

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

AḤMAD FĀRIS AL-SHIDYĀQ IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE:
AL-JAWĀ'IB NEWSPAPER (1861-1884)

by
YOUSSEF GEORGE EL-KHOURY SALEM

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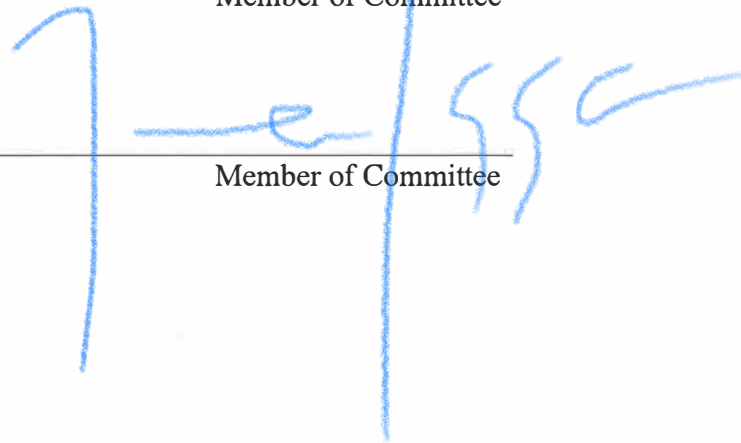
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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Title: Ahmad Fāris al-Shidyāq in the Public Sphere: *Al-Jawā'ib* Newspaper (1861-1884)

This study explores the prominent 19th century Arabic newspaper *al-Jawā'ib* (1861-1884). It attempts to retrace the later career of its founder Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq and re-inscribe him as a journalist and a public intellectual. It also reads through the early years of *al-Jawā'ib* to formulate a preliminary understanding of the content of this primary source, its major themes, and its main ideas. Then, the study proposes Europe as a central subject in the newspaper - which mainly translated news from European sources. By focusing on *tamaddun* as a key concept invoked by al-Shidyāq to generate a conversation between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, the thesis revisits *al-Jawā'ib* as a cultural and political response to European modernity and Orientalist claims of Arab or Islamic incompatibility with it. This work considers how the newspaper constructed its own perception of time and space in selecting to translate various aspects of Western *tamaddun* with the purpose of revitalizing a contemporaneous Arabic language and enticing the Muslim *ummah* to play its part in international affairs. In the conclusion, it re-narrates the last episode of *al-Jawā'ib*'s story.

PREFACE

Apropos the preponderant Arabic newspaper, *al-Jawā'ib*, we know more of its reputation than we know about its content. At the turn of the 21st century, this leading 19th century newspaper is still an understudied topic in Arab intellectual history¹. Nevertheless, renewed interest in studying the life, thought, and works of its founder has brought back some scholarly attention to this distinguished publication. A vast corpus of multilingual and multidisciplinary literature about its celebrated and versatile author has since accumulated. Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq continues to shine with every scholarly attempt at examining or critiquing his legacy; the more he radiates the more he defies easy categorization. Still, the emerging research on *al-Jawā'ib* itself only emphasizes its linguistic and lexicographic value, in addition to its editor's contributions to the *Nahḍawī* movement in Arabic language and culture. The most recent studies remain more literary, linguistic, and lexicographic in purpose, than conceptual, thematic, or analytical². Subsequently, we know more about the career and accomplishments of Aḥmed Efendi Fāris -the final name and identity which the polyglot and polymath Fāris b. Yūsuf al-Shidyāq adopted- before *al-Jawā'ib* than while at

¹ Samir Seikaly, "Al-'Arab: The Arabic Press in Istanbul," in *Acta viennensia ottomanica: Akten des 13. CIEPO-Symposiums (Comité international des études pré-ottomanes et ottomanes), vom 21. bis 25. September 1998 in Wien*, ed. Markus Köhbach, Gisela Procházka-Eisl, and Claudia Römer (Wien: Selbstverlag des Instituts für Orientalistik, 1999), 323.

² See for example, Basma 'Alawānī, "Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq wa 'Ishāmātuḥu fī al-Nahḍa al-'Arabiyya al-Ḥadītha fī al-Qarn al-Tāsi' 'Ashar min Khilāl Ṣaḥīfat al-Jawā'ib" (PhD Diss., Université Saint-Joseph, 2019); Muḥammad al-Ḥādī al-Maṭwī, *al-Ṭarīq ilā al-ḥadāthah wa al-tahdīth fī 'lām "al-Jawā'ib" lil-Shidyāq, 1861-1884: dirāsah wa-mukhtārāt* (Tunis: Dār Saḥnūn, 2011); Muḥammad Sawā'ī, *Al-Ḥadātha wa Mustalahāt al-Nahḍa al-'Arabiyya fī al-Qarn al-Tasi' 'Ashar: Dirāsa fī Mufradāt Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq fī Jarīdat (al-Jawā'ib)* (Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-'Arabiyya li al-Dirāsāt wa al-Nashr, 2013).

the helm of this project, which he began in 1861³. A systematic historical analysis of this primary source still awaits. This essay is an attempt at one such reading of *al-Jawā'ib*.

In addition to his literary significance, poetic legacy, and lexicographic prowess, the man behind this newspaper was also an entrepreneur, a political player, and a public intellectual. The most defiant and most eccentric *Nahḍawī*, al-Shidyāq, is notorious for his colossal and timeless *al-Sāq 'ala al-Sāq*, an Arabic monument he managed to publish in 1855 at an institutional den of European Orientalism, the renowned Benjamin Duprat printing house, publisher of the *Société Asiatique*⁴. This wild and penetrative work contained in addition to shreds of the author's biographic and travel accounts, an outcry against Orientalists in the West and their inferior understanding of Arab-Islamic cultures⁵. The book furthermore laid the foundations for different terms and conditions to accept and embrace modernity than those defined by Euro-centric minds. Dedicated to the memory of al-Shidyāq's mentor, idol, and brother As'ad, it attacked ecclesiastical despotism and social inequalities wherever the author had encountered them. His dual critique and comparative approach enumerated the philological and cultural similarities and differences between East and West, the Ottoman Empire and Europe, in areas of religious tolerance, sexual freedom, labor, unemployment, and other socio-political phenomena. This opus attained a seat in the

³ Butrus Abu-Manneh, "Shidyāq, *al-Jawā'ib* and the Call for Modernity in the Ottoman Lands," in *The Economy as an Issue in the Middle Eastern Press*, ed. Gisela Procházka-Eisl and Martin Strohmeier (Wien: Lit Verlag, 2008), 15.

⁴ Christian Junge, "Exposing Words! al-Shidyāq's Literary Lists as Social and Cultural Critique" (lecture, Department of Arabic and Near Eastern Languages, AUB, October 3, 2019).

⁵ Muhammad Sawae, "Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq wa Ra'yuhu fī Ba'ḍ al-Mustashriqīn wa fī Mushkilāt al-Tarjama." *Majallat Majma' al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya bī Dimashq* vol. 78 no. 9 (2003): 21-56.

hall of fame of world literature as a groundbreaking Arabic novel⁶. *Al-Sāq* was only the beginning of al-Shidyāq's intellectual becoming. Six years after his chef d'oeuvre, he resurged as a public intellectual operating from the Ottoman capital. There, a different lifeline opened up for him: *al-Jawā'ib*. From his office in Istanbul, the roamer settled at last and began to write and report on world affairs around him. He produced in *al-Jawā'ib*, as of 1861, a series of masterpieces in literature, lexicography, and travel writings. With *al-Jawā'ib*, three trajectories materialized in our protagonist's life; he became prosperous, publicly involved, and politically active. His writings shifted from the biographic and religious domains to social, political, and collective concerns. Arabic language, the Ottoman Empire, modernity, and Europe remained pervading themes in his intellectual output. As a journalist, this *nahdawi* belletrist emerged as an important intellectual in the public sphere and was well placed to take up the issue of modernization and change on the pages of *al-Jawā'ib*. His journalistic endeavor shifted his writings away from the biographic genre and the religious domain towards social and public concerns. Also, as a journalist and linguist, he constructed a dynamic discourse that incorporated elements of Ottomanism, Islamism, and Arabism. More crucially, his discourse translated modernity into Arabic by way of comparing European to Ottoman socio-cultural, economic, and political modes of living.

⁶ Robin Creswell, "The First Great Arabic Novel," *The New York Review of Books* (October, 2015): 1-6. <http://nybooks.com/articles/2015/10/8> (accessed October 26, 2017). Alone the title has invoked or invited multiple explanations. Interpretations of the title, *al-Sāq* 'ala *al-Sāq*, explain it as a variation on more than one Qur'anic verse about doomsday, or as a metaphor charged with erotic connotation, among other meanings. Raḍwā 'Āshūr, *al-Ḥadāthah al-Mumkinah: al-Shidyāq wa-l-Sāq 'alā al-Sāq. Al-Riwāyah al-'Ūlā fī l-Adab al-'Arabī al-Ḥadīth* (Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq, 2009); 17, and Veli N. Yasin, *Disorienting Figures: The Rhetoric of Authority in Ottoman-Arab Letters* (PhD Diss., Columbia University, 2015); 51.

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A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

This study follows the Arabic and Ottoman Turkish transliteration styles employed by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Proper names are reproduced as they are conventionally written.

DEDICATION

To SS ... with immense gratitude.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During his lifetime and long after his death, Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq divided opinions. He was a controversialist. His admirers locate him among the most innovative and creative authors of the 19th century. The less enthusiastic readers and critics of his legacy find him distastefully overrated. For example, while Marūn ‘Abbūd hails him as the “Falcon of Lebanon,”¹ ‘Abdul Fattāḥ Kīlīto discerns him as a chancer, opportunist, or mercenary writer.² Nevertheless, ‘Abdul Ilāh Balqzīz commends the accuracy of his translation of the West for the Arab reader.³ In yet another instance, Nadia al-Bagdadi observes in his career and works the heralding or “advent of modernity” in the Arab East;⁴ Raḍwā ‘Āshūr portrays him as the protagonist and author of a “possible modernity;”⁵ which in Fawwaz Traboulsi’s variation reads as “alternative modernity.”⁶ Sherif Ismail links al-Shidyāq’s alienation, peripatetic life, and secular worldview to the experience and

¹ Marūn ‘Abbūd, *Ṣaqr Lubnān: Baḥth fī al-Naḥḍa al-‘Adabiyya al-Ḥadītha wa Rajuliha al-‘Awwal Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq* (Beirut: Dār al-Makshūf, 1950). To ‘Abbūd, Aḥmad Fāris was not only a stellar figure, he was like the Medieval ‘Abdul Raḥmān al-Dākhil, aka Ṣaqr Quraysh (d. 788 AD in Córdoba, Spain) the first Arab Muslim to pave his way into the European continent, after having fled his dynastic home in Damascus. ‘Abbūd, 9.

² Abdelfattah Kilito, *Thou Shalt Not Speak My Language* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2008), 74.

³ ‘Abd al-Ilāh Balaqzīz, “Urūppā fī Mir’āt Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq... Kalimāt ‘an Riwayāya Nazīha,” *al-Ḥayāt*, March 1, 2008.

⁴ Nadia al-Bagdadi, *Aḥmad Faris Al-Shidyāq and the Advent of Arab Modernity*. This book she edited was due for publication by Edinburgh University Press in 2013 but was never released.

⁵ Raḍwā ‘Āshūr, *al-Ḥadāthah al-Mumkinah*.

