracts and continuing his studies of Arabic and Amharic, before setting off for Ethiopia via Hijaz in 1829.¹⁹² He returned from there to Switzerland in 1834, married and went back again to Ethiopia the following year.¹⁹³ In 1836 he went down to Egypt, and in 1837 back to Switzerland again, where he remained as an invalid until 1839, spending part of the time writing a grammar of "vulgar Arabic", which does not seem to have been published.¹⁹⁴ In 1839 the CMS decided to send him back to Malta to assist the ailing Schlienz (q.v.) in revising and printing the Arabic Bible¹⁹⁵, along with Fāris al-Shidyāq (q.v.), whom he claimed to have known for a long time¹⁹⁶, and generally "to take part in the Arabic department of the Press".¹⁹⁷ As his arrival more or less coincided with Badger's absence following his marriage¹⁹⁸, he was immediately deputed to take over the latter's role in supervising the Arabic translation work of Ḥannā 'l-Jāwalī (q.v.).¹⁹⁹ Some account is given below of his attitude to the young Egyptian.²⁰⁰ For the greater part of 1840 and 1841 Schlienz was either away from Malta or incapacitated by his recurrent insanity.²⁰¹ The task of running the establishment therefore fell to Gobat for most of the time, except for two and a half months in the summer of 1841, when he went on a mission for the CMS to the Druzes in Lebanon and Syria, during which he also distributed many Malta Arabic publications.²⁰² In January 1842 he received instructions to take complete charge²⁰³, and in March of that year, on Schlienz's final departure, he was appointed Superintendent.²⁰⁴ Up to that time he had participated,

¹⁹¹ Unless it corresponds to the tract entitled *Ṭarīq al-najā*, published in 1834 (item 60 in Appendix A below).

¹⁹² Gobat & others, op.cit., pp.69-100.

¹⁹³ Ibid., pp.158-169.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., pp.178-189.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p.189; Roehrich, op.cit., p.21.

¹⁹⁶ CM/O28/35, Gobat to Coates, 3.11.1839. His acquaintanceship with him must have dated from his stay in Cairo in 1829, as their periods of service in Malta had not hitherto coincided.

¹⁹⁷ CM/L3/101, Coates to Brenner, 24.10.1839.

¹⁹⁸ See above, p.158.

¹⁹⁹ CM/O18/54, Brenner to Secs., 15.11.1839.

²⁰⁰ See below, pp. 175-176.

²⁰¹ See below, pp.199-201.

²⁰² Gobat & others, op.cit., pp.190-197.

²⁰³ CM/L3/223-224, Coates to Gobat, 31.1.1842.

²⁰⁴ CM/L3/230, Coates to Schlienz, 3.3.1842.

along with Shidyāq and/or Badger, in translating or revising Keith's *Al-bayyina al-jalīya* ("Keith on Prophecy") [1840]²⁰⁵ and Mavor's *Sharḥ ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān* (1841)²⁰⁶, as well as suggesting revisions to Shidyāq's (and Badger's) *Al-muḥāwara al-unsīya* (1840).²⁰⁷ His main task, as he saw it, was to "see that the meaning was correct"²⁰⁸; but as his knowledge of both English and Arabic was far from perfect, it may be questioned to what extent his interventions were effective in this respect. Certainly Schlienz had had, as we have seen, a low opinion of his linguistic and literary abilities.²⁰⁹

No sooner had Gobat become Superintendent in the spring of 1842, than the CMS decided for financial reasons to cease the operations of the Press and to wind up the Malta establishment. This process, which Gobat was called upon to carry out, took longer than expected, lasting over a year. Its causes, stages and consequences, and Gobat's role in it, will be considered fully in a later chapter. By the time he left Malta, in May 1843, his health was again "much shattered", and he returned to Switzerland to recuperate.²¹⁰ It seems that he had planned to go to Syria to distribute more of the stock, much of which was specially bound for the purpose, but he did not in the end do so.²¹¹ In 1844, however, there were suggestions that he might return to Malta to resume Arabic translating and publishing under the auspices of George Tomlinson, the Bishop of Gibraltar (resident in Malta); but the latter, who was more inclined to a High Church viewpoint, did not act on them.²¹²

Gobat did, however, return to Malta in 1845 as Vice-Principal of the new Malta Protestant College, which was intended partly for the free education of youths from the Middle East.²¹³ But in the following year he was, to the consternation of many Anglicans, appointed as the second Anglican/Prussian Bishop of Jerusalem; and after being hurriedly ordained in the Church of England in London, amidst great controversy, he entered into his See in Palestine at

²⁰⁵ Item 96 in Appendix A below. CM/O28/38, Gobat to Coates, 25.4.1840; Gobat & others, op.cit., pp.189-190.

²⁰⁶ Item 108 in Appendix A below. CM/O28/38, Gobat to Coates, 25.4.1840.

²⁰⁷ Item 92 in Appendix A below. CM/O28/37, Gobat to Coates, 20.2.1840.

²⁰⁸ Gobat & others, op.cit., p.190.

²⁰⁹ CM/O65/61, Schlienz to Secs., 27.12.1838; see above, p.140.

²¹⁰ Gobat & others, p.199; Carmel, op.cit., p.62.

²¹¹ CM/O67/27, Weiss to Coates, 28.10.1843.

²¹² CM/O67/32, Weiss to Coates, 18.12.1844.

²¹³ Gobat & others, op.cit., pp.202-206. See further below, pp.306 & 319 n.90.

the end of 1846. He remained there, in the face of continuing opposition to his evangelical policies and attempts at proselytisation, until he died at the age of 80 in 1879.²¹⁴

Gobat's character, and his attitudes towards the Arabs who were to be the recipients of the literature which he helped to prepare in Malta, were in many ways similar to those of Jowett, with whom he felt a great "congeniality of heart and mind".²¹⁵ If anything, he was even more fanatical in his evangelical puritanism, and in his antipathy both to the Roman Catholic Church, "her tricks and her cruelty"²¹⁶, and to Islam and "the millions of deluded and perishing Moslems".²¹⁷ His bigoted attitude towards the Qur'ān has previously been noted.²¹⁸ As we have also seen, he moreover entertained mistaken views of the nature and potentialities of the Arabic language, although more sophisticated than those of Jowett²¹⁹; these led him into a perverse resistance to high literary standards at the Malta press, as sought by Shidyāq and others.²²⁰ But fortunately he was never really in a position to impose his views in this matter.

HACKER, John

Composeritor (?), 18??-33

The only reference to this individual by name in the CMS archives seems to be a report of his dismissal "on account of Ill behaviour" in August 1833; it was further reported that he was subsequently "volunteering in the Government [printing] Office".²²¹ He may perhaps have been the compositor, "a son of a very Christian English family", whose illness in 1830 nearly brought the press to a halt.²²²

HALIL Efendi

Turkish translator, 1840

As well as Yusuf Efendi (q.v.), another Turkish translator was employed, called Halil Efendi, in 1840. His salary for three months was recorded among the expenses of the Malta establishment for that year²²³, and in November of the same year he was stated to be going

²¹⁴ Ibid., p.389.

²¹⁵ Ibid., p.69.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p.5.

²¹⁷ Ibid., p.51.

²¹⁸ See above, pp.144-145. But he did admit that it "contains a few sublime passages" - op.cit., p.51.

²¹⁹ See above, p.136.

²²⁰ CM/O28/37-38, Gobat to Coates, 20.2. & 25.4.1840. See above, pp.140-141, and below, p.229.

²²¹ CM/O67/6, Weiss to Jowett, 28.8.1833.

²²² CM/O67/4, Weiss to Coates, 29.1.1831. See above, p.151.

²²³ CM/O4/25, Expenses, 1840.

to London.²²⁴ He was, it seems, recruited by Fjellstedt (q.v.)²²⁵, presumably in İzmir, but what he was engaged in translating is something of a mystery, as nothing was published in Turkish after 1839.²²⁶ Maybe he did some preliminary work on the Prayer Book which Fjellstedt completed in Leipzig two years later.

JĀWALĪ, Ḥannā 'l-

Translator & corrector, 1838-42

In 1832 Fāris al-Shidyāq (q.v.) was employed as a teacher in the school run by the CMS in Cairo, and he prepared a report on his pupils, which is preserved in the archives of the Society.²²⁷ The cleverest of them, he said, was one Joseph Gauli, a Copt, "but [his brother] John Gauli his thirst and desire after knowledge surpasses [his]". At that time 8 or 9 years old, he was good at grammar and had a retentive memory. The Jāwalīs were a prominent Coptic family of Manfalūṭ, from which came the Patriarch Buṭrus VII, who held office from 1809 or 1810 until 1852.²²⁸

In 1838, when he was 14 or 15, he was still in the missionary boarding school (or "Seminary", as the missionaries rather grandiosely called it) and, according to one of the missionaries, he was "one of the worst characters in the Seminary, yet being kept under strict orders & restraints, he could not manifest his bad propensities, but still ... I could never think of employing him in our mission here".²²⁹ Schlienz, however, when he visited Egypt in that year, was, it seems, impressed by his linguistic and general abilities, and persuaded him to accompany him back to Malta to work as a translator at the press. This idea met with great opposition from the Jāwalī family, especially his elder brother Yūsuf, who insisted on, and obtained, a contractual undertaking that Ḥannā would be brought back to Egypt after one year.²³⁰

Schlienz and Ḥannā arrived in Malta in the autumn of 1838²³¹, and he soon set to work alongside Badger on translating Horne's *Protestant memorials (Dhikrā 'l-Birūtistānṭ, 1841)* and other evangelical works, as well

²²⁴ CM/O18/62, Brenner to Secs., 2.11.1840.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ CM/O4/26, List of Publications, May 1842.

²²⁷ CM/O73/61, "Fares Eshediak's remarks concerning the children in the School at Cairo, of the year 1832".

²²⁸ 'Alī Mubārak, *Al-Khiṭaṭ (al-Tawfīqīya) al-jadīda li-Miṣr al-qāhira*, juz' 6, Bulaq 1305 [1887/88], p.86; Graf, op.cit., Bd.IV, p.143.

²²⁹ CM/O45/85, Kruse (Cairo) to Coates, 30.4.1840.

²³⁰ Ibid.; CM/O45/85B, Yūsuf al-Jāwalī to Kruse & Liedcr, 26.3.1840.

²³¹ CM/O18/46, Brenner to Coates, 4.10.1838.

as assisting both him and his former teacher Fāris al-Shidyāq with their projected English-Arabic dictionary.²³² Schlienz observed that he had "mastered the English nearly, if not quite, as well as Mr Fares already, & writes the Arabic remarkably well".²³³

After Badger's departure, however, Gobat (q.v.) was deputed to take over his work with Jāwalī²³⁴, and he seems to have had a lower opinion of his talents, expressing uncertainty as to whether he would really be useful or not.²³⁵ Gobat's outlook was such that he was probably less inclined to value linguistic ability and more inclined to agree with Kruse's strictures concerning the young man's moral failings. By this time, February 1840, Ḥannā had been in Malta well over a year, and his family in Egypt were becoming restive. The following month his brother Yūsuf wrote a letter in Arabic to Kruse and Lieder, the CMS resident missionaries in Cairo, demanding his return according to the original contract, adding that he was pressing the matter because he had heard from Fāris that his brother was "in a miserable state" (*fī ḥāl shaqī*).²³⁶ One may surmise that it was Gobat's attitude that may have reduced him to such a state, but Kruse, when forwarding a copy of this letter to the CMS in London, opined that the trouble arose because in Malta "the young man became his own master, was allowed to do as he pleased & kept under no restraint whatsoever, so that he [Ḥannā] grew worse from day to day", the more so because of the "foul or bad spirit that prevails at Malta & particularly in your Printing Office".²³⁷

However that may have been, Jāwalī was still in Malta two and a half months later, when his brother applied to his relative the Coptic Patriarch to force the missionaries to repatriate him. This pressure seems to have annoyed Kruse and caused him to change his attitude to the matter, so that he now sought to encourage Ḥannā to stay in Malta. He wrote to him to that effect, as well as to Gobat to advise him to press Ḥannā to stay, and expressed his own newly-formed opinion that "although Hanna is a naughty boy, yet I think we could not soon find such talents for translating, as he possesses;

²³² See above, p.162.

²³³ CM/O65/61, Schlienz to Secs., 27.12.1838.

²³⁴ CM/O18/54, Brenner to Secs., 15.11.1839.

²³⁵ CM/O28/37, Gobat to Secs., 20.2.1840.

²³⁶ CM/O45/85B, Yūsuf al-Jāwalī to Kruse & Lieder, 26.3.1840.

²³⁷ CM/O45/84, Kruse to Coates, 30.4.1840.

and as he has now some practice in translating it would be a loss to take him away".²³⁸

At the end of 1840 Jāwalī was still on the strength of the Malta establishment²³⁹ and he seems to have stayed there until April 1842, when he was sent back to Egypt on the closure of the press.²⁴⁰ Exactly which books he worked on during this time cannot be determined, but it seems likely that he continued to be employed on the Protestant tracts, while Fāris al-Shidyāq worked on the more literary and scientific translations. Jāwalī was still only 18 or 19 when he left Malta, but of his subsequent life nothing seems to be known.

JOWETT, William

Literary correspondent, Superintendent
& editor, 1815-30

John Jowett of Southwark, a skinner by trade, was one of the founders of the Church Missionary Society in 1799.²⁴¹ He died in the following year²⁴²; but his son William, born in 1787, followed him in evangelical zeal, and after graduating from Cambridge accepted a proposal from the Society in 1813 to serve as a missionary - the first university graduate to do so.²⁴³ In this he seems to have been influenced also by his uncle Joseph Jowett, a Cambridge professor and another leading evangelical of the day²⁴⁴, as well as by his brother-in-law Josiah Pratt, Secretary of the CMS.²⁴⁵

The mission specifically offered to Jowett was that of "Literary Representative" in the Mediterranean, and especially to the oriental Christians.²⁴⁶ It was in this capacity that he founded the Malta establishment of the CMS, and started the Arabic press there. An account of his role in doing this has already been given²⁴⁷, and mention has also been made of his weaknesses as an Arabic editor and publisher, arising from his erroneous views on the Arabic

²³⁸ CM/O45/87, Kruse to Coates, 3.6.1840.

²³⁹ CM/O4/25, "Individuals engaged in promoting the objects of the Church Missionary Society in Malta, 1840".

²⁴⁰ CM/O28/48, Gobat to Secs., 27.4.1842.

²⁴¹ Stock, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, pp.69-70; Hole,C., *The early history of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East to the end of A.D. 1814*, London 1896, pp.632-633.

²⁴² Hole, *op.cit.*, p.632.

²⁴³ Stock, *op.cit.*, I, p.224; Hole, *op.cit.*, p.306.

²⁴⁴ Stock, *op.cit.*, I, p.141.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, I, p.224.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, I, pp.224-227; Hole, *op.cit.*, p.306.

²⁴⁷ See above, pp.106sq.

language.²⁴⁸ It will suffice here to fill in some further details of his character, and of his subsequent career.

Jowett's total dedication to the evangelical and missionary cause is quite clear from all his writings and correspondence, and from the facts of his career. From the moment he accepted the invitation of the CMS in 1813, he applied himself with unwavering vigour and determination to the missionary task. His assiduity in travelling, studying and distributing Bibles in the Middle East between 1815 and 1824, as recorded in his two books of "Christian researches"²⁴⁹ have already been mentioned²⁵⁰; and they were subsequently matched by his continuous energy and perseverance in setting up and putting into operation the Malta press after 1822. His role did not go unnoticed by early historians of missions: in one standard work of the ensuing period, for instance, it is observed that "the immense number of tracts, of works on education, portions of the Scriptures, catechisms, &c. in Italian, modern Greek, Arabic, and Maltese, which have issued from the Malta Press since 1815, under the superintendence of this indefatigable man, fully attest his activity and unwearied industry".²⁵¹

Jowett's obsessive zeal also emerges from his correspondence while in Malta with his superiors in London. In the face of the difficulties arising from the lack of type founts and trained printers in 1825, for instance, his reaction was an almost maniacal outburst:

"I see that the Press requires every thing to be brought to perfection. I see that the Editor [i.e. himself] is the man responsible for that:- the word sounding in his ears from morning to night must be - *Perfection*. In this sphere there are the following circumstances, which singly would be arduous; united, almost overwhelming: The choice of at least two different sets of appropriate matter, for the Northern & Southern halves of the Mediterranean. The finding & directing of Translators, who are by no means to hand. The inspection & correction of their

²⁴⁸ See above, pp.135-136 & 139.

²⁴⁹ Jowett, W., *Christian researches in the Mediterranean, from MDCCCXV. to MDCCCXX., in furtherance of the objects of the Church Missionary Society*, London 1822; id., *Christian researches in Syria and the Holy Land in 1823 and 1824*, London 1825 (2nd ed. 1826).

²⁵⁰ See above, pp.80, 82 & 86.

²⁵¹ Choules, J.O. & Smith, T., *The origin and history of missions*, 6th ed. Boston (USA), 1842, Vol.I, p.620. "Immense" is a relative term, but by any reckoning, this is something of an exaggeration; and in any case most of the Malta tracts were published under Schliez in the 1830s, after Jowett's departure.

Translations. The training & superintending the Compositor; (I shall compose in Arabic myself). The preparing of *Manuscript* Greek & Arabic Copy; (the latter often will require a careful re-copying.) Correcting the Press, in three languages at least, not my own."²⁵²

Just how far short of "Perfection" the early Arabic output of Jowett's press fell, has been indicated elsewhere in this study.²⁵³ Their deficiencies arose partly from the difficulties which Jowett enumerated, but partly also from his own shortcomings as an Arabic scholar, and his lack of imaginative *rappor*t with Arab life and culture.

This last failing seems to have arisen from another trait of Jowett's, which was the obverse of his perseverance and perfectionism. He exhibited a certain rigidity, a humourless stiffness, which could often descend into insensitivity and intolerance, and at times into bigotry and fanaticism. At the personal level, this is illustrated by his treatment of Dr Cleardo Naudi, the Maltese missionary enthusiast whose appeal to the CMS in 1811 had first attracted their attention to Malta and the Mediterranean.²⁵⁴ In 1824 Jowett discovered that Naudi, in order to retain his post as Professor of Chemistry in the University, had participated with his colleagues in a routine oath of loyalty to the Catholic Church before the Maltese Bishops; whereupon he promptly denounced him to the Secretaries of the CMS in London, and wrote to him personally, terminating his employment with the Society, to Naudi's great distress, emotionally and financially.²⁵⁵ Another example is his criticism in 1828 of the unfortunate John Kitto (q.v.), the deaf printer who, in Jowett's opinion, spent too much time reading after work: his strictures cost Kitto his job.²⁵⁶ Again in 1830, his refusal of help and hospitality to one Father Michael, a Roman Catholic inclined to the evangelical cause, who came penniless to Jowett's house in Malta, was the object of bitter criticism from his fellow missionary Joseph Wolff, who went so far as to write a letter to the CMS Secretaries complaining that Jowett

²⁵² CM/O39/44, Jowett to Secs., 7.3.1825.

²⁵³ See above, pp.112 (n.47), 136 & 139.

²⁵⁴ Hole, op.cit., p.149.

²⁵⁵ CM/O56/7, Naudi to Pratt, 29.4.1824; CM/O56/7B, Jowett to Naudi, 14.4.1824.

²⁵⁶ Ryland, op.cit., pp.280-282. See further below, p.183.

was "totally unfit to be missionary".²⁵⁷

Jowett's hostility towards Roman Catholics and Catholicism was one aspect of the religious bigotry into which he often lapsed. It seems to have been partly nurtured by a visit to Ireland in 1814 (just before he first left for Malta) to set up the Hibernian Auxiliary of the CMS: his report of that visit dwelt on the plight of the "priest-ridden" populace.²⁵⁸ It is clear that he regarded the Uniate churches in the Middle East as the principal adversaries of his enterprise, and that he was convinced that the bombardment of the population with evangelical literature was the best means of combatting them. It is reported that, on learning that some of the tracts had been burnt on the orders of the ecclesiastical authorities, Jowett responded by remarking: "This is very encouraging, and shows the necessity of printing *ten* copies where before we printed only *one*".²⁵⁹ Jowett's other *bête-noire* was Islam, and some account of his and his colleagues' attitude towards it has already been given.²⁶⁰ His two books of "Christian researches" abound with mostly uncomprehending strictures on Muslim religion and society²⁶¹, and these are often combined with wishful thinking about their impending demise, as in his view of Islamic centres of learning and pilgrimage: "It is not to a Christian Missionary displeasing to learn ... that Fez, the Athens of Western Africa, El Azahar, the portico of the East, and Mecca, their Holy City, are all nodding to their fall".²⁶²

It seems clear that it was Jowett's lack of comprehension of, and sympathy for, the Arabs, whether Christian or Muslim, that caused the early Arabic output of the Malta press, before 1830, to be confined largely to translations of English and American evangelical tracts of a nature and background highly unsuitable for an Arab readership. It may be that demands from the American missionaries contributed to this unwisdom, but Jowett was plainly only too

²⁵⁷ CM/O8/18, Wolff to Secs., Malta, 13.11.1830. It must be acknowledged, though, that Wolff was himself highly eccentric, and his view of such matters tended to be quixotic; moreover, he may have had a grudge against Jowett because the latter had, only a few months earlier, reported him to the Committee of the Bible Society on account of his indiscriminate and wasteful distribution of Bibles in Lebanon and Palestine, as a result of which he was denied further supplies. BFBS Foreign Corres. Inwards, 1830/3/72.

²⁵⁸ Hole, op.cit., pp.481-513.

²⁵⁹ Jones, W., *The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society*, London 1850, p.374.

²⁶⁰ See above, pp.144sq.

²⁶¹ See especially *Christian researches in the Mediterranean*, 1822, pp.247-256: "Causes of the continued prevalence of Mahomedanism".

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p.120.

willing to respond to their requests for such literature. Not until after Jowett's departure, when Schlienzen (q.v.) was in control, was a more sophisticated policy adopted of seeking to supply books to meet wider educational needs.

Jowett married in 1815, two months before his departure for Malta. Little is known of his wife Martha, whom he did not much mention in his letters to the CMS headquarters. It is recorded that she became fluent in Maltese and ran a school, as well as herself preparing for the press several translations into Maltese.²⁶³ Most of her time and energy, however, must have been occupied in bearing his seven children, before she died of apoplexy in June 1829.²⁶⁴

The Jowetts were then in England, where they had gone in April 1828²⁶⁵, probably for health reasons. After his wife's death, Jowett returned to Malta for the last time in November 1829²⁶⁶, but his own health was by then poor, and his morale seems to have been low. It cannot have been improved by a pathetic incident in July 1830, when he tried to distribute Bibles to shipping in the harbour, only to be followed and taunted by a group of Maltese boys shouting "Freemason, excommunicated, etc.", who then pursued him "in a boat from vessel to vessel, offering to the mariners a knife & telling them to *cut my throat with it*".²⁶⁷ Jowett, to judge by the tone of his letter reporting it to the Bible Society, was deeply upset by this incident, which must have added to his disenchantment with Malta. He was still there in November²⁶⁸, but had already the previous month stated that "Ill health is likely to remove me for a season from Malta".²⁶⁹ By the end of 1830 he was gone, never to return. During his last stay there he seems to have accomplished little at the press, which in fact published nothing new in Arabic for the next two years.

After his return to London, Jowett remained active in the CMS, becoming one of the Secretaries in 1832.²⁷⁰ In this capacity he

²⁶³ Childe, op.cit., pp.175-177.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., pp.178-183; Goodwin, G. "Jowett, William (1787-1855)", *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XX, London 1892, p.216.

²⁶⁵ CM/O39/110, Memo. of instruction from Jowett to Schlienzen, 24.4.1828.

²⁶⁶ CM/O39/126, Jowett to Secs., 14.11.1829.

²⁶⁷ BFBS Foreign Corres. Inwards, 1830/3/37, Jowett to Jackson, 3.7.1830.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 1830/4/81, Jowett to Sec., 8.11.1830.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 1830/4/47, Jowett to Brandram, 18.10.1830.

²⁷⁰ Stock, op.cit., I, p.254.

continued to take an interest in the Malta establishment, corresponding with Schlienzen and others, and sending his greetings to Fāris al-Shidyāq after the latter's return in 1836.²⁷¹ But he was now turning his thoughts increasingly to evangelical work at home, writing in that same year that "it may be easier to go forth as a Missionary to Malta, to India, or to China, than to reach the wants of these multitudes, who are perishing within a short distance of our own doors".²⁷² In 1840 he resigned from the CMS Secretariat²⁷³ to take up pastoral duties in London, and in 1851 became a parish priest in Clapham. He died there in 1855.²⁷⁴

KITTO, John Assistant missionary-printer, 1827-28

Born into a poor family in Plymouth in 1804²⁷⁵, Kitto became totally deaf as a result of an accident at the age of 13.²⁷⁶ After a period in a workhouse, he came under the influence of Anthony Groves of Exeter, a member of the Plymouth Brethren, later an independent missionary in Iraq and India, and embraced the evangelical cause.²⁷⁷ In 1825 he joined the CMS as a trainee printer, entering their college at Islington, and receiving instruction in typography, along with Köllner (q.v.), from Richard Watts, the Society's printer.²⁷⁸ The latter taught him to set Greek and Arabic types²⁷⁹, and in October 1826 it was decided to send him to Malta to replace the dying Andrews (q.v.).²⁸⁰ But in the meantime a dispute arose between Kitto and the Society over his hours of work, and his disinclination to perform routine tasks for Watts, as a result of which he resigned early in 1827.²⁸¹ After Groves's intervention, however, he was reinstated in April of that year, and left for Malta in June, having

²⁷¹ CM/L2/444, Jowett to Brenner, 19.8.1836.

²⁷² Jowett, W., *The Christian visitor*, London 1836, p.vi.

²⁷³ Stock, op.cit., I, p.369.

²⁷⁴ Not 1846, as Hole states (op.cit., p.633). G(oodwin), op.cit., p.216; "Clergy deceased", *Gentleman's Magazine*, N.S.43 (1855), p.436; Stock, op.cit., II, p.40.

²⁷⁵ Ryland, op.cit., p.6; Eadie, J. *Life of John Kitto*, Edinburgh 1857, p.1.

²⁷⁶ Ryland, op.cit., pp.18-20; Eadie, op.cit., p.13.

²⁷⁷ Ryland, op.cit., pp.141-149; Eadie, op.cit., pp.82sq.

²⁷⁸ Ryland, op.cit., pp.189-190; Eadie, op.cit., pp.100-104. On Watts, see above, p.40, and below, pp.260-261.

²⁷⁹ Ryland, op.cit., pp.198-199; Eadie, op.cit., p.105. The Arabic types were for the Persian New Testament, printed by Watts and published by the Bible Society in 1827. Darlow, T.H. & Moule, H.F., *Historical catalogue of the printed editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, Vol.II, p.1207, #7330.

²⁸⁰ CM/L1/114, Coates to Jowett, 14.10.1826; Ryland, op.cit., p.206. Köllner had previously taken over most of Andrews's work (see below, p.184): presumably it was intended that Kitto should perform whatever tasks still remained.

²⁸¹ Ryland, op.cit., pp.219-229; Eadie, op.cit., p.122.

made his peace with Watts.²⁸²

Kitto arrived in Malta in July 1827²⁸³, and soon set to work with Köllner in the printing office. His particular task was composing in Arabic²⁸⁴, and in fact before the end of 1827 he had "nearly the whole of the Arabic department of our business in the printing office to myself".²⁸⁵ His progress in learning the language was, however, slow, as he had no teacher²⁸⁶, and it was in this period that Schlienz reported receiving Arabic proofs that "make me weep".²⁸⁷ In fact Kitto regarded his work as "entirely manual ... every literary department being filled by the clerical missionaries, or by translators".²⁸⁸ He gives in his letters home²⁸⁹ some interesting descriptions of Malta and its people, and of the CMS establishment there, in which he mentions especially the work of Schlienz and Jowett, praising their industriousness and scholarly assiduity.

But Kitto gradually became unhappy and dissatisfied with his life and work in Malta, and his employers with him. He suffered a prolonged mental and physical illness after learning that his fiancée in England had jilted him²⁹⁰, which partly incapacitated him for work²⁹¹; he also wanted to rise above what he regarded as mere "manual" employment, and to this end devoted most of his leisure time to reading and study. His employers, mindful of what they regarded as his previous delinquency in London, were watchful for any shortcomings in his energy and diligence in the printing office. Eventually Jowett rebuked him for spending too much time reading, and reported him to the Secretaries in London. The latter sent him an ultimatum which he regarded as a dismissal²⁹², and he left Malta at the beginning of 1829, under a cloud.²⁹³

²⁸² *Missionary Register* 1827, p.301; Ryland, op.cit., pp.231-235; Eadie, op.cit., pp.125-127. As a leaving present, Watts gave him a hygrometer as a safeguard against damp beds - peculiarly inappropriate for Malta.

²⁸³ *Missionary Register* 1827, p.503; Eadie, op.cit., p.133.

²⁸⁴ CM/O39/97, Jowett to Secs., 9.11.1827.

²⁸⁵ Letters dated 28.11.1827 & 4.12.1827, in Ryland, op.cit., pp.258 & 262.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.258.

²⁸⁷ CM/O65/4a, Schlienz to Jowett, 20.5.1828. See above, p.151.

²⁸⁸ Ryland, op.cit., p.262.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Chapter VII.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.280; Eadie, op.cit., pp.136sqq.

²⁹¹ Ryland, op.cit., p.280.

²⁹² CM/O8/14, Kitto to Bickersteth, 20.9.1828.

²⁹³ Ryland, op.cit., pp.279-282; Eadie, op.cit., pp.141-142.

Kitto spent the next four years accompanying Groves on an independent mission to Iraq and Iran, and subsequently became well known for his popular books on Middle Eastern topography and history, as well as Biblical and evangelical works, including a Biblical encyclopaedia (1845). He died in 1854.

KÖLLNER, August

Missionary-Printer, 1825-28

As we have seen, the first missionary-printer to be employed by the CMS in Malta, Henry Andrews (q.v.), was at an early stage incapacitated by illness, and a replacement had to be found.²⁹⁴ In April 1825 Bickersteth, CMS Secretary, reported to Jowett that "our German printer from Basle" was being trained for Malta, and was expected to go out about October.²⁹⁵ This was August Köllner²⁹⁶, of whose background nothing is known, except that he was seconded by the missionary institution in Basle. He was trained at the same time as Kitto (before the latter's first resignation)²⁹⁷, and was "well prepared, under the Printer of our Work [i.e. Richard Watts], for printing both in Greek and in Arabic".²⁹⁸

Köllner embarked for Malta in December 1825²⁹⁹, and arrived there in January 1826.³⁰⁰ The next month Jowett reported, evidently with great relief, that "the arrival of Mr Koelner, a young man in health and who will not be happy if he has not plenty of work, is greatly augmenting my labours. Hitherto the responsibility of every literary and every mechanical detail of the Printing Office has rested on me".³⁰¹ As we have seen, he was joined by Kitto in July of the following year, and the latter seems to have taken over the Arabic side of the typographical work.

Köllner's interests, however, like Kitto's, went beyond his labours at the printing press, and he yearned for more direct missionary work. He was, it seems, a musician as well as a printer³⁰²

²⁹⁴ See above, p.154.

²⁹⁵ CM/L1/69, Bickersteth to Jowett, 8.4.1825.

²⁹⁶ In CMS sources spelt variously Koelner or Koellner, but in the one letter from him preserved in the archives - CM/O8/15, 22.9.1828 - he signed himself August Koellner.

²⁹⁷ See above, p.182.

²⁹⁸ *Missionary Register* 1826, p.60.

²⁹⁹ *Missionary Register* 1825, p.598.

³⁰⁰ *Missionary Register* 1826, p.222.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.321.

³⁰² CM/O56/8, Naudi to Jowett, 20.5.1828: "the Printer favoured us with a little Music, and we sang the 53rd Psalm". This must refer to Köllner, not Kitto who was stone deaf.

, and he wanted to return to Switzerland to study further for evangelical work; so in September 1828 he resigned, expressing his "desire of engaging myself more immediatly [*sic*] to the Missionary Service".³⁰³ He stayed on, however, until his successor, Weiss (q.v.) was appointed. Of his subsequent career, nothing seems to be ascertainable.

LIEDER, Johann Rudolf Theophilus

Visiting editor, 1831

Lieder was a Basle missionary, seconded to the CMS, who was sent to Egypt in 1825.³⁰⁴ He remained there, apart from occasional visits to Europe, until his death in 1865.³⁰⁵ He helped to prepare several of the Arabic translations printed in Malta in the early years of the press³⁰⁶, as well as maintaining close relations with the Coptic church and running a school in Cairo.³⁰⁷ He was also active in using and distributing the Malta Arabic books throughout Egypt, and his role in this will be considered in the next chapter.

In 1831, while en route to Europe on a visit, he spent some time in Malta, and assisted, in Schlienz's absence, with the recommencement of Arabic printing, although little progress could be made at that time because of deficiencies in the fount.³⁰⁸

NIKOLAISEN, Johann

Visiting compositor & consultant, 1825 & 1828

Nikolaisen (spelt Nicolayson in most English sources) was never employed by the CMS³⁰⁹, but belonged to the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, commonly known as the "London Jews' Society" (LJS).³¹⁰ He had learnt Arabic in Berlin³¹¹, and was sent out to Palestine, via his native Denmark, by the LJS in 1825.³¹² On the way he stopped in Malta, and, as already related, spent some time setting types for an extract from the Arabic version of the Acts of the Apostles, of which he then took 1000 copies with him to

³⁰³ CM/O8/15, Koellner to Bickersteth, 22.9.1828.

³⁰⁴ *Missionary Register* 1825, p.549; Stock, op.cit., I, p.350.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.351.

³⁰⁶ CM/L1/194, Jowett to Kruse, Muller & Lieder, 5.11.1828.

³⁰⁷ Stock, op.cit., I, p.351.

³⁰⁸ CM/O18/11, Brenner to Coates, 3.12.1831.

³⁰⁹ As erroneously stated by Stachelin (op.cit., p.108).

³¹⁰ Gidney, W.T., *The history of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, from 1809 to 1908*, London 1908, pp.76, etc.

³¹¹ Hajjar, J. *L'Europe et les destinées du Proche-Orient (1815-1848)*, [Paris] 1970, p.59.

³¹² *Missionary Register* 1825, p.559.

Lebanon and Palestine.³¹³

He returned in 1828 and conferred with Schlienz about the need for more Arabic elementary school-books³¹⁴, but it is not recorded that he did any further work at the press himself.

RASSĀM, 'Īsā Anṭūn

Arabic translator, 1832-35

Rassām was a "Chaldaean" Christian from Mosul in northern Iraq.³¹⁵ He claimed that his great-grandfather was a Spaniard³¹⁶, and that his family were staunchly pro-Papal, occupying positions of influence in the Uniate community.³¹⁷ According to his brother, Hormuzd Rassam, his father was an archdeacon, and the family were traditionally designers (*rassām*) of patterns for muslins.³¹⁸ He himself told Schlienz that his father was a British subject, from India, who had settled in Mosul.³¹⁹

'Īsā Rassām was born in 1808. There are a number of accounts of his early life and first contacts with Protestant missionaries, differing considerably in their details, but all by or emanating from the man himself. It seems that he told different stories on different occasions, to suit different audiences. The fullest version is that given in conversations at Oxford with William Palmer, and transcribed by the latter in a notebook now preserved in Lambeth Palace.³²⁰ According to this, he received an elementary education from a "stupid old priest" in Mosul, and was in turn employed to teach other children.³²¹ When he was 16, in 1825, he was sent to Rome to be trained as a priest, and on the first stage of his journey accompanied a caravan across the Syrian desert to Damascus.³²² According to the story which he told later to his

³¹³ CM/O39/58, Jowett to Secs., 23.11.1825. See above, p.129.

³¹⁴ CM/O65/7, Schlienz to Secs., 10.7.1828

³¹⁵ It is possible, according to one of his descendants, that he may have been born in Aleppo, where his mother's family came from. Guest, *op.cit.*, p.67 (information supplied by Clive Rassam).

³¹⁶ But according to what he told Chesney, his great-grandfather had come from Malabar. Chesney, F.R., *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition carried on by order of the British Government during the years 1835, 1836, and 1837*, London 1868, p.555.

³¹⁷ Lambeth Palace MS 2817, pp.1-3.

³¹⁸ P(inches), T.G. "Rassam, Hormuzd", *Dictionary of National Biography*, Second Supplement, Vol.III, London 1912, p.158.

³¹⁹ CM/O65/20, Schlienz to Secs., 28.5.1832.

³²⁰ Lambeth Palace MS 2817, pp.1-68. I am indebted to Dr J.F.Coakley of the University of Lancaster for bringing this to my attention. A brief summary of what Rassām told him about his background is given in a letter from Palmer to his father in Palmer, R., Earl of Selborne, *Memorials*, part I: *Family and personal 1766-1865*, Vol.I, London 1896, pp.262-263.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, p.8.

³²² *Ibid.*, p.10.

patron, Col. Chesney, he went with the caravan to trade "in the heart of Arabia"³²³ ; whereas according to the account of himself which he had given earlier to the CMS Secretaries, he was accompanied not by a caravan but only by "three monks", and was attacked in the desert by bedouin and stripped of all his possessions.³²⁴ From Damascus he went on to Egypt, still intending to proceed to Rome, and visited his uncle, who ran a factory for printing calico in Bulaq. The latter discouraged him from continuing his journey, and instead employed him for "some years" in his factory.³²⁵ While there, he "heard that there were priests at Cairo selling the S[acred] Scriptures in many languages". He "went directly to them and bought a Syriac testament and an Arabic Bible & some tracts which were printed in Malta".³²⁶ He observed that the latter were in "very bad Arabic" but he nevertheless cultivated the acquaintance of the missionaries.³²⁷ To Palmer, he attributed this to mere curiosity about their religious views³²⁸ ; but to the CMS, he had claimed that his "eyes were opened" and that he had come to "possess, too, the first thing, the truth of the Gospel".³²⁹ He eventually left his uncle's employ and in 1829, at Kruse's request, joined the CMS establishment in Cairo, helping with teaching in the school as well as himself learning English and improving his literary Arabic.³³⁰ According to the American missionary Perkins, on the other hand, he "fell into the hands of [the] missionaries" while "detained by sickness at Alexandria"³³¹ ; whereas according to Rassām's gullible trading partner of later years, Henry Ross, he was studying at Al-Azhar.³³²

The precise origins and identity of Rassam seem to have been unclear to the CMS missionaries at this stage, and for some time afterwards, as in their early references to him they call him "Isa

³²³ Chesney, op.cit., p.555.

³²⁴ CM/O8/25, Rassam [to Secs.], 22.3.1834. He had previously told Schlienz that he was accompanied by two monks, and that the attack took place near Aleppo. CM/O65/20, Schlienz to Secs., 28.5.1832.

³²⁵ CM/O8/25, Rassam [to Secs.], 22.3.1834; Lambeth Palace MS 2817, pp.10-11.

³²⁶ CM/O8/25, Rassam [to Secs.], 22.3.1834. According to the version transmitted by Schlienz, he was seeking a bible for his cousin. CM/O65/20, Schlienz to Secs., 28.5.1832.

³²⁷ Lambeth Palace MS 2817, p.11.

³²⁸ Ibid., p.11.

³²⁹ CM/O8/25, Rassam [to Secs.], 22.3.1834.

³³⁰ CM/O73/37, Kruse to Schlienz, 20.10.1829; CM/O73/49, Kruse to Brenner, 2.7.1830; CM/O8/25, Rassam [to Secs.], 22.3.1834. Kruse commended his "indefatigable zeal for Philology". Cf. Guest, op.cit., p.67.

³³¹ Perkins, J. "Attempt to interfere with the Nestorian Mission", *Christian Work*, N.S.2 (1868), p.307.

³³² Ross, op.cit., p.viii.

Baghdadi" or "Isa of Baghdad" - it may be that he told them that that was where he was from.³³³ But however that may have been, he impressed them with his linguistic and literary abilities sufficiently for them to employ him in the work of translating and revising Arabic tracts.³³⁴ They also formed a good opinion of his moral character, and "never have we observed in him the Arabic love of money".³³⁵ In 1830 it was decided to send him to Malta³³⁶, but his departure was delayed by Schlienz's absence³³⁷; the latter, however, immediately after his return arranged for him to come to assist him in his "Editorial Arabic Labours"³³⁸, and in December of that year he requested Kruse to contract him for this purpose.³³⁹ By May 1832 he was at work in Malta, and Schlienz reported that "the Arabic youth Isa Rassam of Baghdad has proved hitherto very much to our satisfaction. Although he has not so much knowledge of the Arabic as Fares had, yet he has a clear mind, is attentive to his business & labours more than he is expected".³⁴⁰

In the following year, Schlienz was instructed to ensure that 'Īsā's services were retained³⁴¹; and in the latter part of that year he was called upon to prepare a primer in Syriac for the American missionary Justin Perkins, who called at Malta en route to Kurdistan. This he did, using his own handwriting reproduced by lithography, as no Syriac types were available.³⁴² In March 1834 Joseph Wolff found this "excellent Chaldean" still in Malta "actively engaged in the missionary arsenal"³⁴³, and his permanent appointment was confirmed in the same month, after Rassām had given

³³³ Confusion has also arisen because in later years at least two of his distinguished English acquaintances, Henry Layard and Edward Mitford, referred to him as an Armenian. By then he was generally known as "Christian Rassam" in European circles. Kubie, N., *Road to Nineveh*, London 1965, p.53; Mitford, E.L., *A land march from England to Ceylon forty years ago*, London 1884, Vol.I, p.280.

³³⁴ CM/O73/49, Kruse to Brenner, 2.7.1830; CM/O73/51, Kruse to Brenner, 30.10.1830; Lambeth Palace MS 2817, p.12.

³³⁵ CM/O73/49, Kruse to Brenner, 2.7.1830.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ CM/O73/49, Brenner to Kruse, 9.10.1830; 73/51, Kruse to Brenner, 30.10.1830.

³³⁸ CM/O73/55, Schlienz to Secs., 22.10.1831; CM/L2/89, Coates to Schlienz, 7.12.1831.

³³⁹ CM/O65/20a, Muller (Cairo) to Schlienz (Malta), 2.4.1832.

³⁴⁰ CM/O65/20, Schlienz to Secs., 28.5.1832.

³⁴¹ CM/L2/252-253, Coates to Schlienz, 16.10.1833.

³⁴² Perkins, J., *A residence of eight years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians; with notices of the Muhammedans*, Andover (USA), 1843, p.52; id. "Attempt" (op.cit.), p.307; Kawerau, op.cit., p.229; Hajjar, op.cit., p.248. Hajjar mistakenly refers to it as "une première ébauche de traduction de la Bible syriaque", evidently misreading Kawerau's "Fibel" as "Bibel".

³⁴³ Wolff, J., *Researches and missionary labours ... during his travels between the years 1831 and 1834, from Malta to Egypt, Constantinople*, London (Malta printed) 1835, p.523.

an account of himself and agreed to a salary "only enough for my living", further declaring that his mind was "entirely bent on this work and I wish no other employment as long as God spares my strength and my life".³⁴⁴ He thus seems to have settled down in his work at the press, being reported as still making good progress and rendering great help with the Arabic texts in November 1834³⁴⁵, and at the beginning of 1835 he married Matilda Badger, the sister of George Percy Badger (q.v.).³⁴⁶

But according to his own later account, Rassām during this time became increasingly disillusioned with the CMS and with the ideas contained in the religious texts which he was called upon to translate. Many of these tracts, Palmer reported him as saying, "contained doctrines quite contrary to those which he learned when a child, especially about Baptism, and about the Millennium. One Catechism which he translated was full of the Millennium, till it made his heart sick, & he thought it would be better to go & live in his own country & be a slave under the Turks than engage himself to assist the Missionaries in spreading poisonous doctrines".³⁴⁷ To which catechism Rassām was referring is not clear. He may possibly have had a hand in translating the Catechism and 39 Articles of the Church of England³⁴⁸, which was published in 1839, but this is unlikely³⁴⁹; and in any case excessive references to the Millennium are not a feature of these cornerstones of Anglican orthodoxy, nor can even Palmer, who was then still in the Church of England, have accepted that they were. The only other catechism which he might have translated in Malta is *Kitāb Ḍāḥ al-ta'lim al-Masīḥī*, published in 1833³⁵⁰, the translation of which, as we have seen, has been otherwise attributed to Peter Brenner (q.v.). This does contain sections on the Second Coming (*Majī' al-Masīḥ al-Thānī*), the resurrection of the righteous (*Qiyāmat al-ṣiddīqīn*) and the Last Judgment (*Al-Daynūna*): but they are quite short in relation to the whole (respectively 1.5, 8.5 and 4 pages out of a total of 196) and the work cannot justly be

³⁴⁴ CM/O8/25, Rassam [to Secs.], 22.3.1834; CM/L2/299, Coates to Schlienz, 24.5.1834.

³⁴⁵ CM/L2/330, Coates to Schlienz, 22.11.1834.

³⁴⁶ CM/O18/20, Brenner to Coates, 2.1.1835.

³⁴⁷ Lambeth MS 2817, pp.22-23.

³⁴⁸ *Kārikizim wa qawā'id imān Kanūsāt al-Inkilīz*, [Malta 1838]: item 79 in Appendix A below.

³⁴⁹ It was stated by Brenner to have been taken from Shidyāq's version of the Prayer Book, and Rassām himself later agreed to distribute 100 copies in Kurdistan. CM/O18/39, Brenner to Coates, 17.5.1838.

³⁵⁰ Item 52 in Appendix A below.

described as "full of the Millennium". It may be that Rassām was exaggerating in the presence of his Anglo-Catholic patron; furthermore his work on this book, published in 1833, would have been at the beginning, not at the end, of his career in Malta, and moreover before the declaration of enthusiasm for such work which he had made to the CMS.³⁵¹

However that may be, when Rassām was presented with an opportunity to go back to "his own country" and abandon the work on which he had pledged that his mind was "entirely bent", he eagerly took it. This occurred in March 1835, when Colonel Francis Chesney arrived in Malta³⁵² en route to Syria to start his famous Euphrates Expedition, which was to involve surveying the rivers of northern Syria and Iraq in steamboats, with a view to establishing a new overland route to India. Chesney wanted an interpreter, and Rassām, being a native of the area, and having a good knowledge of English as well as Arabic, seemed well qualified for the task. He accordingly invited him to join the Expedition, and Rassām "enthusiastically quitted his position".³⁵³ Twelve Maltese were also "engaged under him to facilitate ... communications with the Arabs and be generally useful"³⁵⁴, and Chesney and Rassām sailed from Malta on 20 March 1835.³⁵⁵ Reporting this development to the CMS Secretary, Brenner stated that he did not regret "the temporary check which our Arabic printing necessarily sustains by Mr R.'s absence", as excessive stocks of Arabic books had been accumulating, and Rassām would be able to distribute a large quantity in Syria and Iraq.³⁵⁶ Schlienz confirmed this the following month, pointing out also that "as we have such a great quantity of Greek works to be

³⁵¹ Another possibility is that he was responsible, while still in Egypt, for translating Watts's *First set of catechisms and prayers* (*Kitāb Ta'līm mukhtaṣar*, Malta 1832). But this translation, with its unidiomatic use of vocabulary and retention of English sentence structures, shows clear signs of having been done by a European; and in any case it contains but little on the Millennium (only the last four questions, out of 24).

³⁵² Chesney, *op.cit.*, p.165; Ainsworth, W.F., *A personal narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*. London 1888, Vol.I, p.3. Not 1842, as stated by Ross (*op.cit.*, p.viii).

³⁵³ Chesney, *op.cit.*, p.166. Chesney, writing over 30 years later, stated erroneously that Rassām was employed at the "Malta College", which was not founded until 1845. On the other hand his Austrian colleague Dr Johann Helfer, who also knew Rassām, stated that he was "a pupil of the Bible Society at Malta". Helfer, P. (Countess Nostitz), *Travels of Doctor and Madame Helfer in Syria, Mesopotamia, Burmah and other lands*, tr. Mrs G.Sturge, London 1878, Vol.I, p.195 n.1.

³⁵⁴ Chesney, *op.cit.*, p.166.

³⁵⁵ Ainsworth, *op.cit.*, I, p.4.

³⁵⁶ CM/O18/22, Brenner to Coates, 9.4.1835. Brenner reported that Rassām had "yielded only with the greatest reluctance" to Chesney's "urgent and pressing entreaties"; but it seems that he was only worried about his continued employment, or re-employment, after the end of the Expedition, and that adequate provision should be made for his wife. Both these matters were resolved by the intervention of the Governor of Malta, Sir Frederic Ponsonby. Cf. Guest, *op.cit.*, p.68.

printed ... the absence of Mr Rassam will not put any impediment to the operations of the Press, provided he returns at the promised time .. about 6 months hence".³⁵⁷

Nevertheless, Chesney had found that "there were some difficulties made in the Island about his joining us", and he felt obliged to write to the CMS in London, expressing his desire to retain this "single hearted zealous and indefatigable man" as his interpreter. He promised to "restore him after I have gone up the Tigris, if such be the decided wish of the Society", but also stated his "anxious wish to retain him ... for 12 months hence".³⁵⁸ In the event this is what he did, despite Badger's plea to Rassām, in a letter from Beirut, to return to Malta³⁵⁹ ; no doubt Badger was thinking of his sister, Rassām's wife, who had been left behind in Malta, as much as of the Arabic work which remained to be done there. The latter problem was solved by the return of Shidyāq to Malta³⁶⁰ , and in view of this the CMS reluctantly agreed to an extension of Rassām's stay in Iraq.³⁶¹

Rassām served with some distinction on the Euphrates Expedition, acting as "purser as well as interpreter".³⁶² Certainly Chesney formed a high opinion of him, referring to his "zeal, superior intelligence and usefulness"³⁶³ and strongly commending him afterwards to his acquaintances in England.³⁶⁴ Rassām, for his part, "expressed his satisfaction at being set free from the strict rule of the pious folk at Malta".³⁶⁵ When the main party set off from Baghdad on the return trip via Damascus in January 1837, Rassām was deputed to accompany Ainsworth, surgeon and geologist to the Expedition, on a subsidiary excursion into Kurdistan in search of coal.³⁶⁶ In the course of this Rassām returned to his native Mosul³⁶⁷ and there was checked in his original intention to try to preach the evangelical message to his people by, as he later described it,

³⁵⁷ CM/O65/35, Schlienz to Secs., 7.5.1835.

³⁵⁸ CM/O8/27, Chesney to CMS, Port William, Euphrates, 27.9.1835.

³⁵⁹ CM/O73/80, Badger to Schlienz, 28.11.1835.

³⁶⁰ See below, p.214.

³⁶¹ CM/L2/386, Coates to Schlienz, 1.1.1836.

³⁶² Ainsworth, op.cit., II, p.288.

³⁶³ Chesney, op.cit., p.555.

³⁶⁴ Lambeth Palace MS 2817, p.1.

³⁶⁵ Helfer, op.cit., p.195.

³⁶⁶ Ainsworth, op.cit., II, p.287.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., pp.313sq.

shame when confronted by the aged Patriarch.³⁶⁸ Then he went with Ainsworth through Anatolia to Istanbul³⁶⁹, and thence to England. On the way he visited, it seems, the CMS mission station at İzmir, where he was disgusted, as he later said, with the heretical opinions of the two resident missionaries (Jetter and Fjellstedt, q.v.).³⁷⁰

In England Rassām visited, with a letter of introduction from Chesney, the extreme High Church theologian William Palmer at Oxford. This was the same cleric who, as we have seen, later converted Badger to "Puseyism".³⁷¹ Rassām clearly came very much under his influence, and adopted thenceforth a strongly anti-evangelical and anti-missionary position, denouncing the CMS as "heretics, who destroy the Church & fancy Christianity to be a kind of spiritual Philosophy to which every man is to help himself out of the Bible as much as he can, or as much as he pleases".³⁷² He also provided Palmer with some interesting details concerning the Malta establishment and the salaries of the missionaries there.³⁷³ During the course of 1837 and early 1838 there was much contact between Rassām and Palmer, the former entering enthusiastically into the latter's Anglo-Catholic fervour: on one visit to Oxford, he even startled the customers of a local hostelry by haranguing them in broken English about the dangers of "schism"³⁷⁴; this was also the theme of a tract which he wrote in the form of a dialogue between a Christian and a Muslim, and which Palmer undertook to have published.³⁷⁵

But the CMS, as yet unaware of his change of heart, continued to entertain the expectation that he would return to his Arabic work in Malta. In November 1836, while Rassām was still in Iraq, Schlienz had looked forward to him resuming his work at the press, and had painted a rosy picture of a good, harmonious team of four Arabic editors and translators to undertake future projects: himself,

³⁶⁸ Lambeth Palace MS 2817, pp.14-16.

³⁶⁹ Ainsworth, op.cit., II, pp.358-381.

³⁷⁰ Lambeth Palace MS 2817, pp.21-22.

³⁷¹ See above, p.159. He himself subsequently became a Roman Catholic, after unsuccessful attempts to join the Russian Orthodox Church.

³⁷² Ibid., p.20.

³⁷³ Lambeth Palace MS 2821, pp.195-196.

³⁷⁴ A matter of enduring interest to Oxonians.

³⁷⁵ Lambeth Palace MS 2817, pp.73-158. It never was, as far as can be ascertained.

Badger, Rassam and Shidyāq.³⁷⁶ The following January, Secretary Coates in London confirmed that Rassām was expected back³⁷⁷, and some time after his arrival in England contacted him with a proposal that he should indeed return and resume work at the Malta press, suggesting also that he participate in translating the Bible.³⁷⁸ According to Palmer, the CMS "applied to him to go & superintend their Press at Malta", but there is no hint of such a promotion in the CMS documents, and Schlienz was still in full control as Superintendent at that time. It might, perhaps, have been intended that he should "superintend" the preparation of Arabic tracts, but even this is unlikely, as Shidyāq was a more experienced and competent translator, and would have been most unlikely to agree to work under Rassām. But however that may have been, Rassām, according to Palmer, then rounded on the Secretary (presumably Coates) and asked him "whether the Society acted under the B[isho]ps & followed their orders", and on receiving a negative reply, berated the Society as "bad people .. & I will have nothing to do with you".³⁷⁹

Instead Rassām agreed to accompany Ainsworth on another expedition to north-east Iraq.³⁸⁰ On the way, in the spring of 1838, he returned to Malta, presumably mainly to see his wife, Badger's sister, from whom he had been separated for three years. She, evidently to his surprise, "made no difficulty" on learning of his new travel plans.³⁸¹ In spite of his breach with the CMS, he seems nevertheless to have remained on good terms with Schlienz, whom he had generally exempted from his strictures on the missionaries in his conversations with Palmer³⁸², and to whom he wrote two years later on the prospects of a "reformed congregation" at Mosul.³⁸³ But, as far as can be ascertained, he never returned to Malta. On completion of the Ainsworth expedition he was appointed by Lord Palmerston to be British Vice-Consul in Mosul, with a salary of £250

³⁷⁶ CM/O65/45, Schlienz to Coates, 16.11.1836.

³⁷⁷ CM/L2/476, Coates to Schlienz, 26.1.1837.

³⁷⁸ Lambeth Palace MS 2817, p.68.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., p.68. Rassām acted thus almost certainly at the direct instigation of Palmer, who three years later himself challenged the SPCK, of which he was a member, in much the same way. Palmer, W. *A speech read at the monthly general meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Tuesday, May 5, 1840*, Oxford 1840, passim; Palmer, R., op.cit., I, pp.277-284..

³⁸⁰ Ibid., p.67; Ainsworth, W.F. *Travels and researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia*, London 1842, Vol.I, p.2.

³⁸¹ Lambeth Palace MS 2817, p.170.

³⁸² Ibid., p.18; MS 2821, p.196.

³⁸³ CM/O65/74C, p.[4], Rassam [to Schlienz], 26.10.1840 (copy).

and leave to trade, and his wife eventually joined him there.³⁸⁴ His appointment was "through the kind offices" of Sir Frederic Porsonby, Governor of Malta, who had promised "to provide something for him" when he first left Malta in 1835.³⁸⁵ In Mosul he assisted his brother-in-law Badger in his mission to the Nestorians and in his campaign against the American missionaries³⁸⁶, about whom he had already warned the Patriarch.³⁸⁷ He remained in Mosul for the rest of his life, trading in partnership with Henry Ross³⁸⁸ and becoming renowned for his assistance and hospitality to travellers and archaeologists, the best known of whom were Henry Layard and his own younger brother Hormuzd Rassam.³⁸⁹ Later in life, he again took up translation work, as an amateur, rendering portions of the Old Testament into English, with glosses in Syriac and colloquial Arabic.³⁹⁰ He died in 1872.³⁹¹

It cannot be established with certainty which Arabic books Rassām worked on for the CMS. Before he went to Malta, while he was still in Cairo, it is recorded that he translated Watts's *Historical catechism* (*Kitāb al-tawārīkh*, Malta 1832)³⁹², and he almost certainly had a hand in others at that time. In Malta, he must have worked on most of those published between 1833 and 1835 inclusive. The Syriac primer and the *Kitāb Ḫdāḫ al-ta'lim al-Masīḫī* have already been mentioned; he claimed to have translated Bunyan's *Pilgrim's progress* (*Kitāb Siyāḫat al-Masīḫī*)³⁹³, which appeared in 1834 and has been generally credited to Schlienz - probably they both worked on it.³⁹⁴ Rassām also claimed to have revised the Arabic version of the Church of England *Book of Common Prayer*: this was published in 1840³⁹⁵, and Palmer lamented that

³⁸⁴ Lambeth Palace MS 2819, pp.164sqq., Chesney to Palmer, 28.12.1839.