⁶ Fawwaz Traboulsi, “Aḥmad Faris al-Shidyāq (1804-87): The Quest for Another Modernity,” in *Arabic Thought beyond the Liberal Age: Towards an Intellectual History of the Naḥḍa*, ed. Jens Hanssen and Max Weiss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 186.

expressions of Edward Said and markedly dissociates his thought and philology from that of the contemporaneous Rifā' a Rāfi' al-Ṭahtāwī (1801-1873).⁷ Rana Issa observes how al-Shidyāq practically freed Arabic language from the authority of religion.⁸ By contrast, Ahmad al-Dardir dismisses him as an agent and translator of the European episteme into Arabic and propagator of colonial discourses.⁹ In turn, Wael Abu 'Uksa traces a racist and orientalist tone in his political conceptualization of *tamaddun* and freedom.¹⁰ Perhaps, al-Shidyāq's contradictory status expresses an intrinsic contradiction particular to him. But, the fact that he lived in an age of rampant contradictions must have reflexively shaped him and his context.

al-Jawā'ib equally belonged to the context and contradictions of the age. Scholarly observations about it appear to be in two minds within similar perspectives and polarities that involve al-Shidyāq. Thus, we can distinguish two broad strains of assessing *al-Jawā'ib*. First, we have the studies that venerated it as an efficient media machine grappling with the problems of the modern world. Muḥammad al-Hādī al-Maṭwī for example regards the newspaper as an agent of change which translated European modernity to Arab and Muslim readers.¹¹ 'Iṣmat Naṣṣār assumed it was a pioneer instrument of cultural and political

⁷ Sherif Ismail, "Multiple Encounters: Philology, Exile, and Hospitality, from Fāris al-Shidyāq to Auerbach and Edward Said," *Philological Encounters* 3 (2018): 67 and 102.

⁸ Rana Issa, "Scripture as Literature: The Bible, the Qur'ān, and Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq," *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 50 no. 1 (2019), 29-55.

⁹ Ahmed Dardir, "Licentious Topographies: Space and the Traumas of Colonial Subjectivity in Modern Egypt," (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2018), 80 and 294.

¹⁰ Wael Abu-'Uksa, *Freedom in the Arab World: Concepts and Ideologies in Arabic Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 78.

¹¹ al-Maṭwī, *al-Ṭarīq ilā al-ḥadāthah wa al-taḥdīth*, 3.

resistance to colonial thought, and its translation into Arabic.¹² Its invaluable contribution to the revival or revitalization of Arabic language in translating new and crucial concepts is underscored by Muhammad Sawā'ī.¹³ Albert Hourani noted that it “indeed was the first really important Arabic newspaper.”¹⁴ Second, a group of authors critical of *al-Jawā'ib*'s role in cultural as well as political arenas assessed the editor's ideas as being a reverberation of his master's voice – this allusion being to its political overlord Abdülhamid II. Basma 'Alawānī asserts that the publication rarely associated itself with popular causes.¹⁵

The polarities involved in studying al-Shidyāq and his output represent the fierce disagreement on the very configuration and conceptualization of the *Nahḍawī* movement of the 19th century and its role in illuminating the Arab cultural scene. He stands at the point where the different problematics of the *Nahḍa* intersect and diverge. The figure of al-Shidyāq, indeed not an instance of isolated genius, was the product of his age and culture - much though his life story and his thought meandered along a highly individual path. Living for 83 years through a century where literacy was as low as 3-5% circa 1800 and hardly reaching 15% towards its end, he witnessed, acted, commented on, and even embodied the process of epistemological and technological transition from scribal and manuscript culture to the age of the printing press, the telegraph, and journalism. It thus

¹² 'Iṣmat Naṣṣār, *Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq: Qirā'a fī Ṣafā'ih al-Muqāwama* (Cairo: Dār al-Hidāya, 2005), 14-16.

¹³ Sawā'ī, *Al-Ḥadātha wa Mustalahāt al-Nahḍa al-'Arabiyya*, 10.

¹⁴ Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 98.

¹⁵ 'Alawānī, “Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq.”

becomes more pertinent to explore his work beyond and away from the confines of an East-West conceptual dichotomy and its associated categories; and instead approach his newspaper as a site where Euro-Ottoman relations unraveled.

Proposing to read his own perceptions of the West in *al-Jawā'ib*, this essay moves from sketching the background of al-Shidyāq's work and the context within which his periodical emerged, to the world *al-Jawā'ib* represented, in order to finally reconfigure *al-Jawā'ib* and its publisher's analysis of Europe and the West vis-à-vis modernity, progress, reform, and Arab culture, Islamdom, and the Ottoman Empire. The present work argues that the intellectual output of *al-Jawā'ib* was centrally focused on Europe and the West. It spoke to the West. In translating mainly European and American newspaper material into Arabic, comparing the state of affairs in the Ottoman Empire to that in Europe, and remodeling Arabic language to the context of European "modernity," as well as approaching Muslim, Ottoman, and Arab politico-cultural matters in relation to those in Europe; the periodical was saturated with examples from and about the West.

In *al-Jawā'ib*, al-Shidyāq brought the modern world into Arabic. This newspaper polemically and discursively oscillated between subjectifying Arabic thought to Western categorizations of knowledge, and contesting that knowledge and subverting its mounting hegemony.¹⁶ In *al-Jawā'ib*, the West is an example to ponder about, a parable to learn from, but also a modernity to question, relate to, and participate in. *Al-Jawā'ib* highlighted the contradictions of modernity. It sought to challenge Western knowledge, especially in its understanding of Arab, Islamic, and Ottoman cultures.

¹⁶ See Tarek El-Ariss, *Trials of Arab Modernity: Literary Affects and the New Political* (Fordham: Fordham University Press, 2013), 73.

Chapter One, the introduction, provides an overview and an historical background to the story. It introduces the personal and global context within which al-Shidyāq operated and eventually founded his newspaper. It presents a bio-bibliographic sketch of the man behind this influential publication, and retraces his endeavors in an illustrative, dynamic, and comprehensive attempt. Integrating his biblio-biographic sketch with the founding of *al-Jawā'ib* sets the parameters of the story, and highlights the context within which *al-Jawā'ib* emerged in Istanbul. The chapter then draws the contours within which al-Shidyāq emerged as a public intellectual.

Chapter Two attempts to interrogate and squeeze information out of the newspaper *al-Jawā'ib* as a primary source. It reads through the early issues of this periodical and offers a synopsis of their content. The chapter dissects the document into its basic components and reviews its themes and subsections. Citing *al-Jawā'ib* in extenso, it is based on a free translation of the early issues of this historical newspaper and aims at discerning the ideas and concepts contained therein. By attempting to over-read into the data available inside this document, the study extracts the key information, and follows the trajectories and narratives that were being weaved in its early ideas and pages, laying the base for analyzing and interpreting this source material.

Chapter Three recasts al-Shidyāq as a journalist and presents highlights of the newspaper's development at major junctures. It then proposes Europe and the West as an overarching theme to trace in understanding *al-Jawā'ib*, its content and its impact. It revisits *al-Jawā'ib* as a cultural and political response to European modernity and Orientalist claims of Arab or Islamic incompatibility with it. Inter-European rivalry, the

relationship between the church and the state, political systems, and their connection to the concept of *tamaddun* (civilization) are addressed.

The conclusion recaps the life stories of *al-Jawā'ib* and its editor. The chapter revisits the intricate conditions within which they operated. It reiterates the importance of al-Shidyāq's journalistic career. It also recounts the last episode of *al-Jawā'ib*'s history.

A. A Portrait of Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq's Life and Undertakings: "What Manner of Creature Might He Be?"

The self-exilic experience of al-Shidyāq carried him across the Mediterranean to an intercontinental journey that led him to Egypt, Malta, France, England, Tunis, and finally Istanbul.¹⁷ Extensive displacement and travelling carried him across cultures, ideas, and beliefs, which could explain his conversion between religious domains; from Catholicism (his natal Maronite faith) into Protestantism, then into Islam. The transformations this intellectual underwent, affected his very own name, which metamorphosed from Fāris al-Shidyāq,¹⁸ into the fictitious al-Fāryāq, and later into Aḥmad Fāris. The modern transformations in the world around him impacted his own becoming and stimulated his creative responses.

¹⁷ It is believed that he also travelled to other European destinations. Al-Maṭwī suggests that in the early 1870s Fāris went on a tour to Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, Saxony, and Prussia. The argument is based on an extinct travelogue al-Shidyāq composed then: *Aḥāsīn al-Maqāl fī Maḥāsīn Ahl al-Shamāl*. Muḥammad al-Hādī al-Maṭwī, *Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq: Ḥayātuhu wa Āthāruhu wa Ārā'uhu fī al-Nahḍa al-'Arabiyya al-Ḥadītha* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1989), 177 and 225. Furthermore, 'Alawānī explains that while away from Istanbul, he regularly dispatched his editorials to *al-Jawā'ib* by post.

¹⁸ Shidyāq, means archdeacon, the ecclesiastical rank; and it is suggested that Shidyāq sounds like a corruption from French *archidiacre*. Matti Moosa, *The Origins of Modern Arabic Fiction*, 2nd ed. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997), 398. But Fāris, again distancing himself from Christian origins, suggests *shadaq* (garrulousness) as the root from which derives his surname. Yasin, 62.

His father's bookcase supplied him with much of his informal home-education, while he also attended the local *kuttab*, then the leading Maronite 'Ayn Waraqa seminary (founded in 1793).¹⁹ With his brothers As'ad (d. 1830) and Ṭannūs (1794-1861),²⁰ he worked as a copyist at the court of Emir Ḥaydar Aḥmad al-Shihābī, while a group of young scholars like Nāṣīf al-Yāzījī, Niqūlā al-Turk, and Buṭrus Karāma were employed there.²¹ From a scribe in his youth to a printer in his later career, Fāris witnessed the epistemological transition brought about in the field of knowledge production. Still, he remained loyal to his scribal profession, and was known to have favored the reed-pen over the quill in the ritual process of copying manuscripts. He even continued copying while already familiar with the printing press, as early as 1827. Thus, in Egypt he worked as a scribe at least until 1833. He persistently kept more than one hand-copied replica of his own books that later appeared in print.²² Moreover, the sensitive books he composed critiquing delicate topics such as the Bible, he preserved and circulated in hand-written form, partly to avoid persecution.²³

¹⁹ At least until December 1818, Fāris was enrolled at the seminary as a student. The colophon of one preserved manuscript copied by him at 'Ayn Waraqa attest to his presence there. Teymour Morel, "Lorsque Aḥmad Fāris al-Šidyāq copiait un traité de logique arabe chrétien," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 67 (2017-2018): 535.

²⁰ In 1859, Ṭannūs published his chronicle-history of Mount Lebanon *Akhbār al-A'yān fi Jabal Lubnān* (Beirut, 1970).

²¹ Albert Hourani, "Historians of Lebanon," in *Historical Writing on the Peoples of Asia: Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and P.M. Holt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 232-233.

²² Geoffrey Roper, "Fāris al-Shidyāq and the Transition from Scribal to Print Culture in the Middle East," in *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, ed. George N. Atiyeh (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 211.

²³ Nadia [al-Bagdadi](#), "Print, Script and the Limits of Free-thinking in Arabic Letters of the 19th Century: The Case of al-Shidyāq," *al-Abhath* 48-49 (2000/2001): 99-122.

Joining Abdulrahman Sāmī Paşa’s team as a member of the editorial staff at *al-Waqā’i’ al-Miṣriyya* earned him a life-long friendship that rescued his career on more than one occasion.²⁴ In 1859, the Paşa obtained for him an invitation to Istanbul, which he accepted after a futile collaboration with the *‘Uṭāriid* newspaper in Paris in 1858,²⁵ and an unsuccessful bid, in 1859, to become the editor of *al-Rā’id al-Tūnisī* as had been initially agreed with Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī.²⁶ Awaiting him in Istanbul was the interim vocation as proofreader at the Sultan’s press, and the prospect of issuing an Arabic-speaking journal envisaged by the Ottoman authorities as an instrument for propagating ideas and disseminating news to the Arab populations of the Empire.

He composed poetry, travel accounts, autobiography, school textbooks, and even a short treatise on music. His early manuals, probably the first of their kind, on the fundamentals of French inflection and conjugation and the basics of English grammar were intended for students. In more advanced works, he ventured into elaborating on the phonetics of every letter of the Arabic alphabet and underlined the nature of each in *Muntahā al-‘Ajab fī Khaṣā’is Lughat al-‘Arab* (1880?). In *Sirr al-Layāl fī al-Qalb wa al-*

²⁴ In 1856, the Paşa became minister of education in Istanbul. He and his son Şubhī had a crucial role in facilitating the printing of *al-Jawā’ib* at the Imperial Press. ‘Imād Al-Şulḥ, *Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq: Āthāruhu wa ‘Aşruhu* (Beirut: Dār al-Nahār li al-Nashr, 1980), 36-40. See also al-Maṭwī, *Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq: Ḥayātuhu wa Āthāruhu*, 147. ‘Alī Mubarak explained that during the founding phase of *al-Waqā’i’ al-Miṣriyya*, Shaykh Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭār, his pupil Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Umar (born in Mecca in 1795), and “al-Shaykh Aḥmad Fāris owner of *al-Jawā’ib* currently in Istanbul and his name back then was Faris Efendi al-Shidyāq,” together edited the nascent publication. ‘Alī Pasha Mubarak, *al-Khiṭāt al-Tawfiqiyya al-Jadīda li Miṣr al-Qāhira wa Muduniḥā wa Bilādiha al-Qadīma wa al-Shahīra*, vol. 3 (Cairo: Maṭba‘at Būlāq, 1889), 30.

²⁵ Mohammed B. Alwan, “The History and Publications of al-Jawā’ib Press,” *MELA Notes*, 11 (1977): 1. Published between 1858 and 1859 in Marseille, the weekly *‘Uṭāriid* (Mercury) was initiated by the French Arabist raised in Beirut Pascal-Vincent Carletti (Maṣṣūr Carletti) (1822-1892). Ṭarrāzī, 1:47; and *ibid.*, 2:315.

²⁶ Al-Şulḥ, *Āthāruhu wa ‘Aşruhu*, 83.

'*Ibdāl* (Istanbul, 1868), he sketched Arabic words, and the etymological varieties of their inverted forms.²⁷

On religious matters, and as a part of his association with the missionaries, al-Shidyāq composed and translated Biblical prayers as well as hymns. He co-translated the Bible into Arabic (1857); yet, even before translating, he was already busy composing *al-'Aks fī Mir'āt al-Tawrāt* (the Contrast in the Mirror of the Torah; Paris, 1851), in rebuttal to the innumerable *khuza' balāt* (falsities and contrarities) he observed in the Old Testament.²⁸ He furthermore wrote *Mumāḥakāt al-Ta'wīl fī Munāqadāt al-Ingīl* (also in 1851; Altercations of Interpretation in the Contradictions of the Gospel), in the same vein.²⁹

The titles of his works reflected the experiences of the author. *al-Wāsiṭā fī Ma'rifat al-Ḥwāl Mālṭa* conveyed his familiarity with Maltese history and culture based on a long sojourn on the island *Kashf al-Mukhabba' 'an Funūn Ūrubba'* (1866; reprinted, 1881), for instance meant to unveil, unravel, or diagnose the multiple facets of European civilization and its discontents largely caused by industrialization.³⁰ Enamored with Arabic language, al-Shidyāq chose *Sirr al-Layāl fī al-Qalb wa al-'Ibdāl* as the title of a volume, which revealed his in-depth and intimate explorations of Arabic lexis and his dedication in laboring for long nights composing it.

²⁷ Geoffrey Roper, "Al-Jawā'ib Press and the Edition and Transmission of Arabic Texts in the 19th Century," in *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission of Oriental Manuscripts: Proceedings of a Symposium held in Istanbul, March 28-30, 2001*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Manfred Kropp (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2007), 239.

²⁸ This work is more than 700 pages long and remains unprinted. Ṭarrāzī, 1:97.

²⁹ Rebecca Carol Johnson, "Foreword," in *Leg over Leg or The Turtle in the Tree Concerning the Fāriyāq What Manner of Creature Might He Be*, ed. and trans. by Humphrey Davies (New York: New York University Press, 2013), xv.

³⁰ El-Ariss, 63 and 84.

Although he maintained *saj'*, the classical form of Arabic rhyming prose, in the titles of his books, the essence of his arguments was far from traditional, conventional, or classical. Indeed, his magnum opus - which also appeared before the new bible was released - *al-Sāq 'ala al-Sāq fī mā Huwa al-Fāryāq* (Paris, 1855), departs from classical Arabic texts and genres, a fact that established our author as an authority in Arabic language but more importantly as a pioneer in modern Arabic literature. While many of his contemporaries remained faithful to pre-modern or conservative classicism, he leapt away, and charted his own style(s).

His project as a philologist did not confine itself to reforming Arabic language; it aimed at refining symbols and meanings to revolutionize the perception and thought of people who spoke that language. al-Shidyāq was a mastermind capable of entertaining one idea and its opposite, one thought and its contrary, one religion and its adversary, one literary genre and a myriad of its variants.³¹

His was an enigmatic personality. He led more than one life, each perhaps corresponding to a place he had been to or a view he had adopted. His biography is far from conclusive. Commentators are not in agreement about every detail or date concerning his activities. Not even his birthdate is agreed upon by all.³² His hunger for life and knowledge at large, and for money specifically, led him to the service of many lords. Like scores of 19th century intellectuals, this man literally earned his living from the ink that oozed out of his pen (or printing press). Had it not been for his love of life and fascination with women,

³¹ Al-Shidyāq was believed to have understood Syriac, Ottoman-Turkish, Maltese, French, and English. Traboulsi, "Ahmad Faris al-Shidyāq (1804-87)," 176.

³² Ibid., xii.

“Shidyāq could have been made of nothing but ink and paper” wrote one of his admiring biographers.³³ With all the seriousness he handled his business, and all the laboriousness with which he approached his studies, whether in compiling a book or composing an article, satire literally led his writings. Anti-clericalism (on the grounds of the church’s persecution of his converted brother) and combating oppression became foundational tenets of his thought which promoted social justice, human freedom, and gender equality.

This seemingly contradictory or inscrutable figure is best approached as a holistic subject. Instead of separating the translator from the lexicographer, the copyist from the printer, or the novelist from the journalist, this study argues that al-Shidyāq in private and in public was an intellectual who adapted to changing times, and trying contexts, always balancing between his financial needs, his views, and the demands of those in power (if at least to pay him). His performance in the public sphere, whether as critic or reformer, ought to be regarded as an extension of his personal biography and lifework. This follows Ṭarābulsī and ‘Azmeḥ, who among many others, argue that in “effect, Shidyāq, linguist, writer, journalist, translator, critic and artist is a holistic [*mutakāmil*] Arab intellectual of the nineteenth century.”³⁴ He indeed deliberately meant to make the title of his famous newspaper to correspond with his life of roving and wandering; hence *al-Jawā’ib*. The word, in Arabic, means roaming, roving, journeying, and connotes as well travelling news, or more lyrically ‘tidings from afar.’³⁵

³³ ‘Abbūd, *Ṣaqr Lubnān*, 127.

³⁴ Fawwāz al-Ṭarābulsī and ‘Azīz ‘Azmeḥ, *Silsilat al-A‘māl al-Majhūla: Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq* (London: Riad al-Rayyes Books Ltd., 1995), 9.

³⁵ Rebecca C. Johnson, “Foreword,” xvii.

B. *al-Jawā'ib* and the Contours of a Public Intellectual

Retracing al-Shidyāq's footsteps in the late 1850s, he must have been *en route* from Paris where he had published *al-Sāq 'ala al-Sāq* in 1855, to London where he published *A Practical Grammar of the Arabic Language* in 1856. A year later, he sold one of his notebooks on Arabic lexicography to his childhood comrade Rashīd (or Rushayd) al-Daḥdāḥ, then in the British capital.³⁶ He tried his last attempt to settle in France and thus reappeared in Marseille in 1858, where his name was associated with the publication of a short-lived newspaper, *'Uṭārid*,³⁷ for which he published a prospectus (*'I'lām*) at l'Imprimerie Orientale d'Arnaud signed by him as writer and the French Arabist Manṣūr Carletti as editor, announcing the new Arabic political periodical.³⁸ After Marseille, he surfaced in Tunis as a Muslim, renamed Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq. There, he and his former associate in Marseille, Carletti, competed for the bid to found an official Arabic newspaper. *Al-Rā'id al-Tūnsī* was, however, assigned to neither and the bid fell to a British merchant. Having journeyed from southern Europe to northern Africa in search for employment, al-Shidyāq then reconsidered his prospects in Istanbul, where he landed on the European side of the Ottoman capital.

³⁶ Khalid Breiche, "Makḥṭūṭātān Jadīdatān li Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq," *al-Ḥayāt*, May 5, 2018.

³⁷ Ṭarrāzī, 1:60.

³⁸ See "Notice Bibliographique," *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb32414769d>; and *WorldCat*, <https://www.worldcat.org/title/ilam-prospectus/oclc/44171466> (accessed June 9, 2020).

When he started for Istanbul in 1859, Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq had already established himself as a leading figure among his confrères of Arabic belletrists.³⁹ He left Tunis upon an invitation he received from the Ottoman Minister of Education, his old friend Sami Paşa. In Istanbul, Sultan Abdülmecid I granted him a sum of 7,500 *qirsh* to establish himself in the capital, and instructed the Paşa to procure an appropriate job for the esteemed newcomer.⁴⁰ After a transitory employment as proofreader, he rapidly advanced to chief Arabic proofreader (*arabî baş musahhihi*) in the *Matbaa-i Âmiri* (est. 1832), and shortly after he founded his own *al-Jawā'ib* newspaper in 1861.⁴¹

On 31 May, the first issue was released, but nine months later, lurching from one financial crisis to another, the paper had ceased publication.⁴² Nonetheless, a confluence of factors led to its re-launching only a week later, following the subsidy al-Shidyāq mustered from higher echelons of power in the Ottoman capital.⁴³ Grand Vizier Fuad Paşa, who was quick to capitalize on the nascent publication, was among the first state-officials to respond to al-Shidyāq's call for help, when the paper was stopped on its 36th issue for lack of funds

³⁹ Hisham Sharabi, *Arab Intellectuals and the West: The Formative Years, 1875-1914* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1970), 58.

⁴⁰ Abu-Manneh, 18.

⁴¹ Johann Strauss, “‘*Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute*’: Printing and Publishing in a Multi-Ethnic Society,” in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (London: Routledge, 2005), 246; and Abu-Manneh, 18.