³⁸⁵ Ainsworth, *Travels* (op.cit.), II, p.334.

³⁸⁶ See above, p.160.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p.251; Laurie, op.cit., p.117. But Perkins stated that he "often befriended our mission and its Nestorian helpers". Perkins, "Attempt" (op.cit.), p.307.

³⁸⁸ Ross, op.cit., p.13.

³⁸⁹ Rassam, Hormuzd, *Asshur and the land of Nimrod*, New York 1897, p.4. The latter was said to have been converted to Protestantism by 'Īsā's mother-in-law, Mrs Badger. P(inches), op.cit., p.159.

³⁹⁰ Pollington, Viscount [J.C.G.Savile], *Half round the old world, being some account of a tour in Russia, the Caucasus, Persia, and Turkey, 1865-66*, London 1867, p.355. Cf. Guest, op.cit., p.115.

³⁹¹ *The Times*, 27,424 (9.7.1872), p.1; Thielmann, M.von, *Journey in the Caucasus, Persia, and Turkey in Asia*, tr. C.Heneage, London 1875, Vol.II, p.116.

³⁹² CM/O73/51, Kruse to Brenner, 30.10.1830. Cf. Guest, op.cit., p.67.

³⁹³ Lambeth Palace MS 2817, p.19.

³⁹⁴ See further below, p.202.

³⁹⁵ *Kitāb al-Ṣalawāt al-'Āmma*, item 99 in Appendix A below.

Rassām had not received any of the credit for it³⁹⁶ ; but according to the CMS archives, this revision (presumably of Pococke's 17th-century version³⁹⁷) was carried out in 1836, after Rassām had left the CMS, by Schlienz and Lee in Cambridge³⁹⁸ and Fāris al-Shidyāq in Malta.³⁹⁹ Rassām had, however, prepared specimens in 1834, under Schlienz's supervision, which had been sent to the SPCK⁴⁰⁰ , and it was presumably to these that he was referring. It seems likely that Schlienz was not satisfied with these attempts; for although, as we have seen, he had a favourable opinion of his talents at the beginning of his period of service, his final verdict when Rassām broke with the CMS was that "he has never been a *good* translator, he never will be a good translator".⁴⁰¹ By then, of course, he had in Shidyāq a standard of excellence of which Rassām was bound to fall short.

SCHLIENZ, Christoph Friedrich

Editor & translator 1827-30;
Superintendent 1830-42

The most fruitful period in the history of the Malta Arabic press was the 1830s, which saw the publication or preparation of most of the more significant and useful of its books. What credit there is for this output must be due primarily to its Superintendent during this period, Christoph Schlienz, whose active and forward policy, both in preparing and commissioning Arabic works, and in employing editors and translators of the calibre of Shidyāq and Badger, put the press on to a higher plane than it had hitherto occupied.

Schlienz was born in 1803 in Kirchheim in Württemberg.⁴⁰² His father was a cooper there⁴⁰³ , but he later told Rassām (q.v.) that "his family were large merchants in a German city" - or so Rassām informed Palmer.⁴⁰⁴ This may well have been a misunderstanding on Rassām's part, as Schlienz was probably referring to his uncle, a wealthy watchmaker, into whose house he was taken in his earlier

³⁹⁶ Lambeth Palace MS 2817, p.19.

³⁹⁷ See above, pp.64-65.

³⁹⁸ CM/L2/476, Coates to Schlienz, 26.1.1837.

³⁹⁹ CM/O65/44, Schlienz to Secs., 3.2.1836.

⁴⁰⁰ *Missionary Register* 1835, p.404.

⁴⁰¹ CM/O65/51, Schlienz to Secs., 2.11.1837.

⁴⁰² Ledderhose, Decan, "Schlienz", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Bd.31, Leipzig 1890, p.517; Muss-Arnolt, W., *The Prayer Book among the nations of the world*, London 1914, p.155; Schlatter, op.cit., p.75; Veiel, F., *Die Pilgermission von St Chrischona*, 2nd ed. Basle [1943], p.40; Staehelin, op.cit., p.129.

⁴⁰³ Ledderhose, op.cit., p.517.

⁴⁰⁴ Lambeth Palace MS 2817, p.18. Palmer, who knew this claim to be untrue, attributed it to "a blamable vanity".

years: this, at any rate was what he told Wolff.⁴⁰⁵ In his youth he showed a great interest in and aptitude for the study of languages⁴⁰⁶; in 1821 he entered the Missionshaus in Basle, on the recommendation of Professor Bahnmaier of Tübingen (where Schlienz was at that time employed as a waiter), and there remained for five years.⁴⁰⁷

In 1826, like so many of the Basle men, he was seconded to the CMS and sent to London, where he spent 18 months in their college at Islington, studying oriental languages.⁴⁰⁸ In May 1826, when Jowett had decided to recruit an assistant to help run the press in Malta, he enquired of the three missionaries at that time temporarily staying in Malta (Gobat, Lieder and Müller), who would be the best candidate for the position, and they all agreed "in recommending Mr Schlienz, as possessing the requisite aptitude for Languages, & that general habit of exactness & system without which the multifarious occupations of the Printing-business would rapidly fall into Chaos".⁴⁰⁹ The Secretaries in London concurred, and cited an additional recommendation: "Professor Lee [Samuel Lee, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, advisor and instructor to the CMS in oriental languages] speaks of him as a considerable proficient in Arabic; and I think he is a man whom you would find it comfortable to have connected with you in your Editorial labour".⁴¹⁰ There was, however, a problem which delayed Schlienz's final appointment and departure: he had, according to the CMS, acquired in Germany certain "heretical" notions, and his posting to Malta had to be postponed "until his convictions of the erroneous and pernicious tendency of these opinions shall be in some degree matured".⁴¹¹ He seems, however, after a short while to have satisfied the Committee of his doctrinal soundness, and he arrived in Malta in April 1827.⁴¹²

Schlienz straight away resumed his study of Arabic, making use of the young Fāris al-Shidyāq (q.v.), and gaining confidence that he would "soon be able to make a good use of it, not only on the press,

⁴⁰⁵ Wolff, *Journal* (op.cit.), p.332.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.332; Ledderhose, op.cit., p.517; Muss-Arnolt, op.cit., p.155; Veiel, op.cit., p.40.

⁴⁰⁷ Wolff, op.cit., p.332; Muss-Arnolt, op.cit., p.155; Veiel, op.cit., pp.40-41; Stachelin, p.129.

⁴⁰⁸ Veiel, op.cit., p.41; Stachelin, pp.129-130.

⁴⁰⁹ CM/O39/71, Jowett to Secs., 15.5.1826.

⁴¹⁰ CM/L1/114, Coates to Jowett, 14.10.1826.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*

⁴¹² *Missionary Register* 1827, p.343.

but also in respect of Mr Phares, who is very much in need of a sound knowledge of the truth of the Gospel".⁴¹³ His obsessive working habits, which remained with him throughout his service in Malta, were described at the end of that year by Kitto (q.v.): "I believe Mr Schlienz works ... far harder than we printers do. He is at his Arabic, and Maltese, and Italian, night and morning, early and late, learning, and translating, and correcting," as well as preaching once or twice every Sunday.⁴¹⁴

In 1828 Jowett returned to London temporarily⁴¹⁵, leaving Schlienz in charge of the Malta establishment. As well as performing administrative tasks, he devoted much time to correcting proofs, remarking that "the correction of 12 pages of bad Arabic composition at once nearly plucks the eyes out and these are precious to me"; at the same time he continued his Arabic studies with Shidyāq, deriving much satisfaction from them.⁴¹⁶

After Jowett's final departure in 1830, Schlienz was appointed Superintendent of the Mission, which post he held until 1842. His salary, according to information given by Rassām to Palmer in 1837, was £400 p.a. - an amount which the latter seems to have found shockingly high.⁴¹⁷ At the end of 1830, ill health obliged him to return to Basle for a few months, but he was back in Malta by November 1831.⁴¹⁸ Early in 1835, he made the first of several trips to the "Levant"⁴¹⁹, and in April of the following year he went to England to receive episcopal ordination in the Church of England.⁴²⁰ While there, he spent some time "in the Country" with Lee, working on the revision of the Arabic version of the *Book of Common Prayer*.⁴²¹ It seems to have been at this time also that it was decided that he should embark on the massive task of a new Arabic translation of the Bible.⁴²²

⁴¹³ CM/O65/1, Schlienz to Secs., 24.5.1827; *Missionary Register* 1827, p.432.

⁴¹⁴ Ryland, op.cit., p.263.

⁴¹⁵ See above, p.181.

⁴¹⁶ CM/O65/4a, Schlienz to Jowett, 20.5.1828.

⁴¹⁷ Lambeth Palace MS 2821, p.196.

⁴¹⁸ CM/L2/36-37, Coates to Schlienz (Basle), 28.2.1831; CM/L2/84-85, Jowett to Schlienz (Malta), 5.12.1831.

⁴¹⁹ BFBS Foreign Corres. Inwards, 1835/1/138, Brenner to Jackson, 9.3.1835.

⁴²⁰ Ibid. 1836/2/21, Brenner to Jackson, 3.5.1836; CM/L2/444, Jowett to Brenner, 19.8.1836.

⁴²¹ CM/L2/444, Jowett to Brenner, 19.8.1836; CM/L2/460, Coates to Brenner, 14.11.1836.

⁴²² CM/O65/45, Schlienz to Coates, 16.11.1836; Veiel, op.cit., p.41.

On his return to Malta in February 1837⁴²³, Schlienz set to work on the Bible, delegating much of the other Arabic work to Shidyāq and Badger (q.v.). At the same time, he was working on the Arabic and Amharic versions of the Prayer Book, both financed by the SPCK.⁴²⁴ He also wrote his learned but controversial treatise on Maltese and its use, and on the proposed adoption of classical Arabic in Malta, which was published in 1838.⁴²⁵

In March 1838 Schlienz went to Egypt⁴²⁶ on a study-tour. While there, he spent much time in Cairo, staying with the resident missionaries Kruse and Lieder (q.v.) and pursuing his researches into Arabic language and literature.⁴²⁷ He was also received by Muḥammad 'Alī.⁴²⁸ But it was during this stay in Egypt that there fell upon him the first blows of an affliction that was eventually to put a pathetic end to his career in Malta. In the summer of 1838, while returning on a Nile boat from a trip to the Delta, he was struck on the head by an oar or boom, which "injured him materially".⁴²⁹ He thereupon began to suffer delusions and hallucinations⁴³⁰, and was "very ill for several weeks", before going to Damietta to convalesce.⁴³¹ There, however, he had a relapse, and came back to Cairo "in a state of perfect insanity".⁴³² The doctors who examined him expressed the opinion that his madness was caused not just by the blow, but also by "too much application of his mind to study & mental labours at Malta", and by continued work in the heat of an Egyptian summer.⁴³³

By September 1838, Schlienz had recovered sufficiently to make the journey back to Malta, taking with him Ḥannā 'l-Jāwalī (q.v.) to assist with the Arabic translation work.⁴³⁴ He resided for a while in

⁴²³ BFBS Foreign Corres. Inwards, 1837/1/168, Brenner to Jackson, 11.3.1837.

⁴²⁴ Stock, op.cit., I, p.349.

⁴²⁵ Schlienz, C.F., *Views on the improvement of the Maltese language and its use for the purposes of education and literature*, Malta 1838. See below, p.258.

⁴²⁶ BFBS Foreign Corres. Inwards, Schlienz (Alexandria) to Jackson, 27.3.1838.

⁴²⁷ CM/O45/67, Kruse to Jowett, 16.8.1838.

⁴²⁸ Ledderhose, op.cit., p.518; Veiel, op.cit., p.41; Hajjar, op.cit., p.58. These writers all reported this as a great honour bestowed upon him, but it was not at all unusual at that time for even the most casual European visitors to have audiences with the Viceroy. No doubt the latter was curious to know what was going on in Malta.

⁴²⁹ BFBS Foreign Corres. Inwards, 1838/3/112, Brenner to Jackson, 9.8.1838; CM/O45/68, Kruse & Lieder to Coates, 3.9.1838; Ledderhose, op.cit., p.518.

⁴³⁰ CM/O45/67, Kruse to Jowett, 16.8.1838.

⁴³¹ BFBS Foreign Corres. Inwards, 1838/3/112, Brenner to Jackson, 9.8.1838.

⁴³² Ibid., 1838/3/168, Brenner to Jackson, 6.9.1838.

⁴³³ CM/O45/68, Kruse & Lieder to Coates, 3.9.1838.

⁴³⁴ CM/O18/46, Brenner to Coates, 34.10.1838.

the countryside in the company of Karl Heinrich Blumhardt, a recent recruit from the Basle seminary, who had escorted him back from Egypt.⁴³⁵ It was decided at this time to send Samuel Gobat (q.v.) back to Malta to provide further assistance with the Arabic work⁴³⁶, and no doubt also to take over in the event of Schlienz being further incapacitated. The latter was able, however, to continue with some work in the early months of 1839, and also to engage in polemics over the Richardson affair, in which Badger also became embroiled⁴³⁷: his contribution was a book on the subject of press freedom in Malta, strongly anti-Catholic in tone, printed at the CMS press in the same year.⁴³⁸ This cannot have pleased the CMS Committee any more than Badger's booklet, but as Schlienz was still Superintendent in Malta, they could hardly rebuke him in the same manner.

By June 1839, Schlienz's health was declining again, and he left Malta for his native Germany, partly to recuperate⁴³⁹ and partly to continue work on the Arabic Bible. There his condition worsened, and work on the Bible was further held up.⁴⁴⁰ By October he was in London, and it was decided to suspend the Bible translation for the time being.⁴⁴¹ While in England, he married an English widow, Anne Madden⁴⁴², and then returned to Malta.

In April 1840, Schlienz decided to go to Lebanon and Syria in the company of Fāris al-Shidyāq, partly for his health, and partly to make a study-tour.⁴⁴³ An account of this visit was later given by Shidyāq in his autobiographical book *Al-Sāq 'alā 'l-sāq*.⁴⁴⁴ He noted that Schlienz, whom he called *Ra'īs* or *Ṣāhib al-Ma'bar*⁴⁴⁵, insisted on making the journey by sailing ship rather than by steamer, because he had been advised by his doctor that coal fumes were injurious to persons suffering from tuberculosis (*maṣḍūrīn*).⁴⁴⁶ There is no other record of

⁴³⁵ BFBS Foreign Corres. Inwards, 1838/4/115, Brenner to Jackson, 15.11.1838.

⁴³⁶ CM/L3/43, Coates to Schlienz, 23.11.1838. See above, p.171.

⁴³⁷ See above, p.158.

⁴³⁸ Schlienz, C.F., *The liberty of publishing in Malta, with especial regard to religious publications*, Malta 1839.

⁴³⁹ BFBS Foreign Corres. Inwards, 1839/3/27, Brenner to Jackson, 27.6.1839.

⁴⁴⁰ CM/O18/51, Brenner to Coates, 8.8.1839.

⁴⁴¹ CM/L3/101, Coates to Brenner, 24.10.1839.

⁴⁴² Veiel, op.cit., p.41.

⁴⁴³ CM/O28/38, Gobat to Coates, 25.4.1840.

⁴⁴⁴ Shidyāq, Fāris al-, *Al-Sāq 'alā 'l-sāq fi mā huwa 'l-Faryāq*, Paris 1855, pp.446sq.

⁴⁴⁵ For an explanation of Shidyāq's use of this term, see below, pp.224-225.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., pp.446-447.

Schlienz suffering from this ailment, but Shidyāq had⁴⁴⁷, so this decision must have been made primarily for the latter's benefit. Soon after arriving in Lebanon, Schlienz found that his stay in Beirut "suited neither his body nor his head" and resolved to go up into the mountains, where he took up residence in a Greek Orthodox monastery.⁴⁴⁸ Some time later he and Shidyāq set out on a journey to Damascus. His mind was evidently still very much on his Malta work, as Shidyāq says that when he (Shidyāq) fell off his mule and suffered an injury, Schlienz was worried that it might disrupt the work of the "interpretation department" (*maṣlahat al-ta'bīr*).⁴⁴⁹ From Damascus, they returned to Beirut and then went on to Jaffa, whence they sailed for Malta via Alexandria.⁴⁵⁰

Schlienz stayed at his post for a further year, but his mental illness continually recurred. In September 1840, soon after his return from the Levant, his physician advised Mrs Schlienz that it could no longer be attributed primarily to his Egyptian accident, but was now rather due to excessive study in Malta.⁴⁵¹ In February of the following year he advised her that her husband must go to England to "save both his health and his life, or else his mental derangement must increase".⁴⁵² Nevertheless he remained in Malta for the rest of that year, and in December he suffered another serious relapse. This took the form of an insistence on undressing and walking naked in the street, so that he had to be forcibly re-dressed.⁴⁵³ Shidyāq described this incident in graphic detail in his autobiographical work, devoting a whole chapter (including a ribald poem) to it, entitled "On incitement to nudism" (*Fī'l-ḥadd 'alā 'l-ta'arrī*): according to him, it arose out of an argument on the religious necessity of shaving, between Schlienz and a mysterious Persian poet

⁴⁴⁷ See below, p.210.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., p.474.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., p.478. *Ta'bīr* was Shidyāq's word for his work in the *ma'bar*: see below, p.224.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., pp.481-482. The Greek Catholic Lebanese merchant and missionary agent As'ad al-Khayyāt was also apparently with Schlienz during this trip, and later claimed to have "had the pleasure of conducting [him] through the Lebanon", naming the convent at which he had stayed as that of Mar Elias. Kayat, Assaad Y. *A voice from Lebanon*, London 1847, pp.265-266. But Shidyāq did not mention him, except to point out that he was not the British Vice-Consul in Jaffa who plied them with sherbet while they were awaiting departure (Shidyāq, op.cit., p.482). Khayyāt was appointed Vice-Consul there in 1847.

⁴⁵¹ CM/O65/74B, Dr Sūlon to Mrs Schlienz, 27.9.1840.

⁴⁵² CM/O65/86, Dr Sūlon to Mrs Schlienz, 12.2.1841.

⁴⁵³ CM/O18/66, Brenner [to Secs.], 30.12.1841.

who was visiting Malta.⁴⁵⁴ It seems that Schlienz urged the populace to emulate him by taking off all their clothes, and continued in this frame of mind for some time. In the midst of all this - if Shidyāq is to be believed⁴⁵⁵ - Mrs Schlienz was dallying with a boy friend whom she had picked up in Syria and who had followed her to Malta, and she deputed Shidyāq to look after her husband.⁴⁵⁶

In January 1842 Schlienz was still "very ill"⁴⁵⁷, and at the end of that month responsibility for the running of the establishment was expressly transferred to Gobat.⁴⁵⁸ In February a friend of his, Lt.Col. Hamilton, wrote a confidential letter to the CMS in London, describing his derangement and venturing the opinion that Schlienz "had over wrought his mind, and ... he has been quite a slave to his translation of the Bible into Arabic"; moreover, "if he does not change the scene as soon as possible, and cease for a time his labours ... he will, humanly speaking, never be restored to his right mind". He therefore recommended the Committee to issue a positive order to Schlienz to leave his post immediately, as "another summer in Malta would I fear be fatal".⁴⁵⁹ The Committee acted on Hamilton's suggestion, and although Schlienz meanwhile had recovered somewhat and resumed his duties⁴⁶⁰, he was recalled to England at the beginning of March.⁴⁶¹ According to Shidyāq, Mrs Schlienz was instrumental in arranging his departure from Malta.⁴⁶²

Schlienz never returned to Malta. In 1847, despite his doctor's continued fears for his health, he took up a teaching post at the new "pilgrim" missionary institution of St Chrischona near Basle, where he spent the rest of his days, teaching Arabic and other

⁴⁵⁴ Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.483sq. The identity of the visitor, whom Shidyāq does not name, cannot be established. He later tried to seduce Shidyāq's wife. Maybe he was the "converted Persian" whom Ewald saw in Schlienz's house the following month. Ewald, F.C., *Journal of missionary labours in the city of Jerusalem, during the years 1842-3-4*, 2nd ed., London 1846, p.12.

⁴⁵⁵ The difficulty of separating fact from fantasy in Shidyāq's autobiography is considered below, p.206. He had a penchant for the salacious, which he almost certainly exaggerated considerably.

⁴⁵⁶ Shidyāq, op.cit., p.484. He refers to Mrs Schlienz's paramour sarcastically as *al-ghuṣn* (twig or sapling). It is possible that he was the "young Greek from Beyrout" whom Ewald saw in the Schlienz household at about that time. The pious Ewald interpreted the young man's presence somewhat differently: according to him, he was one of those who "are coming from the east and the west, the north and the south, to sit down with Araham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven". Ewald, op.cit., p.12.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., p.12.

⁴⁵⁸ CM/L3/223-224, Coates to Gobat, 31.1.1842.

⁴⁵⁹ CM/O8/41, Hamilton to CMS, 11.2.1842.

⁴⁶⁰ CM/L3/228, Coates to Schlienz, 26.2.1842.

⁴⁶¹ CM/L3/230, Coates to Schlienz, 3.3.1842.

⁴⁶² Shidyāq, op.cit., p.486.

Semitic languages, and acting as chaplain ("Kaplan").⁴⁶³ He died in 1868.⁴⁶⁴

It is likely that Schlienz had a hand in the preparation of most of the Arabic books published in Malta between 1827 and 1840, although his name does not appear in any of them. In the CMS archives he is specifically credited with the authorship of *Ta'lim al-qirā'a ilā 'l-afḡāl al-ṣighār*, 1828 (reprinted in 1829)⁴⁶⁵ and it is also recorded that he wrote, with the aid of Shidyāq, the commentary on the Parables published in the same year (*Amthāl Rabbīnā Yasū' al-Masīh wa tafsīruhā*).⁴⁶⁶ He is also generally credited with the Arabic translation of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's progress* (*Kitāb Siyāḡat al-Masīhī*, 1834)⁴⁶⁷, although, as we shall see, it was originally translated by 'Īsā Buṭrus⁴⁶⁸: most likely it was extensively revised and reworked by Schlienz, probably with the assistance later of Rassām, who also claimed to have done it⁴⁶⁹, and this would explain why it was not published until 1834. After 1836, as we have seen, Schlienz was mainly occupied in the Arabic Bible translation; but he also participated in some of the other translations⁴⁷⁰, including especially "Keith on Prophecy" (*Al-Bayyina al-jalīya*, 1840), of which he expressed the hope in March 1837 that "with the joined assistance of Fares, Badger & myself it will be well done".⁴⁷¹

There is little doubt that Schlienz's competence in Arabic greatly exceeded that of any of the other Europeans who worked at the Malta press (with the possible exception of Badger); he certainly knew the language much better than both his predecessor Jowett and his successor Gobat. Although he received his primary instruction from Samuel Lee in Islington, his most important tuition came from the young Fāris al-Shidyāq in 1827⁴⁷², and his ability to understand and compose good literary Arabic clearly owed much to his

⁴⁶³ Veiel, op.cit., p.42; Staehelin, op.cit., p.130; Carmel, op.cit., pp.160-162.

⁴⁶⁴ CMS *Centenary Volume* (op.cit.), p.621, #123; Staehelin, op.cit., p.129.

⁴⁶⁵ "Mr Schlienz's Spelling book" - CM/O4/26, List of publications. Item 25 in Appendix A below.

⁴⁶⁶ Based on the English commentaries of Henry and Scott. CM/O39/99, Jowett to Secs., 8.12.1827; "Dreizehnter Jahresbericht der evangelischen Missions-Gesellschaft zu Basel", *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der evangelischen Missions- und Bibel-Gesellschaften*, [13] (1828), p.360. Item 19 in Appendix A below.

⁴⁶⁷ Ellis, op.cit., I, 424; Lambrecht, E., *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, tome premier, #3197.

⁴⁶⁸ See below, p.255 n.103.

⁴⁶⁹ See above, p.194.

⁴⁷⁰ CM/O65/61, Schlienz to Secs., 27.12.1838.

⁴⁷¹ CM/O65/47, Schlienz to Secs., 10.3.1837.

⁴⁷² CM/O65/1, Schlienz to Secs., 24.5.1827; *Missionary Register* 1827, p.432.

influence, both then and in later years. Indeed -his "high style", especially in his Bible translation, later became the target of criticism from his evangelical superiors.⁴⁷³ He himself, however, attached great importance to the cultivation of literary and linguistic knowledge and skill, taking the view that "the science of philology is ... most intimately connected with the work of missions".⁴⁷⁴ He furthermore urged that more attention should be paid generally to studying living languages, especially Semitic and oriental ones, rather than the "heathen" classics.⁴⁷⁵ He took an almost Islamic view of the divine role of language, which he extended to Arabic: although the Qur'an was a "perversion of Divine revelation", he nevertheless shared "the esteem with which the Mahomedans regard the superior excellence of the language of that book".⁴⁷⁶ His approach, much more sophisticated than that of Jowett and Gobat, to providing reading matter for Muslims has been noted in an earlier chapter.⁴⁷⁷

Schlienz's abilities and accomplishments were remarked upon by several of his contemporaries. As well as his great gift for languages⁴⁷⁸, his industriousness also earned him praise from his fellow missionaries. Wolff remarked in 1835 that he was "the most *efficient* Missionary, without any exception, that the Church Missionary Society ever sent to the Mediterranean"⁴⁷⁹, and the following year asserted that he "has already undertaken the most gigantic labours, and accomplished them for the promotion of *religion* and *civilization*".⁴⁸⁰ Later in the decade, after the onset of that mental affliction which was grievously to impair his "efficiency", his colleague in Egypt, Wilhelm Kruse, lamented that there were "no missionaries, not one as far as I know, who is able to do what Mr Schlienz has undertaken at Malta".⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷³ CM/L3/225, Coates to Gobat, 31.1.1842.

⁴⁷⁴ Schlienz, C.F., *The Pilgrim missionary institution of St Chrischona*, London 1850, p.150.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.160sq. & 190sq.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.154.

⁴⁷⁷ See above, pp.127-128.

⁴⁷⁸ Schlatter, *op.cit.*, p.76: "Seine bedeutende Sprachbegabung".

⁴⁷⁹ Wolff, *Journal* (*op.cit.*), p.290.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.332.

⁴⁸¹ CM/O45/67, Kruse to Jowett, 16.8.1838.

SHIDYĀQ, Fāris al-

Arabic tutor & translator, 1827-28;
Arabic translator, editor & author, 1836-42

There can be no doubt that Shidyāq was much the most talented, original and accomplished of all those who worked at the Arabic press in Malta, and the only one to achieve a place of importance in Arabic literary history. He was indeed one of the principal pioneers of the 19th-century *nahḍa*, the cultural and literary renaissance of the Arabs; and although his main contributions to that movement came after he had left Malta, his Maltese period was of considerable significance, both to his own personal and literary development, and to the role of that press in the history of Arabic publishing.

Shidyāq's importance in modern Arabic literary history has ensured that much has been written about him, by way of both biography and literary criticism. The latter for the most part lies beyond the scope of the present study, but the former does concern us, especially that part of it which deals with the Maltese periods of his career. Unfortunately the great majority of his biographers have failed to cast much light on these periods, and indeed have added to the obscurity by the consistent reiteration of falsehoods: more than a score of authors, some of them distinguished literary historians and scholars, have repeated the same errors because, it seems, they have been content to follow unreliable secondary authorities instead of checking primary sources. The "standard" account is that Shidyāq, after being converted to Protestantism by American missionaries in Beirut, went to Egypt in 1825 to teach in their schools, became Editor of the first Egyptian newspaper *Al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣrīya*, stayed there until 1834, and then went to Malta to become Director of the American press, being responsible for its entire output until relinquishing his position in 1848 to embark on travels in Europe.

This story, which is wrong in every particular, seems to have first been published in Buṭrus al-Bustānī's famous Arabic encyclopaedia in 1898.⁴⁸² It was taken up, appropriately perhaps, by the historical novelist Jurjī Zaydān, who first set it out, embellished with further inaccuracies, in his oft-quoted collection

⁴⁸² *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif*, Vol.10, Cairo 1898, pp.428-429. This is unlikely to have been written by Buṭrus al-Bustānī himself, who died in 1883; it was probably by one of his sons, who carried on the work after his death.

of biographies in 1903.⁴⁸³ He was followed in 1909 by the Jesuit writer Luwīs Shaykhū (Louis Cheikho)⁴⁸⁴, whose false account of the overall history of the Malta press, another fruitful source of error, has previously been mentioned.⁴⁸⁵ Since then, a host of other writers⁴⁸⁶ have repeated the story, wholly or in part, usually citing Zaydān, Shaykhū or both. It is especially regrettable that three well-known standard reference works in the field have also helped to perpetuate these errors.⁴⁸⁷

There has, however, been a handful of scholars who have taken the trouble to consult primary sources, and have thereby succeeded in correcting most of these standard errors and establishing a truer account of Shidyāq's career in Malta. In 1958 Kawerau, using the American missionary archives and publications, gave a correct summary of the Americans' dealings with Shidyāq, although he did not go into much detail, as the matter was peripheral to his main theme.⁴⁸⁸; later Tibawi did the same.⁴⁸⁹ In 1970 Muhammad Alwan, in a regrettably unpublished thesis⁴⁹⁰, went to some lengths to establish the correct sequence of events, and to fill in as much detail as he could, using both American missionary publications and Shidyāq's autobiography; but unfortunately he was unable to consult the

⁴⁸³ Jurjī Zaydān, *Tarājim mashāhīr al-Sharq fī 'l-qarn al-tāsi'* 'ashar, Vol.2, Cairo 1903, pp.82-83.

⁴⁸⁴ Luwīs Shaykhū, "Al-ādāb al-'Arabīya fī 'l-qarn al-tāsi' 'ashar: udabā' al-Islām fī khitām al-qarn al-tāsi' 'ashar (tābi')", *Al-Mashriq* 12 (1909), p.626; later reprinted in book form, Beirut 1910 & 1926.

⁴⁸⁵ See above, p.121.

⁴⁸⁶ E.g. Khairallah, K.T. *La Syrie*, Paris 1912, p.78; Ḥasan al-Sandūbī, *A'yān al-bayān min subḥ al-qarn al-thālith 'ashar al-Hijrī ilā 'l-yawm*, Cairo 1914, pp.111-112; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī (or Zarkālī), *Al-A'lām*, Vol.1, 2nd ed. Cairo 1954, p.184 (originally published 1927); Yūsuf Aliyān Sarkīs, *Mu'jam al-maḥbū'āt al-'Arabīya wa 'l-mu'arraba*, Cairo 1928, 1104-1105; Pérès, H. "Les premières manifestations de la Renaissance littéraire arabe en orient au XIXe siècle", *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales*, 1 (1934-35), pp.241-242; Graf, G., op.cit. (1944), I, p.99; Mārūn 'Abbūd, *Ṣaqr Lubnān: baḥth fī 'l-nahḍa al-adabīya al-ḥadītha wa rayūliḥā 'l-awwal Ahmad Fāris al-Shidyāq*, Beirut 1950, pp.94sq.; Arberry, A.J. "Fresh light on Ahmad Faris al-Shidyāq", *Islamic Culture* 26 i (1952), pp.155-156; Muḥammad Ahmad Khalaf Allāh, *Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq wa āra'uhu 'l-lughawīya wa 'l-adabīya*, Cairo 1955, pp.29sq.; Yūsuf As'ad Dāghir, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa al-adabīya*, Vol.2, Beirut 1956, p.473; Anwar al-Jindī, *Al-muḥāfaẓa wa 'l-tajdīd fī 'l-nathr al-'Arabī al-mu'āṣir fī nī'at 'ām 1840-1940*, Cairo 1961, p.59; Cachia, P. "An Arab's view of XIXc. Malta: Shidyāq's 'Al-Wasitah fī ma'rifat ahwal Malitah'", *Maltese Folklore Review* 1 (1962), p.62; Hourani, A.H. *Arabic thought in the liberal age*, Oxford 1962, p.98; Mīkhā'īl Ṣawāyā, *Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq: ḥayātuhu wa āthāruhu*, Beirut 1962, pp.22-27; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghanī Ḥasan, *Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq*, Cairo 1966, pp.5-7; Haywood, J.A. *Modern Arabic literature 1800-1970*, London 1971, p.54; Bichara Zein Schidiak, *Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq - l'homme & l'oeuvre: l'éducateur*, unpublished thesis (D.d'Univ. sout. 77-10), Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle (Paris III), 1975, pp.60-72; Moreh, S. *Modern Arabic poetry 1800-1970*, Leiden 1976, pp.25-26; Aggoula, B. "Le livre libanais de 1585 à 1900", *Le Livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900*, Paris 1982, p.310; Bawlus Khalīl 'Awwād, "Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (1804-1887)", *ibid.*, p.371. This list is far from being exhaustive.

⁴⁸⁷ Brockelmann, C. *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Supplementband II, Leiden 1938, p.867; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Volume II, p.801 (art. "Fāris al-Shidyāq" by A.G.Karam); *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, Bd.I, Wiesbaden 1982, p.293 ("Die Anfänge der arabischen Typographie und die Ablösung der Handschrift durch den Buchdruck" by G.Endress). The last-named, by way of variation, asserts that Shidyāq founded the American Press in Malta in 1822.

⁴⁸⁸ Kawerau, op.cit., p.211.

⁴⁸⁹ Tibawi, A.L. *American interests in Syria 1800-1901*, Oxford 1966, p.53.

⁴⁹⁰ Alwan, op.cit.

British missionary archives which hold most of the relevant information. Ten years later, the Lebanese scholar 'Imād al-Ṣulḥ did use British archives, and was thereby able to give a rather fuller account; but he failed to realise that Shidyāq worked for the CMS before the SPCK, and only consulted the papers of the latter body: his book therefore contains much on Shidyāq's career in Malta and elsewhere after 1842, when the Arabic press ceased operation, but not on the period of his work at the press itself.⁴⁹¹

What light do Shidyāq's own writings shed on the matter? Two of his books deal with Malta at some length. One of them, first published in 1863/64⁴⁹², at least 13 years after he had finally left the island, is a descriptive account of its geography, people and language, and contains hardly anything about the missionaries, their press or his literary work there. The other is his famous autobiographical work *Al-Sāq 'alā 'l-sāq*⁴⁹³: this contains a great deal on the period of his life with which we are concerned, on Malta and on the missionaries. However, the book is far from being a straightforward autobiography: it is rather a literary *tour-de-force*, in which the narrative is interspersed with facetious digressions, long passages of pure word-play, imaginary dialogues, verse and even *maqāmāt*. It also contains many elements of fantasy, especially of an erotic nature, as well as much satire and mockery (including self-mockery). All this makes it somewhat difficult to extract from it specific information or straightforward facts concerning its author's life and career, the more so as he never mentions the dates, not even the years, of occurrences described. Nevertheless, it is possible to construct from its narrative content a sequence of events and episodes to which other data, mainly archival, can be related; it also frequently reveals Shidyāq's attitudes to those

⁴⁹¹ 'Imād al-Ṣulḥ, *Aḥmād Fāris al-Shidyāq: āthāruhu wa 'aṣruhu*, Beirut 1980, pp.42-62. He did, however, attempt to list and consider the principal books on which Shidyāq worked in Malta. The Jordanian scholar Khālid al-Karkī, in his more specialised study, has also given a reasonably correct summary of Shidyāq's career, mainly following Ṣulḥ. Khālid al-Karkī, "Sūrat al-Injilīz fī adab Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq", *Dirāsāt* (Amman), 12 iii (1985), pp.26-28.

⁴⁹² Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, *Kitāb al-Rihla al-mawsūma bi-'l-Wāsiṭa ilā ma'rifat Mālīta wa Kashf al-mukhabba 'an funūn Ūrubā*, Tunis 1280 [1836/64] (reissued 1283 [1866/67]); 2nd ed.: *Al-Wāsiṭa fī ma'rifat aḥwāl Mālīta wa Kashf al-mukhabba 'an funūn Ūrubā*, Istanbul 1299 [1882]. Dāghir (op.cit., II, p.474) stated quite erroneously that the first edition was published in Malta in 1834, and this misinformation was repeated in Hasan, op.cit., p.6 and Haywood, op.cit., p.279 n.67, thereby adding to the bibliographical and biographical confusion.

⁴⁹³ Fāris al-Shidyāq, *Kitāb al-Sāq 'alā 'l-sāq fī mā huwa 'l-Fāriyāq*, Paris 1855; 2nd ed. Cairo n.d. [ca.1919-20]; new ed. Beirut (1966) (with useful synopsis by Nasīb Wuhayba al-Khāzin). The title-page of the first edition carries the French sub-title *La Vie et les aventures de Fariac: relation de ses voyages avec ses observations critiques sur les arabes et sur les autres peuples*, but there is no French text, apart from occasional words, inside the book.

(including especially the missionaries) with whom he had to deal.

Shidyāq was born at 'Ashqūt in Lebanon, probably in 1804 or 1805.⁴⁹⁴ His family were minor notables in the Maronite community⁴⁹⁵, who had for long provided clerks and tutors for Lebanese feudal families.⁴⁹⁶ His elder brother Ṭannūs was an amateur scholar, later becoming a noted historian.⁴⁹⁷ But hardly anything seems to be known of Fāris's early life except what he himself related in *Al-Sāq*. It seems that, following the family tradition, he spent some time working as a copyist of Arabic manuscripts, including a period in the "workshop" of the Amīr Ḥaydar al-Shihābī, who was compiling a large-scale history of Lebanon and of his family.⁴⁹⁸ Then in 1826 he came under the influence of the American Congregationalist missionaries in Beirut, after his brother As'ad, who was employed by them as a teacher and translator, had embraced Protestantism in defiance of the Maronite Patriarch.⁴⁹⁹ When As'ad was imprisoned and ill-treated by the Patriarch, Fāris reacted by himself going to the missionaries and eventually taking refuge with them. To avoid his suffering a similar fate to that of his brother, the missionaries decided to send him out of Lebanon, and he embarked from Tyre for Alexandria in December 1826.⁵⁰⁰

Egypt, however, was not his destination, but merely a transit point where he awaited a vessel to take him to Malta: this is clear both from his autobiography and from missionary sources.⁵⁰¹ While waiting, however, he did render "valuable aid" in the "Arab school" run by a Methodist missionary in Alexandria.⁵⁰² He arrived in Malta early in 1827, "being commended to the care of Mr Temple".⁵⁰³ The

⁴⁹⁴ Alwan, op.cit., p.27. His date of birth has elsewhere been given as 1801. The evidence seems to be inconclusive, but a visitor who saw him in Malta in July 1828 said that he was "about 22 years of age". Woodruff, S. *Journal of a tour to Malta, Greece, Asia Minor, Carthage, Algiers, Port Mahon, and Spain, in 1828*, Hartford 1831, p.47.

⁴⁹⁵ Ṭannūs al-Shidyāq, *Akhbār al-a'yān fī Jabal Lubnān*, ed. Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Beirut 1855-59, pp.187sqq.; Alwan, op.cit., pp.16sqq.

⁴⁹⁶ Salibi, K.S. "The traditional historiography of the Maronites", *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B.Lewis & P.M.Holt, London 1962, p.223.

⁴⁹⁷ Author of *Akhbār al-a'yān* (op.cit.). Cf. Salibi, op.cit., pp.223-224; Hourani, A.H. "Historians of Lebanon", *ibid.*, p.233; Alwan, op.cit., pp.17-19.

⁴⁹⁸ Fāris al-Shidyāq, *Al-Sāq* (op.cit.), Paris 1855, Book I, chapters 1, 5 & 11; Hourani, op.cit., p.232; Schidiak, op.cit., pp.55-59; Alwan, op.cit., pp.28-29.

⁴⁹⁹ Bird, I. *The martyr of Lebanon*, Boston (USA) 1864, passim; Kawerau, op.cit., pp.489-490; Alwan, op.cit., pp.29-32.

⁵⁰⁰ *Missionary Herald* 23 (1827), p.372. Cf. Alwan, op.cit., p.34.

⁵⁰¹ "La budd min tasfīr ilā 'l-jazīra li-anna 'l-nīya istaqarrat 'alā hādhā min qabl ... wa hā anā muntazir al-safīna" - Shidyāq, op.cit., p.176; Tracy, J. *History of American missions*, Worcester (USA) 1840, p.159. Cf. Kawerau, op.cit., pp.211 & 491; Tibawi, op.cit., p.39; Alwan, op.cit., p.38.

⁵⁰² *Missionary Register* 1828, p.69.

⁵⁰³ Tracy, op.cit., p.159.

latter, who was in charge of the American missionary establishment there⁵⁰⁴, received him into his house in Valletta.⁵⁰⁵ But the intention of the American missionaries to prepare books in Arabic and print them in Malta could not, as we have seen⁵⁰⁶, be carried out, and Shidyāq's services were therefore required only as a part-time tutor. The CMS, on the other hand, was by then very much involved in Arabic work, and they therefore arranged with the Americans to make use of Shidyāq's services. By May 1827 he was instructing Schlienz (q.v.) in Arabic⁵⁰⁷, and in December he was reported to be helping to prepare the latter's Arabic commentary on the Parables.⁵⁰⁸ At the same time he was himself studying English⁵⁰⁹, but, according to his own account, with little success at this stage, learning "only certain expressions peculiar to the marketing of the commodity".⁵¹⁰

In the early part of 1828 Shidyāq continued working for the CMS, and in April of that year Jowett (q.v.), before departing for London⁵¹¹, left a "Memorandum of Instruction", a large part of which concerns his past, present and future employment. "Fares," he wrote, "has been variously employed here; chiefly with Mr Schlienz, & has prepared much Arabic Translation for the Church Missionary Society ... His wish, as expressed by himself, is, to feel himself his own master, but still serving the Church".⁵¹² He went on to make some further interesting observations on Shidyāq's habits and character, which will be mentioned later.⁵¹³ The following month he was still coming every day to work with Schlienz, who reported to Jowett that "in every thing I translate with him or teach him he proves a touchstone to me".⁵¹⁴ Jowett responded by requesting "from Phares about 20 or 30 clever Arabic proverbs".⁵¹⁵

⁵⁰⁴ See above, pp.115sq.

⁵⁰⁵ Shidyāq, op.cit., p.182.

⁵⁰⁶ Above, pp.115-120.

⁵⁰⁷ CM/O65/1, Schlienz to Secs., 24.5.1827; *Missionary Register* 1827, p.432. See above, pp.138 & 196.

⁵⁰⁸ CM/O39/99, Jowett to Secs., 8.12.1827. Cf. Tibawi, op.cit., p.53.

⁵⁰⁹ Tracy, op.cit., p.159.

⁵¹⁰ "Ba'd alfāz takhuṣṣ tarwīj al-sil'a faqaṭ" - Shidyāq, op.cit., p.187. This is almost certainly a sarcastic reference to the terminology of the religious tracts, used to propagate the evangelical faith. On Shidyāq's use of the "marketing" metaphor, see further below, p.224.

⁵¹¹ See above, p.181.

⁵¹² CM/O39/110, Jowett "Memorandum of Instruction", 24.4.1828.

⁵¹³ See below, pp.211 & 223.

⁵¹⁴ CM/O65/4a, Schlienz to Jowett (London), 20.5.1828.

⁵¹⁵ CM/L1/175, Jowett to Schlienz, 1.6.1828. It is not clear whether Shidyāq obliged or not.

But Shidyāq's continued service and usefulness to the CMS was threatened by attempts, from no fewer than three quarters, to remove him. Firstly, his brother Ṭannūs wrote to him from Lebanon (in reply to a letter which Fāris had sent him from Alexandria), strongly denouncing his Protestant patrons and urging him to return home⁵¹⁶ ; this, however, seems to have had no effect. Then in June 1828 it was reported that Shidyāq had received an invitation from Joseph Wolff, at that time in Jerusalem, requesting him to go there and assist him in running a school, and adding that "Mr Jowett has no right to keep you as translator & give you no wages nor has Mr Temple a right to prohibit you from drinking wine". Wolff slyly delivered this message through Samuel Wilson, the London Missionary Society's representative in Malta⁵¹⁷ , who was prepared to assist in sending Shidyāq to Jerusalem; but no salary was offered, and Shidyāq prudently declined the invitation, seeming "to be content, at present, with his situation".⁵¹⁸

But the third challenge to Shidyāq's continued employment with the CMS was a much more serious one. The American missionaries, who had brought him to Malta, were now beginning to feel that they had a right to more of his time. In his Memorandum of April 1828, Jowett had conceded that when Eli Smith⁵¹⁹ arrived in Malta, he "is to have an equal share of the benefit of his [Shidyāq's] assistance. His funds will be supplied by Messrs. Smith & Schlienz, in proportion settled between themselves".⁵²⁰ In July 1828, Temple wrote to Jowett in London, pointing out that "we have, as yet, not a single sentence translated into Arabic", although the arrival of an Arabic fount for their press was imminent; when it arrived, Eli Smith would need a full-time assistant. He added petulantly that the arrangement for Shidyāq to "serve two masters" was unsatisfactory, and that therefore he was no longer needed, and their contract for his services was to be made void.⁵²¹ But there seems to have been an element of bluff in this, as Smith was definitely intending to

⁵¹⁶ *Missionary Herald* 25 (1829), pp.114-116. Cf. Alwan, *op.cit.*, p.38.

⁵¹⁷ See above, p.114.

⁵¹⁸ CM/O39/120, Temple to Jowett, 12.6.1828; CM/O65/6, Schlienz to Secs., 18.6.1828: the relevant passage is crossed out, with the message "Not to Copy".

⁵¹⁹ The principal Arabist among the American missionaries, later founder and superintendent of their press in Beirut. See above, pp.118-119.

⁵²⁰ CM/O39/110, Jowett "Memorandum of Instruction", 24.4.1828.

⁵²¹ CM/O39/121, Temple to Jowett, 25.7.1828.

employ Shidyāq as his "assistant in Arabic"⁵²², and it seems that he did in fact subsequently start working for the Americans full-time (at their insistence), to the detriment of his health.⁵²³

Shidyāq's health during his first period in Malta seems to have gone from bad to worse. He found it difficult from the start to adapt to the eating habits of Temple's household: in his autobiography he reiterates at length his disgust with their insistence on continually eating pig meat - not only the flesh, but also the head, legs, liver and spleen (*ṭiḥāl*). To avoid this revolting diet, as he regarded it, he had to subsist on bread and cheese, until he became emaciated and his teeth began to fall out.⁵²⁴ This is partly confirmed by the account of a visitor in July 1828 who described him as "very lean, and apparently in declining health".⁵²⁵ In this debilitated state he then, it seems, contracted what appeared to be consumption (tuberculosis) and was unable to work.⁵²⁶ He was examined by Dr Stilon, the mission's physician, who, however, concluded that he was "not in *immediate* danger": although he was coughing blood, it came, he thought, "from the Trachea, not from the lungs". The good doctor recommended "leeches to be applied to his breast & also entire abstinence from animal food & from wine".⁵²⁷

But Shidyāq's afflictions were not just physical. It is clear that he found his situation among the missionaries to be an oppressive one. The often competing demands of the CMS and ABCFM missionaries evidently imposed a heavy burden on him. In addition to that, his position in Temple's household was obviously uncomfortable, not only because of the food, but also because of the puritanical gloom of the missionary's life-style, made worse by the recent death of Mrs Temple.⁵²⁸ Moreover Shidyāq, despite sharing Muslim scruples over pig meat, liked to frequent taverns and drink wine, something completely anathema to the missionaries, who tried hard to prevent him: not only Temple himself⁵²⁹, but also Jowett,

⁵²² *Missionary Herald* 24 (1828), p.351. The report from Smith printed therein is dated 24 July 1828, the day before Temple's letter to Jowett.

⁵²³ "The wish of the American Missionaries to occupy *all* his time with them encreased [*sic*] his pains" - CM/O65/8B, Schlienz to Secs., 20.10.1828.

⁵²⁴ Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, pp.182-183.

⁵²⁵ Woodruff, *op.cit.*, p.47.

⁵²⁶ CM/O65/6, Schlienz to Secs., 18.6.1828.

⁵²⁷ CM/O39/120, Temple to Jowett, 12.6.1828.

⁵²⁸ Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p.182.

⁵²⁹ Cf. Wolff's message to Shidyāq mentioned above.

who brought to bear the full sternness and stiffness of his puritanical temperament.⁵³⁰ "The practice he had got into of frequenting a Locanda," he wrote, "we utterly disapprove; & should he renew it, his salary ought to be reduced".⁵³¹ Shidyāq was not one to suffer gladly such attempts to interfere with his leisure, and he reacted by seeking to assert his independence from his missionary mentors.⁵³² But he was, of course, financially dependent on them, and the strains and stresses of his situation, together with his poor physical health, seem to have made life well nigh intolerable for him.

Eventually he decided that for the good of his health he must leave Malta, and so he made it clear to the missionaries that "he earnestly desired to be sent back to Egypt", where the climate would be better for him⁵³³, and the doctor advised them to accede to his request.⁵³⁴ When Jowett in London learned of this, he reacted in typically sanctimonious fashion: "The case of Fares excited much pity in our hearts. May his way be made plain before him, & may he be made greatly useful to the Church of Christ, wherever he goes ... I should have said, 'Let him go, where, & to whom he pleases' ... I trust no one thought of abridging his liberty".⁵³⁵ By mid-October 1828, Shidyāq was back in Alexandria, but still suffering from chest pains.⁵³⁶

From Alexandria, Shidyāq proceeded to Cairo, where he was given employment, probably as a teacher, in the CMS establishment there. But friction between him and the missionaries again broke out, this time on account of his liking for musical entertainments.⁵³⁷ He was again dissatisfied with his lack of freedom, and also with the level of his salary; but in Egypt, unlike Malta, he felt less dependent on the missionaries, and before the end of January 1829 he had left the mission.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁰ See above, p.179.

⁵³¹ CM/O39/110, Jowett: "Memorandum of Instruction", 24.4.1828.

⁵³² "His wish, as expressed by himself, is to feel himself his own master" - *ibid.*

⁵³³ CM/O65/8B, Schlienz to Secs., 20.10.1828.

⁵³⁴ Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p.187.

⁵³⁵ CM/L1/188, Jowett to Schlienz, 8.10.1828. As we have seen, Jowett had himself, only a few months earlier, made a clear attempt to "abridge his liberty" in respect of his social life.

⁵³⁶ CM/O65/8B, Schlienz to Secs., 20.10.1828.

⁵³⁷ Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, pp.188sq. "As to Mr Fares, we greatly pity [*sic*] the poor youth, particularly on account of the state of his soul" - CM/O65 9, Schlienz to Secs., 3.1.1829 (à propos of reports from Egypt).

⁵³⁸ Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p.205; CM O65/11, Schlienz to Secs., 26.1.1829. Cf. Alwan, *op.cit.*, p.41.

The course of Shidyāq's career during the ensuing six years (1829-35) cannot be traced with any great precision, although the outline of it can be drawn from *Al-Sāq*.⁵³⁹ When reporting his defection, Schlienz lamented also that the CMS had great difficulty in recruiting Arabic translators, because "the Pashaw of Egypt so well pays his servants"⁵⁴⁰, and it may perhaps be inferred from this that he was aware of Shidyāq's intention to enter the service of the Egyptian government, which is what he in fact did.⁵⁴¹ Less than five months later, however, he came back to the CMS with a proposal, which Schlienz reported as follows:-

"Mr Fares is willing to return to us. The payment he requests looks rather much, but as we cannot get any other person beneath 40 dollars per month ... it will be necessary to accept of his offer ... His stay in Egypt, & the kind of employment, must necessarily have rendered him more valuable to us in point of the knowledge of Arabic ... Considering the prospects which Fares has in Egypt, & the more expensive living in Malta, it is obvious, that he is not gaining by his exchange in respect to money".⁵⁴²

If the last sentence were really true, then Shidyāq's motives at this point are a little hard to understand, given the contempt for the missionaries and their work which permeates his autobiography. It may be that his attitude towards them at the time was rather different from that which he later adopted and which motivated his treatment of them in *Al-Sāq*; or maybe he felt insecure or dissatisfied in his new employment in Cairo, despite the "prospects" which he gave them to understand he had. But however that may have been, the CMS authorities evidently did not accept his proposal, or else he withdrew it, as he did not re-enter their service at that time; however, he continued until October 1830 to lodge with Theodor Müller, one of their missionaries in Cairo, until it was discovered

⁵³⁹ Book II, chs.8-20; Book III, chs.1-5. Cf. Alwan, op.cit., pp.41-45.

⁵⁴⁰ CM/O65/9, Schlienz to Secs., 3.1.1829.

⁵⁴¹ Ṭannūs al-Shidyāq, op.cit., I, pp.197-198. Fāris's brother recorded that he went to Egypt and "served with Muḥammad 'Alī in the Citadel", but erroneously stated that he did so in 1825 - a strange lapse of memory, as Ṭannūs himself had been very much involved in attempts to prevent Fāris's defection from the Maronites in Beirut in 1826, and, as we have seen, wrote to Fāris in Malta in 1827. But the sparse details of Fāris's career in *Akhbār al-a'yān* are altogether unreliable and inaccurate. According to Salibi, Ṭannūs was "no scholar", being "uncritical [and] ... hopelessly confused in the details". Salibi, op.cit., p.224. It may be that it was his inaccuracies which first gave rise to the false accounts of Fāris's career which became current later (see above, pp.204-206).

⁵⁴² CM/O65/12, Schlienz to Secs., 25.5.1829. The sum which he requested was 6100 piastres per annum, including emoluments and expenses. *Missionary Register* 1830, p.68.

that he was suffering from a venereal disease, whereupon he was turned out, to his great chagrin.⁵⁴³

The exact nature of Shidyāq's employment with the Egyptian government is unclear. He refers in *Al-Sāq* to a "praise shop" (*mamdah*), involving translations from foreign languages.⁵⁴⁴ It is recorded elsewhere that he worked on the editorial staff of the official gazette *Al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣrīya*⁵⁴⁵, although he was never, as is often stated, its editor.⁵⁴⁶ He also associated in this period with Muslim shaykhs and 'ulamā', from Al-Azhar and elsewhere, and studied with them classical Arabic literary, philological and scientific works.⁵⁴⁷ A copy of a commentary on the *Mu'allaqāt* in his hand, dated 1249 [1833], is extant.⁵⁴⁸ It is also clear from some of the works which he subsequently wrote or translated at Malta that he was familiar with classical sources and possessed manuscript copies of them.⁵⁴⁹

When and why Shidyāq left *Al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣrīya* is not clear, but by 1832 he was again working for the CMS as a teacher, being resident in their school in Cairo⁵⁵⁰: it seems that he replaced 'Īsā Rassām (q.v.) there when the latter left for Malta.⁵⁵¹ According to his own account, he had made contact with the missionaries again in Alexandria, and willingly re-entered their service as a teacher "because of the Protestants' not deferring the fee of whoever works for them"⁵⁵², from which one may infer that he had had difficulties in obtaining payment from his government employers.

⁵⁴³ CM/O73/50, Kruse to Jowett, 5.10.1830. Müller had previously defended him against his colleagues' aspersions on his life-style and his relationships with "bad women", saying that he needed "a friend who understands him". CM/O73/47, Müller to Schlienz, 6.1830.

⁵⁴⁴ Fāris al-Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.225sq. Cf. Alwan, op.cit., p.41.

⁵⁴⁵ Ṭannūs al-Shidyāq, op.cit., I, p.198; Mubārak, op.cit., III, p.20. Cf. Alwan, op.cit., 41. It would be entirely in keeping with the style and spirit of *Al-Sāq* to apply the sarcastic appellation *mamdah* to the official gazette.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibrāhīm 'Abduh, *Tārīkh al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣrīya 1828-1942*, Cairo 1942, pp.34 & 49; Alwan, op.cit., p.42 n.133. See references to the "standard" account above, p.204.

⁵⁴⁷ Fāris Shidyāq, op.cit., Book II, chapters, 18-19; Ṭannūs al-Shidyāq, op.cit., I, p.198. According to one, perhaps not wholly impartial, source, he became thoroughly Egyptian in culture and in his literary tastes and abilities. Sandūbī, op.cit., p.113. Cf. Alwan, op.cit., pp.42-43.

⁵⁴⁸ Macdonald, J. *The University of Leeds, Department of Semitic Languages & Literatures: Catalogue of Oriental manuscripts*, III: *Arabic MSS 101-150*, Leeds [1959], #128, p.28; Young, M.J.L. "Arabic and Turkish manuscripts in the Leeds Oriental Manuscript Collection", *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin*, 7 (1980), p.129. He may, of course, have copied it for someone else, in return for a fee, having been a professional copyist in his youth.

⁵⁴⁹ E.g. *Al-Laff* and *Sharḥ ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān* (items 85 & 108 in Appendix A below). See further below, pp.244 & 254 and Appendix C.

⁵⁵⁰ CM/O73/61, "Fares Eshediak's remarks concerning the children in the School at Cairo, of the year 1832".

⁵⁵¹ CM/O65/20a, Müller to Schlienz, 2.4.1832. See above, p.188.

⁵⁵² "... li-kawn al-Khurjīyīn lā yu'akhhirūn ujrat man ya'mal la-hum" - Fāris al-Shidyāq, op.cit., p.337. On his use of the term *Khurjī*, see below, p.224. Cf. Alwan, op.cit., pp.43-44.