⁴² The March, 6, 1862 issue of *Ḥadīqat al-Akḥbār* lamented that *Jawā'ib*, a paper immensely valuable to Arabic readers, had fallen out after 36 issues, because of insufficient funds, and expressed that people had failed to support such a symbol of civility (*tamaddun*) that would have proven their inclination to knowledge and literature. Najib Ali Mozahem, “Identities, Categories, and Clusters: A Study of Category Dynamics and Cluster Spanning in the Lebanese Newspaper Industry 1851-1974” (PhD diss., Durham University, 2015), 120.

⁴³ The Ottoman Government then allocated a monthly stipend of 800 *qirsh* to cover the expenses of his paper including the cost of its printing. Abu-Manneh, 18 and 19.

and poor circulation.⁴⁴ In addition, Egyptian and Tunisian officials pitched in. Henceforward, the newspaper became committed to serving an intricate network of political customers. Catering for many masters further curbed the author's style and the content of his paper. At different intervals, it was to obtain subsidies and support from the Tunisian Bey, the Khedive Ismā'īl, and from Şiddīq Khān Ḥasan, Nawāb of Bhopal in India.⁴⁵ Nonetheless, he "was generally able to balance these sources of patronage in such a way as to preserve a fair degree of independence for himself, and this was all the easier because the power of print, coupled with his unprecedented and unique skill in using it, made him indispensable to his patrons."⁴⁶ Gradually, the newspaper flourished, and a decade later the proprietor established alongside it a printing press that carried the same name. He eventually moved his offices to numbers 7 and 8 *Bab-ı âli Caddesi*.⁴⁷ There, some 45 meters opposite the Sublime Porte, *al-Jawā'ib* continued to operate until 1884.⁴⁸

As a professional journalist, he refashioned himself from a "littérateur into an intellectual, in the strict yet compounded meaning of the term: not one who merely engages in deliberation, but one who also has access to a relatively wide audience, exercises a role in the formation of "public opinion," and influences policies through his writings and

⁴⁴ 'Abbūd, 158-9; and Abu-Manneh, 19.

⁴⁵ 'Abbūd, 160.

⁴⁶ Roper, "Transition from Scribal to Print Culture," 223-4.

⁴⁷ The *Jawā'ib* Supplement 'Alāwat al-Jawā'ib, 1, no. 95 (24 Ramadan 1299/1882): 5. In the second half of the 19th century, the press of Istanbul was slowly becoming concentrated around the Avenue of the Sublime Porte, *Bab-ı âli Caddesi*, which connected the Bayezit Square to the Meydani or Hippodrome Square. Frédéric Hitzel, "Manuscripts, livres et culture livresque à Istanbul," *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée* (1999): 3.

⁴⁸ *Kanz al-Raghā'ib fī Muntakhabāt al-Jawā'ib*. ed. Salim Faris, vol. 6 (Istanbul: Maṭba'at al-Jawā'ib, 1878), 299.

standpoints.”⁴⁹ His new position, dependency on multiple sources for financing his paper, maturation and growing older in age, and extraordinary personal journey, were among the factors that rendered him less enthusiastically outspoken, and even less radical, if compared for instance to his tenor in *al-Sāq ‘alā al-Sāq*. His Ottoman phase entailed astuteness and compromise. He became more realistic and sought to reconcile between his own personal beliefs and those which represented his patrons’ and suited his audience.⁵⁰

The career of al-Shidyāq in Istanbul coincided with the successive reigns of four Sultans: Abdülmecid I (r. 1839-61), followed by his brother Abdülaziz (r. 1861-76), displaced by the former’s son, Murad V who ascended to the throne by a coup, but was swiftly dethroned for alleged insanity (r. June to August, 1876) - to the advantage of his younger brother Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909).⁵¹ The eventful 28 years of his living and working in Istanbul’s city center, involved al-Shidyāq in the practices, politics, activities, and details of everyday life there. On the pages of *al-Jawā’ib*, he discussed urban concerns ranging from the city’s infrastructure, public works, transportation, roads, hygiene, and safety (especially against fire-hazards), to the state of educational institutions, conditions of libraries, parliamentary proceedings, and nascent theatrical movements, to name only a

⁴⁹ Ṭarābulṣī and ‘Azmeḥ, 23.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 43-5.

⁵¹ Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 104.

few.⁵² Headquartered there, he “played ... a significant part in the intellectual life of the Ottoman capital for several decades thanks to his paper *Al-Jawâ'ib*.”⁵³

Al-Shidyāq socialized with the city’s intelligentsia and attended their gatherings, especially in coffeehouses. He mostly frequented the café near the Maḥmūd Paşa mosque where he used to be seen among the mixed clientele of poets, journalists, *ulema*, judges and other state officials.⁵⁴ But dearer to him were the Köprülü, Bayezit, Aya Sofia, and Nuru Osmaniye libraries.⁵⁵ There, he invested his time reading, researching, and inspecting the Arabic collections. Voicing his grievance about unmotivated library custodians, their impromptitude and negligence, and the poor conditions in which the manuscripts were preserved, he exclaimed how people in that city continued to value their coffee drinking hours over their work schedules or duties.⁵⁶ Worse were the conditions in mosque libraries where employees in charge usually opened up the places after the mid-day prayers, went on two-day weekends, and shut down for up to three months before and after Ramadan. Inhabitants of that city hardly frequented libraries because their main interest centered around coffee shops.⁵⁷ He also alluded to the disparity between Ottoman and European

⁵² Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, “Ottoman Arabs in Istanbul, 1860–1914: Perceptions of Empire, Experiences of the Metropole through the Writings of Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, and Jirjī Zaydān,” in *Imperial Geographies in Byzantine and Ottoman Space*, ed. Sahar Bazzaz, Yota Batsaki, and Dimiter Angelov (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 164.

⁵³ Johann Strauss, “Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire?,” *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6, 1 (2003): 57.

⁵⁴ Özgür Türesay, “Être intellectuel à la fin de l’Empire Ottoman: Ebüzziya Tevfik (1849-1913) et son temps” (PhD diss., Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, 2008), 116-7.

⁵⁵ Geoffrey Roper, “Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq and the Libraries of Europe and the Ottoman Empire,” *Libraries & Cultures* 33, no. 3 (1998): 242-3.

⁵⁶ Quoted and translated in *ibid.*, 243; and *al-Jawâ'ib*, no. 353, August 18, 1868, 1-2.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

ways of life by asking why Beyoğlu (Pera) had tidier, better conserved, and more orderly streets than other parts of Istanbul. The practice of comparing Ottoman to European customs and ways of life was to become a recurrent key discursive strategy in many of his editorials.

Known among Istanbulites as Aḥmad Efendi Fāris, the man was locally acknowledged and respected for his professional reputation and cultural capital. He intermittently taught Arabic language to individual students in the area. Among his novices was Mehmet Sait (d.1921), a grammarian-scholar in classical texts, translator from Arabic, and author of *Ahlak-i Hamide* (Praiseworthy Morals; Istanbul 1297/1879-80).⁵⁸ One of the earliest novels to appear in Turkish, *Taaşşuk-i Tal'at ve Fitnat* (The Love of Tal'at and Fitnat) by lexicographer Şemseddin Sāmi (1850-1904),⁵⁹ was published by the *Jawā'ib* Press in 1872.⁶⁰ When in 1896 Sāmi Bey completed his *Kamusü l-A'lâm*, it comprised an entry on 'Fāris eş-Şidyāk.'⁶¹ Among the few books the press printed in Turkish language were the 17th century *Divan-ı Sabri Şakir* (reprinted in 1879),⁶² and *Ameriķa Tarih-i Keşfi* (1880), Abdulġaffar Anis Efendi's translation of William Robertson's *History of America*.⁶³ It moreover reprinted *Hukuk-ı Milet* (Laws of Nations) by Austrian dragoman and Oriental

⁵⁸ Melis Hafez, "The Lazy, the Idle, the Industrious: Discourse and Practice of Work and Productivity in Late Ottoman Society" (PhD diss., University of California L.A., 2012), 61.

⁵⁹ Sāmi also translated *Les Misérables* of Victor Hugo into Turkish in 1880. Ibid., 244.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 229.

⁶¹ Ibid., 246.

⁶² Geoffrey Roper, "Al-Jawā'ib Press and the Edition and Transmission of Arabic Texts," 240.

⁶³ Strauss, "Who Read What," 56.

scholar Ottocar von Schlechta-Wssehrd (1825-1894).⁶⁴ In 1878, coinciding with Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnsī's appointment as Grand Vizier in Istanbul, the *Jawā'ib* press published Ismā'īl Haqqī's *Mukaddime-i Akvām el-Masālik fī Marifet ul-Ahvāl al-Memālik*, the Turkish translation of Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnsī's introduction to his 1867 *Aqwam al-Masālik fī Ma'rifat Ahwāl al-Mamālik*.⁶⁵ In addition, the newspaper section on internal Ottoman news acted as a platform to numerous Turkish writers. Even the articles of radical activist Ali Suavi (1838-1878) on the subject of education and knowledge featured in *al-Jawā'ib*.⁶⁶ Lastly, reflecting his political connections in the capital, he was directed by *Maarif Nâzırı* Safwat Paşa to compile a simplified Arabic grammar manual. Later on, Mehmet Şükrî's 1887 translation of Fāris's *Ghunyat al-Ṭālib wa Munyat al-Rāghib* (1872)⁶⁷ into Turkish, was adopted as a grammar schoolbook.⁶⁸

In its heyday, and at various points during the 1870s and 1880s, the bi-weekly *al-Jawā'ib* was distributed by some bookshops on *Bab-ı âli Caddesi*, such as Arakel Kütüphanesi owned by Arakel Agha Tozlian, better known as *kitabçı* Arakel, and at Garabed Keshishian's nearby bookstore. It was also obtainable from the shop of Sarkis

⁶⁴ Nawfal Ni'matallah Nawfal translated this work into Arabic as *Huqūq al-'Umam* (Beirut, 1873). Strauss, "Who Read What," 45 and 56.

⁶⁵ Daniel Newman, "Myths and Realities in Muslim Alterist Discourse: Arab Travellers in Europe in the Age of the *Nahda* (19th c.)," *Chronos*, no. 6 (2002): 25 and 60.

⁶⁶ Aaron Johnson, "A Revolutionary Young Ottoman: Ali Suavi (1839-1878)" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2012), 69.

⁶⁷ The author indicates that it was written upon the proposition of *Nazir al-Maarif* Safwat Paşa. Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, *Ghunyat al-Ṭālib wa Munyat al-Rāghib fī al-Nahū wa al-Şarf wa Hurūf al-Ma'ānī* (Istanbul, 1871), 1.

⁶⁸ Strauss, "*Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute*," 229 and 246.

Agha *al-ḥallāq* (the barber) in Bayezit.⁶⁹ Arabic, Turkish, and Persian books published at *al-Jawā'ib* Press were sold also at Tozlian's. In addition, a sample was displayed in the nearby *al-Maktaba al-Sharqiyya* (the Oriental Bookshop) located in 12 *Bab-ı āli*, as well as the *Kütüpkhane Osmaniye* located at the “bridgehead towards the Istanbul side.”⁷⁰

While al-Shidyāq succeeded in thoroughly integrating himself into Istanbul's social and cultural fabric, his intellectual interest and output went beyond the imperial capital. In effect, his newspaper, the third to appear in Arabic in Istanbul, after the shortlived *Mir'āt al-Aḥwāl* (1855), and *al-Salṭana* (1857), was generally oriented towards Muslims and Arabs outside the metropolis.⁷¹ Thus, it was to Arab countries, mainly Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt, and Tunis that most contributing authors belonged. In 1861, Beirut journalist-poet Ḥāj Ḥusayn Bayhum (1833-1881)⁷² composed a poem (dated 1278 h.), marking the commencement of *al-Jawā'ib*.⁷³ Before long, writings by

⁶⁹ Ibid., 248.

⁷⁰ *Fihrasat Maṭbū'āt al-Jawā'ib* (Constantinople: al-Jawā'ib Press, 1888), 40.

⁷¹ During the Crimean War, *Mir'āt al-Aḥwāl* (founded in 1855) was the first Arabic newspaper to appear in Istanbul. It survived for a little more than a year, when its editor Rizkallah Hassūn managed to upset the Ottoman authorities effectively leading himself into exile. The second newspaper *al-Salṭana* (1857) lived less than its predecessor, as its founder Iskandar Shalhūb soon suspended its publication. Ṭarrāzī, 1:55. Both Ḥassūn and Shalhūb failed to deliver or perform the role envisaged for them by the Porte. Al-Shidyāq was more apt in the domain of propaganda, and he expressed the political concerns, in their official versions. In this regard, *al-Jawā'ib* was an efficient machine in the propagation of ideas pertaining to the Ottoman Empire. This earned him Ḥassūn's wrath which was directed from London in the form of a short-lived pamphlet (only two issues appeared), *Rajūm wa Ghassāq ila Fāris al-Shidyāq*, dedicated to undermine al-Shidyāq and his paper's efforts to polish the Ottoman public image. At the time *Jawā'ib* was among “the few publications which survived the perils of infancy.” Ami Ayalon, *Language and Change in the Arab Middle East: The Evolution of Modern Arabic Political Discourse* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 14.

⁷² Jens Hansen, “The Effect of Ottoman Rule on *Fin de Siècle Beirut*; The Province of Beirut, 1888-1914” (D.Phil. diss., St. Antony's College, University of Oxford, 2001), 160 and 169.

⁷³ Muḥamad A. Ḥasan, *Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq* (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya li al-Ta'līf wa al-Tarjama, 1968), 151.

contributing authors like Francīs al-Marrāsh, ‘Abd al-Hādī Najā al-Abyārī, ‘Alī al-Laythī, Nu‘mān Allūsī Zāda, Sālīm Bū Ḥājib and Maḥmūd Ṣafwat al-Sā‘ātī began to appear in *al-Jawā’ib*.⁷⁴ Its issues reached Arabs and Muslims as far west as Marrakesh and south as Zanzibar. It was sold by agents or representatives (*wukalā’*) in Tripoli, Beirut, Cairo, Tunis, in addition to Malta and London.⁷⁵

The apex of influence which gave *al-Jawā’ib* both fame and notoriety was the 1882 role it played against the ‘Urābī revolt in Egypt. That year, between July and September, the name of *al-Jawā’ib* was reproduced at an unprecedented rate in the leading newspapers of the day. They copied and reproduced *al-Jawā’ib*’s reports on events in Egypt.⁷⁶ They also reported on the crucial publication of the Sultan’s firman proclaiming the mutiny of Aḥmad ‘Urābī and the impact of its publication on the course of events.

Up until July 18, 1882, *al-Jawā’ib* was enticing the Egyptians to expect an Ottoman military intervention to prevent the fall of Cairo after Alexandria.⁷⁷ As of August 8, a marked change in tone became evident in the assessment of ‘Urābī’s actions. The paper condemned ‘Urābī’s unlawful imprisonment of Cairene notables, Azharite scholars, and

⁷⁴ Philip Sadgrove, “*al-Jawā’ib* (1861-84),” in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London: Routledge, 1998), 1:413.

⁷⁵ Ami Ayalon, *The Arabic Print Revolution: Cultural Production and Mass Readership* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 130.

⁷⁶ In addition to *The New York Times*, July 26, 1882 in America, *The Times* July 19, 1882 to September 19, 1882 in Britain, the *Berliner Tageblatt*, May 5, 1882, the *Börsen-Halle*, August 15, 1882 and September 28, 1882; and the *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, August 15, 1882 and September 14, 1882 in Germany all covered the affair and reproduced *al-Jawā’ib*’s stories. (The German newspapers are accessible at <https://classic.europeana.eu/>)

⁷⁷ Reuter’s Telegrams, *The Times*, July 18, 1882, 7.

prominent bureaucrats.⁷⁸ The rebellion was not officially denounced by Istanbul until a week before it was crushed by the British at Tal al-Kabir on September 13, 1882.⁷⁹ Henceforth, the newspaper assumed an openly anti-‘Urābī stance, and suggested on September 16 the confiscation of rebel properties, especially those of its extremely wealthy leaders to be used to pay indemnities for the damages they had wreaked.⁸⁰ Additionally, the reputation of the newspaper was blemished amongst many Arab patriotic circles for allegedly receiving a £1,000 from the British Embassy in Istanbul and publishing the Sultan’s decree denouncing the insubordination (*‘uṣyān*) of Aḥmad ‘Urābī Pasha. The moment when his three main benefactors, the Sultan Abdülhamid, the Khedive Tawfiq, and Lord Dufferin the British Ambassador to Istanbul required his propaganda most, al-Shidyāq obliged.⁸¹ So, whether acting out of conviction or behaving as a mercenary Shidyāq was left with little choice but to publish the firman.

The ‘Urābī episode made *al-Jawā’ib* explore the the limits of its independence. The newspaper also experienced the perils of meddling in or existing at the intersection point of empires. Both the Ottomans and the British pressed for the translation and dissemination of the firman, in Arabic. The newspaper took the case against ‘Urābī further. Reporting that he and nine of his associates were deported to Ceylon, *al-Jawā’ib* hoped that in their exile, the mutinous officers “would ponder about the calamities they brought to

⁷⁸ “Arabi’s Dictatorship,” *The Times*, August 19, 1882, 8.

⁷⁹ Abdulrazzak Patel, *The Arab Nahḍa: The Making of the Intellectual and Humanist Movement* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 133.

⁸⁰ Reuter’s Agency, “The Crisis in Egypt,” *The Times*, September 19, 1882, 5.

⁸¹ Ḥasan, 153; and al-Maṭwī, *Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq*, 162.

their own country.”⁸² This conceited man (*hadhā al-maghrūr*), *al-Jawā`ib* continued, seemed unaware that even Egyptian soldiers accused him of selling his country out to the British.⁸³ *Al-Jawā`ib*, actually persisted in hunting down the `Urābīsts, thus fully embracing the Khedival position.⁸⁴ It reproduced the Egyptian government’s announcement of a 1,000 Egyptian Liras reward for anyone that assisted in arresting `Abdullah al-Nadīm and Muḥammad `Ubayd.⁸⁵ According to *The Times* correspondent in Calcutta, the mutineers (al-`uṣāt) had reached Colombo, and were busy learning English.⁸⁶

Perhaps, an unexpected consequence of the `Urābī episode was al-Shidyāq’s return to Arabic language, but this time not without political nuance. He regathered his commitment to Arabic as well as Arabs by sowing the early seeds of modern Arab identity in the late Ottoman period, despite the preceding setback. Within weeks of the `Urābī affair, *al-Jawā`ib* began redirecting its orientation towards a key Arab cause as it began calling for the Sultan’s recognition of the Arabs of the Ottoman Empire as a weighty group.

In January 1883, an article in *al-Jawā`ib*, that was quickly reproduced in French and British newspapers, declared that “the Sultan should take into consideration the feeling of the Arab population, who are wounded by the policy of England and regard it as threatening Egyptian independence.” It further condemned the arbitrary dismissal of many

⁸² “`Urābī wa al-`Urabiyyūn,” *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 1117, January 9, 1883, 1.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ “I`lān `an Nadhārat al-Dākhiliyya fi Miṣr,” *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 1116, January 1, 1883, 3.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 1119, January 23, 1883, 3.

Egyptian functionaries.⁸⁷ On May 24 of the same year, Aḥmad Fāris completed the introduction he composed for the Būlāq reprint of the medieval oeuvre of Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Mandhūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*. Arabic language became once again al-Shidyāq’s prime focus. In its later years the newspaper expressed its most advanced arguments about Arab identity and the distinctiveness of Arabic.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ “Les Evénements D’Egypte,” *Le Temps*, February 2, 1883; and “England, Turkey, And Egypt,” *The Manchester Guardian*, February 1, 1883, 8.

⁸⁸ Abu-Manneh, 20.

CHAPTER II

CHARTING THE WORLD OF *AL-JAWĀ'IB*: ITS EARLY SOCIO-CULTURAL AND POLITICAL VIEWS

A. An Over-reading into the First Issue of *al-Jawā'ib*

In its current preserved form, parts of the very first issue of *al-Jawā'ib*, available at the Atatürk Kitaplığı in Istanbul, are virtually unreadable. The document was partly dampened and damaged over time. Except for the cover-page, ink on the remaining three pages has become smudged and faded into an illegible calligraphic font of the original reed-pen handwriting. However, a closer look coupled with a comparison of some of the content to the later reprinted text in volume five of *Kanz al-Raghā'ib*, renders most of the content of issue one accessible.

The masthead informs us that it was published once every week and translated from Turkish and *Ifrinji* (European) into Arabic. It was sold for 150 *qirsh* in Istanbul, in addition to a postage fee (*al-mu'allak*). A single issue was sold for 3.5 *qirsh*, while advertisements cost 5 *qirsh* each, although it was announced in the masthead that there was “no price on news useful to all people.” Following the list of prices, the editor clarified that given that the project was conceived out of a spontaneous impulse (*faltah*), the names of distributors in the foreign countries could not be listed yet.¹

Issue One was inaugurated with a statement of gratitude and salutation to the Sultan. It exulted: “just like people huddle round the table of merry ceremonies, round the

¹ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 1, May 31, 1861, 1.

table of literature instead of singing or drinking we ought to thank our ruler.” Following the panegyric there was a briefing on the 1856 Treaty of Paris “that consists of the most important trends in current political affairs.”² Next, a broad treatise on translation by the editor of *al-Jawāʿib* followed. He argued that Arabic would not have evolved had it not been for the method of its founding fathers who had carved new lexis out of many words and merged them, as a genre of elision (*ikhtiṣār*). The writer narrated in one long passage several stories, listed many book titles, named a few figures and cities all to make his argument, and delivered a concise Arabic lesson in an exercise that included poetry, conjugation, derivatives, etymology, and phonology.³ He attributed his school of Arabic (*madhhab*) to a long pedigree of scholars traced back to al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,⁴ and Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Fāris. Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq then called for Arabic lexicographers and linguists to unite their efforts and form a council for promoting the affairs of the Arabic language.

He also implored: “I wish a group of *littérateurs* would gather to invent new terms that would fill the gap in scientific terms, and neologisms that we find in Frankish books, such as telegraph and gas.”⁵ He argued that names should be given to events and matters unseen or unheard of by the predecessors (*al-aslāf*). Arabization (*taʿrīb*) was an indispensable method in the past and remained essential for the growth of Arabic. Adding

² *al-Jawāʿib*, no. 1, May 31, 1861, 1.

³ In general, the passages in which the author dwelled on philology and lexicography habitually developed into a *tour de force* demonstrating al-Shidyāq’s skills and command of Arabic language.