Once Shidyāq was again in the service of the CMS, the question was bound to arise eventually of his return to Malta. According to his account, one of the missionaries invited him to go to Malta in the capacity of a translator, at a higher salary than he was earning in Egypt, and that he eventually prevailed upon him to do so, as the works to be translated had proliferated (*takātharat*).⁵⁵³ In October 1835, some months after Rassām's departure on the Euphrates Expedition⁵⁵⁴, Schlienz reported that "it is not unlikely that Fares will come here as a help, pro tempore, until Mr Rassam's return".⁵⁵⁵ In November a contract was drawn up⁵⁵⁶, and in December Shidyāq, immediately after marrying the daughter of a Syrian resident in Cairo, travelled with his bride back to Malta from Alexandria in a steamship, in the company of Kruse and Müller.⁵⁵⁷

There is no doubt that the CMS were glad to have him back, the more so as the prospect of Rassām's return receded. "Under the circumstances," wrote Secretary Coates from London, "Fares having been induced to come to Malta is very seasonable and important. We trust he will supply Isa's lack of service in the Arabic department, and that his sojourn may under Divine blessing prove conducive to his spiritual profit".⁵⁵⁸ Under the terms of his new contract, he was engaged with the CMS for "several years".⁵⁵⁹ He immediately set to work at the press⁵⁶⁰, editing and translating Arabic texts for printing. He gives a graphic picture of himself in this period: "Here is Fāriyāq⁵⁶¹ sitting on a chair, with a table in front of him, on which are many books ... in his fingers is a long pen, and in front of him is an inkwell containing pitch-black ink".⁵⁶² But as well as literary work, he also assisted from time to time with other tasks at the press, such as adjusting punches for the preparation of Arabic type-founts.⁵⁶³

⁵⁵³ Fāris al-Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p.401. Cf. Alwan, *op.cit.*, p.46; Sulh, *op.cit.*, p.43.

⁵⁵⁴ See above, p.190.

⁵⁵⁵ CM/O65/41, Schlienz to Secs., 7.10.1835.

⁵⁵⁶ CM/O65/80, Contract between Fares Shidiak and Schlienz, November 1835.

⁵⁵⁷ Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, pp.401-404 & 415; ABCFM Archives, Misc. Letters: Shidyāq to Smith, 29 Shawwāl 1251 [17.2.1836] (Copy in Tibawi Papers, Oxford), in which Shidyāq stated that he had travelled from Egypt to Malta two months previously. Cf. Tibawi, *op.cit.*, p.75 n.4, where the C.E. date is wrongly given as 17 January 1836.

⁵⁵⁸ CM/L2/386, Coates to Schlienz, 1.1.1836.

⁵⁵⁹ CM/O65/44, Schlienz to Secs., 3.2.1836.

⁵⁶⁰ ABCFM, Shidyāq to Smith, 17.2.1836 (*op.cit.*).

⁵⁶¹ The contraction of his name used throughout his autobiography.

⁵⁶² Shidyāq, *Al-Sāq*, p.426.

⁵⁶³ CM/O18/33, Brenner to Secs., 14.1.1837; CM/O65/47, Schlienz to Secs., 10.3.1837.

After a year Shidyāq had more than proved his worth as an Arabic assistant. There can be little doubt that his experience in Egypt, both as a student of Arabic literature and in the editorial offices of *Al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣrīya*, had greatly increased his usefulness: as the CMS Secretary told Schlienz, "In Phares you have a valuable native Arabic scholar, & we hope you will succeed in inducing him to remain with you".⁵⁶⁴ But he also added that this was especially in view of the impending task of translating the Bible into Arabic; and the following year (1838) Schlienz decided to employ him principally, in collaboration with himself, on this project. To facilitate this, Shidyāq's former pupil Ḥannā 'l-Jāwalī (q.v.) was brought from Egypt to take over the work on the tracts.⁵⁶⁵ However, this switch was by no means immediate or complete, as for the next four years there are frequent references to him continuing to work on other books and tracts, and the books published during this period include a number that are definitely by, or translated by him.⁵⁶⁶ This was no doubt partly because of Schlienz's periodic bouts of mental illness, and journeys away from Malta⁵⁶⁷ : in October 1839, for instance, instructions were specifically given that the Bible translation was to be suspended and Shidyāq employed on other Arabic work until Schlienz returned.⁵⁶⁸

The Bible translation was a project promoted and financed not by the CMS, but by the SPCK, and after Shidyāq had, at any rate nominally, been transferred to this task, there was some confusion as to who was responsible for paying his salary. When Schlienz was ill in Germany in August 1839, his deputy Peter Brenner (q.v.) wrote to the CMS Secretary in London pointing out that the work on the Bible was now held up, that Shidyāq had been engaged on it at the expense of the SPCK, although paid temporarily by the CMS, and was now working on the Book of Homilies, an Arabic version of which had also been sponsored by the SPCK. Should he now continue with the SPCK, rejoin the CMS, or be dismissed altogether? Brenner ventured the opinion that if the last course were adopted, "his talents would

⁵⁶⁴ CM/L2/476, Coates to Schlienz, 26.1.1837.

⁵⁶⁵ CM/O18/46, Brenner to Coates, 4.10.1838; CM/L3/37, Coates to Brenner, 27.10.1838.

⁵⁶⁶ See below, pp.226-227.

⁵⁶⁷ See above, pp.198-201.

⁵⁶⁸ CM/L3/101, Coates to Brenner, 24.10.1839.

be an irretrievable loss for the work of translation".⁵⁶⁹ In response to this, the CMS Secretary agreed that Shidyāq should continue to work on the Homilies, and that he should still be paid by the CMS although translating texts for the SPCK.⁵⁷⁰ It can reasonably be assumed that the CMS, in agreeing to this somewhat irregular arrangement, were motivated primarily by anxiety not to lose his services, especially as at the beginning of that year there had been mention of "efforts made to detach Phares from us", and Schlienz had been instructed to use his "vigilance and influence" to "defeat these machinations".⁵⁷¹ From what quarter these "efforts" came is not clear.

In April 1840 Shidyāq accompanied Schlienz on a visit to Syria and Lebanon, some account of which has already been given.⁵⁷² In the course of it, he paid a secret visit to his family, from whom he had been separated for over thirteen years.⁵⁷³ He also stayed for a while in a Greek Orthodox monastery⁵⁷⁴ where the populace of the surrounding area were taking refuge from the Egyptian army, at that time fighting to retain its hold on Lebanon and Syria. While he was there, intruders entered his cell and removed and read some of his papers, including drafts of his translations, to which they reacted with incomprehension, hostility and derision.⁵⁷⁵ As one of the purposes of the visit was "making [him] ... acquainted with the measure of capacity, with which the books, translated here [in Malta], will be read by them, for whom they are intended"⁵⁷⁶, this must have been a discouraging experience.

After his return to Malta, Shidyāq resumed his work, both on the Bible and on other Arabic translations, continuing to be paid by Schlienz, but now from SPCK funds.⁵⁷⁷ In the summer of 1841 he took a holiday in Tunis, of which he gained a favourable impression⁵⁷⁸; afterwards he sent a panegyric poem to the ruler (the Bāy Aḥmad

⁵⁶⁹ CM/O18/51, Brenner to Coates, 8.8.1839.

⁵⁷⁰ CM/L3/102, Coates to Brenner, 24.10.1839. Brenner confirmed the following month that he was continuing to pay Shidyāq's salary. CM/O18/54, Brenner to Secs., 15.11.1839.

⁵⁷¹ CM/L3/65, Coates to Schlienz, 19.1.1839.

⁵⁷² See above, pp.199-200.

⁵⁷³ Shidyāq, op.cit., Book III, Chapter 12.

⁵⁷⁴ Probably that of Mār Iliyās: see above, p.200, n.450.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., p.475.

⁵⁷⁶ CM/O28/38, Gobat to Coates, 25.4.1840.

⁵⁷⁷ CM/O18/58, Brenner to Coates, 28.8.1840.

⁵⁷⁸ Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.490-491.

b. Muṣṭafā), receiving a reply from his wazīr Muṣṭafā Pasha in February 1842.⁵⁷⁹ By then Shidyāq's future with the CMS in Malta was again in doubt. The SPCK had decided that the Arabic style of the Bible translation might be "too high", and work on it was therefore suspended; but, from the CMS's point of view, "it will probably be desirable to retain a hold on Phares until the question ... shall have been finally settled. Possibly you might advantageously employ him in some editorial work until the point is ascertained".⁵⁸⁰ The reason for the SPCK's doubts about the Bible translation was the criticism of it put forward by Athanasius al-Tutunjī of Aleppo, a Greek Catholic Bishop, who visited London and persuaded the Society to employ him to translate it instead, to Shidyāq's great anger and disgust.⁵⁸¹ In the meantime, Shidyāq was set to work on an Arabic translation of the 16th-century *Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana* by John Jewel, also sponsored by the SPCK.

At about that time Shidyāq wrote to his brother Ṭannūs, with whom he had continued to correspond despite the previous rift between them, reporting on a new mood of uncertainty and pessimism in the Malta establishment, following Schlienz's enforced departure⁵⁸² : "We do not know what will be proposed to us, and it is said that there is no alternative to the complete cessation of printing here; God only knows".⁵⁸³ This is indeed what happened, and in April 1842 the process of winding up the Malta establishment began. The SPCK advised Gobat (q.v.), who was now in charge, to dismiss Shidyāq, but Gobat decided to keep him on for another month, to finish Jewel's *Apology*.⁵⁸⁴ In fact it was not until June that he finished it, amid doubts, raised by Badger (q.v.), over whether the SPCK would pay for the translation, since it was done from an English version (of Jewel's original Latin) not approved by them.⁵⁸⁵ Gobat then promptly dismissed him.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., pp.491-492. Cf. Alwan, op.cit., p.50; Şulḥ, op.cit., p.48.

⁵⁸⁰ CM/L3/225, Coates to Gobat, 31.1.1842.

⁵⁸¹ Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.490sq. Cf. Alwan, pp.49-50; Şulḥ, op.cit., pp.50 sqq.

⁵⁸² See above, p.201.

⁵⁸³ Quoted in Şulḥ, op.cit., p.48.

⁵⁸⁴ CM/O28/48, Gobat to Secs., 27.4.1842.

⁵⁸⁵ Badger had by this time embraced the High Church cause, and was intent on making as much difficulty as possible for Gobat and the CMS. See above, pp.159-160.

⁵⁸⁶ CM/O28/51, Gobat to Secs., 25.6.1842.

Shidyāq was not a man to accept such treatment meekly, and he reacted in characteristically forthright fashion. He immediately wrote a letter of complaint, in English, to the CMS Secretary in London, which is preserved in the archives, and makes very interesting reading.⁵⁸⁷ He started by protesting about his abrupt dismissal "the day before yesterday ... having completed the translation of Jewel's Apology".⁵⁸⁸ Gobat had "told me that the Society had long since ceased to consider me as an agent of theirs, as my connection with them had virtually ceased when I began to be employed in translating the Bible with the Revd. Mr Schlienz".⁵⁸⁹ He went on to point out that he had only transferred his services to that project under instructions from the CMS, and had entered into no engagement with any other body. Moreover, although he had wanted to leave Malta as soon as it was announced that the establishment was to be discontinued, he had been told (by Weiss) to stay on. In view of all this,

"I would now ask whether after so many years services the Society sanction so unceremonious a dismissal of one of their servants who has served them with the best of his power for the last seven years in Malta and three in Egypt ... Had I not fortunately been engaged part of the day as professor of Arabic in the University I should by this dismissal have been deprived of means for my own subsistence and that of my family".

He concluded by hoping that "my services may still be required by Yr. Committee". As well as writing thus to London, Shidyāq also continued to remonstrate with Gobat in Malta, especially after Badger had mischievously suggested that the CMS were bound to pay for his and his family's passage back to Egypt, and that further remuneration was also due from the SPCK; after that, reported Gobat, "Fares leaves me no rest".⁵⁹⁰

The Secretaries in London, however, supported Gobat, and sent instructions that "Phares" was to receive only his "just claims", which did not include his return passage to Egypt, and maintained

⁵⁸⁷ CM/O8/43, Shidyāq to Coates, 16.6.1842. It is written in fine copperplate handwriting.

⁵⁸⁸ It is interesting to note that Shidyāq spelt the author's name correctly, whereas Gobat consistently misspelt it as "Jewell".

⁵⁸⁹ This was a deliberate untruth on the part of the pious Gobat, as his own and other previous correspondence with the CMS clearly reveals.

⁵⁹⁰ CM/O28/51, Gobat to Secs., 25.6.1842.

the view that he had really been employed by the SPCK.⁵⁹¹ Thus were matters left, and there was nothing more that Shidyāq could do about it.

The rest of Shidyāq's career lies beyond the scope of this study, and in any case has been well covered by the researches of Alwan, Şulh and others.⁵⁹² Although he was reported to have left Malta in August 1842⁵⁹³, his absence was only temporary⁵⁹⁴: he stayed in the island, apart from such occasional visits elsewhere, for the next six years. His treatment by the SPCK and CMS continued to rankle, and in March 1844 he sent to both Societies

"an Arabic Poem expressing the ungenerous behaviours of the Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge in not having remunerated me for ten years of faithful service to them and to the Missionary Society, and in having employed in my stead an ignorant person - not withstanding I have addressed them in two letters respecting the numerous grammatical mistakes he has committed".⁵⁹⁵

The "ignorant person" was of course Tutunçî, and the SPCK eventually came to accept that Shidyāq's version was better, and reinstated him.⁵⁹⁶ In this Badger seems to have played a crucial role on behalf of his old colleague, as he was a consultant to the SPCK on Arabic matters during this period.⁵⁹⁷ In 1848 Shidyāq went to England to complete the Bible work.⁵⁹⁸ He travelled extensively in England, and afterwards in France in the 1850s. He also revisited Tunisia, and there embraced Islam. About 1857 he went to Istanbul, where he entered the service of the Sultan and later started an influential Arabic newspaper, *Al-Jawā'ib*, and a publishing house of the same name, as well engaging in literary and linguistic research and controversies. He died in 1887, mourned as one of the greatest Arabic literary figures of the age.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹¹ CM/L3/251-252, Coates to Gobat, 16.7.1842.

⁵⁹² Opp.cit.

⁵⁹³ CM/O28/53, Gobat to Secs., 27.8.1842.

⁵⁹⁴ It may have been on the visit to Italy which he undertook in the company of Abdullah Sami Pasha, a former colleague at *Al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣrīya*. Shidyāq, *Sāq*, Book III, chapter 18. Cf. Alwan, op.cit., p.51; Şulh, op.cit., p.49; Tevetoglu, F. "Sami Paşa, Abdurrahman", *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, cilt XXVIII, Ankara 1980, p.96.

⁵⁹⁵ CM/O8/51, Shidyāq [to CMS Secretaries], 24.3.1844. Alas, the poem itself is not present.

⁵⁹⁶ Shidyāq, *Sāq*, Book III, chapter 19. Cf. Alwan, op.cit., p.51; Şulh, op.cit., pp.56sqq.

⁵⁹⁷ Şulh, op.cit., pp.56-57.

⁵⁹⁸ His version of the Psalter was published in London by the SPCK in 1850, the New Testament in 1851, and the complete Bible in 1857. Darlow & Moule, op.cit., II, p.71: #1680, #1681 & #1684.

⁵⁹⁹ Arberry, op.cit., passim; Alwan, op.cit., pp.52sqq.; Şulh, chapters 5sqq.

Before turning to the books on which Shidyāq worked in Malta, it is worth considering certain further aspects of his life during that period, which may have a bearing on his role there. Firstly, what was the nature of his existence in Malta, and what was his attitude to the place? As far as his first period (1827-28) was concerned, enough has been said already concerning his unhappy condition, and his anxiety to get away. During his second, much longer, stay (1835-48), his position was quite different. No longer a hobbledehoy, married to an evidently vivacious and intelligent wife⁶⁰⁰, and already enjoying some reputation as a scholar and littérateur⁶⁰¹, he had sufficient self-confidence and practical independence to move well beyond the missionary circles to which he was still linked by his work. At the same time he made no attempt to modify or suppress his Arab identity: he and his wife, for instance, made a practice of going about Valletta in their Middle Eastern apparel, initially Egyptian⁶⁰², although he soon sent to Lebanon for "a large Tripoli-style waistband" (*ḥizām Ṭarābulusī kabīr*) and other items.⁶⁰³ This attracted much curious attention among the Maltese⁶⁰⁴, some of whom took him for a Muslim.⁶⁰⁵

Soon after arriving, he started to make social contacts in the British community⁶⁰⁶, and eventually achieved sufficient standing in ruling circles to be regularly invited to such functions as the Governor's fancy-dress ball.⁶⁰⁷ These contacts undoubtedly helped him to achieve more independence from the missionaries, not only socially but also materially, inasmuch as they brought extra employment. In the early 1840s, for instance, he was used as an interpreter in dealings with the Lebanese ruler Amīr Bashīr al-Shihābī, who was exiled in Malta after the restoration of Ottoman

⁶⁰⁰ The character of "Al-Fāriyāqīya" in *Al-Sāq* is that of an independent-minded, lively and extrovert companion, in most respects the antithesis of the conventional stereotype of the submissive and downtrodden Oriental woman.

⁶⁰¹ As'ad al-Khayyāt, who visited Shidyāq in Malta in 1839, referred to him as "my learned friend, the Arabian poet of the age" (*Kayat*, op.cit., p.179). Admittedly Khayyāt's book was not published until 1847, but this was still well before any of Shidyāq's major literary works had appeared. Cf. Alwan, op.cit., pp.48-49.

⁶⁰² Shidyāq, op.cit., p.416.

⁶⁰³ ABCFM: Shidyāq to Smith (op.cit.).

⁶⁰⁴ Shidyāq, *Al-Sāq*, p.416.

⁶⁰⁵ Shidyāq *Wāsīta*, p.26; Cachia, op.cit., p.116.

⁶⁰⁶ Shidyāq, *Al-Sāq*, pp.416-417.

⁶⁰⁷ Shidyāq, *Wāsīta*, p.20; Cachia, op.cit. p.114. Shidyāq says that he would go in his ordinary dress (*bi-zayyī 'l-ma'lūf*), and would still be greeted as one of the revellers.

rule in Lebanon in 1840.⁶⁰⁸ But the most important of these additional jobs was teaching Arabic in local educational institutions. At the Governor's invitation he became in 1833 the first Arabic teacher in the Lyceum⁶⁰⁹ and also in the Government primary school in Valletta.⁶¹⁰ In 1839 he was also appointed Professor of Arabic in the University.⁶¹¹ These part-time posts provided useful extra income for him, and enabled him to survive his abrupt dismissal by the CMS in 1842.

But despite the relatively advantageous position in which he found himself, it seems that Shidyāq did not much like Malta, and was prejudiced against the country and its inhabitants.⁶¹² This emerges fairly clearly both from his book about them (*Al-Wāsiṭa*) and from the references to them in *Al-Sāq*. In the former, he is consistently critical of the manners and customs of the people, and of the lack of amenities.⁶¹³ In the latter, he brings his sarcastic and satirical propensities into play, calling Malta *Jazīrat al-Mulūṭ* ("Island of Scoundrels")⁶¹⁴ and *Jazīrat al-Bukhr* ("Island of Bad Breath")⁶¹⁵, a reference to the poor Arabic spoken there. He accordingly referred to his teaching of Arabic in Malta as *Iṣlāḥ al-Bukhr* or *'Ilāj al-Bukhr* (Rectification or Treatment of Bad Breath).⁶¹⁶

It seems likely that this corruption of his beloved Arabic was the greatest sin of the Maltese in Shidyāq's eyes (or rather, ears), and the cause of most of his antipathy towards them. In his description of Malta he devotes a whole chapter to the Maltese language, describing it as a "branch of the Arabic tree (*dawḥa*), and

⁶⁰⁸ Şulḥ, op.cit., p.47.

⁶⁰⁹ The 1836 Royal Commission on Malta had recommended that Arabic should be encouraged throughout the educational system, starting with the Lyceum, where future teachers might be trained. Keenan, P.J. *Report upon the educational system of Malta*, Dublin 1879, p.77; Camilleri, J.J. "Early Government schools in Malta", *Melita Historica*, 5 (1970), p.262.

⁶¹⁰ Shidyāq, *Al-Sāq*, pp.438sqq.: Cremona, A. *L'antica fondazione della Scuola di Lingua Araba in Malta*, Malta 1955, p.17; Cachia, op.cit., p.62; Fenech, E. "Malta's contribution towards Arabic studies", *Actes du Premier Congrès d'Etudes des Cultures Méditerranéennes d'Influence Arabo-Berbère*, Algiers 1973, p.258; Şulḥ, op.cit., p.44. Cachia states that he held the post of "Preceptor in Arabic".

⁶¹¹ CM/O65/61, Schlienx to Secs., 27.12.1838; *Malta Times* 12 (30.5.1840); CM/O8/43, Shidyāq to Coates, 16.6.1842; Shidyāq *Wāsiṭa*, p.22; Muss-Arnolt, op.cit., p.153. Cachia states that there appears to be no corroboration of this in the University records, but the foregoing sources seem to be conclusive.

⁶¹² He later remarked bitterly that he and his wife "have wasted the flower of our life there, and have not gathered from it any fruit". Quoted in Khalaf Allāh, op.cit., p.29.

⁶¹³ Shidyāq, *Al-Wāsiṭa*, passim. Cachia (op.cit.) gives substantial extracts in translation, and an analysis of the nature of and some of the reasons for his adverse bias. Cf. Alwan, op.cit., p.39.

⁶¹⁴ Shidyāq, *Al-Sāq*, pp.133sqq. This is of course primarily a word-play on the root *m-l-ṭ*, the letters of which are also the consonants occurring in the name *Mālīṭa* (Malta). In *Al-Wāsiṭa* (p.7) he gives the name a more serious and extended etymological treatment.

⁶¹⁵ Shidyāq, *Al-Sāq*, pp.401sqq.

⁶¹⁶ Shidyāq, *Al-Sāq*, p.438 etc. Cf. Alwan, op.cit., p.45 n.144.

a rotten specimen of its fruit (*lit. dates*)" (*shūṣa min tamrihā*)".⁶¹⁷ In the preface to the Arabic primer and reader which he compiled and published in Malta, he expressed his regret that the Maltese had allowed their Arabic to degenerate from its classical purity into an unwritten, purely oral dialect full of confusion and obscurity (*al-iltibās wa 'l-ishtibāh*), and his wish that they should reclaim their linguistic heritage as well as studying foreign (European) languages. "Since they are Arabs by language and Europeans by custom and circumstance," he wrote, they could then "take from Europe those important sciences which have become scarce in our country," and, transmitting them in Arabic, participate in the modernisation and emancipation of the Arabs.⁶¹⁸ This vision of a role for Malta as a focus and meeting point of East and West (*Wāsiṭat 'iqd al-Mashriqayn, wa markaz adlā' al-Khāfiqayn*)⁶¹⁹ was a vivid one, and it is reasonable to suppose that Shidyāq's disappointment with the lack of interest in such a role among the Maltese, and with their indifference to classical Arabic and its culture, contributed to the hostile and contemptuous attitude to them manifested in his later writings.

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Shidyāq's relationship with his missionary employers in Malta was no less difficult. The exact nature of his own religious views, and the way in which they changed over the years, is impossible to determine. He was certainly hostile to Roman Catholicism, especially in its Maronite form, but this hostility seems have sprung from his reaction to the treatment of his brother As'ad by the Maronite hierarchy, and from his disinclination to accept doctrinal or ecclesiastical authority. Whether he ever wholeheartedly accepted evangelical Protestantism is, however, open to doubt. The American missionaries in Beirut with whom he associated in 1826 thought that he "manifested more and more susceptibility of religious impression"⁶²⁰, but they do not appear ever to have regarded him as a thorough-going convert, merely hoping that he would in time become one. However his association with them caused his family and

⁶¹⁷ Shidyāq, *Wāsiṭa*, p.55.

⁶¹⁸ Fāris al-Shidyāq, *Al-Laff fi kull ma nā tarīj*, Malta 1839, p.3.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.3.

⁶²⁰ *Missionary Herald* 23 (1827), p.136.

community to regard him as a heretic⁶²¹ and it was the fear of his being persecuted as such which led to his departure from Lebanon.⁶²² The literary historian Luwīs Shaykhū (Cheikho), whose erroneous biography of Shidyāq has already been mentioned⁶²³, claimed that he merely "feigned Protestantism"⁶²⁴ and furthermore that he reverted to the Catholic faith before his death⁶²⁵; but Shaykhū's account must be suspect, given his role as a Jesuit propagandist and his inaccuracy in other respects.

In Malta the CMS missionaries soon came to doubt his religious integrity, regarding him as "very much in need of a sound knowledge of the Gospel"⁶²⁶ and fearing that he was "under the influence of that love of money which is the root of all evil".⁶²⁷ After his stay in Egypt and his marriage, he appeared to have "become more sober minded"⁶²⁸, but although Schlienz seems to have trusted him⁶²⁹, his more censorious colleague Samuel Gobat took a less favourable view:-

"Poor Phares is sunk very deep in unbelief; but I entertain still some hopes of him. He told me the other day with visible emotion, that if I could help him to believe that the Bible is the Word of God he would consider me as his greatest benefactor. Nevertheless when I come to speak on particular truths or passages I observe in him that want of strict uprightness which I think is common to all unbelievers ... Still I think that, as far as he is conscious of it, he is an upright man; he will therefore translate passages directly opposed to his individual opinion as faithfully as he possibly can".⁶³⁰

One may conclude from this that Shidyāq held no very clear religious views at this time, although he was probably less antagonistic to the missionary viewpoint than he later became. In his autobiography, however, he is full of scorn and sarcasm

⁶²¹ Ibid., p.371.

⁶²² Ibid., pp.371-372; Shidyāq, *Sāq*, pp.132-133.

⁶²³ See above, p.205.

⁶²⁴ "Tazāhara bi 'l-dīn al-Burūtistānī" - Shaykhū, *Al-ādāb al-'Arabiya fī 'l-qarn al-sāsi' 'ashar*, Vol.2, 2nd ed. Beirut 1926, p.86.

⁶²⁵ Ibid., pp.86-87.

⁶²⁶ CM/O65/1, Schlienz to Secs., 24.5.1827.

⁶²⁷ CM/O39/110, Jowett: "Memorandum of Instruction", 24.4.1828.

⁶²⁸ CM/O65/44, Schlienz to Secs., 3.2.1836.

⁶²⁹ Schlienz had a much higher opinion of Shidyāq than most of the other missionaries. As early as 1828 he wrote that "nearly in every thing I translate with him or teach him he proves a touch-stone to me". CM/O65/4a, Schlienz to Jowett, 20.5.1828.

⁶³⁰ CM/O28/37, Gobat to Coates, 20.2.1840.

concerning the missionaries. Throughout the book he calls them *Khurjīs*, who carry around their doctrines and beliefs in a saddle-bag (*khurj*) and offer everyone a share in them.⁶³¹ He is scathing about their lack of knowledge of and interest in good Arabic style: "it is one of the peculiarities of the Christian religion," he wrote, "that its books should be in as feeble and corrupt a style as possible (*rakīka wa fāsida mā amkana*), because the strength of the religion requires conformity (*muṭābaqa*) to be attained". He goes on to explain his own complicity in missionary work by saying that "since God afflicted me with the company of these ignoble fellows, I had no alternative but to be polite to them and adapt myself to them until He should grant me escape from them".⁶³² Even if one makes full allowance for the use of hindsight (*Al-Sāq* was written about ten years after he had ceased to work for the CMS and either just after or just before he had converted to Islam), it is still clear that his relationship with the missionaries must have been, to say the least, an ambivalent one.

It is not surprising, therefore, that his employers found him to be "of a somewhat peculiar temper, & can only be rightly managed by persons who thoroughly know him, & can adapt themselves so as to keep him in good humour".⁶³³ He later sarcastically referred to his work for them as the "interpretation of dreams" (*ta'bīr al-aḥlām*) and their establishment in Malta as the "interpretation factory" (*ma'bar*).⁶³⁴ Alwan suggests a number of possible reasons for his use of this terminology, including pure ridicule and the unreality of the missionaries' ideas and aims⁶³⁵: these suggestions seem quite plausible, and both these elements were no doubt present. But it is necessary to bear in mind also that word-play was almost an obsession with Shidyāq, and the fact that *ta'bīr* (dream interpretation) is an anagram of *ta'rīb* (translation into Arabic) is probably significant, especially in view of the fact that he later elaborated a theory of metathesis (*qalb*) and interchangeability

⁶³¹ Shidyāq, *Sāq*, pp.130-131. This is in contrast with the Roman Catholics, whom he calls *Sūqīs*, because they seek to corner the market (*sūq*) with their doctrines, and make everyone dependent on the *Shaykh al-Sūq*, i.e. the Pope. Cf. Şawāyā, op.cit., p.24 n.1; Alwan, op.cit., p.45 n.145.

⁶³² Shidyāq, *Sāq*, p.180.

⁶³³ CM/O65/63, Schlienz to Secs., 6.3.1839. Gobat also reported that he was "of a difficult temper" - CM/O28/35, Gobat to Coates, 3.11.1839.

⁶³⁴ Shidyāq, *Sāq*, Book III, chapter 8sqq.

⁶³⁵ Alwan, op.cit., p.46 n.146.

(*ibdāl*) of root letters.⁶³⁶ But however that may be, despite his contempt for the work of translating religious tracts, he needed the employment which it gave him, and therefore did it to the best of his ability. "As a translator," Gobat was obliged to admit even when he discharged him, "he has always been faithful and active".⁶³⁷ The missionaries equally needed him in order to produce Arabic books of an acceptable standard; and so a mutual dependence existed which kept together, for a period of almost nine years, persons whose motives, temperaments and outlook were otherwise quite incompatible.

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We can now consider briefly what books Shidyāq produced or helped to produce in Malta. The assertion of Jurjī Zaydān that "there hardly exists any book printed at the Malta press of which he was not the author, translator or editor"⁶³⁸ is palpable nonsense, of which the chronology of his life and the existence of two other Arab translators there (Rassām and Jāwalī) provide sufficient refutation; but unfortunately it has been repeated by a number of scholars, who have allowed it to distort their assessment of Shidyāq's literary career⁶³⁹ and to make false attributions: more than one writer, for instance, has assumed, quite wrongly, that he translated Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (*Qisṣat Rūbinṣun Kurūzī*, Malta 1835).⁶⁴⁰

The books on which Shidyāq did work in Malta can be divided into three categories. Firstly, there were translations of religious works, in which he assisted, but rarely assumed sole responsibility. Among these were the commentaries on the Parables (mainly by Schlienz) of 1828 (*Amthāl Rabbinā Yasū' al-Masīḥ wa tafsīruhā*⁶⁴¹), and probably some of the other works published around that time, such as the "selection of Psalms set in metre", translated direct from the Hebrew (*Ba'd ma:āmīr ustukhrijat min al-lugha al-'Ibrānīya ilā 'l-lugha al-'Arabīya*, Malta

⁶³⁶ Fāris al-Shidyāq, *Sirr al-layāl fī 'l-qalb wa 'l-ibdāl*, Istanbul 1284 [1867/68], passim. The work is a thesaurus of Arabic etymology. Cf. Alwan, op.cit., p.233, #35; Haywood, op.cit., p.56.

⁶³⁷ CM/O28/51, Gobat to Secs., 25.6.1842.

⁶³⁸ Jurjī Zaydān, *Tarājim: mashāhīr al-Sharq fī 'l-qarn al-tāsi' 'ashar*, Vol.2, Cairo 1903, p.83.

⁶³⁹ E.g. Ṣawāyā, op.cit., p.25; Jurj Hārūn, "Al-Shidyāq rā'id al-ḥurūfiyyāt fī fikrinā 'l-ḥadīth", *Ḥiwār*, 6 (1963), p.86; Schidiak, op.cit., pp.19-20 & 70-71; and unfortunately Alwan (op.cit., p.177) in his otherwise accurate and perceptive study.

⁶⁴⁰ Moosa, M. "The translation of Western fiction into Arabic", *Islamic Quarterly*, 14 (1970), p.211; id., *The origins of modern Arabic fiction*, Washington 1983, p.72; Alwan, op.cit., p.177. The latter considered that it may have influenced the concept of *Al-Sāq*.

⁶⁴¹ CM/O39/99, Jowett to Secs., 8.12.1827. Item 19 in Appendix A below.

1828).⁶⁴² Şulḥ considers that Shidyāq did not translate nor edit any books during his first stay in Malta, and that if he had, he would have found their language to be "of extreme feebleness and weakness of construction"⁶⁴³ , but the CMS archives, which Şulḥ did not consult, show clearly that he did⁶⁴⁴ : Şulḥ's strictures, however, most likely relate to the tracts prepared and published in 1826, under Gobat's supervision⁶⁴⁵ and before Shidyāq's first arrival.

During Shidyāq's second period, after his return from Egypt, he worked on the hymn book of 1837, with its pioneering use of modern verse form⁶⁴⁶ , on the life of Luther (*Qiṣṣat Martīn Lūthir*, 1840)⁶⁴⁷ , on Keith's *Evidence of the truth* (*Al-bayyina al-jalīya 'alā ṣiḥḥat dīn al-Naṣrānīya* [1840]), the problems of which will be considered later⁶⁴⁸ , and the Church of England *Book of Common Prayer* (*Kitāb al-Ṣalawāt al-'Āmma*, 1840), whose fastidious revision by Shidyāq is also noted in a later chapter.⁶⁴⁹ All these were stated by Schlienz to have been "translated by Mr Fares, with the aid of myself & Mr Badger".⁶⁵⁰ He also prepared a new edition (in large type) of the Parables with commentaries, on which he had originally worked in 1827; being "not pleased with the style of the former edition", he revised them, and "the language has gained by it, without injuring the contents".⁶⁵¹

The second category comprises works edited or translated by Shidyāq for "secular" didactic purposes. These include his further revision of Ṭaḥṭāwī's revision of Mitchell's geography catechism (*Kitāb al-Kanz al-Mukhtār*, 1836)⁶⁵² , and his translation of Mavor's *Elements of natural history* (*Sharḥ ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān*, 1841)⁶⁵³ , which is the only translated work to bear his name.⁶⁵⁴ Both of these will be considered further in Chapter 7 below.⁶⁵⁵ It is almost certain, though there is

⁶⁴² Item 20 in Appendix A. Schlienz or Jowett would no doubt have made the initial renderings, as it is unlikely that Shidyāq knew Hebrew at this stage; but the Arabic versification can hardly have been by anyone but Shidyāq.

⁶⁴³ "Gḥāyat al-rakāka wa ḍu'f al-tarkīb" - Şulḥ, op.cit., p.33.

⁶⁴⁴ See above, p.208.

⁶⁴⁵ See above, pp.170-171.

⁶⁴⁶ See below, p.240; item 76 in Appendix A below. Cf. Şulḥ, op.cit., p.45.

⁶⁴⁷ CM/O65/61, Schlienz to Secs., 27.12.1838. Item 101 in Appendix A below.

⁶⁴⁸ See below, p.242. Item 96 in Appendix A below.

⁶⁴⁹ See below, pp.240-241. Cf. Muss-Arnolt, op.cit., p.153; Şulḥ, op.cit., p.44.

⁶⁵⁰ CM/O65/61, Schlienz to Secs., 27.12.1838.

⁶⁵¹ CM/O28/37, Gobat to Coates, 20.2.1840. Item 93 in Appendix A below.

⁶⁵² Item 70 in Appendix A below.

⁶⁵³ Item 108 in Appendix A below.

⁶⁵⁴ "Li-mutarjimihī Fāris al-Shidyāq" at the foot of a poem of his composition which concludes the book, p.349.

⁶⁵⁵ A translation of Shidyāq's introduction to the latter book is to be found in Appendix C below.

no direct evidence, that Shidyāq also edited and provided the footnotes for the 1836 edition of Farḥāt's *Baḥth al-Maṭālib*⁶⁵⁶ : his approach is considered further below (pp.243-244). He is likely to have selected it as a suitable basic teaching grammar for use both in his own classes in Valletta and in Christian schools in the Middle East⁶⁵⁷ : he later remarked (in a somewhat derogatory vein) that in Lebanon those who had read it reckoned that they had fully grasped Arabic without need of any other books of lexicography, literature or commentaries.⁶⁵⁸

The third category consists of works written or compiled by Shidyāq himself. These were also "secular" didactic works. In 1836 he wrote and published an English grammar in Arabic, entitled *Al-Bākūra al-shahīya fī naḥw al-lugha al-Inkilīziya*⁶⁵⁹ ; in 1839 appeared his primer and reader entitled *Al-Laffī fī kull ma'nā ṭarīf*⁶⁶⁰ , in which he pioneered the practical, graduated method of teaching Arabic.⁶⁶¹ In the latter he refers to his own role in supervising the printing and correcting errors, and apologises for his shortcomings in this respect, asking forgiveness for the defects which the use of the book will reveal.⁶⁶² Then in 1840 the *Arabic and English grammatical exercises and familiar dialogues (Kitāb al-muhāwara al-unsīya fī lughatayn al-Inkilīziya wa 'l-'Arabīya)*⁶⁶³ was published, written by Shidyāq and Badger as a companion to *Al-Bākūra al-shahīya*. All these three books will be considered more fully in Chapter 7 below.

It remains to mention several books which Shidyāq is recorded as having worked on, but which do not seem to have been published. As has already been mentioned⁶⁶⁴ , he translated the whole of Jewel's *Apology* into Arabic before being dismissed in 1842; he had also translated *The Christian records, or a short and plain history of the Christian church* (London, 1817) in 1837⁶⁶⁵ , Hartley's *Geography for Upper Schools* in 1838⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁵⁶ Item 69 in Appendix A below.

⁶⁵⁷ Şulḥ, op.cit., pp.44-45.

⁶⁵⁸ Shidyāq, *Sāq*, p.221.

⁶⁵⁹ Item 71 in Appendix A below.

⁶⁶⁰ Item 85 in Appendix A below.

⁶⁶¹ Şawāyā, op.cit., p.43.

⁶⁶² Shidyāq, *Laffī*, p.299.

⁶⁶³ Item 92 in Appendix A below.

⁶⁶⁴ See above, p.217.

⁶⁶⁵ CM/O65/47, Schlienz to Secs., 10.3.1837.

⁶⁶⁶ CM/O65/61, Schlienz to Secs., 27.12.1838.

and the *Book of Homilies* (for the SPCK) in 1839.⁶⁶⁷ Mention must also be made of the projected English-Arabic dictionary, of which a "third part" was "prepared for the press" in 1838 by Shidyāq and Badger, with continuation by Jāwali⁶⁶⁸ : as previously mentioned, this was the nucleus of Badger's later large-scale *English-Arabic lexicon* (London, 1881), on the preparation of which Shidyāq continued to provide advice in later years.⁶⁶⁹

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One of Shidyāq's biographers has made the valid point that his role as an *editor* at the Malta press was in many respects a continuation of his former trade as a copyist of manuscripts in Lebanon, whereas his work as a *translator* was much more significant, as it laid the foundation for his philological and literary endeavours in developing the Arabic language.⁶⁷⁰ As can be seen from the foregoing summary of his output, the latter activity occupied him to a much greater extent than the former. So what contribution did Shidyāq's Malta publications make to 19th-century Arabic language and literature? A full answer to this question, involving as it does matters of linguistics and of literary criticism, would lie outside the scope of this study. It will be sufficient here to point to three main areas in which these books may have some significance.

Firstly, it is generally recognised that Shidyāq's style marks a turning-point in the development of Arabic prose. On the one hand it is deeply rooted in the classical traditions, imbibed both through his early work as a copyist and through his learning and reading in Egypt: this made him vehement in his opposition to *rakāka* (feebleness or insipidity of style), which he detected especially in previous Christian literature, particularly missionary works.⁶⁷¹ His reaction was to favour a "high" style, full of classical, sometimes quite obscure, words and constructions, which sometimes led to criticism from his evangelical superiors: "Amongst one thousand who can read, not more than two will be able to understand the greatest part of it ... many important truths have lost more or less of their power

⁶⁶⁷ CM/O18/51, Brenner to Coates, 8.8.1839.

⁶⁶⁸ CM/O65/61, Schlienzt to Secs., 27.12.1838.

⁶⁶⁹ See above, p.162.

⁶⁷⁰ Khalaf Allāh, *op.cit.*, p.84.

⁶⁷¹ Shidyāq, *Sāq*, Book II, ch.3: see passage quoted above, p.224, & many other passages in which he inveighs against it.

under the accumulation of technical and grammatical forms, or by being clothed in the language of the Coran".⁶⁷² But when preparing text-books for children and students, a quite new activity in Arabic, he was obliged to adopt a much simpler and more straightforward mode of expression, while at the same time maintaining correct constructions and usages, and avoiding *rakāka*. This led to what Haywood calls a "tug-of-war between the ornate and the simple" in his writing, which came to characterise the rest of his output, even after he had left Malta.⁶⁷³ This creative tension, which can also be found in other 19th-century Arabic writing under the influence of the printing press, new educational methods, and new subject-matter emanating partly from Europe, was one of the factors giving rise to the literary and intellectual revival (*nahḍa*) of the latter part of the century.⁶⁷⁴

Secondly, Shidyāq's widely acknowledged contribution to the lexical development of modern Arabic⁶⁷⁵ originated and developed in the course of his work in Malta. The need to create new Arabic words and expressions for new and alien concepts became clearer to him the more he worked on translating English texts. His views on the matter are well summarised in the preface to one of his Malta books:-

"Since the intention in printing this book was to maximise [its] usefulness to its readers, and to facilitate the expression of what a sojourn [abroad] requires and necessitates, we have included in it certain words which are now current in some Arabic forms of speech (but not others), and for which no equivalents could be discovered in classical Arabic (*al-'Arabīya al-fushā*) ... and that is so as to execute the translation aright, and to provoke the Arabs into putting into circulation new post-classical (*muwallad*) expressions which will save them from choking on foreign jargon and protect them from an inundation of it".⁶⁷⁶

Shidyāq's approach to the creation of new nomenclature in the natural sciences, as exemplified in his translation of Mavor's *Elements of natural history*, will be considered further in Chapter 7.⁶⁷⁷ But

⁶⁷² CM/O28/38, Gobat to Coates, 25.4.1840 (referring to Keith's *Al-bayyina al-jalīya*).

⁶⁷³ Haywood, *op.cit.*, p.57.

⁶⁷⁴ Cf. Peled, M. "Creative translation", *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 10 (1979), pp.136-137.

⁶⁷⁵ Bustānī, *op.cit.*, X, p.430; Zāfir al-Qāsimī, "Muṣṭalahāt Shidyāqīya", *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī*, 40 (1965), pp.431-451; Alwan, *op.cit.*, pp.207-211.

⁶⁷⁶ Shidyāq & Badger, *Muḥāwara* (*op.cit.*), Malta 1840, pp.3-4.

⁶⁷⁷ Pp.253-254 below.

the problem extended beyond material and "scientific" terminology to metaphorical and metaphysical usages also. It is reported that, when translating Keith's *Evidence of the truth*, he was "puzzled continually, not knowing how to render the imagery in which the meaning was clothed in the English original, because that imagery consisted ... of terms derived from divers kinds of mechanism".⁶⁷⁸ European abstract and political terms also presented translation problems which required fresh solutions.⁶⁷⁹ It is therefore clear that Shidyāq's interest in lexical development and in lexicography, which persisted throughout the rest of his life⁶⁸⁰ had their origin in the work of his Malta period.

Thirdly, and less importantly, Shidyāq's prowess as a poet also played a part in his Malta career. In 1836, Schlienz, when reporting the preparation of an Arabic hymn-book (published in 1837), stated that "Fares has put it again into long metre ... Fares' services are of the first importance herein. Already 8 years ago his talent as a Poet was admired by his countrymen⁶⁸¹, & he has since had much exercise".⁶⁸² The importance of these renderings in the development of modern Arabic poetry has been emphasised by Shmuel Moreh in his book on the subject⁶⁸³, and no further analysis will be attempted here. Shidyāq also appended an original poem to his translation of Mavor's *Elements of natural history*.⁶⁸⁴

As well as Arabic, Shidyāq knew several other languages.⁶⁸⁵ These included, of course, English, from which all his Malta translations were done, and of which he wrote and published a grammar for Arab students (*Al-Bākūra al-shahīya*, Malta 1836); and also Turkish, in which at one point he assisted in proof-reading, along with Yusuf Efendi (q.v.).⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁷⁸ Gobat & others, op.cit., pp.189-190.

⁶⁷⁹ In *Al-Bākūra al-shahīya*, for example, "democratic" is rendered as *shu'ūbī*. Rebhan, op.cit., p.72. In *Al-Muhāwara al-unsīya* (p.151) Shidyāq also gives as an alternative the word *junhūrī*, the use of which in this sense (as opposed to its more common meaning of "republican") Rebhan attributes to European lexicographers (including Shidyāq's Malta colleague Badger).

⁶⁸⁰ Haywood, op.cit., p.56.

⁶⁸¹ As previously noted, As'ad al-Khayyā, who visited Shidyāq in Malta in 1839, called him the "Arabian poet of the age". Kayat, op.cit., p.179. Cf. Alwan, op.cit., p.48.

⁶⁸² CM/O65/44, Schlienz to Sæss., 3.2.1836.

⁶⁸³ Moreh, S. *Modern Arabic Poetry 1800-1970*, Leiden 1976, pp.25-43. See below, p.240.

⁶⁸⁴ Mavor, *Sharḥ ṭabā'i' al-kayawān*, Malta 1841, pp.348-349.

⁶⁸⁵ Alwan, op.cit., p.195.

⁶⁸⁶ CM/O65/60, Schlienz to Sæss., 26.12.1838. See above, p.167.

THORN, Robert

Composer, 1830s

In Weiss's report of August 1833, as well as Savier Vassalli (q.v.), mention is made of a composer called Robert Thorn.⁶⁸⁷ But no further information is traceable concerning him, although it may be surmised that he was one of the locally recruited English, or as Kitto called them "Anglo-Maltese"⁶⁸⁸, employees.

VASSALLI, Savier

Arabic composer, 1830s

In August 1833, Weiss wrote a brief report on the staff in the printing office, which included the remark: "Saverio is becoming a good arabic composer".⁶⁸⁹ This was Savier Vassalli, one of the sons of the great Maltese philologist Mikiel Anton Vassalli, who had collaborated with the CMS in producing Maltese translations, and had published his Maltese grammar and proverbs at their press.⁶⁹⁰ He had died in 1829 in some poverty, and his sons were adopted by Schlienz on behalf of the Society, educated, and eventually given employment at the press.⁶⁹¹ With his elder brother Gabriel, Savier later took over Weiss's press, with the CMS types, when the latter finally departed from Malta in 1845⁶⁹²; but by 1847 he had left and opened his own printing-office. Later, it seems, he emigrated from Malta⁶⁹³, like so many of his compatriots in that period.

WEISS, Matthäus

Missionary-printer, 1829-42

Weiss was another of the Basle missionaries seconded to the CMS. Where and when he received his training as a printer is not clear, but he was chosen in 1828 to succeed Köllner (q.v.) in charge of the printing office in Malta.⁶⁹⁴ In view of the difficulties experienced with his three predecessors, he was required to pledge himself before his departure "to answer the expectations of the Committee, and to satisfy the wishes of those with whom I shall be connected in Malta".⁶⁹⁵ This he seems to have done, giving faithful service at his post there until the Malta establishment was wound up in 1842.

⁶⁸⁷ CM/O67/6, Weiss to Jowett, 28.8.1833

⁶⁸⁸ Ryland, op.cit., p.262.

⁶⁸⁹ CM/O67/6, Weiss to Jowett, 28.8.1833.

⁶⁹⁰ Items 16 & 26 in Appendix A.

⁶⁹¹ Cremona, A. *Vassalli and his times*, tr. M. Butcher, Malta 1940, pp.117-118.

⁶⁹² See below, pp.233 & 319.

⁶⁹³ Cremona, op.cit., pp.120 & 122.

⁶⁹⁴ CM/L1/198, Jowett (London) to Schlienz, 5.11.1828.

⁶⁹⁵ CM/O67/2, Weiss (London) to Committee, 10.12.1828.

Weiss arrived in Malta on 1 July 1829, with instructions "to bring this your [printing] establishment to the highest degree of efficiency compared with the greatest degree of practical economy".⁶⁹⁶ This he immediately set about doing, and his description of the state of the printing office at the end of that year, as we have seen, contrasts markedly with that given by Kitto in a letter of 1827⁶⁹⁷ ; although, as we have also seen, he was by no means entirely satisfied with the level of efficiency achieved.⁶⁹⁸ Despite recurring difficulties during the 1830s, both with types and with workers⁶⁹⁹ , he kept the Press turning out Arabic and other books and tracts for most of the time, and his employers, it seems, were well satisfied with his efforts. "The improvement of all that pertains to your department of labour", wrote Jowett from London in 1836, with his usual pompous condescension, "is very encouraging".⁷⁰⁰

As well as overseeing the normal working of the press, Weiss himself participated in operations such as adjusting the punches for the preparation of matrices.⁷⁰¹ He also engaged in other activities which appear to have been well beyond the terms of his employment, but permitted by the CMS insofar as they were compatible with its aims. One of these was the launch of a weekly periodical called the *Malta Penny Magazine*, which, as we shall see, occasionally included Arabic.⁷⁰² This carried the imprint "M.Weiss ... sold at 97 Str. Forni", but it was of course printed at the CMS press, and Weiss seems to have been the editor as well as the printer. In 1841, however, in its second year of publication, the Committee in London expressed a wish that Weiss should discontinue it and concentrate on the main printing business. To this he felt obliged to accede, but at the same time requested an increase in salary to help pay for the education of his children, etc.⁷⁰³ He had also apparently been supplementing his income by bookselling, according to advertisements for English books for sale at "Mr Weiss' bookdepot, 97. Strada

⁶⁹⁶ CM/O67/3, Weiss to Secs., 25.7.1829; CM/O65/12, Schlienz to Secs., 27.7.1829.

⁶⁹⁷ See above, p.151.

⁶⁹⁸ See above, p.150.

⁶⁹⁹ See above, pp.113 & 150.

⁷⁰⁰ CM/L2/411, Jowett to Weiss, 9.4.1836.

⁷⁰¹ CM/O18/33, Brenner to Secs., 14.1.1837; CM/O65/47, Schlienz to Secs., 10.3.1837.

⁷⁰² See below, p.260.

⁷⁰³ CM/O67/17, Weiss to Coates, 15.11.1841. Rassām had informed Palmer in 1837 that Weiss received a salary of £300 a year - not ungenerous by the standards of the time. Lambeth Palace MS 2821, p.196.

Forni", which appeared on the covers of the *Malta Penny Magazine*.

When the CMS decided to dispose of the press in 1842, it was at first proposed to sell it to Weiss himself.⁷⁰⁴ But in the event, he took over only part of the equipment and *matériel*, with which he continued some printing after the final demise of the CMS Malta establishment, as well as continuing to handle some of their stock. These activities, and the negotiations which preceded and accompanied them, will be considered in Chapter 9 below.

In the end, having failed, it seems, to establish a viable printing business in Malta on his own account, or under the patronage of others, Weiss appealed to the CMS to re-employ him elsewhere, and he eventually left Malta in 1845 for London, to consult with them. They decided to appoint him to their mission at Tinnevely in south India, and he departed thither at the end of that year, making a final call at Malta in January 1846 on the way, and leaving instructions for his tools to be sent to Madras.⁷⁰⁵ He died at Tinnevely in the following year.⁷⁰⁶

YUSUF Efendi

Turkish translator & editor, 1836 & 1839

After the arrival of Fjellstedt (q.v.) in İzmir in 1836, he expressed his regret "that Juseph Effendi, the excellent Turkish Master, who was here, is gone to to Malta or perhaps to England". He went on to describe him as "a learned & very superior man" although "not yet a christian", and "invaluable to us here", being "very much attached to Mr Jetter".⁷⁰⁷ Of his background we know nothing, not even his full name, but he was evidently recruited by Jetter in İzmir, to teach him Turkish, some time in the early 1830s. Yusuf did indeed go to Malta in 1836, where he still was in July of that year⁷⁰⁸, presumably in connection with plans for future Turkish printing.

By February 1837 he was back in İzmir, but had left the mission after quarrelling with Jetter and Fjellstedt. The latter complained not only about his refusal to embrace Christianity, but also about his literary propensities, "it being impossible to make him deviate

⁷⁰⁴ CM/L3/222-223, Coates to Schlienz, 15.1.1842; CM/O67/18, Weiss to Coates, 24.2.1842.

⁷⁰⁵ CM/O67/37, Weiss to Coates, 31.1.1846.

⁷⁰⁶ Church Missionary Society, *Centenary Volume, 1799-1899*, London 1902, p.621, #142.

⁷⁰⁷ CM/O25/3, Fjellstedt to Coates, 15.4.1836.

⁷⁰⁸ CM/L2/433, Coates to Jetter & Fjellstedt, 14.7.1836.

from the mixed bombastic stile [*sic*], even in simple compositions intended for children".⁷⁰⁹ At the beginning of the following year, however, Fjellstedt re-employed him, despite new difficulties arising from his living at a long distance from the mission premises, and began work with him on a "General History adapted for the use of Turkish schools" (never published). He considered that Yusuf was at this time, although outwardly still a Muslim, inclined towards Protestant Christianity, even if this was partly because he wanted to marry an Armenian woman in a Protestant church.⁷¹⁰ By March he had in fact married, professed Protestantism, and was residing in the mission.⁷¹¹ He continued for the next year to work with Fjellstedt on Turkish texts for printing.⁷¹² In May 1838 the latter suggested that Yusuf should go to Malta and work with Schlienz in translating and printing "some useful works either such as exist in English or such as Mr Schlienz should think suitable to write himself. This could very easily be done because Yousuf E. knows now English". He added that "Mr Schlienz values Yousouf E. very highly and encouraged me to do all that I could 'to secure his valuable services' ".⁷¹³ Schlienz must have formed this opinion during Yusuf's visit to Malta in 1836.

But Fjellstedt's suggestion was not at that time acted upon, and Yusuf was still in Izmir in July 1839, having, according to Fjellstedt, "been spoilt again ... & I fear he will be difficult to manage".⁷¹⁴ The latter determined to take him to Malta forthwith, "that we may go on with our work".⁷¹⁵ They accordingly set out, and arrived in Malta at the beginning of September.⁷¹⁶ There Yusuf set to work in the printing office and was said by Fjellstedt to be "going on pretty satisfactorily", although the latter complained about the difficulties in type-setting and proof-reading caused by the "vagueness" of Yusuf's orthography; but he took more care after Fjellstedt insisted on it.⁷¹⁷

⁷⁰⁹ CM/O25/11, Fjellstedt to Coates, 24.2.1837.

⁷¹⁰ CM/O25/13, Fjellstedt to Secs., 4.1.1838.

⁷¹¹ CM/O25/14, Fjellstedt to Coates, 15.3.1838.

⁷¹² CM/O25/17, Fjellstedt to Coates, 7.1.1839.

⁷¹³ CM/O25/16, Fjellstedt to Secs., 26.5.1838.

⁷¹⁴ CM/O25/18, Fjellstedt to Coates, 25.7.1839.

⁷¹⁵ Ibid.

⁷¹⁶ CM/O25/19, Fjellstedt to Coates, 5.9.1839.

⁷¹⁷ CM/O25/20, Fjellstedt to Coates, 16.10.1839.

As we have seen, lack of types prevented any further progress with Turkish printing after three works had been seen through the press⁷¹⁸ , and Yusuf and Fjellstedt therefore left Malta and returned to İzmir at the end of 1839.⁷¹⁹ Of Yusuf's subsequent life and career nothing is known.

⁷¹⁸ See above, p.167.

⁷¹⁹ CM/O25/21, Fjellstedt to Coates, 9.1.1840.

7. THE NATURE & CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MALTA ARABIC PUBLICATIONS

7.1 The texts

Of the publications using Arabic script printed in Malta in the first half of the 19th century, 111 separate editions are identifiable either in extant copies or in archive references, of which 103 are in, or make use of, Arabic and 8 are in Ottoman Turkish. An Arabic newspaper was also published. These editions are enumerated in Appendix A below.

7.1.1 Religious works

As the press was financed, established and run primarily for missionary purposes, it is not surprising to find that the majority of the texts published are Christian religious works. In fact 66 of the editions can be thus categorised, representing 59% of the total. Of these 23 are Biblical, 23 can be classed as works of piety or ethics, 11 are specifically Protestant polemics or Protestant versions of Church history, 6 are liturgical or devotional, and 3 are apologetic or homiletic. As has previously been explained in the discussion of the Press's policies, they were aimed primarily at Arabophone Christians.¹

The Biblical texts are all short extracts: the three Epistles of St John (1828); selected parables from the Gospels, sometimes with extensive commentaries (1828, 1829, 1831 and 1840); the First Epistle of St Peter (ca.1837); the Proverbs of Solomon, with accompanying French version (1834); selected Psalms (1828); selected historical extracts (1833); and selected verses (1835 and 1840). The text of all these is taken from the Arabic Bible published by the Propaganda at Rome in 1671, and reprinted with some corrections by the British and Foreign Bible Society in London in 1822.² The BFBS had been advised, as we have seen, that this was the only version generally acceptable to members of the Eastern churches, whether Uniate or Orthodox.³ This policy was clearly adopted by William Jowett, first director of the Press, who had been actively involved

¹ See above, pp.128-129.

² See above, p.76.

³ See above, p.95.

in the Malta Bible Society.⁴

The Church Missionary Society, however, had no wish to compete with the Bible Society in the production of complete Bibles or Testaments, or substantial parts thereof, and restricted itself to these short extracts designed primarily for use in schools as textbooks. In fact the Malta Bible Society had granted Jowett an Arabic Bible in April 1825 specifically "for the purpose of reprinting portions".⁵ Later, as we have seen, Schlienz and Shadyāq did embark upon a new Arabic translation of the Bible while working for the CMS in Malta, but it was never published there.⁶

In addition, there were a number of works designed as commentaries on, or guides to, the Bible (1833 and 1840), and as epitomes of Bible history (1830 and 1832). One of the latter, the *Mukhtaṣar tawārīkh al-muqaddasa* of 1830, is a reprint of the translation of Ostervald's *Abrégé de l'histoire sainte* originally published by the SPCK in London in 1728⁷, and, as in that edition, is followed by a catechism, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer. The very last work printed at the Press in 1842⁸ also comes into this category, being a Biblical catechism.