⁴ In 1882, *al-Jawāʿib* reprinted his *al-Tuḥfa al-Bahiyya wa al-Ṭurfa al-Shahiyya* (Istanbul: Maṭbaʿat al-Jawāʿib, 1302/1882).

⁵ *al-Jawāʿib*, no. 1, May 31, 1861, 1.

many adjectives to explain a word merely prolonged a phrase and wasted time, especially in an age that demanded civility (*takhalluq*) and encouraged development (*taraqqī*). It posited that short, crisp, and clear signification facilitated the utilization (*nantaḥi*) of everything novel and contemporary.⁶ In line, of course, with his profession as a writer, al-Shidyāq sought to expand the diction of Arabic language by creating a lighter, dynamic, more adaptive, and shortened form of phrasing and communication. *al-Jawā'ib* explained the importance of translating foreign words and ideas into Arabic. Much more, it recast the language to suit a new medium.

Yet, without doing away with traditional genres, the newspaper then reproduced a poem in classical Arabic verse praising Istanbul, the Sultan, and his state. *Al-Jawā'ib* described how admirable the city of Istanbul was. It addressed the city by its classical Arabic toponym *Furūq*, as the 15th century *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* of al-Fayrūzabādī referred to Constantinople. This geographical renaming made it smoother than Islambol to mold the proper noun into Arabic verses of poetry, argued *al-Jawā'ib*, and might have meant to bring closer the Arabic connection to the place. The author portrayed a welcoming country and was optimistic about the prospects of living there, highlighting the fact that Istanbul was a city of pleasant weather, fertile land, and abundant resources.

Addressing Sultan Abdūlmecid, as the just, merciful, and invincible, *al-Jawā'ib* compared him to an unwavering sword and a face outshining the stars. More importantly, it boasted that he had “revived the state of the Caliphate (*dawlat al-khilāfa*), long after its bones had turned to dust.” There, the paper explained *dawla* as a cyclical and dynamic

⁶ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 1, May 31, 1861, 1.

process (indeed unlike the static conception of the state).⁷ The names of Mustafa Reşid Paşa and Mehmet Emin Âli Paşa were alluded to metaphorically as the Sultan's rationality (Reşid) and confidante (Emin), or mind and arm, while their mode of governance was described to be consultative (*shūra*).

Attempting to problematize and theorize the concept of the state, the editor situated *al-dawla* (the state) against *al-ra'iyya* (literally flock),⁸ and the Ottoman state versus other, especially European, states. Thus, *al-Jawā'ib* portrayed a world ridden with wars and rebellions, often instigated by ignorant, insubordinate, and mutinous subjects. In the struggle for power the newspaper sided with the state, the old regime, or the status quo. This must have been both realistic and convenient given that the Ottoman state was suffering a mixture of such upheavals. News focusing on such dramatic events and on countries in which bidders for power and opponents of states challenged the existing order, were amplified only to justify subsequent government suppression of mutinies. This narrative aimed at warning the subjects against insurgency as well as idealizing harmony, stability, order, uninterrupted commerce, and peaceful labor. The realm of the political and governmental belonged to the state, whereas the realm of industriousness and laboring belonged to the public. The state commanded and people had to obey or else face disciplinary measures. This was what *al-Jawā'ib* from its early pages conveyed as a message to the public. Ignorant subjects rebelled; states guided, led, educated, and

⁷ Al-Shidyāq referred his readers to a book of his, *Sirr al-Layāl fī al-Qalb wa al-Ibdāl*, in which he expounded on the meaning of *dawla*, its derivation from *dāla* (to turn) and its connotation of cyclical (*dawra*) rotation, exactly as in the example of days turning by. *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 1, May 31, 1861, 2.

⁸ Sharabi, 12.

disciplined. This was the basic foundation of the balance between duties and rights for a social contract that seemed viable in that age, a strong shade of absolutism, reminiscent of the European Divine Right of Kings, or Absolutist Tsarizm. As per *al-Jawā`ib*, the temporal and spiritual powers of the Sultan-Caliph were absolute. The subjects (*al-ra`iyya*) were not seen as a source of legitimacy, he was. Security, welfare, rights and privileges in the state and the social order were what the ruler granted to his subordinates, in recognition of their full obedience.⁹

Interestingly, in his debut issue, al-Shidyāq, a native of Mount Lebanon, discreetly dissociated himself, in a couplet, from the Maronite and Christian's claims during their 1860 civil war. More importantly, he viewed those conflicts in Damascus, Beirut, and Mount Lebanon as a collision caused by the rising negative impact of foreign powers in an emerging world order. Here the editor again emphasized the term *dawla* implying that the Ottoman Empire was a modern and central state. Siding with the Ottoman government, and in the manner of a disclaimer, al-Shidyāq declared that the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon were to be blamed for the 1860 events. There, in rhyme, he sternly told the factions of Lebanon (*al-aqwām fī Lubnān*) that the Sultan, bereaved by their plight, acted merely in fulfillment of his duties, mobilized his troops to reduce their suffering, and to protect them as subjects. He concluded that their insurgency or strife (*fitna*), resulted from the bad behavior of ungrateful and ignorant subjects, who invited foreign intervention – an accusation often directed against popular uprisings in the Ottoman official discourse.¹⁰

⁹ Sharabi, 12.

¹⁰ Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 48.

The paper chose to approach political matters by furnishing the reader with the post-1856 Treaty of Paris international settlement. The editor explained the pertinence of the Treaty in shaping the parameters of world politics as understood at his time. Its terms and articles, freshly translated by al-Shidyāq into Arabic, were meant to educate and inform the reader about international affairs. The heftier content of the newborn newspaper focused entirely on that subject, occupying the remaining two to three pages. The Ottoman Empire, depicted as one among several imperial powers, had agreed to the 34 terms of that Treaty which effectively reflected the military realities resulting from the Crimean War (October 1853–February 1856), an event historians regard as a prototype of modern warfare. The Treaty ended eighteen months of fierce combat and permitted the Ottomans to restore lands initially lost to the Russians in Kars, as well as permitting further European involvement in the Ottoman lands. Reflecting on the agreement at the time, it is noteworthy to consider how Karl Marx observed that the supremacy in Europe passed from Saint Petersburg to Paris, after that war, and believed that Turkey did not emerge victorious.¹¹ His views were contrary to the optimism of *al-Jawā'ib*; he argued that the peace settlement established a sham peace to end a sham war against Russia.

Following the translation of the Treaty text, *al-Jawā'ib* then introduced in brief entries the latest information it had gathered about the signatory states, with England coming first in the list and concluding the first issue. Indeed, ending the narrative with the last sentences about England must have ignited the curiosity and the imagination of whoever read that for the very first time. In profiling the major states and countries, the

¹¹ Eleanor Marx Aveling and Edward Aveling, eds., *The Eastern Question: A Reprint of Letters Written 1853-1856 dealing with the events of the Crimean War, by Karl Marx* (London: S. Sonnenschein & co, 1897), 611.

newspaper mapped a global order hitherto little known to the Arabic speaking public. The story of *al-Jawā'ib* continued thereafter to weave interactive comparisons between the Ottomans and their European counterparts. Over the next 4,000 pages or so, it continued to feed the imagination of its readers and inform their curiosity about the rest of the world, particularly Europe. Thus it was no surprise, given its location in an imperial capital, its editor's global experience, and its mediatory role in translating European news, that al-Shidyāq's *al-Jawā'ib* narrated a worldview unfamiliar to many other Arabic newspapers in Beirut, Cairo, or Tunis.¹²

The world geography of *al-Jawā'ib* was first drawn based on the most influential countries that fought the war and signed the Treaty of 1856. Thus, Britain, France, Austria, Russia, and the other signatory states featured as the main powers playing on the geopolitical arena. The paper sorted historical, geographical, and demographic data about them in a manner that allowed each entry to appear systematically similar and comparative to the others. Beginning with Britain, it explained that this was the name of England, Scotland, and Wales united, and elaborated:

Celtics, the ancestors of the Welsh, were the earliest inhabitants of the island which was known as Albion; the Welsh, still, continued to deride being called English. In 1542, England and Wales became united. The Welsh, courageous and valiant, spoke a language similar to that of Bretagne in France, but their notables and literati spoke English. Scotland was annexed in 1707; its capital city,

¹² For instance, the mere difference between the experience of Europe by the authors of *Takhlīs al-Ibrīz* and *al-Ṣāq 'alā al-Ṣāq* will continue to clarify in the process of elaborating the sharply divergent views of Europe which the two thinkers had visited within roughly 20 years apart. Judgment notwithstanding between the production and impact of both, this differentiation brings us closer to understanding how Raḍwā 'Āshūr saw in al-Shidyāq a more possible modernity - simply because he perceived, analyzed, explained, and transmitted modernity along a more viable, indeed practical and pragmatic trajectory. Other authors were not, at the time, that lucidly pragmatic.

Edinburgh, was one of Europe's most delightful cities. With Ireland joining in 1801, the region became officially known as Great Britain and Ireland.¹³

As for their origins, the editor maintained that the Irish might have descended from Phoenician stock. Although the presentation of Britain was based on some factual information, it was noticeable how *al-Jawā'ib* underscored the socio-cultural and historical differences within that country. As if, to emphasize difference and magnify contradictions, it pointed out that even within the most sophisticated societies, they existed. This approach in *al-Jawā'ib* was to become a handy strategy of argumentation, whenever it discussed salient themes concerning local or global affairs. This allowed the newspaper a certain leeway in spinning news and generating debate.

B. The World of *al-Jawā'ib*: Internal, Foreign, and Miscellaneous News

Like most newspapers from the 19th century, *al-Jawā'ib* had the propensity to organize news into internal and foreign sections. Internal news meant Ottoman news, versus the rest of the world, which was referred to as outside, foreign, or other. In its second issue, the newspaper assigned sections for *al-Akḥbār al-Dākhiliyya* (local), *Akḥbār Shattā* (miscellaneous), and *Ḥawādith Matjariyya* (commercial events or dealings). By the third issue, the paper began to assume its fuller form. The section on internal news adopted the subtitle *al-Ḥawādith al-Dākhiliyya* meaning local events, instead of local news. (This was followed by *al-Ḥawādith al-Khārijiyya*, external events). In the same way, *Akḥbār Shattā* was modified into *Ḥawādith Shattā*. The third issue was the first to be machine

¹³ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 1, May 31, 1861, 4.

printed so that the newspaper started to assume a more elegant, legible, and modern appearance in comparison to the first two hand-written ones. This issue marked the shift from scribal to print form. An extra list of currency exchange rates and another relating to the prices of silk were given.

Three trails corresponding to world politics, Arabic language, and Ottoman affairs extended from the early issues and continued to evolve throughout the course of *al-Jawā'ib*'s years. In world politics, *al-Jawā'ib*, by gathering news from international periodicals, charted a map of the geographies of conflict, industry, colonies, slavery, and trade across the globe. Incorporating modernity and progress into the Arabic language was an essential role it played. Furthermore, the newspaper espoused a statist approach, above all towards Ottoman politics and internal affairs. It was pacifist in its political outlook and had an attitude of discouraging rebellious and violent behavior. It believed in socio-political change from above. State-led reforms were for *al-Jawā'ib* the ideal strategy for progress and development.