Most of the works of piety and ethics are translations of tracts originally published in English by the Religious Tract Society, which contributed financially to their translation and publication in Arabic by the CMS.⁹ Being designed originally to be read by the semi-educated working classes and lower middle classes in England, and set very much in an English social context, they were remarkably unsuitable for an Arab readership. This was soon realised by the missionaries who tried to make use of them, and tracts of this sort ceased to be published after the early 1830s: the last seems to have been, appropriately enough, *Ṭarīq al-najā* (*The way of escape*), 1834. In that year, however, a much more substantial work was published, the Arabic translation by Schlienz and Rassām of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's progress* (*Kitāb Siyāḥat al-Masīhī*).¹⁰ The only other publication in this

⁴ See above, pp.77sqq.

⁵ Malta Bible Society Minutes, 22.4.1825.

⁶ See above, pp.132-133, 197sqq. & 215sqq.

⁷ It had already been reprinted by the CMS in London in 1815. See above, pp.70 & 100-101.

⁸ CM/O28/52, Gobat to Secs., 27.7.1842.

⁹ CM/L1/188, Jowett (in London) to Schlienz (see above, p.133); Jones, W. *The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society*, London 1850, pp.372 & 375.

¹⁰ See below, p.255.

category was a devotional tract called *Qiṣṣat al-Ṣalīb* (Story of the Cross) in 1840.

The Protestant polemics and Church histories were also for the most part translations from English or German. They include the *Protestant memorials* of the Anglican polemicist Thomas Hartwell Horne (1841), an anonymous biography of Martin Luther (1840), and the Church histories of Christian Gottlob Barth (1841) and the 18th-century evangelical Joseph Milner (1839). Both the last two were abridgements of the originals. The Church of England Catechism and 39 Articles were also published in Arabic in 1839, or rather republished, since they had previously been printed in Oxford in Pococke's translation as early as 1671.¹¹

These works were all no doubt intended to promote the Protestant faith in a general way among Arab Christians, and to combat Roman Catholic influence among them, although they were not originally written for this purpose. When the Catholic historian Crivelli referred to the Arabic missionary books from Malta as "opuscoli, libri e foglietti, molto ingiuriosi alla Chiesa Cattolica"¹², he no doubt had these partly in mind; but he was probably referring more particularly to four works written by the American Congregationalist missionaries in Lebanon, and printed especially for them by the CMS Press in Malta¹³, which were more specifically targetted. The first was a translation of a brief account of the death of Pliny Fisk, the founder of the American mission, by his successors Isaac Bird and William Goodell, published in 1827. Then in 1833 two booklets appeared, both of which have given rise to some bibliographical confusion. One was the "farewell letter" of Jonas King, translated by As'ad al-Shidyāq in collaboration with the author¹⁴, and published under the title *Widā' Yūnus Kīn ilā aḥbābihi fī Filasṭīn wa Sūrīyah al-yawm al-khāmis min Aylūl 1825*. This date, 5 September 1825, was the date when the letter was written, after which about 40 MS copies were put

¹¹ See above, p.64.

¹² Crivelli, C. *Protestanti e Cristiani orientali*, Rome 1944, p.326.

¹³ CM/O4/26, List of publications, May 1842; H[aines, Mrs] F.E., *Jonas King, missionary to Syria and Greece*, New York 1879, p.367; Tracy, J. *History of American missions*, Worcester (USA) 1840, p.237; Anderson, R. *History of the missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, Boston (USA) 1872-73, Vol. II p.514; Winger, F.L. "Books and the early missionaries in the Near East", *Journal of Library History* 6 i (1971), p.26.

¹⁴ Bird, I. *The martyr of Lebanon*, Boston (USA) 1864, p.35; Laurie, T. *The Ely Volume*, 2nd ed. Boston (USA), p.208; Winger, op.cit., p.25.

in circulation¹⁵ ; but several subsequent historians and bibliographers have taken it as the date of publication, since the book is otherwise undated, and have thereby reached the erroneous conclusion that it was the first Arabic book to be published in Malta.¹⁶ In fact the archives of the CMS show clearly that it was published in 1833.¹⁷ The work is strongly anti-Catholic, and was said by its author to have been twice put in the *Index librorum prohibitorum* at Rome.¹⁸

In the same year there appeared a brief autobiography of As'ad al-Shidyāq (*Khabarīyat As'ad al-Shidyāq*), a Maronite who had converted to Protestantism and worked for the American missionaries, and who later died in prison. This of course is also anti-Catholic, or rather anti-Maronite. It has been quite erroneously attributed to his brother Fāris al-Shidyāq by a number of eminent authorities, who have cited it as the latter's earliest work.¹⁹ In fact it is clearly by As'ad himself, being written in the first person, and his mentor Isaac Bird has recorded that it was written in 1826 at his (Bird's) request, "that we might make use of it to his advantage in future time"²⁰ ; English translations were published in Boston (USA) in 1827 and 1839²¹ and it was later incorporated into Bird's biography of As'ad, published in 1864.²²

Bird himself also engaged directly in controversy with the Maronite Bishop of Beirut, and his "Thirteen letters" (*Thalātha 'ashara risāla*), published at Malta in 1834, was a reply to the bishop's attack on his colleague Jonas King²³ , strongly defending the

¹⁵ King, J. *Extraits d'un ouvrage écrit vers la fin de l'année 1826 et au commencement de 1827 sous le titre Coup d'oeil sur la Palestine et la Syrie, accompagné de quelques réflexions sur les missions évangéliques*, Athens 1859, p.156.

¹⁶ Letter of Khaḥīl Sarkīs, Beirut 1891, published in *Le livre et le Liban*, Paris 1982, p.333; Ellis, A.G. *Catalogue of Arabic books in the British Museum*, London 1894-1901, Vol.I, 860; Krek, M. *Gazetteer of Arabic printing*, Weston (USA) 1977, p.61.

¹⁷ CM/04/26, List of publications, May 1842.

¹⁸ King, op.cit., p.181; H[aines], op.cit., p.367.

¹⁹ Sarkīs, Yusuf Ilyān, *Mu'jam al-maṭbū'āt al-'Arabīya wa 'l-mu'arraba*, Cairo 1346/1928, 1105; Brockelmann, C. *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Supplementband II, Leiden 1938, p.868; Peres, H. "Les premières manifestations de la Renaissance littéraire arabe en Orient au XIXe siècle", *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales* (Algiers), 1 (1934-35), p.245; Dāghir, Yūsuf As'ad, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa al-adabīya*, Vol.2, Beirut 1956, p.474; Cachia, P. "An Arab's view of XIXC. Malta: Shidyāq's 'Al-Wasitah fi ma'rifat ahwal Malitah'", *Maltese Folklore Review*, 1 (1962), p.63; Schidiak, Bichara Zein, *Aḥmad Fāris aš-Sīdyāq - l'homme & l'oeuvre: l'éducateur*, unpublished thesis (D.d'Univ.), Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle (Paris III), 1975, p.120 #1.

²⁰ Bird, op.cit., p.63.

²¹ "Public statement of Asaad Shidiak", *Missionary Herald*, 23 (1827), pp.71-76 & 97-101; Ellis, op.cit., I, 323; Abu-Ghazalch, Adnan *American missions in Syria*, Brattleboro 1982 (The Search, 3 iv), p.89 n.18.

²² Bird, op.cit., pp.63-100.

²³ Tracy, op.cit., p.237; King, op.cit., p.181; Graf, G. *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Rome 1944-53, Vol.III, pp.476-477.

Protestant position; it was said by a later missionary, Eli Smith, to have had more influence than anything else done by Bird.²⁴

Another work of polemic character, written by Christian Ferdinand Ewald²⁵, a German missionary who took Anglican orders, seems to have been the only one aimed at Muslims. It is his correspondence with students in Tunis, published at Malta in 1839.²⁶ That it was designed for Muslim readers is indicated by the colophon, which states that it was written in Tunis in Ramadan 1244; this date, however, seems to be an error, as it corresponds to March-April 1829, which was more than four years before Ewald first went to Tunis.²⁷

The liturgical and devotional works comprise three editions of an Arabic translation of an RTS publication called *Short prayers for every day in the week* (1826, 1832 and 1839), and, of rather more interest, two translations by Fāris al-Shidyāq. The first was a metrical rendering of twelve hymns (by Isaac Watts, Charles Wesley and others)²⁸, done together by Schlienz and Shidyāq, and printed in 1837. This was a pioneering work in two respects. In the first place it contained, as Schlienz quaintly put it, "the first Christian hymn which according to our mode of singing will be tuned among the Arabs"²⁹; secondly, and more significantly, it represents an important innovation in Arabic versification, which was to have far-reaching repercussions on the development of modern Arabic poetry. Its significance in this latter respect has been highlighted and discussed by Shmuel Moreh in his study of the subject³⁰, and it is not necessary to go over that ground here.

The other liturgical work translated by Shidyāq was the Church of England *Book of Common Prayer*, published in 1840. This was revised in England by the Cambridge orientalist Samuel Lee³¹, presumably from the translation originally made by Pococke in the 17th century and

²⁴ Winger, op.cit., p.26.

²⁵ Also known as Ferdinand Christian Ewald.

²⁶ Cf. Steinschneider, M. *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache, zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden*, Leipzig 1877, #71, p.89.

²⁷ Ewald, F.C. *Journal of missionary labours*, 2nd ed. London 1846, p.viii; Roi, J.F.A. de le, *Ferdinand Christian Ewald: ein Lebensbild*, Gutersloh 1896, p.7.

²⁸ The contents were identified and listed by Muhammad Abdul-Hai, who, however, wrongly dated it and seems to have been unaware of Shidyāq's role. 'Abdul-Hai, Muhammad, "A bibliography of Arabic translations of English and American poetry (1830-1970)", *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 7 (1976), #A1, pp.120-121.

²⁹ CM/065/44, Schlienz to Secs., 3.2.1836.

³⁰ Moreh, S. *Modern Arabic poetry 1800-1970*, Leiden 1976, p.25-43.

³¹ CM/L2/476, Coates to Schlienz, 26.1.1837.

republished in London in 1826.³² The revised version was then sent to Malta at the beginning of 1837 for immediate printing, being regarded by the CMS Committee in London as an urgent desideratum.³³ But in the previous year Shidyāq had himself embarked, together with Schlienz, on a new translation; nor was he content with just rendering the English: "we revise and translate all the lessons according to the Originals"³⁴ - with a man like Fares, who probs [sic] things to the very bottom one cannot do otherwise".³⁵ It was probably this fastidiousness on Shidyāq's part which caused publication to be delayed until 1840.

The last category of religious books, the apologetic and homiletic, comprises two original Arabic works and one translation. In 1834 a new edition was published of *Kitāb al-Burhān al-Ṣarīḥ* by 'Abd Allāh Zākhir (1680-1748), the Greek Catholic priest who was the pioneer of Arabic typography in the Middle East in the early 18th century. It is a defence of the doctrine of the Trinity against Muslim objections, and was first published at Shuwayr in 1764. The Malta edition closely follows that of Shuwayr, even to the extent of imitating typographic details, although Schlienz had previously stated that "it will have to undergo before yet a revision & receive we hope some slight improvements".³⁶ This was followed in 1841 by a work on preaching by Zākhir's contemporary, the Maronite Archbishop Jabrīl (Jarmānūs) Farḥāt (1670-1732). This edition carries the simple title *Fī 'l-wa'z*, but the work is otherwise known as *Faṣl al-khiṭāb (fī 'l-wa'z)*. To it is appended an Arabic translation of three essays on homiletics by the Anglican evangelical writer Charles Simeon, one of the founders of the CMS.

The other apologetic work was the well-known *The evidence of the truth*, by the Scottish pastor Alexander Keith, translated into Arabic under the title *Al-bayyina al-jalīya 'alā ṣiḥḥat dīn al-Naṣrānīya* and published in 1840 with the aid of a subsidy of £100 from the RTS.³⁷ The preface draws a comparison with Zākhir's *Burhān*, but the style of the original, with its tortuous sentences and much use of litotes, proved very

³² See above, pp.64-65.

³³ CM/L2/476, Coates to Schlienz, 26.1.1837.

³⁴ I.e., presumably, the Hebrew and Greek texts.

³⁵ CM/O65/44, Schlienz to Secs., 3.2.1836.

³⁶ CM/O65/31, Schlienz to Secs., 4.4.1834.

³⁷ Jones, W. op.cit., p.375.

difficult to render in Arabic, and the first attempt had to be abandoned. In March 1837 Schlienz reported that "we have begun again. The beginning of this book is very difficult, but I hope that with the joined assistance of Fares, Badger & myself it will be well done".³⁸ Progress was slow, and in 1839 Gobat, who had by then replaced Schlienz, found that "the two chief translators, Phares Shidiak of Mount Lebanon, and the Rev. Mr Badger, both very good Arabic scholars, were puzzled continually, not knowing how to render the imagery in which the meaning was clothed".³⁹ Finally the work was published with a colophon mentioning the difficulties of translation and apologising for infidelities and shortcomings. As we have seen⁴⁰, Gobat had reservations about the high, Qur'anic style of this translation, but later noted that "the pains taken in the translation of the work has rendered it acceptable to the best-educated Moslems; of all the works published in modern times by the missionaries, 'Keith on Prophecy' is to this day the most highly appreciated among them".⁴¹ But he cited no evidence for this.

7.1.2 *Secular works*

As we have seen, although religious works intended for Arabophone Christians constituted the bulk of the Arabic output of the Malta press, it was decided at an early stage to prepare also works of education, and for adult reading, which might, by avoiding specifically religious matters, be acceptable to Muslim and Jewish as well as Christian readers; and also elementary works for teaching Christians and others in the missionary schools.⁴² Of these "secular" Arabic editions, 14 are on Arabic language and grammar (including primers), 3 are for Arabs learning English, 4 are on geography, 2 are scientific, 2 are works of English literature in translation, and there are two on arithmetic, and one each on history and art.

Much the largest category are the Arabic readers and grammars. It is, perhaps, misleading to designate all these as "secular", since the passages for reading in many of them are of a highly religious nature, being drawn mainly from the Bible: this is true of the

³⁸ CM/065/47, Schlienz to Secs., 10.3.1837.

³⁹ Gobat, S. & others, *Samuel Gobat, Bishop of Jerusalem: his life and work*. London 1884, p.189.

⁴⁰ See above, p.140.

⁴¹ Gobat & others, op.cit., p.190.

⁴² See above, pp.126-135.

elementary readers published in 1826, 1828, 1829, 1836 and 1841. Two of them (1826 and 1836) were, however, also published in alternative versions using the Fables of Luqmān (*Amthāl Luqmān al-Ḥakīm*), presumably for the use of Muslim children. The preface to the 1828 primer sets forth, albeit in execrable Arabic, the reasons for learning to read: "reading is the source of useful knowledge because it causes us to know the words of others [even when] they are remote from us, and we are able to learn every useful thing".⁴³ All the primers begin by setting out the alphabet in systematic tables, followed by syllables (pairs of letters), trilateral words, and multilateral forms. The numerals are also given, usually in their eastern forms only, although one edition (1836/II) also gives the western versions. The last two primers published (1836/II and 1841) have illustrations to elucidate the texts. The 1829 *Kitāb Ta'līm* makes use of its rear wrapper to provide instructions to parents (with Biblical quotations): this may perhaps also have been a feature of other editions whose wrappers have not been preserved.

As well as these basic reading and writing primers, there seems to have been an intention at one stage to provide instruction in calligraphy also, as in 1835 some lithographed examples of large *naskh*, *muḥaqqaq* and *nasta'liq* hands were printed. These may have been executed by 'Īsā Rassām, or more probably were lithographed directly by Brocktorff from MSS sent from the Middle East.

More advanced grammars were also published in the latter period of the press's activity. In 1836 appeared the first edition of the celebrated *Baḥth al-maṭālib* of Jabrīl (Jarmānūs) Farḥāt, originally written in 1705⁴⁴, and regarded among the Christians of Lebanon and Syria as the basic work for learning Arabic grammar.⁴⁵ This was revised and edited for publication by Fāris al-Shidyāq.⁴⁶ He claimed to have corrected obvious errors, but to have refrained from incorporating commentaries or collating different manuscripts⁴⁷: he would presumably not have had the means to do this in Malta anyway. Ṣulḥ suggests that he edited the work in order to provide a text-

⁴³ *Ta'līm al-qirā'a ilā 'l-aṭfāl al-ṣiḡhār*, Malta 1828, p.3.

⁴⁴ Brockelmann, op.cit., Supp.II, p.389; Graf, op.cit., III, p.417.

⁴⁵ Boustany, Fouad E. "Les Libanais et le livre", *Le livre et Liban jusqu'à 1900* (Exposition), Paris 1982, p.151.

⁴⁶ Ṣulḥ, Imād al-, *Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq: āḥārūhu wa 'aṣruhu*, Beirut 1980, p.45.

⁴⁷ Farḥāt, Jabrīl, *Baḥth al-maṭālib fī 'ilm al-'Arabīya*, Malta 1836, errata leaf [1].

book for his own use in teaching Arabic at the Lyceum in Malta⁴⁸ : this may be so, but the CMS would not have sanctioned its publication just for this purpose, and in fact it seems to have been widely distributed, being one of the commonest Malta publications.⁴⁹

An abridgement of the *Baḥṭh al-maʿālib*, in question-and-answer form, called *Al-ajwiba al-jalīya*, had previously been published in 1832^x, and this was reprinted in 1841, for the express purpose of instructing boys in the primary schools ("*ta'lim ṣubyan al-makātib*").

In 1839 Shidyāq's own elementary grammar and reading-book was published, under the title *Al-laḥf fī kull ma'nā ẓarīf*.⁵¹ According to Sulḥ, this was intended to replace and supplant Farḥāt's work.⁵² As well as the elements of reading, spelling and grammar, it includes lists of vocabulary, meanings of words (including many quite recondite ones) in different categories, and synonyms; followed by proverbs (*amthāl al-'Arab*), fables (*khurāfāt*), each with its moral (*maghzāhu*), longer tales of a didactic nature, and a more substantial extract (*nubdha*) on the theme of stupidity and gullibility. Some of the contents are taken from *Kalīla wa Dimna*. Schlienz, with characteristic exaggeration, expressed the opinion that this book "may be said to contain the flower of Arabic literature".⁵³ Certainly it has a literary content and character greatly surpassing any previous primers and readers published in Malta or elsewhere. At the end, in a postscript written in rhymed prose (*saj'*) (p.298), Shidyāq expresses the hope that it will be used in all elementary schools of every category and nation ("*fī jamī' al-makātib min ayy jins wa milla*"), and especially for the benefit of the newly established school for teaching Arabic in Malta ("*khušūṣan li-manfa'at al-maktab al-mustajidd li-ta'lim al-'Arabīya bi-Mālīta*"). Schlienz regarded it, with some justification, as being suitable "both for elementary and higher schools".⁵⁴

As well as Arabic grammars, the Malta press also published three manuals in Arabic for students of English. The first was *The Anglo-Arabic primer* of

⁴⁸ Sulh, op.cit., p.44.

⁴⁹ See below, item 69 in Appendix A.

⁵⁰ Brockelmann describes this as a version of the *Ajurrumiya* of Sinḥaji, and an edition published in Beirut in 1841 does carry this attribution. The precise relationship between the two works has not been established. Brockelmann, op.cit., Supp.II, p.332.

⁵¹ Not *zarīf*, as it is often wrongly cited.

⁵² Sulh, op.cit., p.45.

⁵³ CM/O65/61, Schlienz to Secs., 27.12.1838.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

1832. The author of this is unknown, but he was probably one of the American missionaries, as American spellings occur (e.g. "colors"). The vocabulary list, although entitled *Qāmūs mukhtaṣar* in Arabic, would be of limited use for reference, as it is arranged topically rather than alphabetically. It was followed in 1836 by Shidyāq's *Al-bākūra al-shahīya*. This seems to have been Shidyāq's first book, and, according to Şulḥ, he wrote this too for use in his classes at the Lyceum in Malta⁵⁵ : it seems unlikely, however, that he would have been teaching English there. It is a basic grammar of English, presented in a methodical and practical manner; according to another of Shidyāq's biographers, on perusing it one would believe it to have been written by one of the best specialists in the English language.⁵⁶ It was written, however, long before Shidyāq's residence in England, and he must have had considerable assistance from his missionary colleagues. In the introduction he justifies the study of English by Arabs - something almost unprecedented at that time - by pointing out that it "is an entrance to sciences to which access can hardly be gained without it ... whereas Arabic, although possessing a high excellence and outstanding magnificence, the winner of the race in belles-lettres, and well known because of the ardour of the Arabs," has fallen behind in scientific literature. A second edition of this work was published by Shidyāq at his Al-Jawā'ib Press in Istanbul in 1883.

This view of the present advantage held by English-speaking (and European) civilisation, because of their cultivation of modern sciences and the spread of education, is conveyed even more strongly in another work for Arab students of English published in 1840, entitled *Kitāb al-Muḥāwara al-unsīya*, or *Arabic and English grammatical exercises and familiar dialogues*. Although the author is not named, it is clear, both from the style of the Arabic introduction, and from the references to his earlier *Al-bākūra al-shahīya*, to which it is expressly intended as a companion volume, that it is by Shidyāq. Others, however, were involved in the English side of it. It seems that Badger took a hand in it⁵⁷, and Samuel Gobat also participated in revising the text

⁵⁵ Şulḥ, op.cit., pp.44-45.

⁵⁶ Bawlus Mas'ad, quoted in Schidiak, op.cit., #3, p.121.

⁵⁷ He listed it among his own works in Crockford's *Clerical directory*, 1888, p.47, and it is also jointly attributed to him and Shidyāq in Ellis, A.G. *Catalogue of Arabic books in the British Museum*, London 1894-1901, pp.1967, 527.

before publication, proposing certain changes to Shidyāq which "I find him almost too ready to accept".⁵⁸ It is therefore unclear who was responsible for the content and tone of the dialogues, but some of them, relating to conditions in the Middle East and the virtues of classical Arabic literature and civilisation, must surely originate from Shidyāq himself, and others may also.

Although some of these dialogues are of a purely practical nature, such as might be found in any European phrase-book, they are interspersed with many others which extol the virtues of 19th-century European civilisation, and British civilisation in particular. "England, of which London is the capital, is the great patroness of learning, as well as the centre of opulence and commerce" (p.97) introduces a whole section on the advantages of modern education, scholarship, science, industry and commerce in Britain and other European countries. The development of orientalism (through the Royal Asiatic Society in particular) is extolled, as are the extensive library collections of Arabic and other oriental literature; also the development of the press, the navy, and mechanisation (especially steam-power and railways); the desire is then expressed that "it will not be long before some of these modern improvements (*al-taraqqiyāt al-mutaḥadditha*) are introduced into the East", but this is held to be contingent on "a more general education of the people, which has been sadly neglected by us in these days; much of our literature (*funūn*) is lost to us, and what remains is possessed by a few individuals who do not think it their interest to give it a wider spread among the people" (p.103). This is contrasted with the situation in England, where "national schools (*al-makātib al-'unūmīya*) are maintained at the public expense (*min kīs al-jumhūr*) for educating the poor of both sexes" (p.104): education of females is another requisite for Eastern countries, and this would not be a complete innovation, for "when Arabic literature (*'ulūm*) flourished there were many very accomplished women among you, some of whom became authors of books in the Arabic language" (p.105). Religious liberty is also commended as the basis, not just of freedom, but also of peace and prosperity (p.107).

A later section on books and writing notes that "it is much easier to procure books in Europe than it is in the East" and that

⁵⁸ CM/O28/37, Gobat to Coates, 20.2.1840.

England enjoys the advantages of steam printing, many newspapers, and individual private libraries of books both in English and in foreign languages (pp.132-133).

It is clear, then, that this is more than just a book of exercises for learning English. It embodies the whole philosophy of modernisation by the spread of education and emulating the achievements of Europe, which the missionary press in Malta, in its more secular role, sought to propagate in the Arab world. This philosophy, as it is expressed here, involved also the revival of classical Arabic learning, and a justification of progressive measures by an appeal to past Arab and Islamic practice. This approach was clearly shared by, if indeed it did not originate with, Fāris al-Shidyāq, as is apparent from his earlier *Al-bākūra al-shahīya*, and from his later writings, and it subsequently came to be espoused by many other modernisers in the Middle East. It is clear also that, in this envisaged dual process of modernisation and revival, the role of the press and of printed books was seen as crucial.

As has already been noted, basic Arabic text-books in several other subjects were also printed in Malta. In 1829 a manual for teaching arithmetic appeared, under the title *Tarīq ta'līm al-ḥisāb*. This was a translation of a German work based on the system of the famous Swiss educationist Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, known as "intellectual" or "intuitive" arithmetic, a term here rendered as "al-ḥisāb al-'aqlī". It was prepared in Cairo by August Kluge, an associate and compatriot of the German/Swiss missionaries employed by the CMS there. To the original text⁵⁹ he added some material to render it suitable, as he put it, "for use in the markets, manner of life and occupations" ("li-l-isti'māl fī 'l-aswāq wa 'l-ma'āsh wa 'l-ashghāl") in Egypt. On page four of his introduction, Kluge states his intention to complete the work in three or four volumes, but only the first part, dealing with methods of teaching by the use of examples and stories ("amthāl wa qiṣṣāt"), was published. In April 1829 Schlienz had warned his superiors in London that "in order to print the arithmetical book of Dr Kluge, when it arrives,

⁵⁹ It is not possible to identify precisely the German original on which Kluge's Arabic book is based. Pestalozzi's system for teaching arithmetic was originally set forth in his "Elementar-Bücher" of 1803-04, and numerous "applications" ("Anwendungen") were elaborated and published by other educationists such as Riess, Garrison, Reuchlin, Schmalstig & Wagner, Rebs, Hugger & Stehle, Wittmer and Herbart in the following 20 years. Cf. Israel, A. *Pestalozzi-Bibliographie*, erster Band, Berlin 1903 (Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, XXV), pp.186-189.

we most probably want more Arabic numbers".⁶⁰ These were not, it seems, forthcoming, as the numbers in the book are rendered entirely in words. It may well be that the lack of sufficient numerical sorts prevented publication of the subsequent parts.

Geography was regarded as one of the most important "secular" subjects of instruction for which books must be provided. In 1833 an elementary text-book, based on the geography section of James Mitchell's *Universal catechist*⁶¹, with some additions from other sources, including William Channing Woodbridge's *Rudiments of geography*, London 1828⁶², mainly relating to Middle Eastern countries, was published under the title *Kitāb al-Kanz al-mukhtār fī 'kīshāf al-arḍī [sc. arāḍī] wa 'l-abḥār*. It had been translated into somewhat unidiomatic Arabic, probably by Schlienz and Rassām, and it presents a quite Eurocentric view of world geography. The European countries are described first, in 57 pages, followed by the whole of Asia in 15 pages (of which only 3 are devoted to the Arabs), then some 30 pages on Africa, 14 on the Americas and 4 on Australia. A concluding section deals with the "terrestrial globe" ("al-kurra al-arḍīya"). The whole book, as the title of the English original indicates, is arranged in question-and-answer form, much favoured by English educationists of the period.

Despite its defects as a vehicle for teaching geography to Arab pupils, this book found some favour in the Middle East, and especially in Egypt, where it came to the attention of Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, at that time employed as a translator and instructor in Muḥammad 'Alī's Artillery School at Ṭura near Cairo.⁶³ He proceeded to prepare a new edition of the work, which was published at Ṭura by the Artillery School Press (Maṭba'at Maktab al-Ṭūbijīya) in 1250 [1834]. Of it he says:

"we have endeavoured as much as possible to improve it, and have reduced it to the norm of Arabic works, as it was of a barbarous Maltese mode of expression ('ibāratuhu Māliṭīya waḥshīya); nevertheless I did not go to extremes in making alterations which a complete revision would necessitate; so this second edition is, in respect

⁶⁰ CM/O65/5, Schlienz to Secs., 23.4.1829.

⁶¹ London 1824, pp.152-206.

⁶² Fulton, A.S. & Ellis, A.G. *Supplementary catalogue of Arabic printed books in the British Museum*, London 1926, 603.

⁶³ Shayyāl, Jamāl al-Dīn, *Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, za'īm al-nahḍa al-fikrīya fī 'aṣr Muḥammad 'Alī*, 2nd ed. Cairo 1970, p.31.

of phraseology, more elegant and finer than the Maltese edition, but we must acknowledge that the first edition, by virtue of its use of vowel signs (*bi-mazīyat al-ḍabṭ bi-'l-shakl*) is more perfect and more splendid. In any case, anyone who desires a fuller treatment should read our book entitled *Al-ta'rībat al-shāfiya li-murīd al-jughrāfiya*⁶⁴, or refer to our treatise *Qalā'id al-mafākhir fī gharīb 'awā'id al-awā'il wa 'l-awākhir*⁶⁵, for they comprise a dictionary on geography, of use in acquiring knowledge of countries, which there is no harm in consulting in this matter".⁶⁶

The changes made by Ṭaḥṭāwī, as noted in the passage quoted above, mainly relate to Arabic style (and the spelling of some geographical names, e.g. Makkā is corrected to Makka⁶⁷). There is, in addition, some correction of political titles, e.g. "'Azīz Miṣr" instead of "Malik Miṣr" for Muḥammad 'Alī⁶⁸ and "Sulṭān" rather than "Malik" for the ruler of Morocco.⁶⁹ Information about the Artillery School, and the subjects studied there, is also inserted in pride of place in the section relating to education in Egypt.⁷⁰ But remarkably little else of substance was changed by Ṭaḥṭāwī; the Eurocentric arrangement and relative proportions of the material were retained, and even some details which one would have thought he would have felt obliged to alter are repeated, e.g. the use of the term "Muḥammadīyūn" (rendered directly from Mitchell's "Mahometanism") to designate the religion of the inhabitants of Arabia.⁷¹ One most extraordinary indication of the closeness, even slavishness, with which the Malta edition was followed, is that the page numbers for the sections in the list of contents of the Ṭura edition are copied directly from the corresponding list in the Malta edition, even though the actual pagination of the Ṭura edition differs.

This has not, however, prevented some authorities from attributing the work to Ṭaḥṭāwī himself, as translator or even as author, and drawing conclusions from it concerning his actual

⁶⁴ Bulaq 1250 [1834]. Compiled from French sources and translated into Arabic. Cf. Ellis, *op.cit.*, II, 522.

⁶⁵ Bulaq 1249 [1833]. Translated from G.B.Depping, *Aperçu historique sur les moeurs et coltumes des nations*, Paris 1826. Cf. *Ibid*, I, 479; Sarkis, *op.cit.*, 945.

⁶⁶ *Al-kanz al-mukhtār fī kashf al-arādī wa 'l-bihār*, ed. Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Ṭura 1250 [1834], p.143.

⁶⁷ Malta 1833, pp.63 & 85; Ṭura 1834, pp.67 & 85.

⁶⁸ Malta 1833, p.78; Ṭura 1834, p.82.

⁶⁹ Malta 1833, p.102; Ṭura 1834, p.102.

⁷⁰ Malta 1833, p.80; Ṭura 1834, p.84.

⁷¹ Malta 1833, p.63; Ṭura 1834, p.67.

outlook and development. More than fifty years ago the eminent scholar Walther Braune listed it as Ṭaḥṭāwī's work, and as one of his contributions to modern Arabic literature⁷², and much more recently Ami Ayalon has cited the relevant section of the book as evidence of Ṭaḥṭāwī's, and by extension 19th-century Arab, concepts of America.⁷³ Sawi, on the other hand, realised that it was a translation, and even that there was an earlier edition from Malta, but still attributed it to Ṭaḥṭāwī, and credited him with including "a selection on astronomy taken from Isaac Newton".⁷⁴ This latter must be a reference to the final section of the book, entitled "Fī 'l-kurra al-arḍīya" (On the terrestrial globe): however, this is not about astronomy, but about the properties of the earth (poles, equator, tropics, longitude & latitude, meridians, prevailing winds, etc.) as demonstrated on a model globe - the references to Newton which occur in it relate to his work on chronometry, not astronomy. The whole of this section is translated directly from Mitchell's *Universal catechist*.

Others, however, have suggested that the translator was Yūsuf Fir'awn, a Syrian Catholic working at the School of Veterinary Medicine in Egypt, and that Ṭaḥṭāwī revised it for publication in Malta; or conversely that Fir'awn revised Ṭaḥṭāwī's version first published in Malta.⁷⁵ Such bibliographical confusion concerning 19th-century Arabic printed books is unfortunately by no means unusual.

But the most extraordinary misconception about the nature of *Al-kanz al-mukhtār* is to be found in a recent major study of the intellectual and economic history of the period.⁷⁶ Here Ṭaḥṭāwī is regarded without question as being responsible for its contents, and

⁷² Braune, W. "Beiträge zur Geschichte des neuarabischen Schrifttums", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, 36 (1933), p.120, #19.

⁷³ Ayalon, A. "The Arab discovery of America in the nineteenth century", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 20 iv (1984), p.9.

⁷⁴ Sawi, S.A.R.el, *Rifā'ah Rāfi' al-Ṭaḥṭāwī: a study of his life and works with particular emphasis on bibliographical concerns, his status as a historian, and his influence on Egyptian political and social thinking since 1952*, unpublished thesis (MA), American University in Cairo (Center for Arabic Studies), 1979, p.28.

⁷⁵ The catalogue of Dār al-Kutub in Cairo lists the 2nd Malta edition of 1836, attributing the authorship to "one of the European orientalist" and the translation to Fir'awn. Dār al-Kutub, *Fihrist al-kutub al-'Arabīya al-mawjūda bi-'l-Dār*, vol.6, Cairo, 1933, p.49. The Egyptian historian Jamāl al-Din al-Shayyāl, in his *Tārīkh al-tarjama wa 'l-ḥaraka al-thaqāfiya fī Miṣr fī 'aṣr Muḥammad 'Alī*, Cairo 1951 (p.91 n.2), pointed out that this must be an error, since Fir'awn was employed at the Veterinary School in Cairo, not in Malta, and that the book was printed in Malta first, then in Egypt: he evidently was unaware that there were two Malta editions. Later in the same work he stated that the revision was done by Ṭaḥṭāwī at the suggestion of Antonio de Seguera, director of the Artillery School at Ṭura (ibid., p.132). Cf. Moosa, M. "The translation of Western fiction into Arabic", *Islamic Quarterly*, 14 (1970), p.209 n.2. The attribution to Fir'awn may have originated with Rifā'a's descendant Faḥī Rifā'a al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, who later listed *Al-kanz al-mukhtār* as a work translated by Fir'awn under the supervision of Ṭaḥṭāwī. Ṭaḥṭāwī, Faḥī Rifā'a al-, *Lamḥa tārikhiya 'an ḥāya wa mu'allafāt al-Shaykh Rifā'a Badawi Rāfi' al-Ṭaḥṭāwī*, Cairo 1958, p.75. It may be that Fir'awn did have a hand in it, as a subsidiary editor.

⁷⁶ Gran, P. *Islamic roots of capitalism: Egypt, 1760-1840*, Austin 1979.

the whole book is treated as an essay in *'ilm al-hay'a*. It is then used as evidence of a decisive break in Egypt with the Ptolemaic tradition, in favour of Newton; this, it is suggested, was brought about by socio-economic factors, which, moreover, militated in favour of Ṭaḥṭāwī's reliance "on Newton rather than Kepler, the mystic".⁷⁷ As we have seen, the book is an elementary school geography text-book, it is not by or even translated by Ṭaḥṭāwī, it does not originate in Egypt although it was reprinted there, and no part of it is about astronomy, Ptolemaic, Newtonian or otherwise.

In 1836 another edition of *Al-kanz al-mukhtār* was published in Malta, embellished with nicely engraved plates showing views of some of the cities mentioned. Schlienz reported that it had been "revised by the Sheichs in Egypt"⁷⁸, and in fact it incorporates most of the stylistic improvements of Ṭaḥṭāwī's edition, and the other modifications mentioned above. However, it is clear that another hand has been at work, for a number of further modifications have been made to the style and terminology. For example, the term "qā'im bi-dhātihi"⁷⁹ is replaced by the more concise "mustaqill"⁸⁰ to designate the independent status of the Sultan of Morocco; and some necessary corrections have been made, e.g. the replacement of "Muḥammadīyūn" by "Al-Islām"⁸¹ in the instance quoted above. There is, moreover, a new introduction, written in a high style using rhymed prose (*saj'*), which, after a long exordium on the Creator, states boldly that "knowledge has an extent the utmost limit of which shall not be attained" ("li-l-'ilm madan lan tudraka ghāyatuhu") and goes on to praise and commend the cultivation of learning in general, and geography in particular, mentioning that this book has been reprinted for the benefit of boys in primary and secondary schools ("al-makātib wa 'l-madāris"). At the end is a new colophon apologising for the unsatisfactory nature of the translation, but pointing out that a satisfactory version would mean going back to the original and starting afresh. For that reason certain suspect passages have been retained for fear of causing

⁷⁷ Ibid., p.163 & p.244 n.42. The title is wrongly cited as *A-kunūz al-mukhtār*, a solecism which even the most ignorant missionaries would not have perpetrated.

⁷⁸ CM/O65/47, Schlienz to Secs., 10.3.1837.

⁷⁹ Malta 1833, p.106; Ṭura 1834, p.102.

⁸⁰ Malta 1836, p.96.

⁸¹ Ibid, p.63.

further detriment: here a reference is given to a clearly erroneous passage concerning the U.S.A. on page 102, where north and south are transposed.⁸² From this it seems that Mitchell's original text was not available to the editor of this third edition. He is not named, but it was almost certainly Fāris al-Shidyāq, who had returned to Malta and re-entered the service of the CMS at the end of 1835.⁸³ The high literary style of the introduction is familiar from his other writings, and was well beyond the capabilities of anybody else in Malta. He had, it seems, known and worked with Ṭaḥṭāwī in Cairo⁸⁴, and there was probably an element of friendly rivalry in his approach to the task.

Probably as a companion to this geography text-book, an Arabic atlas was published in 1835, using Brocktorff's lithography.⁸⁵ According to the CMS archives, this was the second edition, the first having appeared in 1833⁸⁶, and one of the maps had been sent to Jowett in London as a specimen in June of that year.⁸⁷ There were eleven maps in all, and the Eurocentric bias of *Al-kanz al-mukhtār* is less in evidence here, as there are three of the Middle East and North Africa, three others of Asia and Africa, and one each of Europe, the Americas and Australasia, as well as two of the world (Eastern & Western hemispheres). They are finely and accurately executed, with coloured outlines, and represent a new departure in Arabic cartography, unlike anything previously produced. Like *Al-kanz al-mukhtār*, this atlas was also immediately copied and re-published in Egypt. Lord Lindsay wrote from Cairo in December 1836: "perhaps the most useful work the Pasha has published is an Atlas in Arabic, copied from one the missionaries have executed at Malta".⁸⁸ One of the published catalogues of Dār al-Kutub in Cairo gives details of an atlas, undated but stated to have been lithographed in Cairo, the

⁸² The passage in Mitchell's *Universal catechist*, p.196, reads: "Q. What is the chief agricultural produce of the United States? A. In the northern and middle states, it is nearly the same as England; but in the southern states, rice, cotton, and tobacco are the chief produce". In the first Malta edition (p.117), "northern states" is rendered as "al-nāhiya al-janūbiya" and "southern states" as "al-nāhiya al-shamāliya"; this error is repeated in the Egyptian edition (p.117).

⁸³ CM/O65/44, Schlienz to Secs., 3.2.1836; see further above, p.214.

⁸⁴ Alwan, M.B. *Ahmad Fāris ash-Shidyāq and the West*, unpublished dissertation, University of Indiana 1970, p.42.

⁸⁵ See above, pp.164-165.

⁸⁶ CM/O4/26, List of publications, May 1842.

⁸⁷ CM/L2/220, Jowett to Schlienz, 21.6.1833.

⁸⁸ Lindsay, Lord A.W. *Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land*, 5th ed. London 1858, vol.I, p.33. Cf. Demeerseman, A. *L'imprimerie en Orient et au Maghreb: une époque décisive de la culture et de la psychologie islamiques*, Tunis 1954, p.2 n.10; also in *IBLA* 17 (1954).

contents of which are listed and correspond exactly to those of the Malta atlas.⁸⁹

Two scientific text-books in Arabic were also printed in Malta. The first was an elementary work on astronomy, entitled *Kitāb al-Durr al-malḡūm fī 'ilm al-aflāk wa 'l-nujūm*, published in 1833. Like *Al-Kanz al-mukhtār*, it is translated, and at certain points expanded, from the relevant section of James Mitchell's *Universal catechist* of 1824⁹⁰, and, like the first edition of the former, published in the same year, it is written in rather unidiomatic Arabic, probably by Schlienz and Rassām. The translators' introduction is a pious eulogy of the Creator for having devised the heavenly bodies and their motions, ending with a quotation from Psalm 135. Some passages in Mitchell's original are omitted, such as those on the speculative theories of Sir Richard Phillips.⁹¹ The frontispiece, giving diagrams of phases of the moon, eclipses, tides, etc., is reproduced exactly from the plate in Mitchell's work, with the wording (but not the letters used for points of reference) rendered into Arabic. The brief colophon, giving date and place of publication, is set out as verse, but is really *saj'*.

The other scientific work was on natural history, and was published in 1841 under the title *Sharḡ ṭabā'i' al-ḡayawān*. This is a translation of William Mavor's *Elements of natural history, in the animal kingdom, chiefly intended for the use of schools and young persons*.⁹² The translation was done by Fāris al-Shidyāq, whose name appears at the end, with the assistance of George Badger.⁹³ All Mavor's prefatory material, and initial sections on animals in general and on the "Human Race" are omitted. Shidyāq's own preface⁹⁴ explains that, when faced with names of animals and birds unknown to the Arabs, he has been obliged to create new Arabic names based on the English originals, and he apologises for any shortcomings in this respect. Some of the names are crude transliterations, e.g. *Iblātibūs* for platypus (p.41); others are taken from the meanings of the originals, e.g. *kaslān* for sloth;

⁸⁹ Dār al-Kutub, *Fihrist al-kutub al-'Arabīya*, vol.VI, Cairo 1933, p.70.

⁹⁰ "Astronomy", pp.19-38.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp.28-30 & 37-38.

⁹² First published in London in 1799; several subsequent editions, of which that of 1821 was most probably used by the translators. It was not by Buffon, as stated in Huart, C. *A history of Arabic literature* (tr. M.Loyd), London 1903, p.416.

⁹³ CM/O65/61, Schlienz to Secs., 27.12.1838.

⁹⁴ See complete translation in Appendix C below.

yet others appear at first sight to be genuine Arabic words, but in fact are subtler transliterations, e.g. *qanqar* for kangaroo. Shidyāq's method and approach in thus creating Arabic neologisms, in a manner almost unprecedented since the classical period of Arabic scientific literature, has been studied and discussed by 'Imād al-Şulḥ in his work on Shidyāq⁹⁵, and it is not necessary to go over that ground here. It has also been noted elsewhere however, that some of this nomenclature found a permanent place in the language, and is still in use.⁹⁶ Shidyāq also mentions that he has consulted, and in places incorporated material from, the famous zoological encyclopaedia *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* by the 14th-century scholar Muḥammad al-Damīrī: these insertions are clearly indicated in the text. Damīrī's work was not published until 1857-58⁹⁷, so Shidyāq must have extracted this material from a manuscript copy of it, probably in Egypt during his stay there.

At the end Shidyāq includes a poem of his own composition, consisting of 30 couplets, on the wonders of creation. The volume is designated as Part One, and covers only mammals and birds; the remainder, on fishes, reptiles and insects, Shidyāq promised to publish after further work on their nomenclature⁹⁸, but it never appeared.

In the field of general history, only one work was published in Arabic in Malta. This was another translation of an English educational catechism, this time William Pinnock's *A catechism of universal history*.⁹⁹ It appeared in 1833 under the title *Kiāb Tawārīkh mukhtaşar*. Although rearranged in a more logical order, so that it starts with the history of Babylonia, rather than that of Great Britain, it nevertheless closely reproduces the content of the original, with its highly Eurocentric bias: of its 136 pages, only 15 are devoted to the Arab countries, and many of those are taken up with ancient, pre-Islamic history. Both the contents of this book, which display a considerable ignorance of the Middle East and Islam, and its Arabic style, which is unidiomatic and at times verges on the colloquial,

⁹⁵ Şulḥ, op.cit., pp.145-147.

⁹⁶ Shihābī, Muştafā 'l-, *Al-muṣṭalahāt al-'ilmīya fī 'l-luġha al-'Arabīya*, 2nd ed. Damascus 1384/1965, p.50; Ḥasan, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghanī, *Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq*, Cairo 1966, p.144.

⁹⁷ Sarkīs, op.cit., 888; Brockelmann, op.cit., I, p.172.

⁹⁸ Preface, p.3; cf. translation below, p.362.

⁹⁹ 8th ed. London 1824.

have been severely criticised by Tibawi, who accuses the author of a "fanaticism (*ta'aṣṣub*) which appears in ignoring and suppressing facts and confusing historical sequence", and concludes that "the harmfulness of this book exceeds its usefulness in schools and among readers generally".¹⁰⁰ Although the section on the Arabs was expanded a little compared with Pinnock's original¹⁰¹, it is difficult to disagree with Tibawi's view when one finds (pp.37-38) that the sequence passes from the idol-worshippers of pre-Islamic Arabia directly to the military career of 'Umar b.al-Khaṭṭāb, without mentioning the Prophet Muḥammad or the advent of Islam.

Two works of English literature in Arabic translation appeared from the Malta press. One, which has already been mentioned, was Bunyan's *Pilgrim's progress*, published under the title *Kitāb Siyāḥat al-Masīhī* in 1834. It has been credited to Schlienz¹⁰², but 'Īsā Rassām later claimed to have done it¹⁰³: probably they both worked on it. It is preceded by a life of Bunyan ("Khabarīyat al-Anbā Yuḥannā Bunyan"), written mostly in saǰ' (pp.1-19). The translation differs from the version published in Beirut in 1844. The other English literary work was Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (*Qiṣṣat Rūbinṣun Kurūzī*), published in 1835. This version, which Bernard Lewis has called a "not unworthy guide [for Muslims] to the treasures of European literature"¹⁰⁴, is again anonymous, but was probably also done by Schlienz and/or Rassām. Moosa's attribution of it to Shidyāq¹⁰⁵ cannot be correct, as Shidyāq did not resume work for the Malta press until 1836.¹⁰⁶ The literary style has been compared unfavourably with that of the later translation by Buṭrus al-Bustānī (Beirut, 1861).¹⁰⁷

The final subject to be considered is art. In 1833 Mrs Sarah Lanman Smith, wife of the American missionary Eli Smith, recorded in

¹⁰⁰ Ṭībāwī, 'Abd al-Latīf al-, "Al-lughā al-'Arabīya fī kutub al-mubashshirīn al-awwalīn", *Majallat Majma' al-Lughā al-'Arabīya bi-Dimashq*, 47 (1392/1972), p.779. Cf. the same author's *British interests in Palestine 1800-1901*, London 1961, pp.27-28, where, however, a different title is cited: *Kitāb Tawārīkh al-'ālam 'alā wajh al-'umūm*.

¹⁰¹ According to Schlienz, some material was drawn from Abū 'l-Fidā. Schlienz, C.F. *Views on the improvement of the Maltese language and its use for the purposes of education and literature*, Malta 1838, p.86.

¹⁰² Ellis, op.cit., 424; Lambrecht, E. *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, Tome premier, #3197, p.411.

¹⁰³ Lambeth Palace MS 2817, p.19. According to Kitto in 1828, it had been translated into Arabic by "a priest in Jerusalem" - Ryland, op.cit., p.275. This was presumably 'Īsā Buṭrus (see above, pp.136-137); but as it was not published until six years later, it probably underwent drastic revision, perhaps amounting to complete re-translation by Schlienz and Rassām.

¹⁰⁴ Lewis, B. *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, London 1982, p.277.

¹⁰⁵ Moosa, op.cit., p.211.

¹⁰⁶ See above, p.214. Nor is it Bustānī's version, as asserted by Landau in *Grundriss der Arabischen Philologie*, Band II: *Literaturwissenschaft*, hrsg. H.Gätje, Wiesbaden 1987, p.249.

¹⁰⁷ Van Dyck, E.A. & Biblāwī, Muḥammad 'Alī, *Kitāb Iktifā' al-qanū' bi-mā huwa maṭbū'*, Cairo 1896, p.411.

her journal while staying in Malta that "Mr Schlienz, who superintends a mission press here, has been showing us some first lessons in drawing ... an important qualification for a missionary".¹⁰⁸ Two years later, in 1835, these were published under the title *Ba'd qawā'id fī uṣūl al-rasm*. The book, in its extant form, consists of 14 lithographed plates, of which eleven reproduce geometric shapes, albeit of a distinctly non-Islamic kind, and three depict objects such as furniture, vessels and articles of clothing, all of an entirely European style. They must have seemed very strange to the Arab children of that period who were required to copy them. The preface states that this is only the first of three such books; the archives of the CMS mention drawing lessons, including parts of the human body, consisting of 32 plates, all published in 1835.¹⁰⁹

It remains to mention the Arabic newspaper published in Malta. Entitled *Akhbār al-Qāṣid*, it appears from the CMS records, wherein it is referred to as "Gazette" or "The Messenger", that 18 numbers were issued in 1833 and 1834.¹¹⁰ The Religious Tract Society may have been involved in the publication, as their historian records that in about 1830 the CMS "printed, in Arabic ... a small periodical called 'The Christian Messenger'".¹¹¹ At least 8628 were printed altogether¹¹², but only one copy, of issue no.3 (Ādhār [March] 1833), has been traced. Although the content is entirely of a missionary character, the format and layout, in columns (2 per page), are definitely those of a newspaper. It is not mentioned by Ṭarrāzī in his comprehensive history and bibliography of the Arabic press¹¹³, although its date makes it almost certainly the earliest newspaper in Arabic after the Egyptian *Al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣrīya*.¹¹⁴

7.1.3 Other publications using Arabic types

Some books were printed in Ottoman Turkish, using the Arabic types, and the vicissitudes of the Press's attempts in this field have been

¹⁰⁸ Hooker, E.W. *Memoir of Mrs Sarah Larman Smith*, 2nd ed. Boston (USA) 1840, p.168.

¹⁰⁹ CM/O4/26, List of publications, May 1842.

¹¹⁰ CM/O4/21, Goods shipped to London, March 1833; CM/O4/22, do., March 1834.

¹¹¹ Jones, W., op.cit., p.375.

¹¹² CM/O4/23, Brenner, Publications issued from Malta during 1834.

¹¹³ Ṭarrāzī, Fīlīb ḍī, *Tarīkh al-ṣihāfa al-'Arabīya*, Beirut 1913-33.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Hopwood, D. "The press and periodicals", *Arab Islamic bibliography*, Hassocks 1977, pp.107-112.

outlined already.¹¹⁵ They are, with only two exceptions, "secular" in nature, being aimed at the Muslim Turks, since Turcophone Christians generally used other scripts. The elementary reading-book *Okumak kitabıdır*, published in 1834, contains the alphabet and examples of words, followed by conversational phrases, fables and sentences. A revised and enlarged version dated 1836 is entitled *Cemi ulûma ziver olan fen-i kitabetin medhal-i evveli*. A work on natural history, *Tekvin ül-mahlûkat*, also appeared in 1834¹¹⁶, but it has not been possible to find a copy of it, so the nature of its contents remains unknown.

The other Turkish books were all published in 1839, during or after the stay in Malta of Fjellstedt and Yusuf Efendi.¹¹⁷ Two volumes of a projected four-volume introductory compendium of useful knowledge appeared under the title *Medha'i ulûm*, with nine plates. The content was probably adapted from Pincock's series of catechisms. There was also another edition of the reading-book, and the two religious works: *Ulûm ul-hakayık*, a treatise on the attributes of God, and *Kitab-ı ilm-i edeb*, a work on ethics.

The use of Arabic type for Maltese was another project in which the Press was marginally involved. The history of Maltese orthography before the middle of the 19th century has been aptly described as "a struggle between the Romanists and the Arabists".¹¹⁸ A full account of this would be out of place here: the matter has in any case been well covered in the studies of Cremona & Saydon, Aquilina, Marshall and Sant.¹¹⁹ Of those protagonists who were connected with the CMS press, Schlienz, and at one time, Badger, favoured the adoption of classical Arabic as the written language of Malta.¹²⁰ Some steps were taken in this direction, since it appears that, not only was Arabic taught in some schools, by Shidyāq and others, but attempts may have been made to use it as a medium of instruction for other subjects: the Arabic atlas discussed above was, it seems, in use in Malta.¹²¹

¹¹⁵ See above, pp.166-167 & 234-235.

¹¹⁶ Zenker, J.T. *Bibliotheca orientalis: manuel de bibliographie orientale*, vol.I, Leipzig 1846, #1696; CM/04/26, List of publications, May 1842.

¹¹⁷ See above, pp.167 & 235.

¹¹⁸ Aquilina, J. *Papers in Maltese linguistics*, 2nd ed. Msida 1970, p.80.

¹¹⁹ Cremona, A. & Saydon [P.P.], *The development of Maltese as a written language*, Valletta [1928]; Aquilina, op.cit.; Marshall, D. *History of the Maltese language in local education*, [Msida] 1971; Sant, K. *It-traduzzjoni tal-Bibbja u l-ilsien Malii 1810-1850*, [Msida] 1975, pp.32-40.

¹²⁰ Schlienz, op.cit., pp.58-96; Badger, G.P. *Description of Malta and Gozo*, Malta 1838, pp.13 & 79-81.

¹²¹ Cremona & Saydon, op.cit., pp.9-10; Bonavia, C.G. *Bibliografija of Maltese textbooks 1651-1979*. Msida 1979, p.13 & #35, p.29.

Nevertheless, Schlienz's advocacy of classical Arabic for Malta has aptly been described as "a cry in the wilderness"¹²² ; and it does not seem that any of the Malta Arabic publications were intended for, or used solely or primarily in, Malta.¹²³

An only slightly less visionary prospect was the use of Arabic script for the Maltese language itself. One notable Maltese scholar, Giovanni Giuseppe Bellanti, Librarian at the Government Library in Valletta, favoured this, and in 1828 sent to Schlienz the first part of a grammar which he had thus written, to be printed with the Arabic founts of the CMS press.¹²⁴ According to Cremona, it was not printed because of pressure of other work at the Press¹²⁵ , but the real reason seems to have been Schlienz's view that it was "full of imperfections".¹²⁶ He himself in 1832 set out no less than seven reasons for not using Arabic type for Maltese.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, in his own treatise published at the CMS press six years later, he was more equivocal on the subject, and expressed a preference for the Arabic script, while at the same time recognising the difficulties of reconciling the spoken language with Arabic orthography, and commending Vassalli's modified roman system¹²⁸ ; he did, moreover, publish in his book an extensive Maltese dialogue in the Arabic script, with a version also in Egyptian colloquial for comparison.¹²⁹ This seems to have been the only Maltese text to have been printed in Malta entirely with Arabic types.

Arabic letters were, however, used rather more often when mixed with roman ones, to render the letters for which no obvious roman equivalents existed. The Government Press in Malta adopted this system for a while, using the letters *hā'*, *khā'*, *shīn*, *'ayn*, *ghayn* and *qāf* in a scientific work on fish by Gaetano Trapani published in 1838¹³⁰ , and in a reading book in 1839.¹³¹ The types used, however,

¹²² Felice, M. "The Maltese alphabet", *Sunday Times of Malta*, 2704 (4 March 1973), p.10.

¹²³ Although Shidyāq's reading-book *Al-Laḥf*, Malta 1839, as we have seen, was partly intended for his Arabic classes there.

¹²⁴ Cremona, A. *Vassalli and his times*, tr. M. Butcher, Malta 1940, pp.111 & 118; Aquilina, op.cit., p.81.

¹²⁵ Cremona, *Vassalli*, p.111.

¹²⁶ CM/O65/19, Schlienz to Secs., 8.3.1832.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Schlienz, *Views*, pp.43-48.

¹²⁹ Ibid., pp.126-133.

¹³⁰ Trapani, G. *A catalogue of the different kinds of fish of Malta and Gozo*, Malta 1838.

¹³¹ [Casolani, A. (attrib.)] *English and Maltese reading book for the use of Government primary schools*, Malta 1839.

were different from the CMS ones¹³² ; and a complete fount was not available, as Trapani complains in his preface that the lack of types had compelled him to adopt the mixed system rather than a full Arabic-script rendering of the Maltese fish names.¹³³ The CMS press never used, as far as can be ascertained from extant works, this mixed orthography, but in their editions of Vassalli's *Grammatica della lingua maltese* (1827) and *Motti, aforismi e proverbii maltesi* (1828), Arabic letters and words do appear as equivalents or for purposes of comparison.¹³⁴ In 1845 its successor, the press of M.Weiss¹³⁵ , also published Panzavecchia's Maltese grammar, which included Arabic equivalents of the letters and many Arabic words, using the CMS founts.¹³⁶ Two years later, however, the same press, now in the hands of Gabriel Vassalli, printed the same author's life of Christ in Maltese¹³⁷ , using only a modified roman fount, with no Arabic types at all. By mid-century the Romanists had decisively won the struggle, and Arabic typography finally disappeared from Malta.¹³⁸ Even Badger had completely changed his views by the 1840s, and advocated written Maltese with an entirely Italian-based orthography.¹³⁹

It remains to mention briefly the use of Arabic type in English works. Schlienz's treatise on Maltese, published in 1838, has already been mentioned: it made extensive use of Arabic in its appendices, for literary Arabic quotations as well as for Maltese.¹⁴⁰ In 1835 the CMS in Malta printed, for private publication in London, the travel memoirs of Joseph Wolff¹⁴¹ , which also contains a number of quotations in Arabic and Persian - the only examples of the latter

¹³² This is especially noticeable in the case of the letter *shin*, which in these two books has a marked rightward bunching of the three dots, not present in the CMS sorts for this letter.

¹³³ Trapani, op.cit., pp.[i-ii].

¹³⁴ Cf. Fenech, D. *Vassalli u kitbietu*, [Valletta?] 1977, pp.25-26.

¹³⁵ See below, pp.317-319.

¹³⁶ Panzavecchia, F. *Grammatica della lingua maltese*, Malta 1845. Panzavecchia had earlier favoured Arabic script for Maltese. Agius, D. "Writing of Maltese in Arabic characters", *Sunday Times of Malta*, 2703 (25.2.1973), p.10.

¹³⁷ [Panzavecchia, F.] *Il ħaja ta Sidna Gesu Kristu*, Malta 1847.

¹³⁸ Arabic script was unacceptable to the Maltese for religio-cultural reasons, as it would have implied an indirect attachment to the Arab/Islamic world, whereas roman script preserved the link with the Latin, Catholic tradition. Cf. Sammut, C. "La perception par les auteurs maltais de l'arabisation/islamisation de l'île de Malte", *Actes du Deuxieme Congres International d'Etude des Cultures de la Mediterranee Occidentale, II*, Algiers 1978, pp.314-315.

¹³⁹ Badger, G.P. *A letter on the eligibility of the Maltese dialect as a written medium of instruction in the Government primary schools addressed to His Excellency Sir H.F.Bouverie*, Valletta 1841. Cf. Marshall, op.cit., p.17-18.

¹⁴⁰ Schlienz, op.cit., pp.105-133.

¹⁴¹ Wolff, J. *Researches and missionary labours*, London 1835. Item 64 in Appendix A.

language to be printed at the Malta press, as far as can be ascertained. The CMS also printed, under the name of M.Weiss, the *Malta Penny Magazine*, a weekly journal which came out between 1839 and 1841. It contains many articles on Arab and Middle Eastern matters, and three of its issues make use of Arabic types. Most noteworthy is No.6 (19 October 1839), which gives details of a Muslim tombstone found in Malta.¹⁴² These include a lithographic reproduction of the Kufic epitaph, an edition of it in the regular CMS *naskh*, an English translation, and a Maltese rendering in Vassalli's modified roman.

7.2 The physical characteristics

(NB: Bracketed numbers refer to items in Appendix A below)

Only a brief survey of some of the features of the appearance of the Malta Arabic and Turkish books can be attempted here, and emphasis will be laid on those characteristics which distinguish them from other Arabic books of the period and earlier.

The most important feature of a printed book is its type-face. As we have seen, the first Arabic types used in Malta were supplied by the CMS's London printer and type-founder Richard Watts.¹⁴³ These were almost identical to, and most probably from the punches and/or matrices of, the founts prepared by William Martin from models provided by Charles Wilkins at the beginning of the 19th century.¹⁴⁴ Although they were, as previously mentioned, a great improvement on earlier Arabic types used in England, the founts originally sent by Watts to Malta were at first found, as we have also seen, to be defective in certain respects and they had to be supplemented subsequently.¹⁴⁵ Two type-faces were supplied - English and Great Primer sizes - and they were used exclusively until the late 1830s. Any larger size of lettering, as required sometimes for headings and titles, had to be specially engraved or lithographed.

While these Martin/Watts type-faces are quite elegant in appearance, they do not really correspond to any authentic Arabic *ductus*, and certain features, such as the opaque "eyes" in letters such as *fā'*, *qāf* and *wāw*, must have seemed somewhat alien to Arab

¹⁴² "Arabic inscription, written in Cufic characters, and found in the island of Malta", *Malta Penny Magazine*, 6 (19.10.1839), pp.21-24.

¹⁴³ See above, pp.40 & 111-113.

¹⁴⁴ See above, pp.37-40.

¹⁴⁵ See above, pp.112-113.

readers. The use of the Persian form of the numeral 4 (presumably derived from Wilkins's Indian models), and Western numerals and letters for sheet signatures, would also have contributed to the "foreign" look. It seems that in consequence the early Malta books encountered some criticism from their Arab recipients on account of their type-style and appearance.¹⁴⁶

Because of this, and also because the Watts types were wearing out, completely new Arabic founts were brought into use in 1838. These were prepared and cast entirely in Malta, under the supervision of Badger and Shidyāq.¹⁴⁷ The latter's experience as a copyist in his youth in Lebanon undoubtedly contributed greatly to the preparation of good calligraphic models, while Badger's mechanical skill and typographical experience, combined with his feeling for Arabic, ensured that they were reproduced as faithfully and elegantly as possible on the punches that were cut.¹⁴⁸ Three sizes of alphabet were created, of which the largest, Double Pica, was impressively calligraphic: as well as being used for headings and titles, some entire texts were set in it, such as Shidyāq's reading book (85) of 1839 and the 1840 edition of the Parables (93), which one modern Arab typographical historian has described as being "of extreme beauty of script and excellence of typography".¹⁴⁹ The two smaller ones - Great Primer and English - were designed to replace the Watts types, and were also considerably more authentic than their predecessors, being fair reproductions of good *naskhī* styles. They do, however, inherit a few of the Martin characteristics, as well as introducing some oddities of their own, such as the curiously lopsided isolated *nūn*.

The impression made by lines of type is affected not only by the type-face, but also by the type-setting: this is especially true of Arabic typography, which must imitate cursive script. Careless or disjointed composition can greatly mar the appearance of the text and alienate the reader. A few of the early Malta publications do suffer from this, e.g. parts of the 1828 edition of the Parables (19), but most of them are carefully set, with the cursiveness well

¹⁴⁶ "The Arabs generally dislike the characters of the books issued from our Press" - CM/O18/11, Brenner to Coates, 3.12.1831. See above, p.125.

¹⁴⁷ See above, pp.113 & 125.

¹⁴⁸ See above, pp.157-158 & 214-215.

¹⁴⁹ "Huwa ghāya fī jamāl al-khatt wa jūdāt al-ṭab'" - Riḍwān, op.cit., p.25.

maintained. Typographical spelling errors, however, are not infrequent, despite the proof-reading efforts of Jowett, Schlienz and their assistants. Sometimes, as in the case of Kluge's arithmetic book of 1829, the printing of the wrapper seems to have gone entirely uncorrected, resulting in a quite gross travesty of the title - particularly unfortunate, as this is the first part of the book to be seen by its recipient. The compositors also seem to have had continual difficulty with Eastern Arabic numerals, frequently muddling 2 and 6, or 7 and 8, or reversing the order of digits. Most of these errors occur in the earlier books: by the late 1830s the vigilance of Shidyāq and Edger was brought to bear, and eliminated most such misprints. Printed errata lists are appended to some volumes.

The arrangement of the text on the page, and the accompanying typographical features which serve to present it and package it as a book, are also of crucial importance in determining its impact on readers. The books produced at the early Turkish and Egyptian presses were usually modelled quite closely on traditional manuscript layouts and styles of presentation.¹⁵⁰ The Arabic and Turkish books from Malta, on the other hand, introduced a number of new features derived from the European printed book, while at the same time retaining a sensitivity to Middle Eastern norms which was often lacking in Arabic books printed in Europe. Some traditional features do sometimes occur, such as, in a few cases, decorative headings, corresponding to manuscript *'unwāns*¹⁵¹ (although these are generally much less elaborate than their counterparts in Istanbul or Bulaq books); also, occasionally, the use of ruled borders around the text¹⁵², or red ink for headings or rubricated key words.¹⁵³ Colophons also appear in a number of books, in some cases printed in the traditional tapered style: they do not, however, for the most part contain the information (place, date, etc.) traditionally included¹⁵⁴, and in some cases - e.g. *Robinson Crusoe*, 1835 (63) - simply contain

¹⁵⁰ Endress, G. "Die Anfänge der arabischen Typographie und die Ablösung der Handschrift durch den Buchdruck", *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, Bd. I, Wiesbaden 1982, pp. 295-296.

¹⁵¹ They are to be found in items 20, 30, 34, 35, 38, 39, 41, 43, 45, 46 & 71.

¹⁵² In items 33, 34, 76 and 98. In the last case, the border takes the form of a blue wavy line, creating a quite bizarre effect.

¹⁵³ E.g. items 37 and 98.

¹⁵⁴ One exception is the *Pilgrim's progress* (56), which has a lozenge-shaped colophon, printed on a separate page, stating that the book was printed in Malta by the CMS in 1834; this information does not appear on the title-page.

the final words of the text.

On the other hand, unlike manuscripts, and contrary to the practice in most Egyptian and Ottoman printed books of the period, the Malta books contain no printed marginal glosses or commentaries, and there are no catchwords to link one page of text to the next.¹⁵⁵ Instead, several of them do introduce footnotes, a novel way of presenting ancillary information in Arabic books. Sometimes they are linked to the text by numbers, as in *Pilgrim's progress* (56)¹⁵⁶ ; elsewhere by symbols such as crosses and asterisks. At the top of the page, another novel feature is sometimes found: running heads, repeating the title of the chapter or section as an aid to those referring to the book. This occurs in items 19 (where chapter titles alternate with repetitions of the book title), 43 (where the chapter nos. are also repeated), 47, 70, 79 and 93.

Most ordinary manuscripts, and many printed books from the Middle East until the mid-19th century, lack title-pages.¹⁵⁷ The Malta books, however, with only a few exceptions¹⁵⁸ do provide them. Usually (but not always) they set out the place and date of publication as well as the title. The author's name, however, is only seldom given¹⁵⁹ : in most cases the omission is understandable, as many of the books have no identifiable authors, being biblical anthologies, reading books, prayers or such like, or are translated from English authors (Bickersteth, Pinnock, etc.) whose transliterated names would appear as nothing but gobbledegook to Arab readers; but it is perhaps surprising that Shidyāq's name is missing from the title-pages of the books of which he was the author (71, 85 and 92), and that works by Zākhir (57) and Farḥāt (37, 105 and 106) are not thus credited.

Many of the title-pages are adorned with quotations from biblical or other sources, with wood-engraved vignettes, or with decorative engraved panels or borders, sometimes incorporating gothic architectural motifs, or patterns produced by the repetition of small foliate, floral or crystal devices. Some have large or

¹⁵⁵ Catchwords had been generally employed also in European printed books in earlier periods, but had fallen out of use by the 19th century.

¹⁵⁶ Somewhat incongruously, Western numerals are used.

¹⁵⁷ Endress, *op.cit.*, p.295.

¹⁵⁸ Items 2, 39, 49, 53, 66, 67, 76, 79 and 107. But all except 2 and 76 have printed wrappers which serve as title-pages.

¹⁵⁹ Green ("Girīn") 1826 (6); King ("Kīn") 1833 (45); Farḥāt 1836 (69) and Ewald ("Iwald") 1839 (81). In the cases of King and Ewald the names really form part of the title.

elaborate engraved lettering for the title or part thereof: in particular, the word "Kitāb", in large letters with the *bā'* placed over the *kāf*, appears in identical form on several title-pages, and must have been engraved on a block which was reused. A few title-pages were produced entirely by lithography, with attempts at calligraphy for the titles and sometimes elaborate decorative ensembles: two notable examples are Farḥāt's *Baḥth al-maṭālib* of 1836 (69) with a very elaborate design incorporating pharaonic motifs, and the Anglican Prayer Book of 1840 (99), with the title in an exaggerated forward-sweeping quasi-Rayḥānī calligraphy probably executed by Shidyāq), and incorporating, rather incongruously, a copy of a wood-engraved vignette depicting the Pitt Press building in Trumpington Street, Cambridge¹⁶⁰, the whole design bearing the initials F.B., i.e. Frederic Brocktorff, the lithographer employed in Malta by the CMS.¹⁶¹ Sometimes two, or in one case even three¹⁶², colours were used. Finally, it must be mentioned that at least one Malta Arabic book - the Parables of 1828 (19) - has a half-title as well as a main title-page, something almost completely unprecedented in Middle Eastern books at that time.

Tables of contents, with page numbers, are also to be found in a number of the Malta publications. While this was not entirely unknown in Arabic books, it was still uncommon in that period. Other tables and charts also appear within the texts of certain books.

The page layouts likewise set new standards, being considerably more spacious and easier on the eye than most ordinary Arabic manuscripts or contemporary printed books from the Middle East. Margins are reasonably wide, and are unencumbered by glosses or commentaries. The spacing between lines and between words is also quite generous, leaving a reasonable overall ratio between black and white which contrasts markedly with the normal appearance of a page of a Bulaq or Istanbul book of the period. Many of the Malta texts are also divided into paragraphs (albeit often rather long ones), which is not true of most of their local counterparts.

Punctuation, in the modern sense, was not used in Arabic in the

¹⁶⁰ Used on contemporary Bible editions of the Cambridge University Press.

¹⁶¹ See above, pp.164-165.

¹⁶² *Dalīl wādīh*, ca.1840 (98). The colours are red, blue and black.

manuscript era¹⁶³ , nor did early printed books in the Middle East depart from scribal traditions in this respect. The Malta press for the most part followed suit, and the only marks in most of their books are asterisks or dots enclosed in inverted heart-shaped devices, conforming in their use with the traditional Arabic system. Dots as full stops appear in the *Kitāb Tawārīkh mukhtaṣar* of 1833 (48), but they are not used for sentence division in the modern manner.

There was, however, one serious attempt to introduce modern punctuation, and it came not from the Europeans at the press, but from the Arab scholar Fāris al-Shidyāq. His approach to the Arabic language was a combination of conservatism in his determination to maintain classical norms of grammar and style, and radicalism in seeking ways to revitalise it for use in the modern world. By the late 1830s he had become familiar with European books and literature, and had observed the usefulness of punctuation marks in clarifying the structure and meaning of passages of prose. In 1836 he published at the Malta press his English grammar in Arabic, *Al-Bākūra al-shahīya* (71), and was careful to set out in detail the punctuation signs, their names and uses.¹⁶⁴ Then, three years later, when he came to publish his primer and reading book of literary Arabic, *Al-Lafīf fī kull ma'nā ʿarīf* (Malta 1839) (85), he boldly decided to introduce these Western punctuation marks into it. He announced his decision in the preface to the book, setting out the signs and their use, and calling for their general adoption. His remarks on the subject are worth quoting in full:-

"Know, O peruser of this compilation, and critic of it with an impartial eye, pondering without haste, that we have adopted, for the divisions of its sentences (*fawāṣil jumalihi*), these signs (*'alāmāt*), in accordance with the indications (*ishārāt*) used by the Franks in their books.

The sign , is for the clause after which it is advisable to pause, either to separate the meaning from what has gone before, or merely for purposes of enunciation, with regard to reading, as between a conditional clause and its apodosis, and the noun after *inna* [or *anna*] and its predicate if distant from it. It was the

¹⁶³ Some circles, rosettes or groups of dots were used to indicate the ends of passages, such as verses in the Qur'ān. Cf. Pedersen, J. *The Arabic book*, tr. G. French, ed. R. Hillenbrand, Princeton 1984, p.79.

¹⁶⁴ On pp.99-102. The English names are given in Arabic transliteration: "al-kumma", "al-kawlawn", "al-piriyud", etc.

most appropriate to be [used] for the first special sign, but, this is the first of the abundant rain (*ghayth*).¹⁶⁵

The sign - is a preparation for the sentence which comes after it, the latter being a clarification or explanation of what was before it.

The sign : is [used] after "said", its derivatives and similar expressions, and sometimes what follows it is also an explanation.

The sign ! is for [expressing] astonishment, if it is unclear, and for exclamation[s] and so on.

The sign ? is for question[s], likewise if unclear.

The sign "-" is for the sentence which is cited by way of borrowing or quotation.

The sign . is [used] at the end of the section (*faṣl*), piece (*maqāla*) or completely independent sentence (*al-jumla al-mustaqilla istiqlālan tāmmān*).

The number 3 or 2 indicates the antecedent (*marji'*) of a personal pronoun (*ḍamīr*) if this is ambiguous.¹⁶⁶

How lovely it would be if this method were to be agreed upon, and the example followed, in other books the composition of which is embarked upon, in manuscript and in print, with the aim of achieving a root and branch benefit; since that would save the perpetration of much [error] on the paths of exegesis, and safeguard the reader in reading, and the traverser of the pitfalls of delusion. Maybe it will be commended by whoever is concerned with understanding the meaning, and not merely reading even though the construction collapsed upon him. By my life if this is necessary in Frankish languages then it is even more necessary in Arabic, because of the abundance of syndesis (*'atf*) in it, and the notable ramification of clauses one upon another. In other [languages] it is not necessary."¹⁶⁷

This remarkable proposal for a significant change in Arabic orthography was, however, far ahead of its time. Although all these

¹⁶⁵ This is a typically Shidyāqian joke, alluding to the resemblance between the shape of the comma and a raindrop.

¹⁶⁶ This curious device, which seems to have been used only once in the text - on p.193 - was presumably intended to help the elementary students using the book: Shidyāq can hardly have expected this to become standard practice in literary texts. Curiously, in the one place where they do appear, Western numerals are used, probably because none of the Eastern ones available were small enough to be inserted between the lines in this way.

¹⁶⁷ Shidyāq, Fāris al- *Al-Lafṣ fī kull ma'nā tarīf*, Malta 1839, pp.4-5. The apparent artificiality and inconsequentiality of parts of this passage are caused by the use of *saj'*. It was characteristic of Shidyāq that, when introducing and advocating a radical innovation, he should do so in the most traditional style of verbiage.

punctuation marks appear throughout *Al-Laff*, they were - apart from the full-stop - very seldom used in other Malta books, and are even missing from some for which Shidyāq himself was entirely responsible, such as the 1841 *Sharḥ ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān* (108). A few commas appeared in Ewald's *Murāsala* of 1839 (81), in the preface to Keith's *Al-Bayyina* (96), in Calhoun's *Murshid al-ṭālibin* and in the introduction to Badger's and Shidyāq's Arabic-English dialogues (92)¹⁶⁸, all of 1840. Dashes were also used in the Keith and Calhoun, and colons in the Ewald and in the 1840 *Qiṣṣat al-Ṣalīb* (100). Exclamation and question marks are not found anywhere outside *Al-Laff*, not even in the Arabic side of the dialogues, where they appear in the English text opposite. Quotation marks had been used in Bird's *13 risāla* of 1834 (55), and later reappeared in the Keith and in Milner's *Tārīkh Kanīsat al-Masīḥ* of 1839 (82). Brackets, not mentioned by Shidyāq, also featured in the Bird, in the *Kitāb Tawārīkh mukhtaṣar* of 1833 (48), in the Keith and in *Qiṣṣat al-Ṣalīb*.

In the Middle East, Shidyāq's appeal fell on deaf ears, and he himself soon gave up the idea. In the second edition of *Al-Laff*, published in Istanbul in 1881 at the Jawā'ib Press, of which he was the director, all the punctuation marks were omitted, as well as the section of the introduction quoted above. It was not until the 20th century that full punctuation became widely adopted in Arabic.

Another new feature in printed books for Arab readers was the use of illustrations. The employment of the Brocktorffs in 1832¹⁶⁹ made possible the preparation of both wood-engravings and lithographed drawings and maps. The first books to be thus adorned were the *Kitāb Tawārīkh mustantaj min al-'Ahd al-Qadīm* (43) and the astronomy book *Kitāb al-Durr al-maldūm* (46), both published in 1833. The former had wood-engraved vignettes of biblical subjects, and the latter a lithographed frontispiece with diagrams of eclipses, signed by F.de Brocktorff. The following year the *Pilgrim's progress* (56) appeared with lithographed plates, copied from the illustrations in the RTS edition of 1831, but furnished with Arabic captions. The 1835 *Robinson Crusoe* (63) was similarly embellished, as well as having wood-engraved vignettes in the text. Subsequently five other Arabic books (70, 75, 76, 96 and 109), including two primers, a geography book

¹⁶⁸ Used only to indicate the rhyming pairs in the *saj'* of Shidyāq's preface.

¹⁶⁹ See above, pp.164-165.

and a hymn-book, and one Turkish reader (84), came out in illustrated editions. Lithographed maps were also inserted in Calkoun's Bible companion of 1840 (95) as well as appearing in two editions (1833 and 1835) of an Arabic atlas (51 and 66).

The formats and sizes of the Malta Arabic books vary considerably. Apart from the oblong folio atlases and calligraphic copying book (68), and the quarto drawing lessons (67), none of them exceeded the standard octavo size of the 1840 dialogues (92). Many, however, especially the early tracts and primers, were much smaller - mostly 16mc, little more than pocket size. This was presumably both for reasons of cost, and to facilitate their transport and distribution by travelling missionaries.

The bindings in which the books were issued also varied. In 1826 Jowett wrote that three-quarters of all the publications "will require no more than simply a loose, or a stiff wrapper, ... the remainder ... such plain binding as we can give them".¹⁷⁰ As far as primers and tracts were concerned, this remained the binding policy¹⁷¹: the front wrapper was usually printed in a manner similar to the title-page, and the rear wrapper sometimes bore instructions to teachers or parents¹⁷², or biblical quotations. But when, in the 1830s and -40s, more substantial works were published, they were generally issued in cloth bindings, or in cloth-backed boards, sometimes with printed labels.

It remains to mention the characteristics of the Arabic newspaper published in Malta in 1833 and 1834 (50). Issue no.3, the only one to have been located, contains six pages, consisting of one sheet folded, with a half-sheet tipped in. It measures (folded) 25 x 21 cm. The upper 11 cm. of the first page contains the title (*Akhbār al-Qāṣid*) in large engraved calligraphic lettering, surmounted by a wood-engraved vignette, on either side of which are printed the year (1833), number (3) and the names of the month in the Eastern Christian and Coptic calendars (*Ādhār* and *Baramhāt*), in small type (English size). The main text, in two columns divided by a rule, is set in Great Primer Arabic from the Martin/Watts fount (with a few words quoted in Greek). The imprint (*Māliṭa 1833*) appears in small

¹⁷⁰ CM/O39/79, Jowett to Secs., 23.9.1826.

¹⁷¹ Shidyāq's *Al-Lafīf*, however, seems to have been issued in boards: although a primer, it was a much more substantial work.

¹⁷² E.g. that of the 1829 primer (33).

type at the foot of the back page. For most, if not all, of its readers, it will have been the first publication in newspaper format which they had ever seen.

8. THE DISTRIBUTION & READERSHIP OF THE ARABIC BOOKS FROM MALTA

8.1 General; quantities

When the first Arabic tracts came off the Malta press in 1825, the channels for supplying them to the Arab world, and distributing them there, were already established, or in course of establishment. An account has already been given¹ of how, over the previous ten years or so, substantial quantities of Arabic bibles, and parts thereof, and also some Arabic tracts printed in London, were distributed in all parts of the Middle East and beyond. The prime movers in this invasion of the printed word were Protestant missionaries, and many of these same individuals and organisations now took the lead in introducing the products of the Malta press. As we have seen, the first Superintendent of the press, William Jowett, had himself played an important part in the earlier period of bible distribution, as an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society and a founder of the Malta Bible Society.²

The years after 1825 saw no diminution in the flow of printed Arabic scriptures³, which continued to be supplied mainly from the Malta depot. But now the vessels carrying them also bore cargoes of the Arabic tracts and school-books from Jowett's press, which were welcomed by the same people, and some of which also found recipients who were unable or unwilling to read printed bibles. They could also be used in an institutional framework hitherto lacking, for in the mid-1820s the Protestant missions, both British and American, were now becoming more settled in the Middle East and, unlike their mainly itinerant predecessors, were establishing their own premises, places of worship, depots and, most important of all, schools.

The two principal areas were, as with the earlier bible distribution, Egypt and greater Syria (especially Lebanon), but the Malta books also achieved a significant circulation in North Africa and Turkey, and some found their way to other areas. Each area will be considered in turn, but first it seems desirable to try to

¹ See above, pp.74-103.

² See above, pp.77sq.

³ The temporary check caused by the Sultan's *firmān* of 1824 (see above, p.96) did not last more than a few years.

establish the overall quantities of books supplied to the Middle East at various stages in the history of the press. Unfortunately no complete record exists, but the archives of the CMS do contain returns of books "issued" for certain years, and figures were also published from time to time in the *Missionary Register*. Those relating to specific titles are included in the bibliographical list in Appendix A; the totals of Arabic and Turkish issues are as follows⁴ :-

<u>Year</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turkish</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Source</u>
1825-27	14686	-	14686	CM/04/9; MR 1828, p.164
1832	12268	-	12268	CM/04/20; MR 1834, p.144
1833	30392	-	30392	MR 1834, p.144
1834	12446	1000	13446	CM/04/23; MR 1835, p.196
	(+ 8628 newspapers)			
1835	14922	136	15058	MR 1836, p.174
1836	6859	1260	8119	CM/O18/34; MR 1837, pp.249-250
1837	7028	304	7332	CM/04/24
1838	3365	146	3511	MR 1840, p.121
1840	7441	2180	9621	CM/04/25
1843	29121	3096	32217	CM/O67/29

It seems likely that issues in the missing years (1828-31, 1839, 1841-42) were substantially lower, which is why the figures were withheld. There were certainly slumps in demand during the temporary withdrawal of the Americans from Lebanon between 1828 and 1830, and in the aftermath of the Anglo-Egyptian confrontation of 1840.⁵ It must also be borne in mind that "issues" means books leaving the depot in Malta, not those distributed to readers in the Middle East. Nevertheless, there was certainly a correlation between supply and ultimate demand, which determined the rate at which the missionaries and their establishments were restocked - hence the lower figures for crisis years. The high figures for 1843 represent the final disposal of the bulk of the Malta stock, which was nearly all sent to the Middle East and distributed there subsequently.

What these figures therefore show is that, in the years following 1825, more than 150,000 Arabic and Turkish books and 8,600 newspapers from the Malta press were supplied to readers in the

⁴ In most cases there are small discrepancies (never exceeding 200) between the archive figures and those in *Missionary Register*. In some cases these can be accounted for by differences in the allocation of lithographed items, which are in separate lists, not divided by language, in the archive documents. In every case, the lower figure is given here. MR = *Missionary Register*.

⁵ See further below, p.276.

Middle East. Small though these quantities may seem by modern standards, in the first half of the 19th century they represented a dramatic increase in the availability of reading material. Even if due allowance is made for the sometimes injudicious distribution to illiterate or nearly illiterate people, and for the occasional confiscation and destruction of copies by the religious or secular authorities, it is clear that this printed material was made available on a scale hitherto unprecedented: neither traditional manuscript production, nor the earlier imports of European printed books, nor the output and distribution of the books from most of the local presses can have approached these levels in a comparable period of time. Only the Bulaq Press in Egypt exceeded these production figures⁶ ; however, a significant proportion of their books may not have been put into circulation during this period, but stored until later in the century.⁷ The implications and possible consequences of this mass distribution of the Malta Arabic publications will be considered in Chapter 10. It remains to give some account here of how and to whom that distribution was effected in the different countries and areas of the Middle East.

8.2 The Maghrib

After the extended visit to Tunisia in 1824 by Joseph Greaves of the Bible Society⁸ , the distribution of printed Arabic bibles in North Africa was carried out mainly by agents of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, commonly known as the London Jews' Society (LJS). The most receptive area continued to be Tunisia, where the LJS missionary F.C.Ewald resided from 1833 to 1841. On his way there he called at Malta, where he stocked up with bibles from the Bible Society depot⁹ , and must also have received substantial supplies of some of the Malta tracts, as he sold 300 of them in Tunis in his first three months there.¹⁰ As well as the Arabophone Jewish population, he also supplied books to the Muslim

⁶ Riḍwān estimated the number of editions printed at Bulaq between 1822 and 1842 as 232, and the average size of each as 1000. Riḍwān, *op.cit.*, pp.138-139 & 259-260.

⁷ 'Abduh, Muḥammad, *Al-a'mal al-kāmila*, ed. Muḥammad 'Imāra: al-juz' al-awwal, Beirut 1972, p.725. 'Abduh's assertion to this effect was originally published in an article in *Al-Manār* in 1902, as part of an extended attack on the legacy of Muḥammad 'Alī: it may contain an element of exaggeration, if not misrepresentation.

⁸ See above, p.90.

⁹ Ewald, *op.cit.*, pp.vii-viii.

¹⁰ Gidney, *op.cit.*, p.192. Some of the tracts were in Italian, presumably supplied to European residents.

Tunisians ("Moors"), finding "a great demand among them for better instruction than they have hitherto had: the progress which learning makes in Egypt is known here, and they of Tunis wish to become as learned as their neighbours the Egyptians. They frequently ask for books of instruction".¹¹

Even on his first arrival, the customs officer at Tunis, one Sîdî Muḥammad, eagerly accepted a copy of the new Arabic astronomy text-book published at Malta¹², and expressed an interest in such works of "philosophy", while rejecting, to Ewald's disgust, the Arabic bible which he was also offered.¹³ Ewald later visited an official whom he called the "Bash Mameluke" and supplied him with Arabic printed books to add to his "ten large book-cases full of Arabic manuscripts".¹⁴ Subsequently he reported that "even at Court, in the Pasha's residence, Christian books were eagerly sought after and read".¹⁵ By July 1834 he had sold and distributed "some thousands" of Malta Arabic publications.¹⁶ The following year he travelled down the coast of Tunisia and on to Tripoli, and claimed to have circulated on his way "tens of thousands of tracts", mainly to the Jewish communities.¹⁷

In 1840, Ewald brought to Tunis supplies of the edition of his own Arabic "Correspondence with students in Tunis"¹⁸, which was aimed at Muslims; but it produced a hostile reaction among the 'ulamā', so that one of the students with whom he had conducted the correspondence some years earlier¹⁹ begged him to stop circulation of the book, for fear of severe punishment.²⁰ After Ewald's departure in 1841, the import of Arabic printed books from Malta into Tunisia seems to have ceased, and by the time LJS missionary work was resumed there in 1853²¹, supplies from that source were no longer available.

¹¹ *Missionary Register* 1834, p.267.

¹² *Kiṭāb al-Durr al-Malḍūm*, 1833. Item 46 in Appendix A.

¹³ *Missionary Register* 1834, p.226.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.267-268.

¹⁵ Ewald, *op.cit.*, p.x.

¹⁶ *Missionary Register* 1836, p.92.

¹⁷ *Gidney, op.cit.*, p.193.

¹⁸ *Murāsala bayn 'abduh ta'ālā Iwald al-qassīs al-Inkilīzī wa bayn ba'd ṭalabat al-'ilm bi-Tūnis al-maḥrūsa*, Malta [1839]. Item 81 in Appendix A.

¹⁹ See above, p.240.

²⁰ *Missionary Register* 1841, p.128.

²¹ *Gidney, op.cit.*, p.306.

Libya also received some attention from the LJS. Before Ewald's brief excursion there, Johann Nikolaisen had travelled from Malta to Tripoli in 1829 with his colleague S.Farman. As we have seen, Nikolaisen had himself already been involved with the Malta press²² and he took with him to Tripoli a "large supply" of Arabic tracts for the Jewish population there.²³ However, he discovered that among that community Arabic was "very rarely read", and came to the conclusion that books and tracts for them should in future be in Hebrew.²⁴

Tripolitania, however, continued to be regarded as a possible destination for Arabic books. The extensive financial and commercial dealings between Malta and Tripoli in this period, the Maltese immigration there, and the resulting power and influence of the British consul²⁵, probably encouraged this view, and it is likely that some of the Malta books were distributed there through such channels, as bibles had been earlier²⁶; but there does not seem to be any record of this. The only other missionary attempt was by the American Congregationalist Isaac Bird of the American Board (ABCFM), who distributed some books and tracts while visiting Tripoli in 1829.²⁷

Algeria was another destination for book-bearing missionaries in this period, but conditions there proved to be rather more discouraging. In 1826 it was reported that printed bibles distributed earlier to Algerians²⁸ were being confiscated on pain of death and burnt.²⁹ After the French occupation in 1830, more favourable conditions were expected, and following a preliminary visit by Nikolaisen in 1831, Ewald arrived in 1832 with large supplies of Arabic and other bibles, only to be prohibited from engaging in missionary activities by the Governor-General, acting on orders from Paris.³⁰ However, in 1835 and again in 1836 it was

²² See above, pp.185-186.

²³ Gidney, op.cit., p.190.

²⁴ *Missionary Register* 1830, p.358. In fact, the principal written language of the North African Jews was Judaeo-Arabic.

²⁵ Joffé, E.G.H. "British Malta and the Qaramanli dynasty (1800-1835)", *La vie économique des provinces arabes et leurs sources documentaires à l'époque ottomane*, tome III, ed. Abdeljelil Temimi, Zaghuan 1986, pp.23-40; also in *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine / Al-Majalla al-Tārikhīya al-Maghribīya*, 12 (1985), pp.23-40.

²⁶ See above, pp.79-80.

²⁷ *Missionary Register* 1831, p.351.

²⁸ See above, p.89.

²⁹ *Missionary Register* 1826, p.292.

³⁰ Ewald, op.cit., p.vii; Gidney, op.cit., p.191.

reported that Arabic books published in Malta had been distributed there³¹, and a breakthrough came in 1838 when a French Protestant body called the Toulouse Africa-Evangelization Society undertook the free distribution of Malta Arabic tracts in Algiers³²: exactly which tracts, and in what quantities, is unfortunately not recorded.

8.3 Egypt

For most of Muḥammad 'Alī's reign, Egypt held itself open to Western missionary activity, as part of a general policy of encouraging European scientific, cultural and educational influence.³³ The CMS took full advantage of the opportunities thus presented, and in addition to preaching and teaching, found that there was an "open door" for the distribution of its books throughout the country.³⁴ Egypt therefore became both quantitatively and qualitatively much the most important destination for the Arabic publications of the Malta press.

The CMS mission in Egypt was first established in 1826³⁵, and immediately the work of putting the first Malta tracts into circulation began.³⁶ In 1828 Schlienzen was instructed to "supply our B[rethren] in Egypt abundantly with Arabic Tracts"³⁷, and in the following year the two resident missionaries, Theophilus Lieder and Wilhelm Kruse, were requesting substantial quantities of six different titles for distribution in various parts of the country.³⁸ By 1832 Lieder reported that "the Holy Scriptures, and Tracts, and Pious Books, issuing from the Society's Press at Malta, which have been largely diffused [in Egypt], are now read by thousands".³⁹

In the mid-1830s, however, the severe plague epidemic, and the failure of Lieder's own health, brought a sharp decline in the rate

³¹ *Missionary Register* 1835, p.76; 1836, p.89.

³² *Missionary Register* 1838, p.84.

³³ Sislian, J. "Missionary work in Egypt during the nineteenth century", *Educational policy and the mission schools: case studies from the British Empire*, ed. B. Holmes, London 1967, pp.175-176.

³⁴ Watson, C.R. *In the valley of the Nile: a survey of the missionary movement in Egypt*, New York 1908, p.121.

³⁵ For a general survey of the history of the CMS and other Protestant establishments in Egypt, see Sislian, op.cit. and Watson, op.cit.

³⁶ CM/O39/68, Jowett to Secs., 10.4.1826; *Missionary Register* 1826, p.318.

³⁷ CM/L1/198, Jowett to Schlienzen, 5.11.1828.

³⁸ *Missionary Register* 1830, p.64. Lieder ordered 400 "Parables" (Item 19 in Appendix A), 400 "Prodigal Son" (24), 300 "Sower" (21), 200 "End of Time" (17) and 200 "Watts's Catechism" (8); Kruse requested an unspecified quantity of "Parables" and "Traveller and Yourself" (28).

³⁹ *Missionary Register* 1832, p.234.

of distribution⁴⁰ , which only recovered towards the end of the decade. In late 1839 and early 1840 political conditions arising from the Anglo-Egyptian confrontation over Syria brought another sharp curtailment⁴¹ ; but by the beginning of 1841 Lieder was able to report that 3877 books had been distributed the previous year.⁴² In 1841 the demand was "greater than ever before", with 4742 books and tracts put into circulation⁴³ , and the following year an "increasing demand" was reported.⁴⁴

After the winding-up of the press, Kruse ordered "a very large supply" of the remaining Arabic books for his Cairo depot⁴⁵ , and 17327 bound books, plus 9202 unbound tracts (all in Arabic) were shipped to him in 1843.⁴⁶ Obviously not all of these were immediately distributed, but 3336 were in 1843, and another 4562 in 1844.⁴⁷ In 1845 the small remaining stock of Arabic books in Malta was sent to Cairo⁴⁸ , and in 1846 both Lieder and Kruse were still reported to be distributing them in large numbers.⁴⁹ As late as 1849 a heavy demand was still being met⁵⁰ , and there is little doubt that they continued to be used and distributed until the closure of the CMS mission in Egypt in 1862.⁵¹ It is by no means unlikely that they were also used by other Protestant missions there in the second half of the 19th century, such as the American Presbyterian Mission started in 1854.⁵²

Who were the recipients of all these books, and through what channels were they distributed? The CMS mission was primarily aimed at the Copts, and it was to this community that most of the books went. The most important use to which they were put was as text-books in the schools run by the missionaries for Coptic children in Cairo. A day-school for boys was established in May 1828⁵³ , and

⁴⁰ CM/O65 39, Schlienzt to Secs., 3.9.1835; Sislian, op.cit., p.197.

⁴¹ CM/O28 38, Gobat to Coates, 25.4.1840; Sislian, op.cit., pp.199-200.

⁴² *Missionary Register* 1841, pp.332-333.

⁴³ *Missionary Register* 1842, pp.289-290.

⁴⁴ CM/O28 51, Gobat to Secs., 25.6.1842.

⁴⁵ CM/O67 27, Weiss to Coates, 28.10.1843.

⁴⁶ CM/O67 29, Weiss to Coates, 28.5.1844.

⁴⁷ *Missionary Register* 1845, pp.246-247.

⁴⁸ CM/O67 33, Weiss to Coates, 16.4.1845. Unfortunately no figure is given.

⁴⁹ *Missionary Register* 1847, pp.306-308.

⁵⁰ *Missionary Register* 1850, pp.305 & 307.

⁵¹ Fowler, M. *Christian Egypt, past, present, and future*, London 1901, 250; Watson, op.cit., p.130.

⁵² Fowler, op.cit., pp.274-279. The bulk of their literature, however, almost certainly came from the American Press in Beirut.

⁵³ *Missionary Register* 1829, p.50; Sislian, op.cit., p.192.

Kruse was soon requesting further supplies of Arabic books to give to the pupils, in addition to the six boxes of them already received.⁵⁴ At its peak in the late 1830s, this school had nearly 100 pupils, of whom about three-quarters were Copts, the rest being Muslims, Armenians, Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics.⁵⁵ They were taught the elements of reading and writing in Arabic, using the Malta primers, and then were given the scriptural tracts and catechisms to read and, in many cases, memorise.⁵⁶

As well as this primary school there was a "seminary", or boarding-school, opened in the early 1830s, for the purpose of training teachers and translators. One of its first instructors was Fāris al-Shidyāq, who wrote an interesting report on the intensive teaching methods which he used, the curriculum, and the progress of the pupils.⁵⁷ Among the books whose use he mentioned were the "Grammar & vocabulary printed at Malta" (Items 37 and 40 in Appendix A), the "spellingbook" (31, 33 or 42) and "prayers" (41). At that time there were 20 pupils, one of whom was, as we have seen, Ḥannā 'l-Jāwalī, who later served in Malta as a translator. Two years later geography had been added to the curriculum, presumably because of the publication of *Al-Kanz al-mukhtār* at Malta in 1833 (Item 47 in Appendix A), and there were 10 day-pupils, in addition to the boarders.⁵⁸ As well as reading and learning, they even "correct, with confidence, every mistake they may meet with in the printed books and Tracts".⁵⁹ In 1839 the number of pupils was 22, including 9 Muslims⁶⁰, and by the following year "the elder lads of the first class have ... read more than once all the Arabic books issued from [the Malta] press".⁶¹ According to a visitor at about this time, natural history, arithmetic, geometry and English were by then also

⁵⁴ *Missionary Register* 1829, p.50.

⁵⁵ The figures for January 1839 were: 75 Copts, 12 Muslims, 4 Armenians, 3 Greek Orthodox and 2 Catholics (*Missionary Register* 1839, p.379). In 1840 Olin found about 70 pupils altogether. Olin, S. *Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petraea and the Holy Land*, New York 1843, vol.I, p.118; Heyworth-Dunne, J. "Education in Egypt and the Copts", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 6 (1940), p.101; Salāma, Jirjis, *Tārīkh al-ta'lim al-ajnabī fī Miṣr fī 'l-qarnayn al-tāsi' 'ashar wa 'l-'ishrīn*, Cairo 1963, p.46.

⁵⁶ *Missionary Register* 1841, p.379.

⁵⁷ CM/O73/61, "Fares Eshediak's remarks concerning the children in the School at Cairo, of the year 1832". See above, pp.174-175 & 213.

⁵⁸ *Missionary Register* 1834, p.312.

⁵⁹ *Missionary Register* 1835, p.331.

⁶⁰ *Missionary Register* 1839, p.379.

⁶¹ *Missionary Register* 1841, p.122.

taught⁶², and another observer stated that the seminary offered a "liberal course of studies, embracing science and language".⁶³ For this the printed text-books were indispensable.

In 1843 the CMS, with financial help from the SPCK, also opened a training "Institution" for Coptic priests, in which Church history, literature, Arabic and Coptic were taught at an advanced level.⁶⁴ The works on the first of these subjects published at Malta (Items 82, 104 and 107 in Appendix A) may have been used; but it was found that the majority of the Malta books were too elementary, and it was decided to use English ones instead, necessitating intensive courses in the language first.⁶⁵ Probably for this as well as other reasons the whole scheme proved abortive, and the Institution was closed in 1848.⁶⁶

All the aforementioned establishments were for males; but as early as 1829 the CMS also started a day-school for girls in Cairo⁶⁷ - an almost unprecedented step in Egypt, or indeed anywhere in the Middle East. Reading was compulsory from the start⁶⁸, and the school became very popular: by 1838 it had no fewer than 144 pupils, 98 of whom were Copts, 37 other Christians and 9 Muslims.⁶⁹ As well as the Malta spelling-books, "Scripture stories" (probably item 62 in Appendix A), "Watts's Catechism" (38 or 39), the "Bible Catechism" (34) and the "Companion to the Bible" (95) were used.⁷⁰ By the mid-1850s only this girls' school survived, the other CMS educational establishments having closed.⁷¹

As well as the CMS, the Wesleyan Missionary Society also ran an "Arab school" in Alexandria from 1827 to 1835, with both Copts and Muslims among its pupils. This likewise made use of some of the Malta publications, including spelling-books and "Watts's Catechism"; the latter apparently provoked an adverse reaction among

⁶² Bowring, J. *Report on Egypt and Candia, addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Palmerston, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c.&c.&c.*, London 1840 (Reports from Commissioners, 6; [Parliamentary Papers 1840,] Vol. XXI), p.137.

⁶³ Olin, *op.cit.*, II, p.118.

⁶⁴ Sislian, *op.cit.*, p.200. One of the instructors was a "Mr Gawoly" - probably Ḥannā 'l-Jāwalī (see above, pp.174-177), who had by then returned from Malta. *Missionary Register* 1845, p.248.

⁶⁵ *Missionary Register* 1845, pp.248-249.

⁶⁶ *Missionary Register* 1849, p.315; Heyworth-Dunne, *op.cit.*, pp.100-101; Sislian, *op.cit.*, p.200.

⁶⁷ *Missionary Register* 1829, p.308; Sislian, *op.cit.*, p.192.

⁶⁸ *Missionary Register* 1829, p.308.

⁶⁹ *Missionary Register* 1839, p.379.

⁷⁰ *Missionary Register* 1841, p.380; 1848, p.270.

⁷¹ *Missionary Register* 1853, p.78; Sislian, *op.cit.*, p.200.

the Muslims, who were all withdrawn by 1834.⁷² Other Malta books, including the Atlas (item 51 in Appendix A) and geography (47) were given by the Methodist missionary James Bartholomew to pupils for their friends and relations, and to other schools in Alexandria.⁷³

Most of the pupils in all these missionary schools (except the girls), having received from their teachers and their books what one observer called "a smattering of Frank science"⁷⁴, did not then become teachers or evangelists, as the missionaries hoped, but instead entered the service of the government of Muḥammad 'Alī, which was keen to employ them as clerks and accountants. Indeed this was the main reason why these schools were tolerated and even encouraged. The Irish traveller Eliot Warburton, who visited Cairo in 1843, observed that over 200 of the Pasha's clerical employees were ex-pupils of the CMS, and pityingly described a class of "these poor children, bending with Arab eagerness over their books, whence they were allowed to imbibe truth, for the first, and, perhaps, for the last time in their lives".⁷⁵ The prospect of government employment encouraged the pupils to progress in "general knowledge", as far as the available literature, i.e. the Malta books, allowed, but their religious progress, in the missionaries' eyes, remained slight. This pattern continued throughout the 1840s⁷⁶, and was one of the reasons for the CMS's eventual decision to reduce the funds and thereby force the run-down and eventual closure of all the schools.

As well as their own schools, the missionaries also supplied the Malta publications to the indigenous Coptic schools. As early as 1827, 310 copies of the Epistles of St Peter and St John (items 2 and 5 in Appendix A) were given free to seven schools in Cairo, and Kruse reported that they were "eagerly received" and "every one who received a copy sat down and read as loudly as he could".⁷⁷ The following year, it was reported that at one stage "boys ... are coming all day, from morning till evening, for Tracts".⁷⁸ Later, in

⁷² Sislian, op.cit., p.182. Sislian has drawn his information from the Methodist missionary archives.

⁷³ CM/O73/65, Bartholomew to Schlien, 20.9.1833.

⁷⁴ Paton, A.A. *A history of the Egyptian revolution from the period of the Mamelukes to the death of Mohammed Ali; from Arab and European memoirs, oral tradition, and local research*, 2nd ed. London 1870, Vol.II, p.281.

⁷⁵ Warburton, E. *The Crescent and the Cross*, London 1845, p.144.

⁷⁶ Watson, op.cit., p.126.

⁷⁷ *Missionary Register* 1828, pp.62 & 239.

⁷⁸ *Missionary Register* 1829, p.233.

1840, seven new Coptic schools, as well as the old ones, were receiving Malta books. and by then it was the teachers, who had formerly been indifferent, as well as the pupils, who were demanding them.⁷⁹ They were still in widespread use in Coptic schools in Cairo in 1845⁸⁰ and probably for long afterwards, until the Copts started their own press in 1860, on the initiative of the Patriarch Kirillus IV.⁸¹ The latter had himself been a pupil in the CMS seminary⁸², and his appreciation of the importance of printed books must have stemmed at least in part from the role which the Malta books had played in his own education.

Not only schools, but the Coptic populace in general received books from the missionaries.⁸³ In 1839 it was reported that "it is by no means a rare thing, on our way through the city [Cairo], to be pleasingly surprised, especially in the Christian quarter, by hearing a man reading in his shop, to several others sitting near him, some one or other of our little volumes".⁸⁴ The following year regular groups of Copts were formed to read the Bible and the Malta tracts: one such meeting was supplied with 40 catechisms and 40 "Daily prayers" (Item 86 in Appendix A).⁸⁵ Priests and monks also took copies of some of the Malta books⁸⁶ and they even found their way into some of the desert monasteries.⁸⁷

The missionaries undertook repeated trips throughout Lower Egypt and the Delta⁸⁸, to Fayyum⁸⁹, and to Upper Egypt⁹⁰, making mass distributions of the Malta publications, mainly to Coptic schools, but also to many individuals, both clerics and laymen. Lieder even ventured into Nubia in 1834.⁹¹ It seems clear from the accounts of

⁷⁹ *Missionary Register* 1841, p.383.

⁸⁰ *Missionary Register* 1845, p.247.

⁸¹ Rufayla, Ya'qūb Nakhla, *Tārīkh al-umma al-Qibṭiyya*, Cairo 1898, pp.314-315; Heyworth-Dunne, J. *An introduction to the history of education in modern Egypt*, London n.d.(1938), p.338; Riḍwān, op.cit., p.386; Ṣābāt, Khalīl, *Tārīkh al-ṭibā'a fī 'l-Sharq al-'Arabī*, 2nd ed. Cairo 1966, p.201.

⁸² Sislian, op.cit., p.201.

⁸³ Gobat, S. "Briefe ... aus Aegypten", *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der evangelischen Missions- und Bibelgesellschaften* [12] (1827), p.439; Schölly, op.cit., p.120; *Missionary Register* 1829, p.550; 1842, p.289.

⁸⁴ *Missionary Register* 1839, p.379.

⁸⁵ *Missionary Register* 1840, pp.270-271.

⁸⁶ *Missionary Register* 1841, pp.382-383.

⁸⁷ *Missionary Register* 1845, p.247.

⁸⁸ *Missionary Register* 1829, p.49; 1830, p.321; 1834, p.402; 1839, p.423; 1848, pp.307-345.

⁸⁹ *Missionary Register* 1827, p.583; 1828, p.342; 1830, p.64; 1831, p.318; 1846, pp.306-308.

⁹⁰ *Missionary Register* 1828, pp.241-242; 1829, pp.173-188 & 237; 1830, p.64; 1831, p.144; 1834, p.408; 1844, pp.312-398; 1846, p.78; 1850, pp.305-307; Macbrair, R.M. *Sketches of a Missionary's travels*, London 1839, pp.131sq; Jones, W. *The Jubilee memorial of the Religious Tract Society*, London 1850, pp.380-382.

⁹¹ *Missionary Register* 1834, pp.408-415.

their operations that most Copts in these areas, even literate ones, had never before seen a printed book, far less possessed one. By 1839 Lieder alone had distributed some 9000 copies of Malta books away from Cairo.⁹²

The reaction of the Coptic community to these educational initiatives from the West was a mixed one. The modern Coptic historian Jirjis Salāma, writing from a nationalist standpoint, says that they encountered strong resistance from both laymen and priests.⁹³ There certainly do seem to have been some initial objections, especially from the clergy, who suspected the missionaries of seeking to proselytise.⁹⁴ As for the traditional school-teachers, many of whom were blind or illiterate, they viewed the new teaching materials with indifference.⁹⁵ Attitudes soon changed, however, and one important reason for this was the policy of the Patriarch, Buṭrus II al-Jāwalī. He seems to have become satisfied at an early stage that no proselytisation was intended⁹⁶, and eventually adopted a policy of positively encouraging the missionary educational establishments and the distribution of their books. He allowed his kinsmen Yūsuf and Ḥannā 'l-Jāwalī to attend the CMS seminary, and the latter to go later to Malta to work for the press.⁹⁷ He specifically sanctioned the supply of Malta tracts to meetings of Copts in Cairo in 1839⁹⁸, and among his flock generally⁹⁹; and in 1844 he paid an official visit to the CMS schools and gave them his seal of approval.¹⁰⁰ At one stage he even offered his personal assistance in the work of correcting the proofs of the Arabic bible being prepared in Malta.¹⁰¹

Under the Patriarch's influence, any initial resistance to the circulation of the Malta books soon crumbled and the way was open for their mass distribution and use. Any residual doubts on the part of the clergy concerning the catholic and apostolic nature of the

⁹² *Missionary Register* 1839, p.379.

⁹³ Salāma, op.cit., p.46.

⁹⁴ Olin, op.cit., I, p.118; Heyworth-Dunne, "Education in Egypt and the Copts" (op.cit.), p.101.

⁹⁵ *Missionary Register* 1841, p.383.

⁹⁶ Sislian, op.cit., pp.185-186.

⁹⁷ See above, pp.174-177.

⁹⁸ *Missionary Register* 1840, p.271.

⁹⁹ Warburton, op.cit., p.143.

¹⁰⁰ *Missionary Register* 1845, p.250.

¹⁰¹ *Missionary Register* 1841, p.384.

Church of England were also greatly eased by the arrival of the Arabic translation of the *Book of Common Prayer*, which evoked a favourable reaction.¹⁰²

Other Christian communities in Egypt also received the Malta books, albeit less readily. The Greek Catholic Patriarch prohibited his people from accepting them¹⁰³, but this was evidently not entirely effective, as in 1849 he was obliged to attempt to confiscate copies which were circulating.¹⁰⁴ It may be that these were the copies which had earlier been supplied to a new Catholic school in Cairo.¹⁰⁵ Priests of another Catholic community, the Maronites, had also received Arabic tracts from Joseph Wolff in Damietta in 1831.¹⁰⁶

Some Malta Arabic books were also supplied by a traveller to a Greek Orthodox community on the Red Sea coast in the 1840s¹⁰⁷, and to a new Armenian school in Cairo in 1839.¹⁰⁸ It should also be remembered that all these communities sent some children to the CMS schools in Cairo¹⁰⁹, where they would have received copies of the Malta books in use there.

The Egyptian Jews, nearly all of whom at that time were Arabophone, likewise obtained copies of some of these publications. It is recorded that some were supplied to a Jewish school in Cairo in 1840¹¹⁰ and that they were in use in a new "Lancasterian" school¹¹¹ of the Jews there in 1845.¹¹² The unofficial roving missionary of the LJS, Joseph Wolff, made several visits to Egypt in the 1820s and 1830s, during which he almost certainly distributed Malta tracts among the Jews; the Society extended its official activities to Egypt in the 1840s and their missionary C.L.Lauria also distributed tracts, most likely Malta ones, in Lower Egypt after 1847.¹¹³ They

¹⁰² Pascoe, C.F. *Two hundred years of the S.P.G.*, London 1901, p.805.

¹⁰³ Choules & Smith, op.cit., I, p.621. This action is attributed here simply to the "Greek Patriarch", but it seems more likely that the Catholic one is meant, as there is no record of any such opposition on the part of the Orthodox.

¹⁰⁴ *Missionary Register* 1850, p.305.

¹⁰⁵ *Missionary Register* 1841, p.381.

¹⁰⁶ Wolff, J. *Journal ... for the year 1831*, London 1832, p.9.

¹⁰⁷ Wilson, J. *The lands of the Bible visited and described*, Vol.II, Edinburgh 1847, p.468. Keith's *Al-Bayyina al-jaliya* (Item 96 in Appendix A) aroused great interest among them, according to Wilson.

¹⁰⁸ *Missionary Register* 1841, p.381.

¹⁰⁹ See above, pp.277-278.

¹¹⁰ *Missionary Register* 1841, p.381. This may have been one of the two started by Crémieux and Munk in October 1840. Heyworth-Dunne *Introduction* (op.cit.), p.272.

¹¹¹ On the "Lancasterian" system and its propagation in the Middle East, see above, pp.101-103.

¹¹² *Missionary Register* 1845, p.247.

¹¹³ Sislian, op.cit., p.204.

also opened schools in the 1850s, in which Arabic was taught¹¹⁴ , probably by means of the Malta primers and text-books. The existence of copies among the Jewish community is also attested by the presence of leaves from them in the Cairo Genizah.¹¹⁵

Although most of the Malta books imported into Egypt went to the Copts and other minority communities, there is nevertheless evidence that a significant number of them were acquired and used by Muslims and made some impact upon them. In the first place, as has already been mentioned, the CMS mission and its schools were encouraged by Muḥammad 'Alī's government, mainly because, as Sislian has observed, they were "European models, however imperfect, which the Egyptians could study at close quarters"¹¹⁶ ; and this applied to the text-books in use in them as much as to the teaching methods and curricula. Some Muslim children attended the schools¹¹⁷ , and via them copies of the books found their way into Muslim circles.

The missionaries also supplied books from time to time to individual Muslims, such as a "Turkish Effendi" who purchased some in Upper Egypt in 1830¹¹⁸ , the "Mussulmans" of Damietta to whom Wolff gave "a good many tracts in Arabic" in 1831¹¹⁹ , and those who received them from the Methodist missionary Maxwell Macbrair in the bazaars of Alexandria in 1834.¹²⁰ Although there was in general a reluctance among ordinary Muslims to acknowledge publicly the acceptability of printed Christian literature, Lieder reckoned that "these [tracts] ... they read in private".¹²¹ By 1834 it was reported optimistically that the "Tracts and pious Books, issuing from the press at Malta, are now read by thousands of Mahomedans".¹²²

But it was in the new educational establishments of Muḥammad 'Alī that Malta Arabic publications made their greatest impact, and it was, not surprisingly, the more secular titles which came to be used there, alongside works printed at the Bulaq and other state presses. In August 1833 Kruse reported that the

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp.207-208.

¹¹⁵ Cambridge University Library, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Collection, T-S Misc.10.247. I am grateful to Dr Geoffrey Khan of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit for bringing them to my attention.

¹¹⁶ Sislian, op.cit., p.176.

¹¹⁷ See figures given above, pp.277-278.

¹¹⁸ *Missionary Register* 1831, p.144.

¹¹⁹ Wolff, op.cit., p.9.

¹²⁰ Macbrair, op.cit., p.92.

¹²¹ *Missionary Register* 1832, p.517.

¹²² *Missionary Register* 1834, pp.42-43. Cf. Jones, op.cit., p.380.