1. Internal News: The Ottoman Empire and its Arab Provinces

Al-Jawā'ib celebrated the Ottoman caliph and supported his reign aimed at reviving the caliphate.¹⁴ It attempted to promote the Ottoman state as the exemplar of Islamic just, merciful, and egalitarian rule. In it, Ottoman statesmen were depicted as invincible, far-sighted, and popular.¹⁵ Peace, stability, and reform were the paramount

¹⁴ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 1, May 31, 1861, 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

duties of the state. This, in turn, promoted public interest and fostered welfare. Failure and destruction were what awaited rebels, *fitnawīyyīn* (rabble-rousers), and *muta ‘aṣṣibīn* (fanatics). Those, the state punished and suppressed by resort to military force.¹⁶ This was a formula *al-Jawā’ib* applied to a world where old and new states were accommodating to social and economic pressures from within and from without. This formulation evolved into a universal doctrine whereby rebels in Montenegro or Mount Lebanon were compared to unruly rebels in the Greek islands. As such, *al-Jawā’ib* implied they all equally deserved to be called troublemakers as they invited the wrath of the state. This doctrine fueled a discourse that praised state power and dismissed revolutionary activities as disruptive to peace, utility, and trade. An accompanying characteristic to this discourse was to typically blame the rebels for being ignorant and hail the ruler for being sagacious, caring, and disciplining.¹⁷

In narrating the deeds and activities of the Ottoman administration, which it preferred to call the Sublime State (*al-dawla al-‘aliyya*), *al-Jawā’ib* attributed to it all the features of a functional and advanced government. It disparaged foreign criticisms and condemned local ones. For example, in reaction to the allegations of unequal treatment of its minority populations, *al-Jawā’ib* highlighted how tolerant, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-lingual the Ottoman Empire had become. It revered the kindness with which the state reacted to the distress of refugees, minorities, and destitute populations. In other words, innocence was assumed when describing the Sublime State and its policies. It was

¹⁶ *al-Jawā’ib*, no. 2, June 7, 1861, 2.

¹⁷ “Fī al-Ḥilm,” *al-Jawā’ib*, no. 12, August 16, 1861, 1-2.

an innocence that mismatched the sophistication with which the newspaper followed up on international or non-Ottoman developments.

Ceremonial distribution of the sultanic *nishāns* (insignia) of the *Majīdī* Order, as well as the more casual social events such as the weddings of sons and daughters of high-ranking officials, were recurrent top news that featured under the internal events section. Under the same rubric appeared the reports on the dispatching of troops as well as exchange of diplomatic visits.¹⁸ Neutral as the order of stories proceeded, such reports were infused with politically vested matters. Thus, the political biddings for power in Syria by Fuad Paşa and efforts to reinstate Ottoman authority there, were inscribed within the frame of Ottoman charity. *Al-Jawā`ib* reported that the Ottoman Treasury dispatched 25,000 bags consisting of twelve thousand million *qirsh* to be distributed for the relief of the Christians (*al-naṣārā*) and it was being said that the generous Fuad Paşa had been gathering a further fifty thousand million *qirsh* to be distributed with the rest.¹⁹ In the logic of *al-Jawā`ib*, the state's generous relief interventions extended to all ethnicities and sects. So, dwelling on the positive characteristics of the government, it told how Russian and Kirgiz pilgrims returning from Jerusalem (al-Quds al-Sharīf) seemed to appreciate the treatment they had received from government officials there.²⁰ Another news highlight was that the police cleared away the money exchangers (*ṣarrāfīn*) who used the city streets for their

¹⁸ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 2, June 7, 1861, 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

transactions without even paying any taxes although they profitted up to 40% in their business, a fact *al-Jawā'ib* regarded as an infraction of the state's well-being.²¹

An article, translated from *The Chronicle* on Montenegro and its 120,000 inhabitants, presented the region as harboring ambitions for independence and expansion despite being isolated from its nearest maritime outlet, the Adriatic Sea. This explained their belligerent acts and transgressions against the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire and Austria. They had mustered support from Russia since the days of Peter the Great, but relations were severed with Emperor Nicholas I after the latest Crimean war in which they failed to demonstrate any support to the Russians. *Al-Jawā'ib* expected that the troops of Sirdar Omar Paşa would put an end to their mutinous and bellicose behavior. The newspaper anticipated a swift success of his mission and warned the Montenegrin rebels that it would be better for subjects to attend to their work and interests rather than resist their state as savages (*hamaj*). As *hamaj*, the Montenegrin rebels required *ta'dīb* or disciplining (as if he had the scenario of Mount Lebanon in mind).²²

Instability and civil unrest were being singled out by the newspaper as forms of aberrant behavior. After news from conflict zones in Montenegro, there came news of disturbances in Greece, Italy, and other places. One example was how the Greek Seven Islands, under British protection since the 1815 Paris Treaty, were witnessing popular

²¹ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 2, June 7, 1861, 2.

²² *Ibid.*

unrest and demanded joining the Morea.²³ A citation from *Galignani* warned that political squabbles in Athens had reached an alarming point.²⁴

Al-Jawā`ib channeled its main arguments as if all the news of the world were to warn against *fitna* and as if the value of the state rested on the stability and peace it provided. Like *Nafīr Suryā*, *al-Jawā`ib* had its share in warning the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon of *fitna*. The one-year difference in the release of these two publications, does not alone account for the divergence of their views on the Mount Lebanon crisis. *Nafīr Suryā* was, in a nutshell, al-Bustānī's call from Beirut to overcome disunity and to propose a secular and communal solution to disaccord. It assumed rather unionist and nationalist implications.²⁵ From Constantinople, *al-Jawā`ib* took a different bent on the subject of Mount Lebanon. As put by Hisham Sharabi, al-Bustānī at the time was in search for a Syrian identity to respond to civil strife, while al-Shidyāq was contemplating a broader Ottoman framework to approach the issue.²⁶ al-Shidyāq was instinctively inclined to side against the Maronites of Mount Lebanon, driven by his unsettled score with their church that once killed his brother and left him a renegade. Now a Muslim residing and working in Istanbul, he had no reason to take their side.

²³ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 2, June 7, 1861, 3.

²⁴ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 4, June 21, 1861, 2.

²⁵ See Jens Hanssen and Hicham Safieddine, *The Clarion of Syria: A Patriot's Call against the Civil War of 1860* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019).

²⁶ Sharabi, 65, 115 and 119. "Shidyāq, for example, came close to forming an idea of Ottoman nationalism based on administrative reform and on the brotherhood of all subjects within the Ottoman Empire regardless of religion or ethnic origin." Ibid., 65.

A glossy picture of life, nonetheless, under a just government in Istanbul often covered the internal news section. Al-Shidyāq celebrated Ottoman religious tolerance, the best proof for which was the high public positions of many Christian Ottoman figures.²⁷ Also, stories of philanthropy, educational ventures, and governmental devotion to the welfare of people were sprinkled between news passages. The displaced, the elderly, and the sick seemed to be in the good care of those in charge. *Al-Jawā`ib* illustrated this in numerous examples. “The Grand Vizier paid careful attention to the issue of cotton planting in the kingdom and assigned a special commission to follow up its affairs,” was one such example.²⁸ A sentence announced that a Khairallah Efendi had discussed with the government his views about establishing a medical school that would enroll students from all social categories; and upon their graduation, they would be licensed to practice medicine outside the military domain.²⁹ In another example, a certain philanthropist was said to have donated 100,000 *qirsh* to construct a hospice for sick women which was to be annexed to the *maristān* of Izmir.³⁰

Similarly, a passage told how the generous and supportive government granted each Tatar refugee family two oxen and four portions of grains for planting.³¹ Reports about displaced populations multiplied upon refugees arriving from Sevastopol to Istanbul and their hosting in places like *Dār al-Funūn* or their relocation to the provinces. Others

²⁷ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 2, June 7, 1861, 3.

²⁸ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 3, June 14, 1861, 1.

²⁹ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 5, June 28, 1861, 1.

³⁰ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 2, June 7, 1861, 4.

³¹ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 3, June 14, 1861, 1.

focused on exiled individuals like those sent away from the Greek Seven Islands to Corfu, or on groups exiled from Morea and the other islands.³² The persistence of such news was probably because more dislocated groups were being mutually expelled from regions involved in the post-Crimean War settlement.

2. Foreign News: The World with Emphasis on Europe

The world of *al-Jawā'ib*, beyond Ottoman lands, was conceived of as a map of foreign kingdoms, states, and empires, some in direct contact with the Ottoman world, and others, the more remote ones like China or America, were introduced largely within the frame of interaction with Europe. Thus, China, written about as a kingdom that was opening up to the rest of the world, was then receiving the first European diplomatic missions. America was examined through the Spanish, French, and British influences on its future, which nonetheless already promised to outshine major European powers in its human and natural resources and its industrial prospects. Canada, then, was only introduced in *al-Jawā'ib* as a country under British rule.³³

Europe itself was a site of contention and competition between its major powers, while Greece, Italy, and Poland were in turmoil. Russia, the arch enemy of the Ottoman Empire, appeared powerful yet struggling with the challenges of progressing while shedding off serfdom. France and Britain, Istanbul's allies and supporters against Russia,

³² *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 4, June 21, 1861, 1.

³³ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 5, June 28, 1861, 2.

were perhaps the most cited countries in *al-Jawā`ib*. Repeatedly, we read in the newspaper how their performance in Europe and worldwide -in the Middle East more specifically- was propelled by both countries' competing leverage in world affairs. Glimpses into their race for supremacy were reflected in the newspaper at numerous instances. In one, *al-Jawā`ib* announced that "alarmed by intelligence reports that France had been constructing steel-shielded ships in its docks, England ordered a speedier upgrading of its own naval fleet to restore the balance of power."³⁴

Other countries, such as those in North Africa, were depicted on the pages of *al-Jawā`ib* through a European lens. For example, Morocco was included under the rubric of foreign news and perceived as a site of Spanish-French military and colonial rivalry. Algeria was a French colony and a site of colonial ventures. Utility, prosperity, and progress were the professed ideals propelling international relations. Transport, trade, and commerce were the paramount international land and maritime transactions. Therefore, stability, order, and undisrupted flow of business became the maxims of a functional society or state.

The Chinese government declared from Beijing its reversal of old policies that denied foreigners entry to the kingdom, *The Times* reported. For this purpose, the Chinese assigned a bureau to administer foreign affairs. Chinese dissident groups had a particular liking for foreign goods and people.³⁵ The French and English states established diplomatic ties and opened their embassies, raised their flags in Beijing, the capital of the Chinese

³⁴ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 5, June 28, 1861, 4.

³⁵ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 3, June 14, 1861, 4; and *ibid.*, no. 4, June 21, 1861, 2.

kingdom.³⁶ Then came the decision of the British government to disavow any interference in or siding with the opposition parties in China given that the states of China and Britain had become closer and more amicable in their dealings than before.³⁷

America and Americans were not total strangers to al-Shidyāq. He belonged to the first Levantine generation to have come into contact with the American missionaries in Beirut.³⁸ In more than one respect, it had been a life-changing experience for him. The encounter with the missionaries was the direct cause of his brother's conversion which led to his death in the dungeons of a Maronite convent, and the indirect cause of Fāris's self-exile, fearing the church's persecution after he himself converted to Protestantism. The freshest mention of America in *al-Jawā'ib* was about the country's heading into civil war in summer of 1861.³⁹

In a post-scriptum (*tanbīh*), *al-Jawā'ib* discussed statistical facts about the balance of power, economic and military, in America. It comparatively listed the accomplishments of the British versus the Americans and expounded on how busier the latter were in civilizing their country. The population of the United Countries (*al-bilād al-muttaḥida*) reached 27 million. Had the country to become fully populated, its population would have

³⁶ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 5, June 28, 1861, 4.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Stephen Sheehi, "A Genealogy of Modern Arab Subjectivity: Three Intellectuals of al-Nahdah al-'Arabiyyah" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1998), 128; and Ami Ayalon, "The Arab discovery of America in the Nineteenth Century," *Middle Eastern Studies* 20, no. 4 (1984): 7.