"Cadet-School of the Basha ... have purchased many of your [CMS, Malta] Engl.-Arabic vocabularies.¹²³ We then called on the Director & made him a present of an Atlas¹²⁴, a copy of Geography¹²⁵ & one of Astronomy¹²⁶; & before we left him, he begged of me to ask you if he could have 2 or 300 copies of them, & what they cost? ... We sold several copies of the Atlas & whoever sees it, wants to have one, therefore send us soon a fresh supply".¹²⁷

The following month the Methodist missionary in Alexandria, James Bartholomew, also reported that "the Atlas & Geography are particularly in demand", and that one Atlas, two copies of the Geography and three of Astronomy had been sent to Muhammad 'Alī's closest advisor, the Commerce & Foreign Minister Boghos Bey (Yūsuf Būghus), to be presented to the Pasha himself, "for there is nothing of the kind to be found in this country".¹²⁸

It may have been as a result of this that Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Ṭaḥṭāwī came to revise the geography book - *Kitāb al-Kanz al-mukhtār* - for a new edition at the Artillery School Press in 1834¹²⁹; or he may have discovered it for himself when he visited the CMS school in Cairo in 1834.¹³⁰ The Atlas also was, as we have seen, copied and republished locally¹³¹; previously, in August 1835, a copy had been presented to Yūsuf Hekeleyan, director of the Polytechnic School at Bulaq, who compared it favourably with maps printed at the Bulaq Press, and ordered 50 copies.¹³² It may perhaps have been difficulties in securing supplies from Malta that necessitated the Egyptian reprint.

That several of the Malta Arabic publications had "found their way into the the Schools established by the Pasha of Egypt" is confirmed in a report of 1836.¹³³ In 1839 spelling-books as well as

¹²³ *The Anglo-Arabic primer / Qāmūs mukhtaṣar*, Malta 1832: item 40 in Appendix A.

¹²⁴ Item 51.

¹²⁵ *Kūāb al-Kanz al-mukhtār*, Malta 1833, item 47 in Appendix A.

¹²⁶ *Kūāb al-Durr al-maldūm*, Malta 1833, item 46.

¹²⁷ CM/O73/65, Kruse (Cairo) to Brenner (Malta), 22.8.1833.

¹²⁸ CM/O73/65, Bartholomew (Alexandria) to Schlienz (Malta), 20.9.1833. Boghos evidently had a watching brief to select books of use to the government: he had previously acquired some while in Europe. Vatikiotis, P.J. *The modern history of Egypt*, London 1969, p.96.

¹²⁹ See above, pp.248-251.

¹³⁰ On that occasion he expressed himself delighted with the pupils' knowledge of Arabic and sought to establish a similar school for Muslims. *Missionary Register* 1835, pp.331-332. Ṭaḥṭāwī is here referred to as "Sheikh Rapha".

¹³¹ See above, pp.252-253.

¹³² *Missionary Register* 1836, p.56. Hckekyan is here referred to as "Hickakon Effendi".

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp.88-89.

atlases were supplied to state schools¹³⁴ : this seems to have been in connection with proposals to adopt the Lancasterian system of primary education¹³⁵ , as a result of which "an Effendi and a teacher" visited the CMS establishment in 1839 and took specimens of the text-books used there.¹³⁶ The following year, the Minister of Public Instruction (Mukhtār Bey) received two copies of each of the Malta Turkish publications, and of "Mr Fares' most ingenious Arabic Spelling and Reading Book."¹³⁷ The latter was received with great approbation; and ordered to be reprinted, at the Government Press, for the Pasha's Schools".¹³⁸ This proposed new edition of Shidyāq's work does not, however, seem to have materialised.¹³⁹

As well as the presentation copies of the geographical and astronomical books, some of the Arabic publications from Malta also entered the Viceregal household by another route. By the late 1830s the CMS girls' school in Cairo was run by a Miss Holliday, who had been specially sent out by a missionary organisation called the Eastern-Female Education Society, and who shortly afterwards married the CMS missionary Theophilus Lieder. The CMS activities in this sphere which, as already noted, were almost unprecedented in the Middle East, attracted the attention of the authorities¹⁴⁰ , and in 1838 Hekekyan Bey invited Holliday to attend the Pasha's residence to instruct the ladies of the viceregal *ḥarīm*. He suggested that she should select appropriate English books for the purpose, which would be translated and printed at the Bulaq Press.¹⁴¹ Instead, however, she entered the household bearing, as a gift, "several of the best works of the Malta Press, in Arabic". After her interview with Muḥammad 'Alī, he "commanded the Malta Publications of the Church Missionary Society to be corrected, or rather improved, into the purest Arabic, for the use of the Egyptian Youths in his different

¹³⁴ Sislian, op.cit., p.199.

¹³⁵ See above, pp.101-103.

¹³⁶ *Missionary Register* 1840, p.298.

¹³⁷ *Al-Laff f' kull ma'nā ʿarīf*, Malta 1839: item 85 in Appendix A.

¹³⁸ *Missionary Register* 1841, p.333.

¹³⁹ It was eventually reprinted at Istanbul in 1882.

¹⁴⁰ Bowring, op.cit., p.138.

¹⁴¹ *Missionary Register* 1838, p.247. Hekekyan later formed a low opinion of her and accused her of vulgarity, "telling fibs" and "looking down on Eastern women". Hekekyan Papers, quoted in Heyworth-Dunne *Introduction* (op.cit.), p.280, n.2.

Scholastic Establishments, especially their 'Geography'¹⁴², 'Universal History'¹⁴³ and 'Robinson Crusoe'.¹⁴⁴ They are to be reprinted at the Royal Press in Boulac".¹⁴⁵ It does not seem that any of them ever were, however.

By February 1840, according to a letter from the Royal Household to Holliday (now Mrs Lieder), the ladies of the household were reported to be "availing themselves of the translated works" and to be thereby "studying Geography, and the rudiments of Arithmetic, and of the practice of Drawing".¹⁴⁶ Later in the year, however, her work in the *ḥarīm* was brought to a halt by anti-British feeling arising from the political and military events of that year, and by her own ill-health.¹⁴⁷ But the CMS continued to take satisfaction from the fact that Malta books "are to be found on the table of [the Pasha's] harem".¹⁴⁸

As well as the new schools of Muḥammad 'Alī, the more traditional Muslim *kuttābs* away from the capital also occasionally received copies of Malta books from the travelling missionaries. In 1834, for instance, Lieder reported that he had supplied grammars and tracts for Muslim schoolchildren in Nubia¹⁴⁹; and in 1844 Kruse provided books to a Muslim schoolmaster in Aswan.¹⁵⁰

It remains to mention that some Malta books also entered the general book trade, run by Muslims, in Cairo. The Finnish scholar and traveller Georg Wallin bought a copy of Farḥāt's *Baḥṭh al-Maḥālib* (Malta 1836)¹⁵¹ in a Cairo bookshop for 15 piastres in 1844.¹⁵² A number of copies later found their way into libraries in Egypt. The National Library (Dār al-Kutub) holds 20 titles.¹⁵³ Some (but not

¹⁴² *Kūāb al-Kanz al-mukhtār* again. The Pasha must have been unaware, or have forgotten, that Ṭaḥṭāwī had already revised this work and published it at the Artillery Press in Ṭura in 1834. By then the third edition, revised by Shidyāq and published in Malta in 1836 (item 70 in Appendix A) was available and was probably the one presented by Holliday. See above, pp.248-252.

¹⁴³ *Kūāb Tawārīkh mukhtaṣar*, Malta 1833: item 48 in Appendix A.

¹⁴⁴ *Qīṣṣat Rūbinsun Kurūzī*, Malta 1835: item 63 in Appendix A.

¹⁴⁵ *Missionary Register* 1838, pp.556-557.

¹⁴⁶ *Missionary Register* 1840, p.222. The relevant works would have been items 66, 70, 65 & 67 in Appendix A.

¹⁴⁷ *Missionary Register* 1841, p.376.

¹⁴⁸ *Missionary Register* 1842, p.285.

¹⁴⁹ *Missionary Register* 1834, p.413.

¹⁵⁰ *Missionary Register* 1844, p.313.

¹⁵¹ Item 69 in Appendix A.

¹⁵² Aro, J. *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Helsinki*, Helsinki 1959, p.16.

¹⁵³ Shūrbajī, Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn al-, *Qā'ima bi-awā'il al-maḥbū'āt al-'Arabīya al-maḥfūza bi-Dār al-Kutub ḥattā sanat 1862 M.*, Cairo 1963. See references in Appendix A below.

all) of them are listed in the catalogues published between 1883 and 1891¹⁵⁴, but none seems to be in the first catalogue of 1872.¹⁵⁵ The probability is therefore that these books were in private collections acquired by Dār al-Kutub in later years.

8.4 Eritrea

In May 1836 Joseph Wolff arrived in Massawa and, in order to secure a safe passage through the territory of the Saho (Shiho) tribes, was called upon to give the customary consideration to the tribal *nā'ib*, who exercised authority there.¹⁵⁶ He responded by presenting him with "one of the maps printed at Malta ... and also some copies of *Robinson Crusoe*, and other religious tracts, which are published at Malta".¹⁵⁷ Whether the *nā'ib* was grateful for this rather unexpected substitute for the usual protection-money is not clear, but according to Wolff "he depends entirely on Muhamed Ali, and he must be contented with any present one chooses to give him". Wolff got his escort and his safe-conduct; what the *nā'ib* did with the books must remain a matter of speculation.

8.5 Palestine

Both American and British missionaries were active in Palestine during the first half of the nineteenth century, although in neither case was it a principal centre of operations in that period. Some account has already been given of the distribution of printed Arabic bibles and other books there up to 1825¹⁵⁸; after that, for about twenty years, the field was left largely to the Americans, working mostly from their main base in Beirut. They were certainly active in distributing Malta books there in the period before their own press in Beirut was fully operational.

In 1833 the senior ABCFM missionary in Beirut, William Thomson, reported to the CMS in Malta that some of the mission's supply of

¹⁵⁴ *Fihrist al-kutub al-'Arabīya al-maḥfūza bi-'l-Kutubkhāna al-Khidīwiya*, Cairo 1301-08. E.g. Vol.4, pp.21 & 26; 5, p.38; 6, pp.178 & 189.

¹⁵⁵ *Fihrist al-kutub al-mawjūda bi-'l-Kutubkhāna al-Khidīwiya al-Miṣriya al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1289. An edition of the Four Gospels is attributed to Malta on p.248, but this must be an error, as the Arabic Gospels were never printed there.

¹⁵⁶ On the history and role of the *nā'ib*, a nominal representative of the Ottoman Sultan, see Trimmingham, J.S. *Islam in Ethiopia*, London 1952, pp.98, etc.

¹⁵⁷ Wolff, J. *Journal ... containing an account of his missionary labours from the years 1827 to 1831; and from the years 1835 to 1838*, London 1839, p.332.

¹⁵⁸ See above, pp.84-86.

"Papers" (i.e. the Arabic newspaper *Akhbār al-Qāsid*, published in Malta in that year)¹⁵⁹ had been distributed to literate persons in Jaffa, Jerusalem, Safed and elsewhere; and many books had been supplied to the school run by 'Īsā Buṭrus¹⁶⁰ in Jerusalem. He also ordered twelve maps for Jerusalem.¹⁶¹ The following year Thomson mentioned a continuing demand for printed books there¹⁶², probably because of the extended visit by his colleague George Whiting, who reported distributing 40 Arabic tracts in March 1834, and more in November. The recipients were mainly pilgrims visiting the Holy City, and in some cases were willing to buy the books.¹⁶³

In 1835 George Percy Badger, who was at that time employed by the ABCFM¹⁶⁴, called at Jaffa en route from Malta to Beirut, and distributed tracts there, for which he found a great demand.¹⁶⁵ Three years later, Whiting was again in Jerusalem, and found that "the demand for Arabic books, both in Jerusalem and in the surrounding villages, is slowly but steadily increasing", and "we have had the happiness of sending ... our Beyrout and Malta publications to Jaffa, Gaza, Ramlah, and Lydda; to Kerek, Saalt and Hebron; to Nablous, Jeneen, Nazareth, and to a number of mountainous regions to the west and north of Nazareth". The recipients included priests as well as laymen.¹⁶⁶ Whiting was also in the habit of handing out catechisms, and the Epistles of Peter and John¹⁶⁷, to Christian Arabs on the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, including illiterate peasant women who he hoped would pass them on to their better educated relatives.¹⁶⁸ Also in this period, the Americans used an agent in Nazareth, Ḥannā 'l-Ḥaddād, to distribute books and tracts there and in neighbouring places in Galilee.¹⁶⁹

The ABCFM had also started a small school in Jerusalem in 1837,

¹⁵⁹ Item 50 in Appendix A.

¹⁶⁰ On this Greek Orthodox priest who had assisted in preparing Arabic translations for the Malta press, see above, pp.136-137.

¹⁶¹ CM/O73/65, Thomson (Beirut) to Weiss (Malta), 20.8.1833. The maps were probably also for the school.

¹⁶² CM/O73/70, Thomson to Weiss, 25.3.1834.

¹⁶³ *Missionary Herald* 32 (1836), pp.54 & 251.

¹⁶⁴ See above, pp.156-157.

¹⁶⁵ CM/O73/78, Badger (Beirut) to Schlienz (Malta), 30.6.1835.

¹⁶⁶ *Missionary Register* 1839, p.90; Jones, op.cit., pp.388-389.

¹⁶⁷ Items 2 & 22 in Appendix A.

¹⁶⁸ *Missionary Register* 1838, p.211; Jones, op.cit., p.389.

¹⁶⁹ Tibawi, A.L. *American interests in Syria 1800-1901*, Oxford 1966, p.88. Tibawi's information is drawn from documents in the ABCFM archives in Boston (USA).

where the "small Catechism"¹⁷⁰ was in use.¹⁷¹ Later they also opened one in Bethlehem, managed by a native teacher, and another in Ramlah. There too, printed Arabic text-books were in use, including almost certainly Malta ones, and in the latter place their availability alarmed the local Greek Orthodox clergy so much that a ban was imposed on all missionary books except the Bible.¹⁷²

The book distribution activities of the American missionaries in Palestine in the 1830s, when they were able to take advantage of the relatively liberal policies of the Egyptian regime of Ibrāhīm Pasha, were modest when compared with those of their colleagues in Lebanon, or of the CMS in Egypt. Nevertheless, they did have some impact in a country in which printed books of any sort were still a scarce novelty. In later years it was reported that many of the books which they had distributed "remained in possession of families at Jerusalem, Nabloos, Nazareth, and other places".¹⁷³

The main British, or British-sponsored, missionaries in Palestine in this period were those of the "London Jews' Society". Most of the books which they distributed were in Hebrew, but in 1843 Ewald (who had left Tunis in 1841, and gone to Jerusalem in 1842¹⁷⁴) received at his Jerusalem depot 105 Arabic books (bound) from the final stock at Malta.¹⁷⁵ The previous year a quantity of the Malta publications had also been sent to the new Anglo-Prussian Bishop of Jerusalem, Michael Alexander (formerly a rabbi).¹⁷⁶

8.6 Lebanon & Syria

In the division of labour among Protestant missionaries in the Arab world in the first half of the 19th century, Egypt was, as we have seen, almost entirely a British sphere; Lebanon and Syria, on the other hand, were very much American territory, occupied by agents of the Congregationalist American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). Some account of their arrival in the area, and their abortive plans to print Arabic books at their Malta press in

¹⁷⁰ Item 39 in Appendix A.

¹⁷¹ *Missionary Register* 1839, p.90.

¹⁷² Letter from Ṭammūs al-Ḥaddād (Beirut) to Eli Smith (USA), 30.9.1839, cited in Tibawi, op.cit., pp.86-87.

¹⁷³ Finn, J. *Stirring times, or records from Jerusalem consular chronicles of 1853 to 1856*, Vol.I, London 1878, p.147.

¹⁷⁴ Ewald, op.cit., pp.x-xi & 36-37.

¹⁷⁵ CM/O67/29, Weiss to Coates, 28.5.1844.

¹⁷⁶ *Missionary Register* 1842, p.285.

the 1820s and early -30s, has already been given.¹⁷⁷ Their need for such books became paramount at an early stage, because, as Tibawi has pointed out, their command of the language was inadequate for direct preaching and evangelisation, and the printed word represented their best hope of making converts, and educating the local populace.¹⁷⁸ In the early 1820s Pliny Fisk had tried to have "a few unobjectionable tracts" printed at the Greek Catholic press at Shuwayr, but without success.¹⁷⁹ By 1825 an established American missionary station had been created in Beirut, and the missionaries were desperate for elementary Arabic books in order to proceed with their work. The only possible source of such books was the CMS press in Malta.

In May 1825 Jowett reported from Malta that "the American missionaries at Mt. Lebanon cry aloud for Arabic Spelling Books".¹⁸⁰ In July he was able to send a "good number" to them, not only of primers, but also tracts containing the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount.¹⁸¹ By the following April "a large quantity" of Malta publications was in circulation in Syria and elsewhere¹⁸², and later that year the senior American missionary in Beirut, William Goodell, was "waiting for more Arabic Tracts, having scattered very widely those you sent us formerly".¹⁸³ The Arabic translation of "Dr Green's Questions"¹⁸⁴ was said to be especially welcome, and "much needed here at the present time".¹⁸⁵

In 1827 Goodell informed Jowett that "your Tracts are seized with avidity; and read, I hope, with profit by many; all admire the type", and that the Arabic "Dairyman's daughter"¹⁸⁶ was "very highly praised among the Arabs". For the first time, however, a note of caution was sounded: Goodell reported that restraint had been necessary in distributing the books, both because of the "difficulty of getting them into the country" and the fact that many of them

¹⁷⁷ See above, pp.114-120.

¹⁷⁸ Tibawi, op.cit., p.48.

¹⁷⁹ Bird, I. *Bible work in Bible lands*, Philadelphia 1872, p.73; Kawerau, op.cit., p.202.

¹⁸⁰ CM/O39/50, Jowett to Secs., 20.5.1825; *Missionary Register* 1826, p.60.

¹⁸¹ CM/O39/51, Jowett to Secs., 7.25; *Missionary Register* 1826, p.60. The items referred to are 11 and 4 in Appendix A below.

¹⁸² CM/O39/68, Jowett to Secs., 10.4.1826; *Missionary Register* 1826, p.318.

¹⁸³ CM/O39/81, Jowett to Secs., 19.10.1826, quoting letter from Goodell (Beirut); *Missionary Register* 1827, p.41.

¹⁸⁴ Item 6 in Appendix A.

¹⁸⁵ *Missionary Register* 1827, pp.38-39.

¹⁸⁶ Item 7 in Appendix A.

were burnt (presumably on the orders of the ecclesiastical authorities); the closure of the mission schools at that time had also cut off an important means of circulation.¹⁸⁷ There were also difficulties in importing books into Lebanon, and it was felt that "the press is much feared by our enemies in this land; and they will not fail to silence it if they can".¹⁸⁸ It seems in fact that the *firmān* banning Protestant bibles was now being interpreted to cover tracts as well.¹⁸⁹

In 1828 the problems caused for Westerners by the Graeco-Turkish war, and the European intervention in it, forced the Americans to leave Beirut. They retired to Malta and there conferred with their colleagues and with Schlienz: it was agreed that more Arabic elementary school-books would be needed whenever they resumed their work in Lebanon.¹⁹⁰

That resumption came in May 1830, when Bird and Whiting landed again in Beirut.¹⁹¹ At first little progress was made, but the situation changed dramatically the following year, when Egyptian forces under Ibrāhīm Pasha invaded and occupied the whole country. The new regime, like the parent government of Muḥammad 'Alī in Egypt, was favourable to Western influences and tolerant of missionary activities; in addition it established more secure conditions which facilitated travel and book distribution.¹⁹² It was during the 1830s, the Egyptian period, that the Malta books made their greatest impact in Lebanon and Syria. Like their CMS colleagues in Egypt, the American missionaries hoped that their distribution would bring about conversions to evangelical Christianity, but found that their effect was rather in improving secular education and, as Polk has put it, playing "a seminal role in setting the new styles for Western goods and ideas".¹⁹³ This was because they were still almost the only elementary school-books available in Arabic. Although, as Tibawi has pointed out with great emphasis, printed books were also supplied, in the late 1830s, by

¹⁸⁷ *Missionary Register* 1828, pp.58 & 205.

¹⁸⁸ *Missionary Herald* 24 (1828), pp.243-244.

¹⁸⁹ *Missionary Register* 1828, p.332.

¹⁹⁰ CM/O65/7, Schlienz to Secs., 10.7.1828.

¹⁹¹ Tibawi, op.cit., p.59.

¹⁹² Polk, W.R. *The opening of south Lebanon, 1788-1840*, Cambridge (USA) 1963, pp.164, 220 & 275 n.32; Tibawi, op.cit., pp.60-61; Abu-Ghazaleh, Adnan, *American missions in Syria*, Brattleboro 1982, p.23.

¹⁹³ Polk, op.cit., p.164.

the Egyptians themselves, from the Bulaq Press¹⁹⁴, these were nearly all works designed for students of secondary level or higher, or for adult reading, not for beginners; probably because of this, demand was small and less than 1600 copies were ordered altogether.¹⁹⁵ As one experienced observer pointed out at the end of the Egyptian period,

"The Malta, English and Beyrout American presses for printing Arabic, although their object is mainly religious, yet have provided nearly all the books for elementary education that are to be found in Syria; such as grammars, arithmetics, geographies, histories and various books of amusement, such as Robinson Crusoe and Pilgrim's Progress. They have also provided lithographic Arabic maps".¹⁹⁶

The contribution of the English presses was more or less confined to bibles; the Beirut American press, as we shall see, provided little new. The great majority of the elementary Arabic books used in Lebanon and Syria during this period, both religious and secular, originated with the Malta press.

As with the CMS in Egypt, the most important use to which these publications were put was as text-books in the mission schools. Already in 1825, the American primary school in Beirut, where the first Malta primers were used, had had 80-90 pupils, of whom 3 were Muslims, the rest being mainly Orthodox Christians.¹⁹⁷ The following year no fewer than eight schools were in operation, and in them, Goodell informed Jowett, "your Tracts, particularly Lokman's Fables¹⁹⁸ [are] very, very acceptable".¹⁹⁹ Under the Egyptian regime in the 1830s, the extension of religious and civic rights for Christians had a marked effect on the demand for education²⁰⁰, and the Americans took full advantage of this: by 1835 they had ten schools, with 311 pupils, of whom "114 ... read in the Scriptures, and 175 ... used smaller books".²⁰¹ One of these schools was for

¹⁹⁴ Tibawi, op.cit., pp.69-70. Cf. Abu-Ghazaleh, op.cit., p.54.

¹⁹⁵ Bowring, J. *Report on the commercial statistics of Syria, addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Palmerston, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c. &c. &c.*, London 1840 (Reports from Commissioners, 6; [Parliamentary Papers 1840,] Vol. XXI), p.110; Tibawi, op.cit., p.71.

¹⁹⁶ Bowring, op.cit., p.107. Cf. report of the American missionaries in *Missionary Register* 1838, p.96.

¹⁹⁷ *Missionary Register* 1826, p.291.

¹⁹⁸ Item 10 in Appendix A.

¹⁹⁹ CM/O39/81, Jowett to Secs., 19.10.1826, quoting letter from Goodell (Beirut).

²⁰⁰ Polk, op.cit., p.94; Abu-Ghazaleh, op.cit., p.23.

²⁰¹ *Missionary Register* 1837, p.79; Laurie, T. *Historical sketch of the Syria Mission*, Boston (USA) [1866], p.17.

girls.²⁰² The expansion of the schools naturally caused an increased demand for books, and early in 1834 the senior missionary, William Thomson, had ordered "a good supply of the spellingbooks" from Malta, "and in general all kind of school apparatus [*sic*] that your press has furnished".²⁰³ The principal books used, apart from the spelling-books and the Bible, were the scripture stories²⁰⁴ and other religious tracts, *Pilgrim's Progress*²⁰⁵, the English-Arabic vocabulary²⁰⁶ and the geography book.²⁰⁷

In 1836 a "High School" with boarders, rather like the CMS "seminary" in Cairo, was in operation, and its curriculum included the Arabic and English languages, geography, astronomy, history, "natural and moral philosophy", mathematics, and rhetoric, in addition, of course, to scripture and religious studies.²⁰⁸ For most of these subjects, the Malta press could also provide Arabic elementary text-books.²⁰⁹

Tibawi has claimed that the Malta books were used in Lebanon only in the Protestant schools, and not those of other denominations.²¹⁰ Nevertheless there is evidence that some were supplied to other schools. Bowring stated in 1840 that geography was studied at a Greek Orthodox school in Beirut "from books printed at the Protestant presses"²¹¹, and Tibawi himself elsewhere mentioned that a priest (*khūrī*) called Yūsuf al-Ḥaddād was in 1835 supplied with Arabic grammar books²¹² produced by "the English presses" at one piastre each, and that the geography book²¹³ was also offered at 4 piastres.²¹⁴

The Americans ran a bookshop in Beirut²¹⁵, as well as distributing, often gratis, publications to the populace. Thomson

²⁰² Ibid., p.18; Tibawi, op.cit., pp.63-64.

²⁰³ CM/073/70, Thomson to Weiss, 25.3.1834.

²⁰⁴ Item 42 in Appendix A.

²⁰⁵ Item 56.

²⁰⁶ Item 40.

²⁰⁷ Item 47. *Missionary Herald* 30 (1834), pp.413-414; Tibawi, op.cit., pp.64-65.

²⁰⁸ Laurie, op.cit., p.18; Kawerau, op.cit., pp.401-402. Tibawi, however, (op.cit., p.83) using missionary archive documents, concluded that the studies were "quite elementary".

²⁰⁹ Abu-Ghazaleh (op.cit., p.24) is mistaken in asserting that the literature available from Malta was "all religious".

²¹⁰ Ṭībāwī, 'Abd al-Latīf al-, "Al-lughā al-'Arabīya fī kutub al-mubashshirīn al-awwalīn", *Majallat Majma' al-Lughā al-'Arabīya bi-Dimashq* 47 (1972), p.779.

²¹¹ Bowring, op.cit., p.107.

²¹² Item 37 in Appendix A.

²¹³ Item 47.

²¹⁴ Tibawi, *American interests* (op.cit.), p.81, citing a letter from Eli Smith to Ḥaddād, 17.8.1835.

²¹⁵ Jones, op.cit., p.388.

found that the geography book²¹⁶ and maps²¹⁷ could be sold readily there.²¹⁸ The customers included the Christian clergy and literate elite, for whom some of the Arabic books published at Malta in this period were clearly intended specifically, e.g. Zākhir's *Al-Burhān al-ṣarīh*, 1834²¹⁹ and the four polemics written by or for the American missionaries themselves.²²⁰ One of them, King's *Widā'* [1833]²²¹, although put on the *Index librorum prohibitorum* at Rome, was nevertheless widely distributed.²²² What seems to have been the first Arabic newspaper outside Egypt, *Akhbār al-Qāṣid*²²³, published at Malta in 1833 and 1834, was also distributed by the Americans in Beirut²²⁴, and book distribution continued in the ensuing years. Even in 1841, after the Egyptian evacuation, 2604 books were "put in circulation" in Beirut and neighbouring villages.²²⁵

But the distribution of Malta books was not confined to Beirut and its locality. The Americans took advantage of the conditions of relative security and freedom of movement brought about by the Egyptian occupation to extend their operations all over the country. Colporteurs were sent out with both bibles and Malta tracts to most parts of Lebanon and Syria.²²⁶ To the south, Sidon (Ṣaydā') and Tyre (Ṣūr) received publications, including copies of *Akhbār al-Qāṣid*.²²⁷ To the north, Tripoli, where an American-sponsored school was opened in 1835²²⁸, must also have been the destination of some textbooks. To the east, Damascus was an important missionary destination. The Americans took donkey-loads of bibles there in 1832²²⁹, and Malta tracts are likely to have accompanied them. Missionary books

²¹⁶ Item 47 in Appendix A below.

²¹⁷ Item 51.

²¹⁸ CM/O73/70, Thomson to Weiss, 25.3.1834. He reported that "a young man called on me & wanted to buy 20 geographies, & could hardly be put off though I assured him I had not one for him".

²¹⁹ Item 57 in Appendix A.

²²⁰ Items 14, 45, 49 and 55.

²²¹ Item 45.

²²² King, J. *Extraits d'un ouvrage écrit vers la fin de l'année 1826 et au commencement de 1827 sous le titre Coup d'oeil sur la Palestine et la Syrie, accompagné de quelques réflexions sur les missions évangéliques*, Athens 1859, p.181.

²²³ Item 50 in Appendix A.

²²⁴ CM/O73/65, Thomson (Beirut) to Weiss (Malta), 25.3.1834.

²²⁵ *Missionary Register* 1842, p.98.

²²⁶ Jones, *op.cit.*, p.388.

²²⁷ CM/O73/65, Thomson to Weiss, 20.8.1833.

²²⁸ Kawerau, *op.cit.*, p.405.

²²⁹ Polk, *op.cit.*, pp.115-116.

certainly found their way there in later years²³⁰ , including copies of Keith's *Al-Bayyina al-jalīya* (Malta 1840). One of them was acquired by a young Greek Catholic doctor called Mīkhā'īl Mishāqa, along with other Malta books, and according to his own account influenced him in favour of evangelical Protestantism.²³¹

Most of these books went to the Christian communities. Opportunities for supplying them to Muslims, such as occurred in Egypt, do not seem to have presented themselves to any great extent. But the heretical Druze sect did seem a possible outlet, and the American missionary Isaac Bird succeeded in both giving and selling books to them in 1834.²³² In the following year he and Smith visited eight Druze villages to investigate educational possibilities²³³ , and no doubt more tracts were distributed. Again in 1841 four American missionaries were stationed with the Druzes²³⁴ , and are likely to have taken books with them.

The failure of the American missionaries to print anything in Arabic while their press was in Malta between 1822 and 1833 has already been chronicled²³⁵ , and is a sufficient explanation for their reliance on books printed at the CMS Malta press during that period. But in 1834 the Arabic section of their own press arrived in Beirut, and a few words are necessary to account for their continuing use of the Malta Arabic books after that date. In fact there were two reasons why proper use was not made of the press for some years after its arrival in Lebanon. The first was the lack of a printer and personnel competent in Arabic. Not until mid-1835 did Badger arrive there and commence operations²³⁶ ; and, as we have seen, he returned to Malta at the end of 1836 to work for the CMS.²³⁷ It was another five years before the Beirut mission again had a resident printer, when George Hurter arrived from America in 1841.²³⁸

²³⁰ Ibid., p.164.

²³¹ Mishāqa, Mīkhā'īl, *Al-Risāla al-mawsūma bi-'l-Dalīl ilā Ṭā'at al-Injīl*, 2nd ed. Beirut 1860, pp.8-9; Laurie, op.cit., pp.30-31. Alexander Keith himself visited Damascus some years later, met Mishāqa and saw his "much-used copy of the Arabic translation of the 'Evidences'". Letter from Keith to the Religious Tract Society, in Jones, op.cit., p.390.

²³² Bird, op.cit., p.312.

²³³ Tibawi, op.cit., p.77.

²³⁴ Ibid., p.97.

²³⁵ See above, pp.115-120.

²³⁶ *Missionary Herald* 32 (1836), p.8; Tibawi, op.cit., p.72, quoting ABCFM documents, wherein Badger is referred to as a "Maltese mechanic".

²³⁷ See above, p.157.

²³⁸ Laurie, op.cit., p.19; Tibawi, op.cit., p.91.

Not only, however, were printers lacking in these early years: there were also for much of the time no resident missionaries capable of translating, preparing or correcting Arabic material for the press. Only Eli Smith was competent for this, and he was continually away in different parts of the Middle East and Europe.²³⁹

Smith's absence was partly due to his attempts to solve the third problem holding up work at the press: the lack of an adequate Arabic type fount. The original founts had been acquired in London from Richard Watts, and were essentially the same as the first founts used by the CMS in Malta. Like the latter²⁴⁰, they were found to be inadequate in a number of respects.²⁴¹ Nevertheless Badger was able to print four books in 1836; but because of the lack of material prepared by or for the missionaries, three of these were just reprints of items already published, or in course of publication, at Malta²⁴²: the Hymn Book, Watts's Catechism and the *Dairyman's daughter*.²⁴³ The fourth was a short Arabic grammar, entitled *Kitāb Faṣl al-khiṭāb fī uṣūl luḡhat al-A'rāb*, an early work by the famous Lebanese scholar and writer Nāṣīf al-Yāzījī. Only 4200 copies of these four books were printed altogether.²⁴⁴ After Badger's departure the press proceeded only very slowly²⁴⁵, until Hurter's arrival in 1841. The only new publication which may have been printed in this period is a tract entitled *Ṣūrat al-īmān al-qawīm* of 1838²⁴⁶, and in 1839 the press was reported by Ṭannūs al-Ḥaddād to be at a standstill (*wāqifa*).²⁴⁷ It was still reported to be idle the following year.²⁴⁸

Even after the arrival of Hurter and the return of Smith in 1841, progress was slow, partly because of the diversion of missionary effort away from literary and educational activities at that time, and only two or three books were published in 1841-42.²⁴⁹ In 1843 a

²³⁹ Tibawi, op.cit., pp.85-86.

²⁴⁰ See above, pp.112-113.

²⁴¹ *Missionary Register* 1837, p.79; Tibawi, op.cit., pp.71-72.

²⁴² Not all four, as stated by Tibawi (op.cit., p.82), and repeated by Abu-Ghazaleh (op.cit., p.54.).

²⁴³ Items 76, 39 and 7 in Appendix A.

²⁴⁴ *Missionary Register* 1838, p.95; Tibawi, op.cit., p.82.

²⁴⁵ *Missionary Register* 1839, p.89.

²⁴⁶ Shaykhū, op.cit., 3, p.505. It has not been possible to locate this in any other catalogue or bibliography. Shaykhū, as we have seen (above, p.121), is not a reliable guide to the historical bibliography of this period.

²⁴⁷ Letter from Ḥaddād (Beirut) to Smith (USA), 30.9.1839, summarised in Tibawi, op.cit., p.87.

²⁴⁸ ABCFM Annual Report, 1840, cited ibid., p.87.

²⁴⁹ Tibawi (op.cit., p.104) - again copied by Abu-Ghazaleh (op.cit., p.54) - states that only a grammar and an English spelling book were printed in those two years; but a few pages further on (p.127) he mentions an edition of the Proverbs of Solomon (*Amthāl Sulaymān*) dated 1842.

further consignment of Malta books was sent to Beirut²⁵⁰ , presumably to help fill the gap. Despite subsidies provided by the Religious Tract Society of London for the publication of Arabic tracts, the American press in Beirut was in 1846 again reported to be "partially suspended".²⁵¹ It was not until the end of that decade, when Eli Smith introduced the new Arabic founts, with their characteristic spindly, forward-sloping appearance, which became known as "American Arabic", and embarked on his great project to produce and publish a new Arabic version of the Bible, that the press really became firmly established and acquired the momentum which was to turn it into a major publisher of Arabic books in the second half of the 19th century.

* * * *

Although the American mission was the main channel for the distribution of the Malta Arabic publications in Lebanon and Syria, others did occasionally play a part. Beirut was one of the stations of the London Jews' Society (LJS), and Nikolaisen went there in February 1826²⁵² with a thousand copies of the Arabic version of part of the Acts of the Apostles for which he had himself set the types.²⁵³ He also visited Tyre and Sidon later that year.²⁵⁴

Two CMS missionaries were also engaged directly in distributing the Society's Arabic books in the area at different times. In 1834 Lieder made an excursion from Egypt²⁵⁵ , and in 1841 Gobat, acting on instructions from the CMS Committee in London, took eight boxes of Arabic books from Malta to Beirut en route for the territory of the Druzes, which had aroused the Society's interest as a possible mission field. Before going there, however, he made a trip to Damascus, where he distributed "a goodly number" of books; but this evidently exasperated the local Greek Orthodox clergy. "What do you mean," asked one priest, "with all your books? We do not want them ... we have plenty of better books."²⁵⁶

²⁵⁰ CM/O67/29, Weiss to Coates, 28.5.1844.

²⁵¹ *Missionary Register* 1847, p.73.

²⁵² Gidney, op.cit., p.121.

²⁵³ CM/O39/58, Jowett to Secs., 23.11.1825. See above, p.185.

²⁵⁴ Gidney, op.cit., p.121.

²⁵⁵ *Missionary Register* 1834, p.375.

²⁵⁶ Gobat & others, op.cit., pp.190-192.

Gobat then spent a month among the Druzes, holding discussions about the possibility of opening missionary schools for them. He found that there was a strong demand for the books - except the small tracts, because "they think that the excellency of a book must be proportional to its size".²⁵⁷ One Druze shaykh had read Calhoun's *Murshid al-tālibīn* (Malta 1840)²⁵⁸, and followed Gobat around Syria and Lebanon in quest of a copy of the Bible, to which Calhoun's work was a companion. He reported that "the door was open" for education and schools among the Druzes, but the CMS by then lacked the resources to pursue the matter.²⁵⁹ As well as Gobat, "several friends" of the Society had also sold or distributed copies of the Arabic *Book of Common Prayer* (Malta 1840)²⁶⁰, and other Malta publications, in Syria at that time.²⁶¹

In the north of Syria, the important city of Aleppo received comparatively little attention from the missionaries in this period. In 1843 a seasoned observer remarked on the scarcity of books there, "except such books as the Egyptian edition of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, and some popular poets". Even the Christians, he noted, "are in the same darkness. The elementary works of the Arabic press of Malta on geography, history, &c. would do much good; but ... their circulation is discouraged" because of the apprehensions of the clergy.²⁶² This may be a reference to some books which had been disposed of in Aleppo from a consignment in transit from Malta to Mosul at the beginning of that year.²⁶³ There does not seem to be any record of earlier distribution there, nor of any subsequent attempts.

8.7 Iraq

In December 1829 the independent English missionary Anthony Norris Groves arrived in Baghdad, in the company of John Kitto, who had, as we have seen, previously worked as a printer at the Malta press.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁷ *Missionary Register* 1842, pp.378-379.

²⁵⁸ Item 96 in Appendix A.

²⁵⁹ Gobat & others, op.cit., pp.194-197.

²⁶⁰ Item 99 in Appendix A.

²⁶¹ *Missionary Register* 1842, p.285.

²⁶² [Paton, A.A.] *The modern Syrians; or, native society in Damascus, Aleppo, and the mountains of the Druses, from notes made in those parts during the years 1841-2-3*, London 1844, p.240.

²⁶³ CM/O8/45, Rassām (Mosul) to Coates (London), 18.1.1843.

²⁶⁴ See above, pp.182-183.

The following year he planned to start an Arabic primary school, and found himself in need of elementary text-books. He had arranged for a lithographic press to be sent from India in order to print such materials on the spot²⁶⁵, but long delays in its arrival obliged him to look elsewhere; so at Kitto's suggestion he wrote to Jowett asking him to send "a copy or two" of the "little Arabic school-books" in order to "try if the people here understand the Arabic of the tracts published in Malta".²⁶⁶ At the end of June 1830 he was still looking forward to their arrival.²⁶⁷ Communications, however, were very slow, and the CMS was also, it seems, slow to respond; for nearly two years later Schlienz had to be reminded that "it appears from ... Mr A.K.Groves of Bagdad, that some of the Publications printed at Malta would be acceptable and useful to him"²⁶⁸; whereupon Schlienz undertook to supply him "as soon as the political state of Syria will allow us to do so"²⁶⁹, Syria being the only practicable route at that time.

By June 1833 it was at last reported that Groves had received a consignment sent to him, and that "he has promised to write again, as soon as he has had an opportunity of ascertaining whether the Books are intelligible to the population of that part of Asia".²⁷⁰ But by then his mission had been largely disrupted by pestilence and war; he had already left Iraq in April 1833, and proceeded to Bombay.²⁷¹ It seems that his initial intention was to learn the art of lithographic printing in India, for subsequent use in Baghdad²⁷², but in fact he never returned there.

In September 1835 another maverick missionary, Jacob Samuel, a former Jew who had embraced Scottish Presbyterianism, arrived in Baghdad on a mission to "the Jews in Arabia". There he found "a large depository of books" which he proceeded to offer to, among others, "Mussulman schoolmasters ... as they have no printed books

²⁶⁵ Groves, A.N. *Journal ... during a journey from London to Bagdad, through Russia, Georgia, and Persia; also, a journal of some months' residence at Bagdad*, London 1831, p.134; Albin, M.W. *Printing in Mesopotamia from its origins until 1914*, unpublished dissertation (M.A.), University of Chicago, 1973, pp.17-18; id. "Iraq's first printed book", *Libri* 31 (1981), p.171. This might have been the first printing press in Iraq.

²⁶⁶ CM/O73/45, Groves to Jowett, 20.2.1830. Cf. Groves, op.cit., p.134; *Missionary Register* 1830, p.452.

²⁶⁷ Groves, A.N. *Journal of a residence at Bagdad, during the years 1830 and 1831*, London 1832, p.15.

²⁶⁸ CM/L2/17, Coates to Schlienz, 28.4.1832.

²⁶⁹ CM/O65/20, Schlienz to Secs., 28.5.1832.

²⁷⁰ CM/L2/211, Coates to Schlienz, 15.6.1833.

²⁷¹ Groves, A.N. *Memoir of the late Anthony Norris Groves, containing extracts from his letters and journals, compiled by his widow*, London 1856, pp.198-201.

²⁷² *Missionary Register* 1835, p.82.

except those obtained from Europe". He later found his house "surrounded by thousands of Mussulmans, who all cried for books", whereupon he distributed large numbers to "those who could read". Most of these books were bibles, but there were also "various tracts in the Arabic language".²⁷³ It seems likely that these were the Malta books which had arrived too late to be of use to Groves.

As we have seen, the Malta press employed for a while an Iraqi Christian, 'Īsā Rassām, before he left in 1835 to accompany Chesney on his expedition to survey the Euphrates in steamboats.²⁷⁴ He took with him from Malta a large quantity of Arabic books to distribute in Iraq²⁷⁵, and before the end of 1836 he had "put into circulation a good many of our publications" there.²⁷⁶ Which publications, and where, are unfortunately not recorded.

In 1838, after a stay in England, Rassām returned to northern Iraq, calling at Malta on the way.²⁷⁷ There he was supplied with 100 copies of the Church of England's *39 Articles* in Arabic²⁷⁸ for distribution in Kurdistan.²⁷⁹ He remained in Mosul for the rest of his life, being appointed British Vice-Consul there.²⁸⁰ Despite his earlier breach with the CMS²⁸¹, he continued to act as an agent for the distribution of the Malta books in the area, receiving several boxes of them in 1842²⁸² and another large consignment in 1843.²⁸³ He warned them, however, that "your Society must not expect that any of their books will sell in this region, the people are impoverished, & ground to the dust by oppression ... if they will read & profit by the books 'tis all that we can hope for from their poor and wretched circumstances".²⁸⁴

Twelve cases of the books were handed over to Rassām's brother-in-law, George Percy Badger, who was at that time in Mosul on an Anglican mission to the Nestorians. By January 1843 he had already

²⁷³ Samuel, J. *Journal of a missionary tour through the desert of Arabia to Bagdad*, Edinburgh 1844, pp.234-236.

²⁷⁴ See above, pp.186-190.

²⁷⁵ CM/O18/22, Brenner to Coates, 9.4.1835.

²⁷⁶ CM/O18/33, Brenner to Secs., 14.1.1837.

²⁷⁷ See above, p.193.

²⁷⁸ Item 79 in Appendix A.

²⁷⁹ CM/O18/39, Brenner to Coates, 17.5.1838.

²⁸⁰ See above, pp.193-194.

²⁸¹ See above, pp.192-193.

²⁸² CM/O8/45, Rassām to Coates, 18.1.1843.

²⁸³ CM/L3/290, Coates to Rassām, 28.3.1843.

²⁸⁴ CM/O8/45, Rassām to Coates, 18.1.1843.

"put many of them in circulation"²⁸⁵ , supplying "schools and many private individuals with elementary treatises", as well as the Arabic version of the *Book of Common Prayer*.²⁸⁶

It remains to mention that some Arabic school-books from Malta may have been used in Jewish schools in Baghdad, and even remained in use there into the 20th century. Two former members of that community²⁸⁷ have memories of seeing such books at school in their youth.²⁸⁸ It has not been possible to verify this, nor to ascertain when or from whom they were acquired.

8.8 Arabian peninsula

In 1826 a British officer, Col. Elwood, and his wife travelled to India via Malta, Egypt and the Red Sea. At Malta they met Jowett and "from him procured some Arabic spelling-books"²⁸⁹ , which we afterwards were enabled to distribute to some of the wild Arabs we met with in our journey".²⁹⁰ It is not clear where all these "wild Arabs" were found, nor what use they made of the books; but it is recorded that they gave some spelling-books to a young man of 28, the son of a merchant, and to other men in Hudayda in Yemen. They were accepted "with thankfulness and pleasure"; whereas an Arabic New Testament was returned, apparently on the instructions of the local 'ulamā'.²⁹¹

Ten years later, in 1836, the ubiquitous Joseph Wolff visited Yemen, and gave copies of *Pilgrim's progress*²⁹² and other Arabic books to Muḥammad 'Alī's commander in Ṣaydīya (for his son).²⁹³ Then he went on to Ḥudayda, where he gave a lithographed map and a copy of the Arabic *Robinson Crusoe*²⁹⁴ to Muḥammad 'Alī's nephew Ibrāhīm Pasha, commander-in-chief of the Egyptian forces in Yemen; the latter

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Badger, G.P. *The Nestorians and their rituals: with the narrative of a mission to Mesopotamia and Coordistan in 1842-1844*, Vol.I, London 1852, p.281.

²⁸⁷ Dr Haskell Isaacs of Cambridge University Library and Prof. Shmuel Moreh of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

²⁸⁸ Personal communications from Isaacs and Moreh.

²⁸⁹ Probably item 10 in Appendix A.

²⁹⁰ Elwood, (A.K.), *Narrative of a journey overland from England, by the continent of Europe, Egypt, and the Red Sea, to India; including a residence there, and voyage home, in the years 1825, 26, 27, and 28*, Vol.I, London 1830, p.104.

²⁹¹ *Missionary Register* 1827, pp.253-254; Elwood, op.cit., pp.328-329.

²⁹² Item 56 in Appendix A.

²⁹³ Wolff, op.cit., p.372.

²⁹⁴ Item 63 in Appendix A.

subsequently told Wolff, after reading *Robinson Crusoe*, that he was "quite astonished to find so much about God in it".²⁹⁵ Wolff later gave maps to the governor of Bayt al-Faqīh²⁹⁶ and sent tracts to the Shaykh of Hays (near Zabid).²⁹⁷

In the same year, Wolff spent a few days in Jidda, in the Hijaz, en route for Ethiopia. There, at the Mecca gate, he "gave away several of the religious books printed by ... Schlienz, at Malta".²⁹⁸ He also presented a map to 'Uthmān (Osman) Bey, Muḥammad 'Alī's commander in Jidda at that time.²⁹⁹

8.9 Turkey

The Ottoman Turkish books printed at the Malta press were aimed almost exclusively at Muslims, since the Christians and Jews of Turkey generally used other languages and/or scripts. They were therefore, with only two exceptions³⁰⁰, of a "secular", educational nature - spelling-books and science primers - and readily found their way into both schools and households. The quantities involved, however, were relatively small compared with their Arabic counterparts.³⁰¹

The CMS had a missionary station at Buca, near İzmir, where a book-depot was maintained. From there, in the second half of the 1830s, the two resident missionaries, Jetter and Fjellstedt³⁰² made excursions into neighbouring areas, taking supplies of the Malta books with them. In November 1836, for instance, Jetter visited Magnesia (Manisa) and "presented a copy of each of the Turkish books ... to the Mutselim and Mullah. They were both pleased; and the Mullah said that they were well executed". He also gave "a few copies to a Turkish schoolmaster".³⁰³ In 1838 Fjellstedt gave Turkish school-books to a doctor in Pergamos (Bergama) - for his wife, presumably a beginner in reading³⁰⁴ - and to a schoolmaster and his

²⁹⁵ Ibid., pp.372-375.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., p.381.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., p.382.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., p.326.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., pp.363-364.

³⁰⁰ Items 87 and 90 in Appendix A.

³⁰¹ See table on p.271 above.

³⁰² See above, pp.165-168.

³⁰³ *Missionary Register* 1837, p.186.

³⁰⁴ *Missionary Register* 1839, p.296.

pupils near Ephesus (Efes).³⁰⁵ In 1839 he left a supply to be distributed in the island of Kos, using the local British consul (a Greek) as an agent.³⁰⁶

By 1841 the CMS Committee noted with satisfaction that the Turkish books "have already awakened much wonder and inquiry among the Turks".³⁰⁷ In 1842 Theophilus Wolters, who had replaced Fjellstedt, issued 1112 Turkish books from the depot: some of these were supplied to the book trade, both locally and in Istanbul. A Greek bookseller in the capital had sold 171 by March 1843, and another 100 had been disposed of by the American missionaries there: the CMS received 698 kuruş for these sales.³⁰⁸ A repeat order of 100 of each title was received from the Greek dealer, but only a much smaller number could be supplied. Wolters pointed out, as an "encouraging fact", that this indicated a significant demand from individual Turks.³⁰⁹

Later in 1843 Wolters received the whole of the remaining stock of 3096 Turkish books from Malta³¹⁰, and he continued to distribute them for the rest of the decade. The same year he disposed of a number in Salonica and elsewhere in Macedonia, as well as in Anatolia.³¹¹ In 1844 he sent a supply to a Muslim school near İzmir³¹² and also left some with a local agent for distribution in Philadelphia (Alaşehir). In a nearby village, he gave "a few Turkish books" to the secretary (*kâtip*) of the local Ağa, who described them as "wonderful things" (*acablı şeyler*).³¹³ Meanwhile, the sales in Istanbul continued, although difficulties at the custom-house impeded the delivery of fresh supplies there.³¹⁴

The following year Wolters reported that "the circulation of Turkish books, published by the Society, continues; but not with the same rapidity as two years ago. Occasionally copies are sold here [İzmir], and at Constantinople". The sales, it seems, diminished

³⁰⁵ Ibid., p.374.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., p.376.

³⁰⁷ *Missionary Register* 1841, p.333.

³⁰⁸ *Missionary Register* 1843, pp.293-294.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., p.295.

³¹⁰ CM/O67/29, Weiss to Coates, 28.5.1844.

³¹¹ *Missionary Register* 1844, p.309.

³¹² *Missionary Register* 1845, p.269.

³¹³ Ibid., p.271.

³¹⁴ Ibid., p.274.

greatly when the first part of the reading-book³¹⁵ went out of print.³¹⁶ There was little to report in the ensuing years, except that in 1847 some Turkish tracts³¹⁷ were given to, and read by, two Turks, one of them an Imam, in İzmir.³¹⁸

As well as the Turkish books, some of the Malta Arabic publications were also supplied to Turkey, both by the CMS and by the ABCFM. In 1833 the American missionary William Goodell gave some of them to 'ulamā' in Istanbul, who translated them into Turkish for use in schools; but the geography-book³¹⁹ was rejected because it contained too much on Egypt and not enough on Turkey.³²⁰ Another copy of it was, however, given by Jetter to a "mulla" in Manisa in 1835, along with the "Outline of Ancient History"³²¹, but he too was critical of them, because they were too small, and because in the latter the ancient place-names were used, instead of their modern equivalents.³²² But in 1836 it was reported that "some of the Arabic Publications which had previously found their way into the Schools established by the Pasha of Egypt³²³, have also been in demand for the Schools now establishing in Constantinople".³²⁴

Later, in 1842, a supply of Keith's *Al-Bayyina al-jaliya*³²⁵ was taken by a merchant for distribution in Turkey³²⁶, and in 1844 the same Ağa's *kâtip* near Alaşehir who had taken some of the Turkish books also received an Arabic atlas.³²⁷ Finally, it must be mentioned that the Ottoman statesman and man of letters Ahmet Vefik Paşa possessed a copy of the Arabic *Pilgrim's progress* (Malta, 1834)³²⁸, although where and when he acquired it is not known.³²⁹

³¹⁵ Item 83 in Appendix A.

³¹⁶ *Missionary Register* 1846, p.200.

³¹⁷ Presumably items 87 and 90 in Appendix A.

³¹⁸ *Missionary Register* 1848, p.266.

³¹⁹ Item 47 in Appendix A.

³²⁰ *Missionary Register* 1834, p.265.

³²¹ Item 48 in Appendix A.

³²² *Missionary Register* 1835, p.329.

³²³ See above, pp.283-285.

³²⁴ *Missionary Register* 1836, pp.88-89.

³²⁵ Item 96 in Appendix A.

³²⁶ *Missionary Register* 1843, p.89.

³²⁷ *Missionary Register* 1845, p.271.

³²⁸ Item 56 in Appendix A.

³²⁹ *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu Ahmed Vefyk Pacha*, Constantinople 1893, p.19. The auctioneer who compiled the catalogue wrongly dated it 1843, and listed it among the travel books (*kutub al-sayyāhīn*).

8.10 Malta

It has already been noted that, although there were in the first half of the 19th century proposals to adopt Arabic as the written language of Malta, none of the Malta Arabic books were published primarily with this in mind.³³⁰ Indeed the original permission granted to Jowett to establish the press excluded the publication of books for local use.³³¹ Nevertheless, some of them did find their way into local circulation.

Fāris al-Shidyāq, as well as working for the press, also taught Arabic in the Lyceum, in the Government primary school in Valletta and in the University.³³² As we have seen, it is likely that some of the didactic books edited or written by him and printed in Malta were designed at least partly to assist him in that work³³³, although the CMS would have intended them primarily for mission schools in the Middle East. These include Farḥāt's *Baḥṭh al-maṭālib* (1836)³³⁴, and his own primer *Al-Lafīf fī kull ma'nā ʿarīf* (1839)³³⁵, in which, as previously noted, Shidyāq mentions its proposed use in Malta as well as elsewhere.³³⁶ How many copies were allocated for this purpose, and for how long they remained in use, remain unknown. The later book of English-Arabic dialogues, *Al-Muḥāwara al-unsīya* (1840)³³⁷ might also have been used by Shidyāq in the University or elsewhere, although one authority states that there is little evidence for this.³³⁸

At least one copy of the Arabic atlas of 1835³³⁹ has been preserved in Malta, and has led some Maltese scholars to suppose that it too was used in local schools in connection with the proposed Arabisation of Maltese education³⁴⁰. There does not, however, seem to be any direct evidence for this either.

³³⁰ See above, pp.257-258.

³³¹ See above, p.111.

³³² See above, p.221.

³³³ See above, pp.227 & 243-245.

³³⁴ Item 69 in Appendix A.

³³⁵ Item 85.

³³⁶ See above, p.244.

³³⁷ Item 92 in Appendix A.

³³⁸ Agius, D. "Learning Arabic in 19th century Malta", *Sunday Times of Malta*, 30 July 1972, p.12.

³³⁹ Item 66 in Appendix A.

³⁴⁰ Cremona, A. & Saydon [P.], *The development of Maltese as a written language*, Valletta [1928], pp.9-10; Bonavia, C.G. *Bibliography of Maltese textbooks 1651-1979*, Msida 1979, p.29, #35.

There was, however, one educational establishment in Malta in which the CMS Arabic books were almost certainly regularly used, although not by Maltese pupils. This was the Malta Protestant College, opened in 1846 under the direction of Gobat, and intended mainly for youths from the Middle East. Its library at the time of its dissolution in 1866 contained at least nine copies of the Arabic *Pilgrim's progress*³⁴¹ and ten of the *Book of Common Prayer*³⁴² as well as other items.³⁴³

Other libraries in Malta received very few of the Arabic books. The Public Library (now the National Library) in Valletta has one or two³⁴⁴, and the British Garrison Library received in 1840 copies of *Al-Muḥāwara al-unṣīya*³⁴⁵ and the Arabic *Book of Common Prayer*.³⁴⁶ Some also seem to have been on sale to individuals locally: Solomon Caesar Malan, who was in Malta in 1840 and 1850³⁴⁷ acquired there a substantial collection of them, which is now in the Indian Institute Library in Oxford.

8.11 Europe and USA

Tibawi, working in Britain and America, claimed that Malta Arabic books are "non-existent in public libraries"³⁴⁸; but, as the census of copies given in Appendix A below (which is far from exhaustive) demonstrates, this is certainly not the case. In November 1843 Weiss shipped to London 100 copies each of 19 of the books, and 70, 35, 12 and 12 respectively of four others.³⁴⁹ Many of them subsequently passed into the possession both of libraries and of individuals. These included educated Arabs living in Europe, such as Rushayd Daḥḍaḥ, a Lebanese merchant and intellectual of Marseilles, who possessed copies of the Pestalozzi arithmetic³⁵⁰, the third edition

³⁴¹ Item 56 in Appendix A.

³⁴² Item 99.

³⁴³ Puttick & Simpson, *Catalogue of the well selected library of a collegiate institution, recently dissolved*, London 1866, pp.3 & 32, lots 57, 686, 705, 706 & 709.

³⁴⁴ Rossi, E. "Manoscritti e documenti orientali nelle biblioteche e negli archivi di Malta", *Archivio Storico di Malta* 2 i (1930), p.1; Pirota, J. *Duecento anni di stampa maltese (1643-1850)*, unpublished thesis (Tesi di Perfezionamento), Università degli Studi di Parma (Facoltà di Magistero), 1985-86, p.186, #546 & 188, #565.

³⁴⁵ Item 92 in Appendix A.

³⁴⁶ Malta Garrison Library, *A classified catalogue*, Malta 1840, p.2 & inserted slip.

³⁴⁷ Malan, A.N. *Solomon Caesar Malan*, London 1897, pp.63-64 & 154.

³⁴⁸ Ṭībāwī, 'Abd al-Latif al-, "Al-lughā" (op.cit.), p.774.

³⁴⁹ CM/O67/28, Weiss to Coates, 4.11.1843.

³⁵⁰ Item 30 in Appendix A.

of *Al-Kanz al-mukhtār*³⁵¹ and *Al-Muḥāwara al-unṣīya*.³⁵²

Some copies also found their way to America, probably sent there by ABCFM missionaries in the early period. A copy of *Kitāb Tawārikh mustantaj min al-'Ahd al-Qadīm* (1833)³⁵³ is in the Theological Seminary in Princeton³⁵⁴, and a few others were acquired there by Tibawi.³⁵⁵ It has not been possible to carry out a survey of the holdings of American libraries, which probably contain many more copies.

³⁵¹ Item 70.

³⁵² Item 92. Bitar, M.Y., *Catalogue des manuscrits précieux et livres rares arabes composant la bibliothèque de M.le Comte Rochaid Dahdah*, Paris 1912, pp 55 (412), 56 (422) & 89 (719).

³⁵³ Item 43 in Appendix A.

³⁵⁴ Kawerau, *op.cit.*, p.382 n.244.

³⁵⁵ Now in Tibawi Papers, St Antony's College, Oxford.

9. THE DEMISE OF THE MALTA ARABIC PRESS

In the preceding chapter an account has been given of the distribution of the Malta Arabic and Turkish publications, and it has been pointed out that they were made available in almost unprecedented quantities.¹ But although the final total of books distributed was an impressive one, the outward flow of books from Malta over the period of the press's existence was by no means even or steady. Changing conditions in the Middle East, and in the fortunes of the missionaries there, caused considerable dislocations in the demand for the books. The table on p.271 reveals relatively high figures for the first ten years (apart from a gap in 1828-29, for which figures are not available), followed by a sharp drop in the remaining period. For several years - 1839, 1841 and 1842 - no figures were released, and it is likely that shipments in those years were negligible. On the other hand, in terms of books produced, this latter period was the most fruitful in the press's history, as the particulars given in Appendix A make clear.²

There was, therefore, in the late 1830s and early -40s, a considerable imbalance between production and distribution of Arabic books, which resulted in the accumulation of large quantities of them in the depot in Valletta. There they spent many months, and in some cases years, gathering dust on the shelves, instead of reaching their intended readers in the Middle East. In 1837 Brenner was obliged to report that issues in the previous year had been "very inconsiderable, owing to the reduced state of the Missions in the Levant & Egypt".³ This in turn had been due to plague and unsettled conditions in the Ottoman Empire; but the following year saw no increase, and in 1838 the figure was halved. Brenner was therefore obliged to lay great emphasis, in a report in the autumn of that year, on the need to make much greater efforts to distribute the Arabic publications in the Middle East; he was sure, from what he had learned from Badger, who had recently returned from Syria, that the problem was not lack of demand, but lack of missionary agents to

¹ See above, pp.271-272.

² See below, pp.330-352.

³ CM/O18/34, Brenner to Coates, 6.2.1837.

undertake the work of distribution.⁴

No further agents, however, were sent for this purpose, and by 1841 the imbalance between production and distribution had further worsened. Shortly after he had taken over effective control of the Malta establishment early in that year, Gobat reiterated the need for someone to undertake the work of distribution⁵, and at about the same time the printer, Matthäus Weiss, wrote that despite the excellent state of the press and ancillary activities, "it is painful to me to add shelf to shelf and magazin[e] to magazin[e] to contain all the publications: there are scarcely any demands in the Arabic ... only the Greek and Turkish part seems to enjoy the blessing of making its intended journeys".⁶ Gobat returned to the subject two months later: "I do not know," he wrote, "what will become of the books now accumulating here, and probably in Egypt also; for we have no demand for them from that quarter. Should not an agent or a travelling missionary be sent out to distribute them in Egypt and Syria?"⁷

Still nothing was done, however, until the following July, when Gobat himself, as we have seen, went to Lebanon and Syria on a mission to the Druzes, taking eight boxes of Arabic books with him.⁸ But this still left a large surplus, and in November 1841 Gobat again urged the necessity of further distribution.⁹ The main reason for the low level of demand at that time was the unsettled state of the Middle East during and immediately following the expulsion of the Egyptians from Syria and Palestine, and the anti-British sentiment in Egypt to which it gave rise.¹⁰ This was only a temporary factor, but for the time being, as Gobat admitted, it created a situation in which "the Malta Establishment is altogether paralysed in its efficiency".¹¹

In the meantime, however, the unsatisfactory ratio between the printing of books in Malta and their disposal in the Middle East had begun to give rise to concern at the CMS headquarters in London. In

⁴ CM/O18/46, Brenner to Coates, 4.10.1838.

⁵ CM/O28/37, Gobat to Coates, 20.2.1840.

⁶ CM/O67/11, Weiss to Jowett, 26.2.1840.

⁷ CM/O28/38, Gobat to Coates, 25.4.1840.

⁸ See above, pp.297-298.

⁹ CM/O28/44, Gobat to Secs., 27.11.1841.

¹⁰ See above, pp.271, 276 & 286.

¹¹ CM/O28/50, Gobat to Secs., 26.5.1842.

September 1841 Coates instructed Gobat to "consider & report to the Com[itt]ee upon the means of advantageously bringing the Arabic Books & Tracts printed at the Malta Press into circulation in those Levantine countries in which the Arabic language is vernacular", and suggested "exploratory journeys" for this purpose.¹² But the Committee's concern sprang not only from a desire to see the books distributed for their own sake, but also from the pressures which were by then arising from the Society's financial problems. During most of the 1830s their income, from subscriptions, donations, collections, legacies and other sources, had shown a steady rise, from £40,752 in 1831-32 to £82,702 in 1837-38. The expenditure, however, which already exceeded the income at the beginning of this period, also rose, at a similar rate, from £47,173 in 1831-32 to £86,579 in 1837-38.¹³ The deficit in the latter year caused the Committee to recommend "a careful revision of the whole expenditure"¹⁴; nevertheless, in 1838-39 the position worsened to a alarming extent, for not only did the income suffer an unexpected drop, to £71,307, but the expenditure surged further to £91,453, causing a deficit of over £20,000.¹⁵ This enormous shortfall - by the standards of the time - was made good the following year by a massive appeal for extra funds in order to safeguard the the existing missionary activities. This resulted in an unprecedentedly high income of £100,252 in 1839-40, while expenditure saw only a minute fall, to £90,901.¹⁶

The level of missionary activity was therefore relatively unaffected at this stage, but there was inevitably pressure for economy. The Mediterranean mission represented only a very modest proportion of the total expenditure, but it had more than doubled, from £3,136 in 1831-32 to £6,558 in 1837-38.¹⁷ This was followed by a significant reduction, to £5,451 in 1838-39.¹⁸ Separate figures for the Malta establishment were not published until 1839-40, in which year the expenditure there was £2,405 out of a total of £6,258 for

¹² CM/L3/193, Coates to Gobat, 18.9.1841.

¹³ *Church Missionary Record* 3 (1832), p.116; 9 (1838), pp.146-147. Expenditure did not, however, exceed income throughout these years: in the mid-1830s small surpluses were generally achieved.

¹⁴ *Church Missionary Record* 9 (1838), p.147.

¹⁵ *Church Missionary Record* 10 (1839), p.108.

¹⁶ *Church Missionary Record* 11 (1840), p.114.

¹⁷ *Church Missionary Record* 3 (1832), p.116; 9 (1838), p.146.

¹⁸ *Church Missionary Record* 10 (1839), p.108.

the whole Mediterranean field (the savings of the previous year having been largely wiped out).¹⁹ Pressures to contain expenditure in Malta were nevertheless being applied, and Schlienz was obliged to defend his relatively heavy spending on printing activities, including type-casting, which he did by pointing to the efforts being made by the American missionaries in this sphere.²⁰

The following year saw another worsening of the Society's financial position, with income declining to £90,604, and expenditure rising to £98,631, creating a deficit once again. The costs of the Malta station rose to £2,973.²¹ The Committee continued to regard the Mediterranean as an area of "opening prospects"²², and went to some lengths to justify the "great advantages arising from the Printing Establishment" in Malta, going so far as to "call upon the friends of the Society to rejoice" that in the Arabic, Turkish and other works produced there "a lasting monument has been erected to the glory of God".²³ Nevertheless, in private, they felt obliged to warn Schlienz that they "feel some uneasiness at the large outlay in which we are involved on account of the Malta Press"²⁴, despite the explanations previously given by Weiss: the cost of new Turkish work, the casting of a new fount and local inflation.²⁵

In the next financial year, 1841-42, the CMS was plunged into what its official historian described as "the greatest financial crisis in its history".²⁶ Its income remained almost unchanged at £90,821, but its expenditure shot up to £110,809²⁷, as a result of which the Society, having exhausted its reserve funds, was still unable to discharge its debts and was faced with bankruptcy.²⁸ The Malta establishment could not be considered a primary cause of this crisis - its expenditure represented a mere 2.5% of the total, and had been reduced slightly since the previous year, to £2,768.²⁹

¹⁹ *Church Missionary Record* 11 (1840), p.114.

²⁰ CM/O65/66, Schlienz to Secs., 5.6.1839.

²¹ *Church Missionary Record* 12 (1841), p.124.

²² *Ibid.*, p.125.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp.153-154; *Missionary Register* 1841, p.333.

²⁴ CM/L3/145-146, Coates to Schlienz, 28.11.1840.

²⁵ CM/O18/58, Brenner to Coates, 28.8.1840.

²⁶ Stock, *op.cit.*, I, p.368.

²⁷ *Church Missionary Record* 13 (1842), pp.116-117.

²⁸ Church Missionary Society, *The Jubilee Volume ... 1848-1849*, London 1849, p.188; Stock, *op.cit.*, I, pp.368 & 482.

²⁹ *Church Missionary Record* 13 (1842), p.117.

Nevertheless it became one of the main victims of it. Already in July 1841, in view of the bad state of the finances, "the Com[mitt]ee ... have ... deemed it advisable to reduce expenditure in Malta. The cost of the Press there has much increased in late years & its reduction must be immediately effected ... by printing less, particularly in the Arabic department. This is the more strongly recommended because we believe you have on hand a very large stock of Arabic works".³⁰

By January 1842 matters had deteriorated to such an extent that "the Com[mitt]ee have been led to contemplate the relinquishment of our Printing Establishment at Malta".³¹ Negotiations were put in hand for the sale of the press, and in April Coates informed Gobat that financial constraints were now so severe that "no new work must be entered upon at the Press beyond those the printing of which is already begun".³² Just over a month later, he communicated to him the decision that the Malta establishment was to be wound up³³ and in July he ordered the employees to be discharged.³⁴

Why did the CMS thus make Malta a principal victim of its cuts in expenditure³⁵, in view of the relatively small proportion of that expenditure which it represented? The chief reason seems to have been a sense of disappointment at the results of its missionary endeavours in the Mediterranean since it had embarked upon them in 1815. Not only had they had almost no religious impact on the Muslim populations which were their ultimate target, but even the oriental Christians seemed unreceptive to the evangelical message. This frustration was cogently expressed a few years later, on the occasion of the Society's golden jubilee:

"The first hopes and expectations have not been fulfilled. Rome has revived. The decayed Churches of the East have set themselves against the introduction of scriptural light ... And though in Egypt (the Missionaries) have been treated with respect and confidence, ... yet longer and more intimate acquaintance with the Oriental Churches has served to shew the tenacity with which

³⁰ CM/L3/185, Coates to Schlienz, 15.7.1841.

³¹ CM/L3/222, Coates to Schlienz, 15.1.1842.

³² CM/L3/241-242, Coates to Gobat, 29.4.1842.

³³ CM/L3/243, Coates to Gobat, 2.6.1842.

³⁴ CM/L3/250-251, Coates to Gobat, 16.7.1842.

³⁵ Only two other stations - Jamaica and Trinidad - were similarly affected. *Church Missionary Record* 13 (1843), p.119; *CMS Jubilee Volume* (op.cit.), p.188.

they cling to their superstitious opinions and practices, and to suggest a doubt whether the friendly overtures of foreign Missionaries be the proper mode of attempting their reformation."³⁶

With these perceptions, it was not surprising that the Society should have decided, in its straitened financial circumstances, to concentrate its resources on its more promising pagan mission fields in Africa, India and the Pacific. In 1843 it was expressly stated that the discontinuation of Malta was to enable missions elsewhere to be continued and enlarged.³⁷

The reluctance to continue financing the Malta press was no doubt further reinforced by the imbalance between the production and distribution of its publications which has already been outlined: this was no doubt attributed to the recalcitrance of Arab readers in the face of the evangelical truth which the tracts were assumed to embody. The pious Committee members were unable to perceive that, given a better system of distribution, the more acceptable educational works, of the type which the Malta press had latterly been publishing on the initiative of Schlienz and Shidyāq, might have continued to find a readership in the Middle East, amongst both Christians and Muslims; nor, probably, if they had perceived it, would they have regarded such propagation of secular enlightenment as a suitable object on which to expend any of their scarce resources.

Another, subsidiary reason for winding up the establishment was the problem of finding a suitably qualified missionary-scholar to superintend it. Schlienz, as we have seen, had been driven by insanity to the point where he had to be relieved of his post, and Gobat was not really suited by temperament or aptitude for the task; he also suffered from continual bouts of ill-health.³⁸ No other missionary in the Society's service, since the departure of Badger, had the necessary linguistic and literary qualifications and experience in the running of a press.

Once the final decision had been taken, Gobat quickly started on dismantling the Malta establishment. Getting rid of the people

³⁶ *CMS Jubilee Volume* (op.cit.), p.241.

³⁷ *Church Missionary Record* 14 (1843), p.114.

³⁸ See above, pp.201 & 172-173.

employed there proved to be the easiest part of the process. Ḥannā 'l-Jāwalī was sent back to Egypt³⁹, Brenner returned to Switzerland⁴⁰, and the local employees were all sacked on Coates's instructions in July 1842.⁴¹ Fāris al-Shidyāq, as we have seen, proved to be rather more recalcitrant, but he eventually gave up and left.⁴² Weiss the printer stayed on in Malta, although not for the time being in the employ of the CMS, and his subsequent role is considered further below.

Disposing of the stock of books was rather more of a problem, but by January 1843 Gobat was able to report that "all the bound books are now in cases, ready to be sent abroad where- and whenever required. There are about 50 cases of books unbound ... all these are in a room of the Bible Depot, except for a few ... which Mr Weiss has taken into his house".⁴³ Later all the stocks were handed over to Weiss, who, as we have seen⁴⁴, sent most of the Arabic books to Cairo, Beirut and Jerusalem, and the Turkish ones to İzmir, during the course of 1843.⁴⁵ The few remaining Arabic books were sent to Cairo in April 1845, before Weiss's departure from Malta.⁴⁶

The greatest difficulty, however, arose over the disposal of the press itself, the ancillary equipment and the type-founts. The market for printing equipment in Malta was exiguous in the extreme, and Arabic types were difficult to sell anywhere: only a few specialised printers in Europe used them, and in the Middle East printing was still in its infancy. Moreover, as Gobat pointed out, there was a tendency in favour of stereotyping standard religious texts, such as the SPCK's new edition of the Arabic psalms⁴⁷, in order to minimise the trouble and expense of Arabic type-setting. Nevertheless, the SPCK was at first regarded as the most likely purchaser, in view of its existing sponsorship of Bible, prayer-book and other Arabic translation and publishing work at the Malta establishment, and as early as January 1842 the CMS entered into

³⁹ CM/O28/48, Gobat to Secs., 27.4.1842.

⁴⁰ CM/L3/243, Coates to Gobat, 2.6.1842; *Church Missionary Record* 14 (1843), p.76.

⁴¹ CM/L3/250-251, Coates to Gobat, 16.7.1842.

⁴² See above, pp.217-219.

⁴³ CM/O28/60, Gobat to Secs., 27.1.1843.

⁴⁴ Pp.271, 276, 297, 289 & 303 above.

⁴⁵ CM/O67/29, Weiss to Coates, 28.5.1844.

⁴⁶ CM/O67/33, Weiss to Coates, 16.4.1845.

⁴⁷ CM/O28/52, Gobat to Secs., 27.7.1842.

negotiations with them for the transfer of the press, if not the whole establishment: for this purpose an inventory was requested.⁴⁸ The SPCK were, however, slow to respond⁴⁹, and so it was decided to explore the possibility of selling it to Weiss himself, who would then act as an independent contractor carrying out work on his own account as well as for the CMS when required: for this purpose he went to London to negotiate with the Society.⁵⁰ These negotiations seem to have failed, however, as at the end of June Coates instructed Gobat that the press was not to be transferred to Weiss, but to be sold on the open market, after consultations with the Bishop of Gibraltar (resident in Malta), who, as an active member of the SPCK and SPG, envisaged future Arabic publications.⁵¹ Gobat's response was that it would be difficult to achieve a sale "without great disadvantages", and that it would be especially difficult to dispose of the Arabic types.⁵² Nothing further was achieved for the next three months, and in September the Committee was obliged to reaffirm its decision in favour of "disposing of the Society's Press, Types, &c. by sale in the manner most advantageous to the Society".⁵³

The first possible customer was Mr J. Richardson of the *Malta Times*, whose freedom to publish Protestant opinions Badger and Schlienz had so stoutly defended in print in 1839.⁵⁴ In mid-October Weiss reported that Richardson was about to buy the press, and that he had asked Gobat to exclude from the sale the type-foundry and lithographic equipment. Weiss was willing to purchase these, together with some types, although he would have preferred to buy the whole establishment, for which he now had financial backers.⁵⁵ In the end he did buy just the two ancillary items, and the press and types were sold, not to Richardson, but to a local businessman called John Wright, for £700.⁵⁶ On 25 October 1842, a printed circular was issued, presumably by Wright, announcing the opening of the "British

⁴⁸ CM/L3/222, Coates to Schlienz, 15.1.1842; CM/O28/49, Gobat to Secs., 27.4.1842. Gobat suggested that the RTS might also take a share, as it had sponsored some of the Arabic publications (see above, p.133.)

⁴⁹ CM/L3/228, Coates to Schlienz, 26.2.1842.

⁵⁰ CM/O67/18, Weiss to Coates, 24.2.1842; CM/L3/241, Coates to Gobat, 29.4.1842.

⁵¹ CM/L3/246, Coates to Gobat, 30.6.1842.

⁵² CM/O28/52, Gobat to Secs., 27.7.1842.

⁵³ CM/L3/255, Coates to Gobat, 17.9.1842.

⁵⁴ See above, pp.158 & 199.

⁵⁵ CM/O67/20, Weiss to Coates, 15.10.1842.

⁵⁶ CM/O28/54, Gobat to Secs., 27.10.1842.

Press (formerly the Church Missionary Society's Printing Establishment)" with "a great variety of type - some of which is of a very superior, if not unequalled quality; and books in the English, Italian, French, Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew languages, can be printed with facility and equal in manner and style to the productions of any European press".⁵⁷

In the meantime, however, in an extraordinary reversal of policy, the CMS Committee in London had decided to keep the press after all, "for printing tracts & small books only as occasion may require in the Arabic, Romainic [i.e. modern Greek] & Italian languages".⁵⁸ This change of heart was no doubt caused by the sudden influx of funds into the Society's coffers, following the publicity about its financial crisis earlier in the year: the income for 1842-43 rose to a massive £110,322, turning the previous year's huge deficit into a surplus of similar size.⁵⁹ But it was too late, for by the time the tidings of this decision reached Malta, Wright had already taken over the press and the types. Weiss did, however, respond by offering to revive the printing establishment, if £500-600 could be allocated for the purchase of new equipment (including improved Arabic types) and £700-1200 per annum for running costs, including a salary of £200 for himself.⁶⁰ Not surprisingly, the CMS declined this proposal, but they did endorse the sale to Weiss of the type-foundry and lithographic equipment.⁶¹

Meanwhile, problems arose over the purchase of the press and types by Wright. The bill which he drew in payment was dishonoured⁶², and he justified this by raising complaints about the goods which he had received. In particular, he "found several thousand pounds weight of Arabic and Greek Type missing which I had calculated to be of considerable value in the purchase".⁶³ Gobat had admitted that he had inadvertently misled him about the quantity of Arabic types⁶⁴; but Wright also complained about their lack of value, in terms of utility or salability. With this also Gobat was obliged to concur:

⁵⁷ CM/O4/28, printed circular, 25.10.1842.

⁵⁸ CM/L3/268-269, Coates to Gobat, 4.11.1842.

⁵⁹ *Church Missionary Record* 14 (1843), p.112.

⁶⁰ CM/O67/21, Weiss to Coates, 26.11.1842.

⁶¹ CM/L3/283, Venn, Davies & Coates to Gobat, 31.1.1843.

⁶² CM/L3/269, Coates to Gobat, 30.11.1842.

⁶³ CM/O8/46, Wright to CMS Secs., 24.3.1843.

⁶⁴ CM/O28/59, Gobat to Coates, 27.12.1842.

"a favourable chance," he wrote, "either of selling the Arabic types, or of having Arabic works to print, might raise the value ... but neither is to be expected, especially if Mr Weiss settles here with a printing office".⁶⁵ In the end, the matter was resolved by Weiss purchasing all the Arabic types from Wright⁶⁶, and a rebate of £200 being granted by the CMS.⁶⁷

Another item whose fate had to be determined was the important reference library which formed part of the Malta establishment, and which contained valuable lexicographical and other Arabic books. Weiss hoped that the CMS might leave it with him, so that he could make use of it in any further Arabic work which he might undertake.⁶⁸ It did remain in his charge for some months⁶⁹, but in the end the CMS decided that it would be better to have it in London, whither it was shipped in July 1843.⁷⁰

Finally, the CMS premises in Valletta had to be given up. This also was attended with considerable difficulty. In December 1842, before they were ready to leave, the house was sealed by court order, and the Society was formally evicted.⁷¹ The reason for this is not clear, but it presumably related to some dispute over the termination of the lease and payment of the rent. There followed a "vexatious lawsuit about the tenancy", which kept Gobat in Malta for another five months. He finally left for Switzerland in May 1843, his health "much shattered", after the eventual conclusion of what he was to look back on, not unjustifiably, as a "long and tedious winding-up of the Society's affairs at Malta".⁷²

But the story does not quite end there. The printer Matthäus Weiss, although no longer employed by the CMS, remained in Malta for another three years. After his unsuccessful attempt to persuade the Society to pay him a salary, he announced at the beginning of 1843 "my intention to establish a Press here in Malta on my own account, and though on a small scale, I hope ... to provide by this for ... myself and children". In the meantime, until he was fully

⁶⁵ CM/O28/60, Gobat to Secs., 27.1.1843.

⁶⁶ CM/O28/63, Gobat to Secs., 29.4.1843.

⁶⁷ CM/L3/298-299, Coates to Wright, 31.8.1843.

⁶⁸ CM/O67/21, Weiss to Coates, 26.11.1842.

⁶⁹ CM/O67/24, Weiss to Coates, 27.5.1843.

⁷⁰ CM/O67/25, Weiss to Coates, 25.7.1843.

⁷¹ CM/O67/22, Weiss to Coates, 15.12.1842.

⁷² Gobat & others, *op.cit.*, p.199.

operational, he requested some support for his children.⁷³ By May he had started operations with a small press⁷⁴, and shortly afterwards the Bishop of Gibraltar offered him £150 towards the cost of a new press. Nevertheless, he reported, the prospects were not good for the sale of publications in Malta, and he continued to request support from the CMS, as his former employers, for the upkeep of his children.⁷⁵

The reason for the Bishop's support of Weiss was that he hoped eventually to make use of him in order to print at Malta further Arabic texts for the SPCK, in which he was closely involved. These included the Arabic Bible, and a new edition of the Book of Common Prayer. In October 1843 Weiss reported that the manuscript of the latter was "preparing", but that otherwise "nothing new is preparing for the East".⁷⁶ A year later, these Arabic works had still not materialised, and Weiss, as we have seen, made arrangements to leave Malta and re-enter the service of the CMS at one of its Indian missions.⁷⁷ The Bishop, however, was still reluctant to see him go, as this would mean the loss of a potential missionary press under his jurisdiction⁷⁸; and, as we have seen, Badger, who returned briefly to Malta in October 1844, also favoured the use of Weiss's press for the SPCK Arabic publications.⁷⁹ But the work was subject to still further delays and controversies, especially over Shidyāq's role; and, as already recounted, Weiss had in any case grave reservations about Badger's suitability for the task of preparing and supervising biblical and liturgical texts.⁸⁰ In the end, the SPCK Arabic Bible and revised Prayer Book were printed in England.

Weiss did print a Maltese Prayer Book for the SPCK⁸¹, but this did not involve the use of Arabic type. Nor did a number of other Maltese books which he printed at this time⁸² with the exception, as we have seen, of Panzavecchia's Maltese grammar in Italian, which

⁷³ CM/O67/23, Weiss to Coates, 28.1.1843.

⁷⁴ CM/O67/24, Weiss to Coates, 27.5.1843.

⁷⁵ CM/O67/25, Weiss to Coates, 25.7.1843.

⁷⁶ CM/O67/27, Weiss to Coates, 28.10.1843.

⁷⁷ See above, p.233.

⁷⁸ CM/O67/32, Weiss to Coates, 18.12.1844.

⁷⁹ See above, p.160.

⁸⁰ See above, p.160.

⁸¹ *Ktieb iż Talb ta' Āalenia*, Malta 1845.

⁸² List given in Cremona, A. *Vassalli and his times*, tr. M. Butcher, Malta 1940, p.119.

gave Arabic equivalents of many Maltese words and letters.⁸³ As far as can be ascertained, this was the only use which Weiss made of the CMS Arabic founts which he had bought from Wright.

In March 1845 Weiss compiled an inventory of his printing establishment preparatory to disposing of it prior to his departure. It listed no fewer than six different Arabic founts⁸⁴, as well as quantities of quadrats, leads, etc. necessary for setting vocalised texts.⁸⁵ The archives do not record to whom he sold the equipment, but Cremona has suggested that it passed into the hands of the brothers Gabriel and Savier Vassalli, sons of Mikiel Anton Vassalli, the great pioneer of Maltese philology.⁸⁶ Both they and their father (who died in 1829) had been closely associated with the CMS Malta establishment, under both Jowett and Schlienz, and they had undoubtedly helped to prepare the Maltese texts which Weiss printed toward the end of his sojourn in Malta. Savier, as we have seen, had also worked as an Arabic compositor.⁸⁷ Cremona's supposition is corroborated by the fact that Maltese books appeared after 1845 bearing the imprint "Brothers Vassalli" or "Gabriel Vassalli" and the address 97 Strada Forni [Valletta], which was presumably next door to Weiss's former establishment at 98 Strada Forni⁸⁸, and the roman type-face used appears the same as Weiss's.⁸⁹

But the Vassallis do not seem ever to have used the Arabic types, nor, as far as can be ascertained, do they re-appear in any subsequent publication in Malta or elsewhere. What became of them must remain a matter of speculation, but it seems likely that they were melted down or otherwise destroyed. Arabic typography disappeared from Malta for the rest of the nineteenth century.⁹⁰

⁸³ Panzavecchia, F. *Grammatica della lingua maltese*, Malta 1845: item 112 in Appendix A. See above, p.259.

⁸⁴ See above, p.261.

⁸⁵ CM/O67/36, Estimate of the Printing Establishment of Mr Weiss, March 1845.

⁸⁶ Cremona, op.cit., p.120.

⁸⁷ See above, p.231.

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp.119-120.

⁸⁹ Cf. [Panzavecchia, F.] *Il ħaja ta Sidna Gesu Kristu*, Malta 1847, discussed above, p.259.

⁹⁰ The Malta Protestant College, which as we have seen (p.306 above), was founded in 1846 and made use of some of the Malta Arabic books, issued soon after its foundation a prospectus in Arabic for circulation in the Middle East. Entitled *'An bayān tartīb al-maktab wa 'l-madrasa al-Injilīzīya bi-jazīrat Mālīta*, it is a 2-page broadsheet, of which a copy is preserved in the Tibawi Papers at St Antony's College, Oxford (Tibawi I/4). It bears neither imprint nor date, but it is printed with the characteristic "American" Arabic types of the ABCFM press in Beirut. The fact that it was printed there is clear evidence that Arabic typography was no longer available in Malta.

10. CONCLUSION: THE PLACE OF THE MALTA PRESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MIDDLE EASTERN PRINT CULTURE

In the 1780s the French Enlightenment savant and traveller Volney, as noted in an earlier chapter, remarked on the lack of printed books in the Arab Middle East, and held it to be one of the main causes of what he deemed to be the backwardness and stagnation of the area.¹ A hundred years later, great changes had taken place, and a new mood of self-awareness and desire for progress had become prevalent, at any rate amongst the expanding educated classes. Many elements of a cultural, intellectual and political revival were manifest, and economic and social change was also accelerating. What part was played in this transformation by the introduction of the printed books to which Volney attributed so much importance, and how much did the Malta press in particular contribute to it?

The first question cannot be answered at all adequately until a lot more research has been done into the history of Arabic printing in the period, and much more data, both qualitative and quantitative, has been recorded about the nature of book (and newspaper) production, of the books themselves and of their distribution and readership. Nevertheless, some indication was given in our opening chapter of the likely significance of the findings of such research. As for the second question, a full answer likewise must await the establishment of the wider context which only a more comprehensive history of Arabic printing can provide.² Nevertheless, a few tentative suggestions can perhaps be offered.

The employment of Fāris al-Shidyāq at the Malta press, and his active role there, would alone have given it a certain significance in the history of Arab print culture. For he became not only a leading figure in, and was regarded indeed by many as the father of, the 19th-century *nahḍa*, but also, more specifically, a protagonist of the printed word. Some passages on the subject in the dialogues which he wrote with Badger in 1840 have already been quoted³, and

¹ Volney, C.F. *Travels through Syria and Egypt in the years 1783, 1784 and 1785*, London 1787, vol.II, pp.448-454. See above, p.123.

² The only attempt at such a history so far made seems to be Khalīl Ṣābā'i's *Tārīkh al-ṭibā'a fī 'l-Sharq al-'Arabī*, 2nd ed. Cairo 1966. This is a useful preliminary survey, but it inevitably lacks a solid factual basis in respect of some of the presses and their output, because detailed studies of them have yet to be made.

³ See above, pp.124 & 246-247.

it shows that he was already by then fully convinced of the advantages of printed books and newspapers, and the desirability of their wide dissemination in the Middle East, to break the monopoly of knowledge of the traditional scribal classes. This comes over strongly also in his celebrated autobiographical work of 1855, in which he wrote of the need for

"the establishment of a press to print ... books useful for men, women and children and for every single class of people, so that they know what are their rights and obligations (*mā lahum wa mā 'alayhim min al-ḥuqūq*); regardless of whether those books are Arabic or translated into Arabic".⁴

Later in the same chapter he goes on to declaim:-

"Would not the existence of a printing press in [our] country be more worthwhile than these Kashmir shawls, sable furs, precious vessels and sumptuous trinkets? For Man, if he paid due regard to what is obvious, does not benefit from them at all, neither in his body nor in his head ... whereas the book increases in value and multiplies in usefulness as the years pass. Would not the study of history, geography and the humanities (*ādāb al-nās*) be an adornment ... and knowledge surpass the adornment of jewels?"⁵

In his subsequently published description of Europe, Shidyāq devoted eight pages to the history of printing there (in which he mentioned the work of Caslon and Fry⁶ in developing Arabic printing in England), and a disquisition on the importance of printed books and newspapers in spreading knowledge and information.⁷ He concluded by asserting that

"in truth all the crafts that have been invented in this world are inferior to the craft of printing. To be sure the ancients built pyramids, set up monuments, erected statues, fortified strongholds, dug canals and water conduits and paved military roads; however those crafts, compared with the craft of printing, are but one degree above the degrees of savagery. After printing became widespread, there was no longer any likelihood of the disappearance of knowledge which had been disseminated and made

⁴ Fāris al-Shidyāq, *Al-Sāq 'alā 'l-sāq fī-mā huwa 'l-Fāriyāq*, Paris 1855, p.516.

⁵ Ibid., pp.517-518.

⁶ See above, pp.35-37.

⁷ Fāris al-Shidyāq, *Kitāb al-Rihla al-mawsūma bi-'l-Wāsiya ilā ma'rifat Māliqa wa Kashf al-mukhabba' 'an funūn Ūrubā*, Tunis 1283 [1867], pp.375-382.

public, or the loss of books as was the case when they were written with the pen".⁸

Shidyāq himself later became director of a celebrated Arabic press in Istanbul, which published, as well as some of his own works, many well-produced editions of classical Arabic literature. It was called *Al-Jawā'ib* press, after the newspaper of that name which was its original *raison d'être* and of which Shidyāq was the editor. In the pages of this he again expounded the merits of printing, giving statistics of book and newspaper production in Europe (especially Britain) and clearly presenting it as a major factor in the advancement of the West, and the lack of it as a cause of ignorance and decline among the Arabs.⁹ It seems reasonable to suppose that it was Shidyāq's years of experience at the Malta press, in his youth and early middle age, that had first brought him to a thorough awareness of the nature and potentialities of this new medium of communication; and his influence in promoting the subsequent spread of printing and print culture throughout the area was considerable.

But this was an indirect effect. The direct influence of the Malta Arabic books themselves is somewhat harder to assess. Most recent writers on Arab and Middle Eastern intellectual history in the 19th century have ignored, or mentioned only in passing, the role of the mission presses, including that of Malta. Some have expressly dismissed them as having contributed little or nothing to Arabic thought and ideas of the period. Abu-Lughod, for instance, complained that they were "chiefly preoccupied with translating or writing textbooks to be used in their schools. Practically all of their works were of a technical nature - if we exclude theological tracts - dealing with elementary mathematics, chemistry and geography". They therefore failed, in his view, to "transmit a balanced and well-rounded image of the West".¹⁰ Tibawi was also dismissive, partly, as we have seen, in reaction to exaggerated claims made on behalf of the American mission presses.¹¹ After considering a few of the early Malta Arabic tracts and reading-books, he decided that most of them were not really "books" at all,

⁸ Ibid., p.382.

⁹ Fāris al-Shidyāq, *Kanz al-raghā'ib fī muntakhabāt al-Jawā'ib*, vol.I, Istanbul 1288 / 1871, pp.157-161 ("Faṣl fī 'l-ṭab'").

¹⁰ Abu-Lughod, Ibrahim, *Arab rediscovery of Europe: a study in cultural encounters*, Princeton 1963, pp.57-58.

¹¹ See above, p.122 n.63.

but mere pamphlets, intended only for primary classes, and of an exclusively Protestant character. Their influence must therefore, he considered, have been minimal, and he concluded that the missionary presses did not play any significant role in the Arab intellectual and literary revival.¹²

These scholars, however, like most others who have dealt with the period, have tended to consider only the literary content of the books. As we have seen¹³, a high proportion of them were indeed translations of religious tracts, and the rest were mostly primers, school text-books and other didactic works. It is very easy, therefore, to conclude that they made little contribution to the development of Arabic thought and ideas, unlike, for instance, the scientific, historical and literary works published at Bulaq. But in considering the development or renewal of a literary culture, primers and elementary reading books ought not to be dismissed so lightly. The extension of basic literacy, which is their function, is fundamental to the process. Moreover, the provision of such instruction books to large numbers of individual pupils, which only printing made possible, marked a significant departure from the traditional methods of teaching reading and writing, based on copying passages from Qur'ān or Psalter on boards in the classroom. It encouraged pupils, at the very outset of their education, to regard reading and studying from books as an individual and private activity, and one that was potentially within reach of all. It is by no means impossible that the changes in perceived relationships between the individual and society, which became apparent among some intellectuals in several parts of the Middle East in the second half of the 19th century, may have owed something to this new factor in their earliest intellectual experience.

The schematic, graded arrangement of these primers may also have played a part. The idea of starting with simple words, then going on to short phrases, followed by longer passages of increasing complexity, may now seem an obvious way of arranging material for learning reading and writing. But this was not how it was traditionally taught in most Arab schools, whether Muslim or Christian, before the mid-19th century. This innovation may also,

¹² 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Ṭibāwī, "Al-lughā al-'Arabīya fī kutub al-mubashshirīn al-awwalīn", *Majallat Majma' al-Lughā al-'Arabīya bi-Dimashq* 47 (1972), pp.775-779; id. *Arabic and Islamic themes*, London 1976, pp.305-306.

¹³ Chapter 7, section 1 above.

perhaps, have had some effect in altering literate persons' perceptions of the nature of learning and knowledge, and may even have been one factor in the emergence of the idea of progress and development.

In the publishing of these Arabic (and Turkish) primers the Malta press was the pioneer. The list in Appendix B below shows that the very first such book was published there in 1826, followed by others in 1828 and 1829, and not until ca.1834 was a primer printed in the Middle East, at Bulaq. In the ensuing years up to 1850, Malta was responsible for four out of the six published. Not until the second half of the 19th century were Arabic primers printed on a large scale in the Arab world itself, following the example of the Malta prototypes.

Nor ought the translations published at Malta to be dismissed as entirely without consequences for later developments. The early tracts, such as Richmond's *Dairyman's daughter* and *The life of William Kelly* were unsuitable for Arab readers, because their settings and backgrounds were quite alien to them; this was soon realised by the missionaries themselves.¹⁴ Nevertheless many of them, including the Parables and other Biblical material, did take the form of stories; and later more substantial narratives were published, notably *Robinson Crusoe* and *Pilgrim's Progress*. This was a new development as far as Arabic reading material was concerned. Story-telling had for long been in the Arab world a primarily oral genre, and "the very act of telling stories was considered then, and until much later, a pastime unworthy of a respectable 'ālim".¹⁵ A novel such as *Robinson Crusoe* was a new experience for the Arab reader: as well as being in itself a "not unworthy guide to the treasures of European literature"¹⁶, it foreshadowed a period when the translation of European fiction was to become an increasingly important part of the Arabic publishing effort, a commercial business activity aimed at a new reading public.¹⁷ From this developed the Arabic novel and new conceptions of literary form in Arabic.

¹⁴ *Missionary Herald* 29 (1833), p.440; *Missionary Register* 1841, p.131.

¹⁵ Peled, M. "Creative translation", *Journal of Arabic Literature* 10 (1979), pp.139-140.

¹⁶ Lewis, B. *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, London 1982, p.277.

¹⁷ Moosa, M. "The translation of Western fiction into Arabic", *Islamic Quarterly* 14 (1970), pp.202-236; id. *The origins of modern Arabic fiction*, Washington 1983; Khoury, R.G. "Die Rolle der Übersetzungen in der modernen Renaissance des arabischen Schrifttums", *Welt des Islams* 13 (1971), p.9.

Even the works on Church history may have had some influence on later developments. The brief biography of Luther, for instance¹⁸, was the first Arabic book on the subject to be published and circulated in the Middle East.¹⁹ Later Muslim intellectuals were in some cases inspired by the example of Luther. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, for instance, regarded him as something of a hero, and may have been seeking to emulate him as a religious reformer.²⁰ Whether Afghānī had read the Malta biography can only be a matter of speculation; but there is no doubt that it was that book, together with the church histories of Milner and Barth also published in Arabic at Malta, which first introduced the subject directly to Middle Eastern readers.

But if the content of the Malta Arabic books was not entirely insignificant, an assessment of their position in the development of Middle Eastern print culture must place greater weight on their physical role as embodiments of texts and media for their transmission. In this it may be useful to consider them in terms of the categories established by Eisenstein in her analysis of the changes brought by printing to early modern Europe.²¹ The first of these changes, or rather groups of changes, was that caused by the greater dissemination of texts and information. Enough has been said in an earlier chapter about the distribution of the Malta books²² to indicate that the Malta press made available reading matter in the Middle East on an almost unprecedented scale. The recipients still represented only a tiny proportion of the population at large, and belonged for the most part to certain specific and circumscribed groups, mainly Christian; nevertheless within them the Malta books contributed to the early stages of an explosion of literacy and of the habit of reading. This in turn led subsequently to a disproportionate role for those groups in the 19th-century Arab *nahḍa*. This was especially true of the Lebanese Christians, but it applied also, to a lesser extent, among the alumni of the mission schools in Egypt and Palestine.

¹⁸ *Qiṣṣat Martīn Lūthir*, Valletta 1840. Item 101 in Appendix A below.

¹⁹ Luther's Catechism had been published at Halle in 1729 under the title *Al-Ta'līm al-Masīhī* (see above, p. 2). But it is unlikely that many copies actually reached the Middle East or were read there; and in any case it would not have had the vivid impact which a biographical account could achieve.

²⁰ Keddie, N. *An Islamic response to imperialism*, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1968, pp. 45, 82 & 171.

²¹ Eisenstein, E. L. *The printing press as an agent of change*, Cambridge 1979, pp. 71 sqq. See above, pp. 1 & 3.

²² Chapter 8 above.

At the same time the Malta books also broke the monopolies of book production which had previously been exercised by the traditional scribal classes - the Muslim 'ulamā' and the Christian priests and *mu'allims* - as well as the new monopoly of printed books which would otherwise have been enjoyed by the state presses in Egypt and Turkey and the monastic presses of Lebanon and Syria. While the Malta books were not aimed at, and for the most part had no appeal for, the traditional Muslim literate classes, they did challenge both the ecclesiastical control of knowledge among the Christians and the state monopoly of "secular" text-books and translated literature. Not only did they supply new channels of education and information outside the control of the authorities, but they also occasionally succeeded, as we have seen, in entering the traditional and state domains of education as well.

The ability of the Malta books to reach new, alternative classes of readers was in no small measure due to economic factors. Manuscript books, because of the expense involved in producing individual copies, were always costly and beyond the reach of the poor or even persons of modest means. The new printed books from Bulaq and elsewhere were also relatively expensive, and although the government of Muḥammad 'Alī generally priced them at cost, it charged its pupils (or their parents) for them in the schools, thereby imposing a burden which restricted their use and circulation.²³ Their prices in the bookshops and through other channels of distribution were also usually quite high.²⁴ The missionaries, on the other hand, rarely sold their books for more than one or two piastres each, and often distributed them free; for they knew from experience that the impoverished Coptic and Orthodox schoolmasters and their pupils, and most of the rest of the population into whose hands they wished to place them, would otherwise be unable to acquire them.²⁵ If they had not done so, then

²³ Heyworth-Dunne, J. *An introduction to the history of education in modern Egypt*, London (1938), p.367; Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, "Qiṣṣat al-ṭibā'a fī Miṣr fī 'aṣr Muḥammad 'Alī", *Al-Thaqāfa* 12/578 (1950), p.13.

²⁴ Bowring, J. *Report on Egypt and Candia*, London 1840 (Reports from Commissioners, 6; [Parliamentary Papers 1840.] vol.XXI), pp.142-144. Paton in the mid-1840s considered that "the prices of the books were very low", and the ones he quoted did show a slight reduction compared with those in Bowring's list; but although modest by contemporary British standards, amounts ranging from 15 to 90 piastres, such as he cited, were well beyond the reach of those who received the Malta books from the missionaries. Moreover, as he observed, these were the official prices in the Government depot: booksellers elsewhere usually charged considerably more. Paton, A.A. *A history of the Egyptian revolution from the period of the Mamelukes to the death of Mohammed Ali*, vol.II, 2nd ed. London 1870, p.247. Cf. Abū 'l-Futūḥ Ridwān, *Tārīkh Maṭba'at Būlāq*, Cairo 1953, pp.290-295.

²⁵ *Missionary Register* 1827, p.585.

the benefits of the print revolution would, at any rate in that period, have bypassed completely these less privileged sections of the people. As it was, the idea took root that printing could for the first time make books (and, later, newspapers) available to a mass readership.

The second of Eisenstein's "clusters of changes" is that associated with the standardisation of texts and their mode of presentation. In this the Malta press shared with its predecessors and contemporaries in the Middle East the transforming effects of typography. As far as texts were concerned, the nature of most of the Malta publications was such as to preclude them from playing much of a role in setting textual standards. Only in one case - Farḥāt's *Baḥth al-maṭālib* (Malta 1836) - did the press produce an *editio princeps* of an old text, which became the basis for subsequent editions. But its role in standardising layouts and methods of presentation of printed Arabic texts was rather more important. Some of the new features which it introduced have been mentioned in an earlier chapter²⁶, and they correspond with several which Eisenstein mentioned as significant in the systematisation of thought-processes in the formative era of European print culture. The use of title-pages engendered "new habits of placing and dating" as well as helping the later development of new standards of cataloguing and enumerative bibliography.²⁷ The use of footnotes, running heads and abbreviations, as well as Shidyāq's experiments with punctuation, all served to "reorder the thought of readers" and to create a new "esprit de système".²⁸

The plates and engravings in some of the Malta books also broke new ground. The views and story illustrations incorporated perspective, which was still a very new convention in Arab pictorial representation, and one which, as McLuhan and others have pointed out, implied a new reordering of consciousness by the adoption of a fixed point of view.²⁹ The lithographed diagrams which accompanied the astronomical work published in 1833 were another important new feature of the Arabic book. Technical illustrations were sometimes found in Arabic manuscripts; but, as has been aptly observed, "in

²⁶ Chapter 7, section 2 above.

²⁷ Eisenstein, *op.cit.*, p.106.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.105.

²⁹ McLuhan, M. *The Gutenberg galaxy*, London 1962, pp.111-114.

the absence of the printing press, transmission of technical data depends upon the accuracy of the scribe. The problem becomes doubly difficult when information has also to be communicated in the form of diagrams ... [which] were regarded by the copyists as little more than an exotic appendage, frequently misplaced and sometimes omitted".³⁰ With the introduction of standard, repeatable, engraved diagrams incorporated into printed books, the presentation of such information became transformed. In this the Malta press shared with the Bulaq press a pioneering role in the Arab world; and what was true of diagrams was equally true of printed maps, in which field the Malta atlases of 1833 and 1835 also broke new ground. In Egypt regular map printing did not start until 1870³¹, although, as we have seen, copies of the Malta atlas were made there at a much earlier date³²; in Tunisia the first atlas was printed in 1860.³³ As Eisenstein has pointed out, "heightened awareness of distant regional boundaries [is] ... encouraged by the [printed] output of more uniform maps containing more uniform boundaries and place names".³⁴ This in turn is likely to have played some part in developing national and political self-awareness.

The standardisation of languages was another marked effect of the development of printing in Europe. In the Middle East this was less likely to be the case, since the written Arabic language was already governed by strict classical norms which sharply distinguished it from the spoken dialects, and there was no serious possibility of developing the latter into literary languages.³⁵ The Malta press did, however, eventually serve to raise the standard of written Arabic used by Arab Christians, which had in many cases deteriorated by then into something more akin to Middle Arabic than to the true classical language. It was especially instrumental in doing so among the Copts in Cairo, through the use of grammars such as those of Farḥāt, and also the primer and reading-book of Shidyāq, who was

³⁰ James, D. "The *Manual de artillería* of al-Ra'īs Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Andalusī with particular reference to its illustrations and their sources", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 41 (1978), p.257.

³¹ Muhammad Mahmud al-Sayyad, "Fann al-kharā'it wa 'l-matba'a al-'Arabiya", *Majallat al-Kitāb al-'Arabi* 41 (1967), p.13.

³² See above, pp.252-253.

³³ Muhammad al-Salih al-Muḥaydi, *Tarikh al-tiba'a wa 'l-nashr bi-Tunis*, Tunis 1865, p.11. Turkish maps had been printed at Istanbul in the 18th century, and atlases in the early years of the 19th. Reinaud [J.T.] *Notice des ouvrages arabes, persans, turcs et francais, imprimes a Constantinople*, Paris (1831), p.6.

³⁴ Eisenstein, *op.cit.*, p.83.

³⁵ Except in Malta itself, where the CMS press did play some part in doing this.

fastidious in seeking to promote good literary Arabic in place of what he regarded as the *rakāka* of much current Christian Arabic usage. Shidyāq also, as we have seen, made use of some of his publications in Malta to develop the classical Arabic lexis to encompass previously unknown concepts and phenomena.³⁶ In doing so he gave the press a role in creating new standards and norms for the language.

The third of the categories into which Eisenstein grouped the effects of the introduction of printing was that of the **preservation** of texts, as compared with their tendency to evanesce in the manuscript era. As we have seen, Shidyāq was well aware of the importance of this function.³⁷ The advent of printing to the Middle East had the same effect there; but in this process the Malta press played little part. It did not print classical Arabic texts, nor were the new texts which it published such that their permanence would provide a new basis for the forward extension of knowledge, or a literary legacy for posterity. Only in one case, as already mentioned, did it publish a work previously available only in manuscript, thereby possibly saving it from loss.³⁸

The importance of the Malta Arabic press probably lies most of all in the fact that it sought to create and to cater for a new type of reading public, and, if only to a limited extent, succeeded in doing so. Whereas the old scribal culture, the 18th-century monastic presses and the state presses of Turkey and Egypt all alike catered for restricted élites, and in a traditional manner, the Malta books were intended to educate the uneducated, to render literate the illiterate, to spread the reading habit into what was previously an oral milieu. In doing so they may not themselves have opened the doors of advanced knowledge or enlightenment, but they did contribute, along with others, to the new patterns of consciousness and ways of thinking which were to emerge in the ensuing period.

³⁶ See above, pp.229-230 & 253-254, and Appendix C below.

³⁷ See passage quoted above, pp.321-322.

³⁸ Farḥāt's *Baḥth al-maṭālib*, 1836. See above, p.327.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS PRINTED IN MALTA USING ARABIC TYPE 1826-45

Except as otherwise indicated, all the items listed were printed by the Church Missionary Society, and bear the imprint Malta ("Māliṭa", "Māliṭah" or "Māliṭā"). In cases where no copy has been found, the details have been taken either from bibliographical sources (as indicated) or from the list of publications in the CMS archives (CM/04/26): the latter provides only English equivalents of the titles. Dates in square brackets [] have been taken from the archives unless a bibliographical source is stated.

Information as to quantities printed has been extracted from archive documents as indicated, and is available only for certain publications before 1832.

A number of the translations are from English tracts published in series by the Religious Tract Society in London. These are indicated by "RTS" followed by roman and arabic numbers for the Series and place in the Series respectively, e.g. RTS I/25 - First Series, no.25.

1. [1826]
[Bible] [Extracts from Scripture relative to youth, with reading lessons] 24pp.
Notes: 1) "Primer & S.S. Texts" (CM/04/9)
Locations & refs.: None found
Quantity printed: 500 (CM/04/2)
2. [1826]
[Bible] *Risālat Mār Buṭrus al-rasūl al-ūlā (al-thāniya)* [First (Second) Epistle of St. Peter the apostle] No imprint n.d. 24pp.
Notes: 1) No title-p.: title taken from headings on pp.1 & 16
Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 393); Agius, p.44
Quantity printed: 1000 (CM/04/2; CM/04/9)
3. [1826]
[Bible] [Second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles] 8pp.
Notes: 1) Printed in 1825 (CM/039/58)
Locations & refs.: None found
Quantity printed: 1000 (CM/04/2; CM/039/58)
4. [1826]
[Bible] [Ten Commandments and Sermon on the Mount] 16pp.
Notes: 1) Printed in 1825 (CM/039/50-51)
Locations & refs.: None found
Quantity printed: 2000 published separately & 1000 with item 11 (CM/04/2)

5. [1826]
 [Bible] [Three Epistles of St John] 24pp.
 Notes: 1) Cf. item 22
 Locations & refs.: None found
 Quantity printed: 1000 (CM/O4/2)
6. 1826
 [GREEN, Ashbel] *Su'ālāt wājiba wa naṣā'ih mufīda fī ḥusn al-'ibāda* [Needful questions and useful advice on the virtue of devotion] [Ed. Gobat, Samuel] 1826 21pp.
 Notes: 1) "Questions and counsel"
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 589); Shaykhu 1
 Quantity printed: 1000 (CM/O4/9)
7. [1826]
 [RICHMOND, Legh] [The Dairyman's daughter] [Ed. Gobat, Samuel] 140pp.
 Notes: 1) Orig. published in English, London & Edinburgh 1821 (numerous later eds.)
 Locations & refs.: No copies found; Jones, p.373
 Quantity printed: 1750 (CM/O4/9)
8. [1826]
 [WATTS, Isaac] [First catechism for children] 8pp.
 Notes: 1) Cf. items 39 & 97
 Locations & refs.: None found
 Quantity printed: 2000 (CM/O4/9)
9. [1826]
 [A Dialogue between a traveller and yourself] [Ed. Gobat, Samuel] [1st ed.] 12pp.
 Notes: 1) Cf. item 28
 Locations & refs.: None found
 Quantity printed: 1500 (CM/O4/9)
10. 1826
Kitāb Ta'līm al-qirā' [sic] *'alā 'l-aṭfāl al-ṣiḥār wa ba'd aqwāl al-'Arab wa amthāl Luqmān al-Ḥakīm* [Reading instruction for small children, with some sayings of the Arabs and fables of Luqman the Wise] 1826 24pp.
 Notes: 1) Cf. item 74
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis II, 666)
 Quantity printed: 500 (CM/O4/2, 10.4.1826); 500 (CM/O4/9, 12.1827, incl. "2nd ed.")
11. 1826
Kitāb Ta'līm al-qirā' [sic] [Reading instruction] 18pp.
 Notes: 1) With scripture texts 2) Printed in 1825 (CM/039/50-51)
 Locations & refs.: No copies found; Sacy 2724; Zenker II, 10
 Quantity printed: 1000, plus 1000 bound with item 4 (CM/O4/2; CM/O4/9)

12. [1826]
 [Prayers for each day of the week] [Ed. Gobat, Samuel] [1st ed.]
 76pp.
 Notes: 1) Cf. items 41 & 86
 Locations & refs.: None found
 Quantity printed: 500 (CM/O4/9)
13. [1826]
 [The Life of William Kelly; or the happy man] [Ed. Gobat, Samuel]
 35pp.
 Notes: 1) RTS I/108
 Locations & refs.: None found
 Quantity printed: 1750 (CM/O4/9)
14. 1827
 [BIRD, Isaac & GOODELL, William] *Ghalabat al-īmān mawjūda fī akhbār mawt al-Sinyūr Fisk al-Amīrikānī al-mu'allim al-marhūm* [The victory of faith, present in the tidings of the death of Mr Fisk, the late American teacher]
 1827 24pp.
 Notes: 1) Printed 1826 (CM/O4/26) 2) From a communication to the Corresponding Secretary of the ABCFM, dated Beirut 25.10.1825, published in Bond, A., *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk*, Edinburgh 1828, pp.379-399 (incl. letters from Fisk to his father, to Daniel Temple & to Jonas King)
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 535)
 Quantity printed: 500 (CM/O4/9)
15. [1827]
 [MORE, Hannah] [The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain] 58pp.
 Notes: 1) Orig. published in English, London ca.1810 (many later eds.)
 Locations & refs.: None found
16. 1827
 VASSALLI, Michelantonio *Grammatica della lingua maltese*. Seconda edizione, scritta in italiano, molto accresciuta, ed in miglior ordine ridotta dal medesimo 1827
 Notes: 1) "Stampata per l'autore" 2) Table "L'Alfabetto Fonografiku", p.2, includes Arabic & Persian letters; Arabic type used also on pp.4 & 29
 Locations & refs.: C (3); LB; ORS; PBN (Cat.Gén. CCIII, 676); PO (Lambrecht 995); S (Euting 418); V (Vassallo, p.17)
17. 1827
 [WATTS, Isaac] *Ba'd afkār mufīda 'an ghāyat al-zamān* [Some useful thoughts concerning the end of time] 1827 24pp.
 Notes: 1) Tr. of *The end of time: a discourse* (RTS I/4)
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis II, 757)
 Quantity printed: 500 (CM/O4/9)

18. [1827]
 [An address to children] 24pp.
 Locations & refs.: None found
 Quantity printed: 500 (CM/04/9)
19. 1828
 [Bible] *Amthāl Rabbinā Yasū' al-Masīh wa tafsīruhā: mufīda li-kull ḥabīb li-l-ḥaqq wa-jawharihi* [Parables of Our Lord Jesus Christ, with commentary: useful for every friend of the truth and its essence] 1828
 viii+181pp.
 Notes: 1) Text from Arabic Bible, Rome 1671, with corrections 2) Commentary by Schlienz & Shidyāq, based on Matthew Henry & Thomas Scott (CM/039/99) 3) "So printed as to form one volume, and, at the same time, a series of Tracts" (CM/039/99)
 Locations & refs.: C; LB (Ellis I, 388); T; Shaykhū 2; Zenker I, 1650; Agius, p.43
 Quantity printed: 1500 (CM/04/13)
20. 1828
 [Bible] *Ba'd mazāmīr ustukhrijat min al-lughā al-'Ibrānīya ilā 'l-lughā al-'Arabīya wa nuẓimat shi'ran li-l-tarnūm* [Some Psalms extracted from the Hebrew language into the Arabic language, and versified for singing] 1828
 12pp.
 Notes: 1) 11 psalms
 Locations: W
21. 1828
 [Bible] *Tafsir Mathal Rabbinā Yasū' al-Masīh 'an al-zāri'* [Commentary on the Parable of Our Lord Jesus Christ concerning the sower] 1828
 20pp.
 Notes: 1) Offprint from item 19
 Locations: T
22. 1828
 [Bible] *Thalāth rasā'il Mār Yūḥannā al-Rasūl wa khātimatan shi'r* [Three epistles of Saint John, with verse as an epilogue] [2nd ed] 1828 25pp.
 Notes: 1) From Arabic Bible, Rome 1671 2) Cf. item 5
 Locations & refs.: LB (2) (Ellis I, 394); Graf I, p.177; Agius, p.43
23. [1828]
 [Bible] [The Parable of the Great Marriage Supper / King's Marriage] 14pp.
 Notes: 1) Offprint from item 19
 Locations & refs.: None found
 Quantity printed: 1650 (CM/04/13)
24. [1828]
 [Bible] [The Parable of the Prodigal Son] 29pp.
 Notes: 1) Offprint from item 19 2) Cf. item 35

Locations & refs.: None found
Quantity printed: 1650 (CM/O4/13)

25. 1828

[SCHLIENZ, Christoph Friedrich] *Kitāb Ta'līm al-qirā'a ilā 'l-aṭfāl al-ṣiḡhār*
[Reading instruction for small children] 1828 71pp.

Locations & refs.: OA; Sacy 2725; Zenker II, 11; Chauvin I, p.58;
Ṭibāwī "Al-lugha", pp.775-777;

26. 1828

VASSALLI, Michelantonio *Motti, aforismi e proverbi maltesi, raccolti, interpretati e di note esplicative e filologiche corredati* 1828 VII+93pp.

Notes: 1) "Stampato per l'autore" 2) Arabic proverbs on pp. 4, 10, 14, 21, 39, 45, 52, 57, 64 & 85; Arabic words & letters also on few other pages

Locations & refs.: C; LB; ORS; PBN (Cat.Gen. CCIII, 676); PO (Lambrecht 1194); S (Euting 1042); V (Vassallo, p.17)

27. 1828

Khiṭāb wa jawāb bayn ṣadiqayn khuṣūṣan 'an al-milād al-jadīd [Address and response between two friends, specifically concerning the new birth] 1828 31pp.

Notes: 1) Tr. of *A Dialogue between two intimate friends on regeneration, or the new birth* (RTS I/25)

Locations & refs.: LB (2) (Ellis I, 483)

Quantity printed: 3000 (CM/O4/13)

28. 1828

Mufāwāḍa mufīda fī-mā bayn Naṣrānī bi-'l-ḥaqq wa Naṣrānī bi-'l-ism faqaṭ 'an al-tawba [Useful discussion between a Christian in reality and a Christian in name only, concerning repentance] [Ed. Gobat, Samuel] [2nd ed.] 1828 15pp.

Notes: 1) Tr. of *A Dialogue between a traveller and yourself* (RTS I/35) 2) Cf. item 9

Locations & refs.: LB (2) (Ellis I, 483); T

Quantity printed: 3000 (CM/O4/13)

29. 1829

[Bible] *Tafsīr Mathal Rabbinā Yasū' al-Masīḥ 'an al-zāri': 'alā sabīl al-ikhtisār* [Commentary on the Parable of Our Lord Jesus Christ concerning the sower, abridged] [2nd ed.] 1829 20pp.

Notes: 1) Cf. item 21

Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 390); T; Zenker I, 1652; Acius, p.43

Quantity printed: 3000 (CM/O67/4)

30. 1829

(KLUGE, August) *Hādihā Ṭarīq ta'līm al-ḥisāb al-'aqlī bi-ḥasab mā yaḍa' fī lawḥ al-ḥisāb ka-'lladhī 'allamahu 'l-mu'allim Bisṭalawṭisī al-Nimsāwī; sharaḥa hādihā 'l-kitāb wa bayyanahu wa zāda 'alā aṣlihi fawā'id wa amthila khuṣūṣan li-l-isti'māl fī 'l-aswāq wa 'l-ma'āsh wa 'l-ashghāl allatī hiya fī barr Miṣr nāfi'an li-l-mu'allim wa li-l-muta'allim; wa huwa 'l-juz' al-awwal alladhī muta'alliq bihi kitāb musta'mal fīhi 'l-ta'līm bi-amthāl wa qiṣṣāt* [A way of

teaching mental arithmetic according to what is set out on an arithmetic board, as taught by the Austrian [sc. Swiss] teacher Pestalozzi; explained, clarified and augmented by instructions and examples specially for use in the markets, way of life and occupations which exist in Egypt, for the benefit of teacher and pupil. Part 1, to which belongs a book in which instruction by examples and stories is used] 1829 64pp.

Notes: 1) Author named ("Awghuṣṭus Qulūjah") at end of introd.

Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis II, 471); T; Dahdah 412

Quantity printed: 400 (CM/O67/4)

31. [1829]

[SCHLIENZ, Christoph Friedrich] [Spelling book] 2nd ed.

Notes: 1) Cf. item 25

Locations & refs.: None found

32. 1829

[WATTS, Isaac] *Ba'd afkār muḥida 'an ghāyat al-zamān* [Some useful thoughts concerning the end of time] [2nd ed] 1829 24pp.

Notes: 1) Cf. item 17

Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis II, 757); T; Zenker I, 1651

Quantity printed: 2000 (CM/O67/4)

33. 1829

Kitāb Ta'līm 'alā 'l-aḥfāl al-ṣighār [Instruction book for small children]

1829 36pp.

Notes: 1) With Scripture stories

Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis II, 665)

34. 1830

[OSTERVALD, Jean Frédéric] *Mukhtaṣar tawārīkh [sic] al-muqaddasa thumma amānat al-rusul wa Waṣāyā 'llāh al-'Aṣhar wa 'l-Ṣalwa al-Rabbānīya wa ayḍan talkhīṣ ḥaqā'iq dīn al-Masīhī al-khuṣūṣīya* [Abridgment of sacred history, followed by the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer; also a summary of the special truths of the Christian's religion] 1830 56pp.

Notes: 1) Reprint of tr. of *Abrégé de l'histoire sainte et du catéchisme*, published in London by the SPCK in 1728 and by the CMS in 1815, with error in title repeated 2) Not in main CMS list (CM/O4/26), but CM/O11/15 mentions "Bible history" and CM/O67/4 "Scripture history and catechism"

Locations: Le; OB

Quantity printed: 2000 (CM/O67/4)

35. 1831

[Bible] *Tafsīr Mathal al-Ibn al-Dāll al-muhtadī 'alā sabīl al-ikhtīṣār* [Commentary on the Parable of the Prodigal Son, in concise form] [2nd ed] 1831 22pp.

Notes: 1) Cf. item 24

Locations & refs.: OA; QDK (Shūrbajī 152); T; Sarkīs 2001; Ṭībāwī "Al-ligha," p.775

Quantity printed: 3250 (CM/O67/5)

36. [1832]
 [Bible] [Conversion of the jailor at Philippi] 4pp.
 Locations & refs.: None found
37. 1832
 [FARḤAT, Jabrīl] *Al-ajwiba al-jaliya fi 'l-uṣūl al-naḥwīya* [Plain answers on the elements of grammar] 1832 57pp.
 Notes: 1) Catalogued by Ellis as a version of the *Ājurrūmiya* of Ṣinhājī
 Locations & refs.: B; LB (Ellis I, 236); PO (Lambrecht 641); QDK (Shūrbajī 158); Zenker I, 1259; Sarkīs 1442; Brockelmann SII, p.332 (dated 1833 & attrib. to "M.Beg Talḥūq"); Liv.Lib. #159
38. 1832
 [WATTS, Isaac] *Kitāb al-Tawārīkh al-ma'khūdhā min al-Kitāb al-Muqaddas 'alā sabīl al-su'āl wa 'l-jawāb nafa'ahu li-ajl ta'līm al-shabāb wa 'l-awlād* [History book, drawn from the Holy Bible, in the form of question and answer, intended for the instruction of youth and children] 1832 33pp.
 Notes: 1) Tr. of *A short view of the whole Scripture history*, London 1732 (later republished as *The historical catechism for children and youth*).
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis II, 758); T; Zenker I, 1654
39. 1832
 [WATTS, Isaac] *Kitāb Ta'līm mukhtaṣar li-l-aṭfāl fi qawā'id al-diyāna wa 'l-īmān* [Concise book of instruction for children in the fundamentals of religion and faith] [2nd ed.] 1832 27pp.
 Notes: 1) No title-p.: title, imprint & date taken from wrapper
 2) Tr. of *The first set of catechisms and prayers* 3) Cf. items 8 & 97
 Locations & refs.: Le; LB (Ellis II, 757)
40. 1832
The Anglo-Arabic primer and vocabulary. Ta'līm awwal ma' qāmūs mukhtaṣar fi 'l-luġha al-'Arabīya wa 'l-Inkilīzīya [First instruction, with concise dictionary in the Arabic and English language] 1832 [6]+119pp.
 Notes: 1) Also separate English title-p.
 Locations & refs.: OB; OI; PO (Lambrecht 358); T; NUC 17, p.68: 0326948-9 (one copy dated "1833"); Liv.Lib. #241
41. 1832
Kitāb al-Ṣalawāt fi ayyām al-usbū' kullihā [Book of prayers on all the days of the week] [Ed. Gobat, Samuel] [2nd ed.] 1832 51pp.
 Notes: 1) Tr. of *Prayers for every day in the week*, by a clergyman of the Church of England (RTS I/39) 2) Two hymns in original omitted 3) Cf. items 12 & 86
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis II, 489); Zenker I, 1653
42. [1832]
 [Primer with Scripture stories & prints] 60pp.
 Notes: 1) Cf. items 75 & 109
 Locations & refs.: None found

43. 1833
 [Bible] *Kitāb Tawārīkh mustantaj min al-'Ahd al-Qadīm* [History book, extracted from the Old Testament] 1833 [iv]+380pp.
 Notes: 1) Woodcut vignettes 2) Text taken from Arabic Bible, Rome 1671, with slight alterations
 Locations & refs.: C; LB (2) (Ellis I, 366); T; Shaykhū 5 ("Tawārīkh al-Kutub al-Muqaddasa", n.d.); Zenker I, 1657; Kawerau, p.382, n.244 (re copy in Princeton Theological Seminary); Agius, p.43
44. 1833
 [BICKERSTETH, Edward] *Fattishū 'l-Kutub al-Muqaddasa* [Examine the Sacred Scriptures] 1833 22pp.
 Notes: 1) Tr. of *A Scripture help*, London 1816; later republished as *Search the Scriptures* (RTS I/23)
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 401); Zenker I, 1655; Agius, p.44
45. [1833]
 KING, Jonas *Widā' Yūnus Kīn ilā aḥbābihi fī Filasṭīn wa Sūrīyah al-yawm al-khāmis min Aylūl 1825* [Farewell of Jonas King to his friends in Palestine and Syria, 5 September 1825] [Tr. Shidyāq, As'ad al-] n.d. 24pp.
 Locations & refs.: LB (2) (Ellis I, 860)
46. 1833
 [MITCHELL, James] *Kitāb al-Durr al-maldūm fī 'ilm al-aflāk wa 'l-nujūm* [The strung pearls, on astronomy] 1833 [iv]+44pp.
 Notes: 1) Lithographed charts 2) Tr. of "Astronomy" in *The universal catechist, or student's text-book of general knowledge*, London 1824, pp.19-37
 Locations & refs.: LB (2) (Ellis I, 496); PO (Lambrecht 2297); QDK (Shūrbajī 168); T; Zenker I, 1116 (listed as Turkish); Shaykhū 4; Liv.Lib. #185
47. 1833
 [MITCHELL, James & others] *Kitāb al-Kanz al-mukhtār fī 'ktishāf al-ar[a]ḍī wa 'l-abḥār* [Select treasure, in the discovery of lands and seas] 1833 [iv]+164pp.
 Notes: 1) Tr. of "Geography" and "Terrestrial globe" in *Universal catechist*, London 1824, pp.152-206, plus additions from other sources
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 826; Fulton & Ellis, 603); T; Zenker I, 1036 (listed as Turkish); Shaykhū 3; Sarkīs 945 n.2; Agius, p.44
48. 1833
 [PINNOCK, William] *Kitāb Tawārīkh mukhtaṣar yunabbi['] 'an mamālik wa bilād 'adīda wa mā ḥadatha fihā min qadīm al-zamān ilā 'asrinā hādihā* [Concise history book, providing information on numerous realms and countries and what has happened in them from ancient times to our own era] 1833 136pp.
 Notes: 1) Tr. of *A catechism of universal history*, London 1824, etc. 2) Title cited as *Kitāb Tawārīkh al-'ālam 'alā wajh al-'umūm* by Lambrecht & Tibawi BIP (but not id. "Al-Lugha"): this may possibly have been taken from the wrapper

Locations & refs.: C; E; LB (Ellis II, 672); QDK (Shūrbajī 164); PO (Lambrecht 1832); T; W; Zenker I, 824; Shaykhū 6; Sarkīs 2016; Ṭībāwī "Al-lugha", pp.775 & 777-779; Tibawi BIP, pp.27-28

49. 1833

SHIDYĀQ, As'ad al- *Khabariyat As'ad al-Shidyāq alladhi uḍṭuhida li-ajl iqrārihi fī'l-ḥaqq* [Account of As'ad al-Shidyāq who was persecuted on account of his steadfastness in the truth] 1833 52pp.

Locations & refs.: LB (3) (Ellis I, 323); OA; Zenker I, 1658; Sarkīs 1105; Brockelmann SII, p.868; Alwan 18; Agius, pp.43-44

50. 1833

Akhbār al-qāsid 1833 6pp. (no.3)

Notes: 1) Newspaper: 18 issues 2) "Gazette" or "The Messenger". "Gazette No.1 & 2" printed before March 1833 (CM/O4/21); "No. 7-12" before March 1834 (CM/O4/22). "The Messenger, of 1833"; do., "of 1834 No.1-6" (CM/O4/23)

Locations & refs.: OA (no. 3, Ādhār [March] 1833 only); Others not found; Jones, p.375 ("The Christian Messenger")

51. [1833]

[Arabic atlas] Folio

Notes: 1) Lithographed 2) Cf. item 66

Locations & refs.: None found

52. 1833

Kitāb Ṭdāḥ al-ta'lim al-Masīhī 'alā mūjib al-Kutub al-Muqaddasa [Elucidation of Christian instruction, on the basis of the Sacred Scriptures] 1833 vi+196pp.

Notes: 1) "New Christ. Catechism" (CM/O4/26) 2) Tr. attrib. to Peter Brenner by Ellis & Graf

Locations & refs.: C; LB (Ellis I, 450); T; Zenker I, 1656; Graf IV, p.285

53. [1833]

Mukhāṭaba akhawīya [Fraternal dialogue] No imprint n.d. 8pp.

Notes: 1) No title-page 2) Tr. of *A Friendly conversation* (RTS I/88)

Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 462)

54. 1834

[Bible] *Amthāl Sulaymān* [Proverbs of Solomon]. *Proverbes de Salomon* 1834 48+48pp.

Notes: 1) Arabic & French side by side 2) Arabic text from Arabic Bible, Rome 1671

Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 380); PO (Lambrecht 3036); T; W; Zenker I, 1658; Agius, p.44; Liv.Lib. #172

55. 1834

[BIRD, Isaac] *Thalātha 'ashara risāla, muḥarrara min ba'd Masīhīyīn raddan 'ammā hadhara bihi al-Sayyid Buṭrus Muṭrān Bayrūt al-Mārūnī al-kullī al-sharaf wa 'l-iḥtirām al-muḥāmī 'an diyānat al-Kanīsa al-Rūmānīya* [Thirteen letters written from

certain Christians in refutation of the nonsense prattled by the honourable and venerable lord, the Maronite Bishop of Beirut, defender of the religion of the Roman Church] 1834 [ii]+335pp.

Notes: 1) "Printed by commission & paid for" (CM/O4/26) 2) 2nd ed. Beirut 1849

Locations & refs.: C; LB (Ellis I, 408); QDK (Shūrbajī 175); B; T; Zenker I, 1662; Graf III, pp.476-477 & IV, p.282

56. 1834

BUNYAN, [John] *Kitāb Siyāḥat al-Masīhī ay al-sā'ir min hādihā al-'ālam al-fānī ilā al-'ālam al-bāqī wa huwa mujalladān. Ta'līf al-mu'allim al-fāḍil al-anbā Yūḥannā Bunyan wa qad qāyasa hādhihi 'l-siyāḥa fī ru'yā. Al-mujallad al-awwal [The journey of the Christian; or the traveller from this transient world to the world everlasting, in two volumes. By the distinguished teacher Rev. John Bunyan, who measured this journey in a dream. Vol. I] [Tr. Buṭrus, 'Īsā, Schlienz, C.F. & Rassām, 'Īsā (Lambeth Palace MS 2817, p.19)] 1834 [vi]+282pp.*

Notes: 1) Litho plates (after those in RTS ed., London 1831) 2) Tr. of *The Pilgrim's progress*, pt.I. No more published 3) Incl. 19pp. life of Bunyan 4) Different translation published Beirut 1844

Locations & refs.: C; LB (Ellis I, 424); OI; PO (Lambrecht 3197); QDK (Shūrbajī 176); T (2); W; Zenker I, 1660; Agius, p.44

57. 1834

[ZĀKHİR, 'Abd Allāh] *Kitāb al-Burhān al-ṣarīḥ fī ḥaqīqat sirray dīn al-Masīḥ wa humā sirr al-Tathlūth wa sirr al-tajassud al-ilāhī* [The book of clear proof, on the truth of the two secrets of the religion of Christ: the secret of the Trinity and the secret of the divine incarnation] 1834 126pp.

Notes: 1) Based on the edition of Shuwayr, 1764

Locations & refs.: B; LB (Ellis I, 25); PO (Lambrecht 3201); T; Zenker I, 1661; Shaykhū 7; Graf IV, p.284

58. 1834

Okumak kitabıdır [Reading book] 1834 24pp.

Notes: 1) Turkish 2) Reprinted Beirut 1858 (Jesuit Press)

Locations & refs.: LB; T (2); W; DMG, 466

59. 1834

Qiṣṣat al-Jiniral Jirjis Dīkrūn wa khādimihi 'l-shaqīq [Story of Gen. George Dikern [?] and his brother servant] 1834 16pp.

Notes: 1) "Life of General Dikern" (CM/O4/26)

Locations & refs.: No copies found; Zenker I, 1659

60. 1834

Ṭarīq al-najā [The way of salvation] No imprint 1834 24pp.

Notes: 1) Printed 1833 (CM/O4/26) 2) Possibly tr. of Gurney, J.J., *On redemption* (RTS 170)

Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis II, 670)

61. 1834
Tekvin ül-mahlûkat [Essence of creatures] 48pp.
 Notes: 1) Turkish 2) "Natural history, with lithogr. prints,"
 printed 1835 (CM/O4/26)
 Locations & refs.: No copies found; Zenker I, 1696
62. 1835
 [Bible] *Kitāb Āyāt mukhtāra qad ustuntijat min al-Kutub al-Muqaddasa wa wuḍi'at bi-tartīb li-fā'idat al-madāris* [Selected verses derived from the Sacred Scriptures and set down in an arrangement for the benefit of schools] 1835
 [ii]+118pp.
 Notes: 1) Printed 1834 (CM/O4/26)
 Locations & refs.: LB (2) (Ellis I, 365-366); T; Zenker I, 1663; Agius, p.44
63. 1835
 [DEFOE, Daniel] *Qiṣṣat Rawbiṣun Kurūzī* [The story of Robinson Crusoe]
 1835 252pp.
 Notes: 1) Lithographic plates (copied from wood engravings); woodcut vignettes 2) Different translation, by Buṭrus al-Bustānī, published Beirut 1861 3) Some vignettes re-used in Maltese translation, *Il Haya u il vinturi ta' Robinson Krusoe, ta' York*, Malta 1846
 Locations & refs.: C; E; LB (Ellis I, 477); M; OB; OI; PO (Lambrecht 1678); QDK (Shūrbajī 198); Zenker I, 699; Sarkīs 558 n.1; Agius, p.44
64. 1835
 WOLFF, Joseph *Researches and missionary labours among the Jews, Mohammedans, and other sects, by the Rev. Joseph Wolff, during his travels between the years 1831 and 1834, from Malta to Egypt, Constantinople, Armenia, Persia, Khorossaun, Toorkestaun, Bokhara, Balkh, Cabool in Affghanistaun, the Himmalayah mountains, Cashmeer, Hindooستاun, the coast of Abyssinia, and Yemen.* "Published by the author, and sold by Mr J.Nisbet ... London" 1835 [xii]+523pp.
 Notes: 1) On verso of title-p.: "Church Missionary Society's Press in Malta" 2) Contains numerous words, quotations, etc. in Arabic & Persian
 Locations: C; LB
65. [1835]
 [Arabic arithmetical tables]
 Notes: 1) Lithographed 2) Issued with "Writing lessons" (item 68) (CM/O4/26; CM/O18/34)
 Locations & refs.: None found
66. 1835
Aṭlas, ay majmū' khāriṣāt rasm al-arḍ [Atlas, or collection of geographical maps] 1835
 Notes: 1) Lithographed (F.Brocktorff) 2) 11 maps, coloured in outline. Folio
 Locations & refs.: LB; LS; PO (Lambrecht 2039); W; Bonavia 35; Agius, p.45

67. [1835]
Ba'd qawā'id fī uṣūl al-rasm [Some fundamentals in the principles of drawing] No imprint n.d. 1p. + 14 plates
 Notes: 1) Lithographed 2) "32 plates" (CM/O4/26)
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 836)
68. [1835]
 [Three copying specimens] No imprint n.d. 3 folios, long oblong
 Notes: 1) Lithographed 2) Calligraphic specimens, on coloured paper, laid on card 3) "Writing lessons" (CM/O4/26)
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 306)
69. 1836
 FARḤĀT, Jabrīl *Kitāb Baḥth al-maṭālib fī 'ilm al-'Arabīya* [Study of the requisites in the knowledge of Arabic] 1836 317pp. + 4pp. errata (not present in all copies)
 Locations & refs.: B; C; Dub; IU (Karatay A, 74519 & 76121); LB (2) (Ellis I, 799); LI; LS; M; PO (Lambrecht 701); QDK (Shūrbajī 205); T; Shaykhū 8; Sarkīs 1442; Brockelmann SII, p.389; Agius, p.44; Liv.Lib. #199
70. 1836
 [MITCHELL, James & others] *Kitāb al-Kanz al-mukhtār fī kashf al-arādī wa 'l-biḥār* [The select treasure in the discovery of lands and seas] 1836 130pp.
 Notes: 1) 3rd ed. (2nd Malta ed.) of item 47, revised by Ṭaḥṭāwī and Shidyāq 2) Engraved plates
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 826; Fulton & Ellis, 603); LI; OB; QA (Fihris V, 17980); QDK (Shūrbajī 209); W; Dahdah 719
71. 1836
 [SHIDYĀQ, Fāris al-] *Al-Bākūra al-shahīya fī naḥw al-lugha al-Inkilīzīya* [The appetising first fruit, on the grammar of the English language] 1836 104pp.
 Notes: 1) Printed 1837 (CM/O4/26) 2) 2nd ed. Istanbul 1300H [1882]
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 526); M; PO (Lambrecht 777); T; W; Shaykhū 9; Brockelmann SII, p.868; Alwan 19a; Agius, p.44; Liv.Lib. #161
72. [1836?]
 [Arabic sacred music]
 Notes: 1) Source: CM/O18/34. Not in main CMS list (CM/L4/26) 2) Lithographed 3) Probably intended to accompany item 76
 Locations & refs.: None found
73. 1836
Cemi-i ulūma ziver olan fenn-i kitabetin medhal-i evveli ya'ni lisan-i letafet-resan-i Türkinin elifbesi [First introduction to the art of writing, being the ornament of all the sciences; or alphabet of the Turkish language, bringer of

- graciousness] 1836 34pp.
 Notes: 1) Turkish 2) 2nd ed. of item 58. Printed 1835 (CM/O4/26)
 Locations & refs.: LB; Zenker I, 317; Özege 2873
74. 1836
Kitāb Ta'līm al-qirā [sic] *li-ajl al-aṭfāl al-ṣighār wa ba'd aqwāl al-'Arab wa amthāl Luqmān al-Ḥakīm* [Reading instruction for the sake of small children with some sayings of the Arabs and fables of Luqman the wise]
 1836 18pp.
 Notes: 1) 2nd ed. of item 10
 Locations & refs.: C; LB (Ellis II, 666); T
75. 1836
Kitāb Ta'līm li-ajl al-aṭfāl al-ṣighār [Instruction book for the sake of small children] 68pp.
 Notes: 1) Woodcut vignettes 2) With Bible stories 3) Not in archive list 4) Probably another ed. of item 42
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis II, 665)
76. [1837]
 [Twelve hymns] [Tr. Shidyāq, Fāris al-] (CM/065/44) No imprint
 n.d. [24pp.]
 Notes: 1) No title-p. Begins: *Ṣalīb al-Masīḥ* [The Cross of Christ] 2)
 Woodcut tailpieces
 Locations & refs.: C (catalogued but missing); LB (Ellis I, 706);
 Alwan 17; Abdel-Hai A.1
77. 1838
 SCHLIENZ, C.F. *Views on the improvement of the Maltese language and its use for the purposes of education and literature* 1838 139pp.
 Notes: 1) Arabic on pp.52 & 88; Appendices, pp.105-133, include extensive quotations and passages in Arabic and a dialogue in Maltese in Arabic script, with facing Egyptian colloquial version
 Locations & refs.: LB; OB; ORS; PO (Lambrecht 998); T; V
78. 1838
 TRAPANI, Gaetano *A catalogue of the different kinds of fish of Malta and Gozo*
 Malta: Government Press 1838
 Notes: 1) [27pp.], unpaginated 2) Arabic letters *hā'*, *khā'*, *shīn*,
'ayn, *ghayn* & *qāf* used in Maltese fish names
 Locations & refs.: LB; ORS
79. [1838]
Kātākizm wa qawā'id imān Kanīsat al-Inkilīz [Catechism and articles of faith of the Church of England] No imprint n.d. 39pp.
 Notes: 1) "Qawā'id" = The 39 Articles 2) Recorded under 1839 in archive list (CM/O4/26); but cf. CM/018/39
 Locations & refs.: E; OI

80.

1839

[CASOLANI, Annetto] *English and Maltese reading book for the use of Government primary schools* Malta: s.n. [Government Press?] 1839
 Notes: 1) Uses Arabic letters *hā'*, *shīn*, *'ayn* & *qāf* in Maltese words
 Locations & refs.: LB; Bonavia 39

81.

[1839]

[EWALD, Christian Ferdinand] *Murāsala bayn 'abdihi ta'ālā Iwald al-qissīs al-Inkilīzī wa bayn ba'd ʔalabat al-'ilm bi-Tūnis al-maḥrūsa* [Correspondence between the servant of Him who is exalted, Ewald the English priest, and certain seekers of knowledge in Tunis] No imprint n.d. 59pp.
 Locations & refs.: Le; LB (Ellis I, 518); T; W; Steinschneider #71, p.89

82.

1839

[MILNER, Joseph] *Tārīkh Kanīsat al-Masīḥ 'alā wajh al-ikhtīṣār* [History of the Church of Christ, in abridged form] No imprint 1839 439pp.
 Notes: 1) Printed 1838 (CM/O4/26) 2) Tr. of *The history of the Church of Christ*, London 1794-97 (& later eds.)
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 449); PO (Lambrecht 3240); QDK (Shūrbajī 10); T; W; Shaykhū 10; DG 11.12492 (attrib. to C.G.Barth, cf. item 104); Graf IV, p.283

83.

[1839]

[PINNOCK, William ?] *Medhal-i ulūm ve mebde-i fūnun. Derece-i sani* [An introduction to the sciences and initiation in the arts. Stage two] No imprint n.d. 70pp.
 Notes: 1) Turkish 2) "Catechism of science" (CM/O4/26) 3) The whole work "will fill about 300 pages" (CM/O25/20) 4) Only Pts.II & IV (item 84) published (CM/O4/26)
 Locations & refs.: LB; QDK (Dāghistānī, p.300); Linnström, p.350 (dated 1837); Özege 12677

84.

[1839]

[PINNOCK, William ?] *Medhal-i ulūm ve mebde-i fūnun ya'ni zarafetli mektep çocuklarının kıraat eylemeleri için ulūm-u mütenevvi'enin müfiden ve muhtasaran beyarında cild-i rabi* [An introduction to the sciences and initiation in the arts, or the fourth volume in the elucidation, usefully and concisely, of various sciences as elegant reading material for schoolchildren] No imprint n.d. 124pp.
 Notes: 1) Turkish 2) 9 plates (2 folding)
 Locations & refs.: OB; QDK (Dāghistānī, p.300); Zenker I, 1273 (dated 1836); Linnström, p.350; Özege 12677

85.

1839

(SHIDYĀQ, Fāris al-) *Al-Lafīf fī kull ma'nā ʔarīf, li-ta'līm al-qirā'a fi 'l-makātib wa tamrīn al-khawāṭir fī 'l-marātib* [The multitude (or, the friend), on every exquisite meaning, for teaching reading in primary schools and training the mental faculties in stages] 1839 299pp.
 Notes: 1) 2nd ed. Istanbul 1299 [1881]

Locations & refs.: C (2); IU (Karatay A, 84446, p.128); LB (Ellis I, 526); LI; PBN (Cat.Gén. XLIX, 929); PO (Lambrecht 421); QDK (Shūrbajī 257); Van Dyck & Biblāwī, p.407; Shaykhū 11; Sarkīs 1107; Brockelmann SII, p.868; Alwan 20a; Agius, p.44

86. [1839]

Kitāb al-Ṣalawat [sic] *fī ayyām al-usbū' kullihā* [Book of prayers on all the days of the week] [3rd ed.] No imprint n.d. 79pp.

Notes: 1) "Ṣalawāt" correctly spelt on wrapper 2) Cf. items 12 & 41

Locations & refs.: OI

87. [1839]

Kitab-ı ilm-i edeb ve merasim-i ülfet ve ünsiyet [Knowledge of manners and the usages of social and friendly acquaintanceship] [Tr. Fjellstedt, Peter & Yusuf Efendi] (CM/025/10-11) No imprint n.d. 200pp.

Notes: 1) Turkish 2) "On Manners & Morals" (CM/04/26); "Moral & social duties" (CM/025/10)

Locations & refs.: Not seen; IU (Karatay T, p.26); Linnström, p.350 (dated 1837); Özege 10946 (attrib. Beirut)

88. [1839]

[The Mirror of the heart] [Tr. Jāwalī, Ḥannā '1- & Badger, George Percy] (CM/065/61) 28pp.

Notes: 1) "A mirror to the heart" (CM/065/61)

Locations & refs.: None found

89. [1839]

[Turkish spellingbook] 45pp.

Notes: 1) Turkish 2) "3rd ed." of items 58 & 73 (CM/04/26)

Locations & refs.: None found

90. [1839]

Ulūm ul-hakayik [Sciences of the divine attributes] No imprint n.d. 78pp.

Notes: 1) Turkish 2) "On the attributes of God" (CM/04/26)

Locations & refs.: Not seen; IB (Durusoy 6773); QDK (Dāghistānī, p.24); Özege 21981

91. 1839

"Arabic inscription, written in Cufic characters, and found in the island of Malta", *Malta Penny Magazine*, 6 (19 October 1839), pp.21-24

Notes: 1) Incl. lithographic reproduction of inscription & type-set text

Locations: LB; OB; ORS

92. 1840

[BADGER, George Percy & SHIDYĀQ, Fāris al-] *Kitāb al-Muḥāwara al-unsīya fī l-lughatayn al-Inkilīzīya wa 'l-'Arabīya ma' amthila naḥwīya wa 'stīlāḥāt lughawīya ma' nūsat al-isti'māl fī 'l-aṣl wa maḥdhūfan ba'dahā fī 'l-tarjama 'alā mā 'qtadāhu 'sti'māl al-'Arab rajā 'l-intifā' bihā fī 'l-makātib wa ghayrihā mim-man yatashawwafūn ilā 'l-'ulūm al-lfranjīya wa-*

khuṣūṣan adab al-lughā al-Inkilīzīya al-bāri' wa li-hādhihi 'l-ghāya al-ḥamīda ṭubi'a bi-amr al-majma' al-mu'ayyan 'alā hādihā 'l-'amal al-mabrūr [Book of friendly conversation in the English and Arabic languages, with grammatical examples and linguistic expressions in familiar use, in the original and in some cases in abbreviated form in translation, as necessary for the use of Arabs, in anticipation of their being made use of in primary schools and by others who aim to acquire Western knowledge, especially the brilliant culture of the English language; for this laudable purpose it has been printed by order of the academy designated for this blessed work]. *Arabic and English grammatical exercises and familiar dialogues, chiefly intended for the use of students in the English language* 1840 188pp.

Locations & refs.: A; C (2); Dur; E; Le; LB (2) (Ellis I, 527); LS (3); OI; PO (Lambrecht 551); QDK (Shūrbajī 275); S (Euting 179); T (2); Dahdah 422; Shaykhū 12; Sarkīs 1107; Alwan 22a; Agius, p.44; Liv.Lib. #192

93. 1840

[Bible] *Kitāb al-Zāri' aw Amthāl Rabbinā Yasū' al-Masīh wa tafsīruhā; 'ala wajh mukhtaṣar mufīd* [Book of the Sower, or Parables of Our Lord Jesus Christ with commentary; in a useful concise form] 1840 [vi]+236pp.

Notes: 1) 2nd ed. of item 19 2) Revised by Fāris al-Shidyāq (CM/028/37)

Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 388); W; Shaykhū 2; Agius, p.44

94. 1840

[Bible] *Kitāb Āyāt mukhtāra min al-Kutub al-Muqaddasa* [Selected verses from the Sacred Scriptures] Valletta (Fallitta) [2nd ed.] 1840 115pp.

Notes: 1) Printed 1841 (CM/O4/26) 2) Cf. item 62

Locations & refs.: Dur; OI; QDK (Shūrbajī 261)

95. 1840

[CALHOUN, Simeon H.] *Murshid al-ṭālibīn ilā 'l-Kitāb al-Muqaddas al-thamīn* [Guide for students to the precious Holy Bible] [Tr. Jāwalī, Ḥannā 'l- & Badger, George Percy] (CM/065/61) Valletta (Fālitta) 1840 364pp.

Notes: 1) 3 folding maps (F.Brocktorff) 2) "Companion to the Bible" (CM/O4/26) 3) Later eds.: Beirut 1852 & 1869

Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 434); PO (Lambrecht 3210); QDK (Shūrbajī 276); T; W; Graf IV, p.281

96. [1840]

[KEITH, Alexander] *Al-Bayyina al-jalīya 'alā ṣiḥḥat dīn al-Naṣrānīya* [The clear evidence of the truth of the religion of Christianity] [Tr. Shidyāq, Fāris al-, Badger, George Percy & Schlienz, Christoph Friedrich] (CM/065/61) No imprint n.d. 285pp.

Notes: 1) Engraved plates (litho) 2) Tr. of *The Evidence of the truth*, Edinburgh 1828 (& numerous other eds.) 3) Reprinted Beirut 1874

Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 838); PO (Lambrecht 3200); T; W; Shaykhū 13; Graf IV, p.283; Khoury 28

97. [1840]
 [WATTS, Isaac] [First catechism for children] [3rd ed.]
 Notes: 1) Cf. items 8 & 39
 Locations & refs.: None found
98. [1840?]
Daḥl wāḍiḥ ilā 'l-ṭabīb al-ṣāliḥ [A clear guide to the good physician] No
 imprint n.d. [16pp.]
 Notes: 1) Incl. *Wajīza min tārikh al-Sitt Illṣābāt Kānīnhām* [Summary of the
 history of Mrs Elizabeth Cunningham], from Newton, John, *Eliza
 Cunningham: a narrative of facts*, London, RTS [1830?] (& several other eds.)
 2) Not in CMS list (CM/04/26). Dated 1840? by Ellis. Uses large
 type cast in 1838.
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 468); W
99. 1840
*Kitāb al-Ṣalawāt al-ʿĀmma wa ḡhayrihā min rusūm al-Kanīsa wa ṭuqūsihā 'alā mūjib isti'māl
 al-Kanīsa al-Inkilīzīya wa 'l-Irlandīya al-muttaḥida ma' mazāmīr Da'ūd mu'ayyana ḡsabamā
 yanbaghī tarīluhā aw qara'atuhā fī 'l-kanā'is* [Book of the Common Prayers and
 other ceremonies and rites of the Church according to the usage of
 the united English and Irish Church, with the Psalms of David
 specified as they ought to be chanted or read in the churches] [Tr.
 Schlienz, Christoph Friedrich & Shidyāq, Fāris al-] (CM/065/44)
 Valletta (Vālittah) 1840 [40]+662pp.
 Notes: 1) Tr. of *The Book of Common Prayer*
 Locations & refs.: C; LB (2) (Ellis I, 951); OI; QDK (Shūrbajī
 269); Khoury 79; Alwan 21a; Agius, p.44
100. 1840
Qiṣṣat al-Ṣalīb aw Tārikh Yasū' al-Masīḥ mukhalliṣ al-ʿālam [The Story of the Cross,
 or History of Jesus Christ, saviour of the world] 1840 46pp.
 Notes: 1) Printed 1839 (CM/04/26)
 Locations & refs.: LB; OI
101. 1840
Qiṣṣat Martīn Lūthir [The story of Martin Luther] [Tr. Shidyāq, Fāris
 al-, Schlienz, Christoph Friedrich & Badger, George Percy]
 (CM/065/61) Valletta (Fālittah) 1840 147pp.
 Notes: 1) "Taken from a little Vol. printed at Dublin"
 (CM/065/61), i.e. *Life of Martin Luther; including a concise but comprehensive history of
 the Reformation*, 2nd ed. Dublin 1826
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 977); OI; QDK (Shurbaji 274); T
 (2); W; Shaykhu 14
102. 1840
 "Destruction of Carthage", *Malta Penny Magazine*, 50 (22 August 1840),
 pp.199-202
 Notes: 1) Incl. Arabic words used in Tunisian toponymy, p.201
 Locations: LB; OB; ORS

103. 1840
 "Hagiar Chem or Cham, part second", *Malta Penny Magazine*, 35 (9 May 1840), pp.139-141
 Notes: 1) Incl. Arabic words used in Maltese toponymy, pp.139 & 140
 Locations: LB; OB; ORS
104. 1841
 [BARTH, Christian Gottlob] *Sharḥ ḥāl al-Kanīsa bi-'l-ijāz* [Exposition of the state of the Church, in brief] Valletta (Fällitah) 1841 288pp.
 Notes: 1) Tr. of *A brief history of the Church of Christ*, London: RTS, 1837 (an English tr. of *Christliche Kirchengeschichte*, Stuttgart 1835, etc.)
 Locations & refs.: PO (Lambrecht 3241); QDK (Shūrbajī 285); W; Shaykhū 16; DG 11.12493; Graf IV, p.283
105. 1841
 (FARḤĀT), [Jabrīl] *Al-Ajwiba al-jalīya fī 'l-uṣūl al-naḥwīya* [Plain answers on the elements of grammar] [2nd ed.] 1841 123pp.
 Notes: 1) 2nd ed. of item 37
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 800); LI; LS; PO (Lambrecht 640, wrongly dated 1831); QA (2) (Fihris IV, 33616 & 33619); QDK (Shūrbajī 280); T; W; Shaykhū 15; Sarkīs 1442; Agius, p.45
106. [1841]
 (FARḤĀT, Jabrīl) *Fī 'l-wa'z* [On preaching] No imprint n.d. 373pp.
 Notes: 1) *Faṣl al-khiṭāb fī 'l-wa'z*, with three extracts from the writings of Charles Simeon appended 2) 2nd ed. Beirut 1867
 Locations & refs.: C; LB (Ellis I, 800); LI; OI; QDK (Shūrbajī 272); W; Shaykhū 19; Agius, p.45
107. [1841]
 [HORNE, Thomas Hartwell] *Dhikrā 'l-Burūtistān* [Memorial of the Protestants] [Tr. Jāwalī, Ḥannā 'l-, Badger, George Percy & Schlienz, Christoph Friedrich] (CM/065/61) No imprint n.d. 110pp.
 Notes: 1) Tr. of *A Protestant memorial*, London 1835 (& numerous other eds.)
 Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis II, 492); PO (Lambrecht 3232); T; W
108. 1841
 [MAVOR, William Fordyce] *Sharḥ ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān: al-juz' al-awwal, fī dhawāt al-arba' wa 'l-ṭayr* [Exposition of the characteristics of animals: part I, on quadrupeds and birds] Tr. Shidyāq, Fāris al- 1841 349pp.
 Notes: 1) Tr. of *Elements of natural history, in the animal kingdom, chiefly intended for the use of schools and young persons*, London 1799 (& many later eds.) 2) Poem by Shidyāq appended
 Locations & refs.: A; C; LB (Ellis I, 527; Fulton & Ellis 595); OI; PO (Lambrecht 2356); QA (Fihris VI, 34634); QDK (Shūrbajī 287); Shaykhū 17; Sarkīs 1106; Brockelmann SII, p.868; Khoury 492;

109. 1841
Kitāb Ta'lim li-ajl al-aḡfāl al-ṣighār [Instruction book for the sake of small children] Valletta (Fālitaḡ) 1841 191pp.
Notes: 1) Another ed. of item 42 2) Wood-engraved plates & vignettes
Locations & refs.: E; OB; OI; PO (Lambrecht 359); W; Liv.Lib. #218
110. 1841
[The Catechism & 39 Arts. of the Church of England] 39pp.
Notes: 1) 2nd ed. of item 79
Locations & refs.: None found
111. 1842
Al-Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-ta'lim al-Maṣīḡī yashtamil 'alā arba'īn juzā' [sic]. Kull kalām ajwibat al-as'ila min al-Kutub al-Muqaddasa bi-'l-tahqīq. Quṣida li-ajl tahdhīb al-aḡfāl fī 'l-diyāna siwā kāna 'ind ahālithim aw fī 'l-madāris [Compendium on Christian teaching, comprising forty parts. All the wording of the answers to the questions is genuinely from the Sacred Scriptures. Intended for the instruction of children in religion, whether at home or in the schools] 1842 133pp.
Notes: 1) Last work printed by CMS in Malta (CM/028/52)
Locations & refs.: LB (Ellis I, 450); Shaykhū 18; Graf IV, p.285
112. 1845
PANZAVECCHIA, Fortunato *Grammatica della lingua maltese, spiegato secondo i principj delle lingue orientali e della italiana* Malta: Tipografia di M.Weiss
1845 [ix]+253+64pp.
Notes: 1) Arabic equivalents of Maltese letters & words given in many places
Locations & refs.: C (2); Dur; LB; ORS; PO (Lambrecht 999); V (Vassallo, p.17); Bonavia 55

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Locations

A	Author's possession
B	Berlin (W): Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz
C	Cambridge University Library
Dub	Dublin: Chester Beatty Library
Dur	Durham University Library
E	Edinburgh: New College Library
IB	İstanbul Belediye Kütüphanesi
IU	İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi
LB	London: British Library
LI	London: India Office Library
LS	London: School of Oriental & African Studies Library
Le	Leiden: Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit
M	Manchester: John Rylands University Library
OA	Oxford: St Antony's College, Middle East Centre
OB	Oxford: Bodleian Library
OI	Oxford: Indian Institute Library (housed in the Bodleian Library)
ORS	Oxford: Rhodes House Library, Scicluna Collection
PBN	Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale
PO	Paris: Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales
QA	Cairo: Al-Maktaba al-Azharīya
QDK	Cairo: Dār al-Kutub
S	Strasbourg: Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire
T	Tübingen: Universitätsbibliothek
V	Valletta: National Library of Malta
W	Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

NB: A number in brackets () following a location code indicates the number of copies held, if more than one.

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- DG - *Deutscher Gesamtkatalog*, hrsg. von der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, 11, Berlin 1937
- DMG - Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft: *Katalog der Bibliothek*, I: *Druckschriften und Ähnliches*, Leipzig 1880
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APPENDIX B

ARABIC PRIMERS PRINTED BEFORE 1883

NB: By *primer* is meant here elementary textbooks for pupils in literary Arabic, starting with the alphabet and assuming no prior knowledge of the written language. Other elementary grammars, whether classical (e.g. the *Ājurrūmiya* of Şinhājī and the *Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥājib), or contemporary (e.g. *Miftāḥ al-miṣbāḥ* by Buṭrus al-Bustānī), which presuppose some reading ability, are excluded from this list. Only extant or authenticated works are listed. The religious designations refer to the publishers or editors, rather than the content.

Abbreviations: K.=Kitāb, M.=Maṭba'a(t)

1826

K. Ta'līm al-qirā' 'alā 'l-aḡfāl al-ṣighār
Author: [probably Jowett, W.]
Malta: CMS
Protestant
Typeset

1828

K. Ta'līm al-qirā'a ilā 'l-aḡfāl al-ṣighār
Author: [Schlienz, C.]
Malta: CMS
Protestant
Typeset

1829

K. Ta'līm 'alā 'l-aḡfāl al-ṣighār
Author: [probably Jowett, W.]
Malta: CMS
Protestant
Typeset

1832

[No title]
Author: ?
Kazan: Russian Government
Muslim
Typeset

1834?

[No title]
Author: ?
[Bulaq:] Egyptian Government
Muslim
Typeset

1836

K. Ta'līm al-qirā li-ajl al-aḡfāl al-ṣighār

Author: [probably Jowett, W.]

Malta: CMS

Protestant

Typeset

K. Ta'līm li-ajl al-aḡfāl al-ṣighār

Author: ?

Malta: CMS

Protestant

Typeset

1839

Al-Laḡf fī kull ma'nā tarīf

Author: Fāris al-Shidyāq

Malta: CMS

Protestant

Typeset

1840

Ta'līm al-aḡfāl

Author: Yaḡyā 'l-Ḥakīm

Bulaq: Egyptian Government

Muslim

Typeset

1841

K. Ta'līm li-ajl al-aḡfāl al-ṣighār

Author: ?

Malta: CMS

Protestant

Typeset

1849

Kurrāsāt alif bā'

Author: ?

Beirut: Al-M. al-Kāthūlikīya

Roman Catholic

Typeset

1850

K. Ta'līm al-qirā'a

Author: ?

Beirut: American Press

Protestant

Typeset

1854

K. Mabādi' al-qirā'a al-'Arabīya

Author: ?

Beirut: Al-M. al-Kāthūlikīya

Roman Catholic

Typeset

Ta'lim ṣaghīr li-l-mubtadi' in
Author: Jirmānus Ādam
Beirut: Al-M. al-Kāthūlīkīya
Roman Catholic
Typeset

1855

K. Ta'lim al-qirā'a li-l-mubtadi' in
Beirut: American Press?
Protestant?
Typeset

1858

K. al-Hijāya wa 'l-amthāl li-ta'lim al-aḡfāl
Author: ?
Cairo: ?
Muslim
Lithographed

1860

K. Ibtidā' al-qirā'a / Elementarbuch
Authors: Makhat, Moses & Nemer, Philipp
Vienna: Hof- u. Staatsdruck
Greek Orthodox
Typeset

1862

K. al-Tahjiya wa mabādi' al-qirā'a li-tadrīs al-ṣubyān
Author: ?
Mosul: Dominicans
Roman Catholic
Typeset

1864

Ta'lim mabādi' al-qirā'a al-'Arabīya
Author: ?
Kisrawān: Dayr Sayyida Ṭāmīsh
Maronite
Typeset

1865

*K. Ta'lim al-qirā'a li-ifādat al-aḡdāth fī madāris al-arāqī
'l-muqaddasa*
Author: ?
Jerusalem: Franciscans
Roman Catholic
Typeset

Ta'lim mabādi' al-qirā'a al-'Arabīya
Author: ?
Beirut: M. al-Yasū'īyīn
Roman Catholic
Typeset

1866

K. Ta'lim al-qirā'a

Author: ?
Beirut: Americans
Protestant
Typeset

Mabādi' al-qirā'a li-ifādat al-ahdāth

Author: Ilyās Faraj Bāsīl
Jerusalem: Franciscans
Roman Catholic
Typeset

Risāla li-ta'lim al-hijā' ḥadītha / Alphabetarion

Author: ?
Jerusalem: M.al-Qabr al-Muqaddas
Greek Orthodox
Typeset

Uṣūl al-qirā'a al-'Arabīya wa 'l-tahdhībāt al-adabīya

Author: Luwīs al-Ṣābūnjī
Beirut: Al-M. al-Sharqīya
Greek Catholic
Typeset & lithographed

1867

K. al-Hijāya wa 'l-amthāl li-ta'lim al-ṭālib wa 'l-aṭfāl

Author: ?
Cairo: M. al-Munifa
Muslim
Lithographed

Kitāb li-ta'lim al-mubtadi' fī 'l-qirā'a wa 'l-kitāba

Author: ?
Bulaq: Egyptian Government
Muslim
Lithographed

1868

K. al-Hijāya wa 'l-amthāl li-ta'lim al-aṭfāl

Author: Aḥmad al-Makhzanjī
Cairo: Castelli
Muslim
Lithographed

K. Ṭarīq al-hijā wa 'l-tamrīn 'alā 'l-qirā'a

Author: 'Alī Mubārak
Cairo: Wādī 'l-Nīl
Muslim
Lithographed

Mabādi' al-qirā'a li-ifādat al-aḥdāth

Author: Ilyās Faraj Bāsīl
Jerusalem: Franciscans
Roman Catholic
Typeset

Mukhtaṣar li-ajl ta'līm al-aṣfāl al-qirā'a

Author: ?
Jerusalem: M. al-Qabr al-Muqaddas
Greek Orthodox
Typeset

1869

K. Rawḍat al-ṣabī al-adīb fī uṣūl al-qirā'a wa 'l-tahdhīb

Author: Jirjis 'Abd al-Yashū'
Mosul: M. al-Kaldān
"Chaldaean" Catholic
Typeset

1870

Mukhtaṣar li-ajl ta'līm al-aṣfāl al-qirā'a

Author: ?
Jerusalem: M. al-Qabr al-Muqaddas
Greek Orthodox
Typeset

Risāla li-ta'līm al-hijā' li-l-awlād / Anagosmatarion

Jerusalem: M. al-Qabr al-Muqaddas
Greek Orthodox
Typeset

1872

Risāla fī ta'līm al-qirā'a wa 'l-kitāba al-mubtadi' īn min al-'asākir al-Miṣrīya

Author: 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Alī al-Muhandis
Cairo: Wādī 'l-Nīl
Muslim
Typeset & lithographed

Ta'līm mabādi' al-qirā'a al-'Arabīya

Author: ?
Beirut: M. al-Yasū'īyīn
Roman Catholic
Typeset

1873

Risāla fī ta'līm al-qirā'a wa 'l-kitāba li-l-mubtadi' īn min al-'asākir al-Miṣrīya

Author: 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Alī
Bulaq: Egyptian Government
Muslim
Lithographed

1874

K. al-Hijā' li-ta'līm al-aṭfāl

Author: ?
Beirut: Jam'īyat al-Funūn
Muslim
Typeset

K. Ta'līm al-qirā'a li-tadrīs al-ṣbyān

Author: ?
Mosul: Dominicans
Roman Catholic
Typeset

Mabādi' al-qirā'a li-ifādat al-aḥdāth

Author: Ilyās Faraj Bāsīl
Jerusalem: Franciscans
Roman Catholic
Typeset

1877

*K. Ta'līm al-qirā'a li-ifādat al-aḥdāth fī madāris arādī
'l-muqaddasa*

Author: ?
Jerusalem: Franciscans
Roman Catholic
Typeset

1878

K. Mabādi' al-qirā'a li-ifādat al-aḥdāth

Author: Ilyās Faraj Bāsīl
Jerusalem: Franciscans
Roman Catholic
Typeset

1879

K. al-Hijā' li-ta'līm al-aṭfāl

Author: ?
Beirut: Jam'īyat al-Funūn
Muslim
Typeset

*K. Mabādi' al-qirā'a li-ifādat al-aḥdāth fī madāris al-arādī
'l-muqaddasa*

Author: ?
Jerusalem: Franciscans
Roman Catholic
Typeset

Mabādi' al-tahjī'a li-tadrīs al-ṣubyān

Mosul: Dominicans?

Roman Catholic?

Typeset

Murabbī 'l-ṣighār wa muraqqī 'l-kibār

Author: Yūsuf Ilyās al-Dibs

Beirut: Al-M. al-'Umūmīya

Maronite

Typeset

1882

Al-Lafīf fī kull ma'nā ṣarīf

Author: Fāris al-Shidyāq

Istanbul: Al-Jawā'ib

Muslim

Typeset

SOURCES: Direct examination; Bianchi, T.X. "Catalogue général des livres arabes, persans et turcs, imprimés à Boulac en Egypte depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie dans ce pays", *Journal Asiatique* 4/2 (1843); Ellis, A.G. *Catalogue of Arabic books in the British Museum*, London 1894-1901; Lambrecht, E. *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, tome premier, Paris 1897; Yūsuf Sarkīs, *Mu'jam al-maṭbū'at al-'Arabīya wa 'l-mu'arraba*, Cairo 1928; Luwīs Shaykhū, "Tārīkh fann al-ṭibā'a fī 'l-Mashriq", *Al-Mashriq* 3-5 (1900-02).

APPENDIX C

FĀRIS AL-SHIDYĀQ'S PREFACE TO HIS TRANSLATION OF MAVOR'S *ELEMENTS OF NATURAL HISTORY (SHARḤ ṬABĀ'I' AL-ḤAYAWĀN)*, MALTA 1841.

In the name of God the creator and Renewer

Praise be to God for His creation and His brilliant wisdom in the disposition thereof. This is a book which we have translated from the English language and presented to the people of the Arabic language, as its subject matter is unknown to most of them, and they have few such works of classification and categorisation. It is not improbable that there will have occurred some defectiveness in the names of some of the animals discussed herein, because they are not well known among the Arabs. Some we have rendered from the original, because they refer to animals whose existence is restricted to countries not known to the Arabs, and we have transliterated them in a guise suitable for pronunciation in Arabic. We have divided the work into two parts, the first devoted to quadrupeds and birds, being the present volume; the second on fishes, reptiles and insects, which we shall begin to print, God willing, after investigating the correctness of their nomenclature. We have incorporated in this hastily compiled work, the printing of which we have aimed to expedite and whose usefulness and benefit we have sought to increase, a notebook which we have compiled from the book *The life of animals* (long version) , by the learned imam Shaykh Muḥammad al-Damīrī, containing the names of many of the animals; so perhaps by comparing its contents with the transliterations and translations given here, the student making use of the book may attain the desired object.

You will, dear reader, come across in this book weights and measures and other terms: note that they are all expressed according to English usage; likewise in cases where the author speaks of "our country" and "our climate" and similar expressions using the first person. When you see, in some descriptions, the letter Z and the word "to", then note that these are additions to the original, taken from the book *The life of animals* (long version), mentioned above, to

which we have had recourse.

It is hoped that the reader will remedy the shortcomings and condone the lapses. God is He who grants success to good work and by His grace are hopes achieved.

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Alphabetical List of Grants, to 1821, pp.107-112.

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Church Missionary Society Birmingham University Library

Mediterranean Mission:

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CM/L1-3 (1820-1854)

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CM/O4 CMS Establishment and printing press at Malta (1822-1842); CM/O5 Malta newspapers and magazines (1823-1843); CM/O8 Miscellaneous letters and papers (1820-1880); CM/O11 Badger (1836-1841); CM/O18 Brenner (1828-1842); CM/O25 Fjellstedt (1835-1842); CM/O28 Gobat (1826-1878); CM/O39 Jowett (1820-1831); CM/O45 Kruse (1826-1861); CM/O56 Naudi (1820-1832); CM/O65 Schlienz (1827-1850); CM/O67 Weiss (1828-1846); CM/O73 Mission Secretaries' papers (1820-1838).

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CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY London
Centenary Volume, 1799-1899. 1902.
Church Missionary Record, 2 (1831) - 14 (1843).

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Jubilee Volume ... 1848-1849. 1849.

The Missionary Register 1814-1853.

Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 21 (1820-21).

EVANGELISCHE MISSIONSGESELLSCHAFT zu BASEL Basle
Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der evangelischen Missions- und Bibelgesellschaften, 12 (1827) - 13 (1828).

MALTA BIBLE SOCIETY Valletta
Report of the Bible Society established in Malta ... with a list of the scriptures on sale at the Society's depository, 6 (1824).

SOCIETY for PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE London
The Annual Report, 1816-1823.

A chapter in English church history: being the minutes ... for the years 1698-1704. Ed. E. McClure. 1888.

[CLAVERING,] Robert, Bishop of Peterborough. *A sermon preached at St. Sepulchre's Church; April the 5th, 1733, the first Thursday after Easter-week; being the time of the yearly meeting of the children educated in the charity-schools, in and about the cities of London and Westminster ... To which is annexed an account of the origin and designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, never before published*. 1733.

An extract of several letters relating to the great charity and usefulness of printing the New Testament, and Psalter, in the Arabic language. 1725.

HUNTINGFORD, G. I. *A sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London: on Thursday, June 2, 1796. Being the time of the yearly meeting of the children educated in the charity-schools, in and about the cities of London and Westminster ... To which is annexed, an account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.* 1796.

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LEWIS, T. *A sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London: on Thursday, May 21, 1801. Being the time of the yearly meeting of the children educated in the charity-schools, in and about the cities of London and Westminster ... To which is annexed, an account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.* 1801.

MARSH, H. *The national religion the foundation of national education: a sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London: on Thursday, June 13, 1811. Being the time of the yearly meeting of the children educated in the charity schools in and about the cities of London and Westminster ... To which is annexed, an account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.* 1811.

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'ABDUL-HAI, Muhammad. A bibliography of Arabic translations of English and American poetry (1830-1970). *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 7 (1976), pp.120-150.

ABOUSSOUAN, C. *A Grenade et à Gênes, au XVIIe siècle: les premiers pas de l'imprimerie arabe. Le livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900 (Exposition),* Paris 1982, pp.110-116.

Id. *Le Coran: l'édition princeps de Hambourg. Ibid.,* pp.135-136.

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ABŪ ṢAWĀN, Kamīl Najīb. *Bidāyat al-ṭibā'a al-'Arabīya: zuḥūr al-maṭbū'āt al-'Arabīya al-ūlā 1506. Al-Abḥāth* 15 (1962), pp.37-51.

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