³⁹ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 3, June 14, 1861, 2. Reports on America were not always accurate. "In the early years of the press, authors who wrote in such newspapers as *Hadiqat al-akhbar* (Beirut, since 1858), *al-Jawā'ib* (Istanbul, since 1860) and *Wadi al-nil* (Cairo, since 1866), were well aware of the formidable barrier of ignorance they were called to overcome. Those who wrote on American affairs evidently assumed minimal acquaintance with the subject matter on the part of their readers." Ayalon, "The Arab discovery of America," 11.

risen to half that of the world. While the English were busy constructing their Parliament (*majlis al-mashūra*) in London, the Americans were busy civilizing (*tamdīn*) their country. In the meantime, they had constructed 27,500 miles of railways whereas the British had built 9,000 miles at almost the same cost. In America, 9,000 train carriages (*ratl*) were in operation (*ratl* is several coaches joint together just like a train of camels or mules moves). The number of post offices there rose from 7,000 in 1827 to 26,586 outposts in 1857. *Al-Jawā'ib* added that the United States had some fifty warships already (and promised to furnish a list of the number of ships owned by other states in the next issue).⁴⁰ The sources *al-Jawā'ib* copied correlated warfare with economic might. The newspaper harbored a fascination with industrial society, though it did not say that explicitly. It struggled within an expanding industrial and imperialist order but did not seem to have a word for it, although it referred for example to the French colonization of Algeria as *isti'mār*.

3. Miscellaneous News: Jokes, Anecdotes, Trivia, Currency Rates, Trade, Poetry, and Quasi-Scientific Information

Aside from wars and power struggles, bizarre news and reports of oddities (*gharā'ib wa 'ajā'ib*) from around the world enlivened an extremely entertaining section of *al-Jawā'ib*, namely miscellaneous news, mostly featuring on the last page. In it, the newspaper offered a lighter edition of events. Sometimes, the editor in a last minute added the latest local or international news into that section, probably because they reached him

⁴⁰ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 3, June 14, 1861, 3.

mid-week by telegraph after he had already drafted the first pages of his publication. Otherwise the said section comprised popular anecdotes and folk stories from faraway cultures. Miscellaneous news variably included other trivia subjects some of a didactic nature and others not. Entertaining the reader with eclectic information was the paper's main purpose. Some examples from that section were humorous and amusing, others simply banal and random, while brief and dispersed information also made their way there. In all, they were gleaned stories that escaped the framework of assorted internal and foreign news divisions.

Not all the miscellaneous news was neutral or innocent. A reader could sense how *al-Jawā`ib* even in its varied news pointed at flaws in France and French governance. A couple of successive short remarks created the impression that the newspaper was systematically undermining everything French. For example, a story about the banning in a Parisian court of a book by Duc de Broglie, the former French Prime Minister, was retold by the newspaper to highlight French intolerance to freedom of speech.⁴¹ De Broglie's work compared contemporary France to its condition sixty years before and concluded that French statecraft was better off in the past. It advocated recourse to past policies, a critique which prompted the government in Paris to sue the author.⁴² In connection to other stories about French censorship, *al-Jawā`ib* cited a French newspaper on the French government's withholding of the printing license of the publishers Beau and Dumineray for having

⁴¹ The book in question is probably de Broglie's *Vues sur le Gouvernement de la France* (1861).

⁴² *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 5, June 28, 1861, 4.

published Aumale's book which criticized the French state.⁴³ According to *Le Moniteur*,⁴⁴ the police confiscated all recently composed books critical of the church and the flaws of clergymen and threatened to press charges against their publishers.⁴⁵

A typical miscellaneous news item would narrate something like a woman in Brazil died at the age of 126 years after a long and healthy life,⁴⁶ or five French officers died from eating poisonous mushrooms (*fitr*). Mushrooms, *al-Jawā'ib* elaborated, were like a spongy and fluffy plant the shape of a round cookie. It added that had the officers observed what doctor Girad had recommended ten years before, and soaked them in vinegar for two hours, the poison would have been neutralized⁴⁷. A further item spoke about a *ḥammām* for the insane, modeled along the *ḥammām* of the Orient that was built in Ireland. Ten of its 124 inmates totally recovered and 52 showed signs of improvement while 60 did not respond to the sanatorium therapy. Doctors affirmed that such a setting was the finest treatment for insanity.⁴⁸ A story on similar public health matters warned that all kinds of colored soap and hair dyes amounted to poison, and that all physicians should

⁴³ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 5, June 28, 1861, 4. Duc d'Aumale, a former Governor-General of Algeria in the late 1840s (who subdued Prince Abdul Kader in 1847), and a staunch proponent of constitutional monarchy, wrote *Lettre sur l'Histoire de France adressée au Prince Napoléon*, in 1861.

⁴⁴ Also known as *Le Moniteur Universel* (1789-1868), was a leading official French newspaper, during the Revolution, and a supporter of the regime of Louis Napoleon, right when most French periodicals, like *Le Journal des Débats* and *Le Siècle*, and *La Presse*, dissociated themselves from his rule. Natalie Isser, *The Second Empire and the Press: A Study in Government-Inspired Brochures on French Foreign Policy in their Propaganda Milieu* (Dordrecht: Springer, 1974), 19.

⁴⁵ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 6, July 5, 1861, 4.

⁴⁶ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 2, June 7, 1861, 4.

⁴⁷ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 3, June 14, 1861, 4.

⁴⁸ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 6, July 5, 1861, 4.

prevent their sale, according to a French physician.⁴⁹ By discussing public health, the asylum, or hazardous elements *al-Jawā`ib* was tackling the dangers of modernity, without calling them so.

Throwing in a joke, wherein gullibility combined with progress, *al-Jawā`ib* told of two Danish gold-diggers in Australia who asked the telegraph man to dispatch two pouches of gold back to their country. They asked if they could send it via the telegraph wire.⁵⁰ Another bemusing anecdote was about placing parrots in train stations and teaching them how to announce the name of the station at the approach of the incoming locomotive. This was being experimented with in some Scottish train stations.⁵¹

While *al-Jawā`ib* did not provide a full section on economic affairs, it scattered some commercial news in the miscellaneous section. A passage indicated that frost caused severe damage to roses planted in Rumelia and speculated that if a warmer weather did not follow the rest of the harvest could be lost directly leading to an increase in the price of rose essence.⁵² We also learn that Beirut, still a walled city, was subject to sporadic attacks by herds of wolves and some sneaked out of the mountain and managed to devour numerous dogs near the city's gate.⁵³ In the hinterland, as reported in the *Levant Herald*, a magnificent caravan of Iraqi and Persian pilgrims was ransacked en route from Imam al-Hussein to Mecca by 'Anizah tribesmen who looted their entire carriage.

⁴⁹ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 6, July 5, 1861, 4.

⁵⁰ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 3, June 14, 1861, 4.

⁵¹ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 4, June 21, 1861, 4.

⁵² *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 2, June 7, 1861, 4.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

In Italy, the government in Turin decreed all the kingdom's currencies to be minted with an effigy of the king on both sides, with the legend Victor Emmanuel on one, and King of Italy on the other.⁵⁴ Another example came from America, where workers drilled an oil well but the oil sprang out forty feet high from the ground, spilling at a speed that could have filled forty barrels per hour. An explosion followed and caused the death of several men and damaged other oil wells.⁵⁵ A short note probably received by telegraph communicated that many of America's tradesmen had defaulted and many had gone bankrupt.⁵⁶ More commerce items reported that great damage struck the trade of many factories in Lyon and Saint-Etienne because of the shortage in demand from America for their goods – an outcome of the civil war.⁵⁷

Bewildering information or entertaining facts appeared in the form of statistical lists. One subject *al-Jawā`ib* found amusing to share was that Emperor Nicholas of Russia had managed in the first six years of his reign to issue 5,073 decrees at the rate of three per day, whereas Peter the Great had issued only 180 per year.⁵⁸ A statistical piece on the clergy in Europe recounted that in Naples 11,000 monks owned estates worth 765,000 Liras, yet they lived by a vow of poverty. In addition, some 5,000 nuns lived in 250 convents worth 50 million francs. Twenty archbishops and 77 prelates owned property

⁵⁴ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 3, June 14, 1861, 4. King of Sardinia-Piedmont (1849-1861), Victor Emmanuel a contingent of whose army participated in the siege of Sebastopol, earned his kingdom a seat at the Paris Treaty of 1856 and promoted his bid for a united Italy.

⁵⁵ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 3, June 14, 1861, 4.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 5, June 28, 1861, 4.

⁵⁸ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 4, June 21, 1861, 4.

valued at 39,124,000 francs.⁵⁹ Coming from al-Shidyāq, it could be guessed that shedding light on such type of information came in handy for him to make the reader contemplate about the property of the church. Indeed, this information added flavor to the portrait of the changing configuration of religion and church in European countries. Europe he was drawing page by page, issue by issue. It also reflected the author's anti-clerical disposition.

Tabulated currency exchange rates sometimes followed the miscellaneous news section. These usually calculated the *majīdī lira* value against the English pound, the French franc, or the Russian ruble. Silk ranged in price between 'Ajami, Kyrgyz and that of Bursa (the most expensive). Treasury transactions and stock prices were occasionally listed.⁶⁰ The editor inserted his general comments beneath. For example, he observed at times that trade was in dire conditions across countries and prayed to God that new harvests would be better.⁶¹ In other issues, he conjectured that the silk season in Mount Lebanon and the coast could be better than expected.⁶²

Al-Shidyāq, the modern man, was behaving like an economic beast. Apart from focusing on commercials under *I'lanāt* (advertisements), which started to appear at the end of the miscellaneous news section, his newspaper additionally informed the public of new book releases and their points of sale. It is possible that in his early years in Istanbul, al-Shidyāq started to sell Arabic books printed in Beirut and Cairo at his workplace at the *Dār al-Ṭibā'a al-Āmira*, way before he founded his own independent offices. Also there, al-

⁵⁹ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 4, June 21, 1861, 4.

⁶⁰ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 3, June 14, 1861, 4.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 2, June 7, 1861, 4.

Shidyāq was running a side-business selling mostly European products, French ointments and British pills. *Al-Jawā`ib* announced new releases from the *Dār al-Ṭibā`a al-`Āmira* while it reminded readers that titles of newly imported books from Cairo could be purchased from its editor there. Titles and prices of books by Ḥāj `Alī Efendi al-Ṣaḥḥāf and other authors whose works were printed at *al-`Āmira* press were repeatedly advertised.⁶³ A Cairene reprint of the 13th century *Kashf al-Asrār `an Ḥikam al-Ṭuyūr wa al-Azhār* by `Izz al-Dīn Ibn Ghānim was the first Arabic title it advertised (priced for 10 *qurūsh*).⁶⁴ Another book that was available for purchase at al-Shidyāq's workstation was Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnsī's *Aqwam al-Masālik*. Announcing its intention to publish selections from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's journey to Persia, India, China, and Sudan, *al-Jawā`ib* explained that a supplement of four pages would appear, next to the regular news sections, and could serve as detachable feuillets that readers could collect and compile into a book.⁶⁵ French translations of Arabic selections from the *Thousand and One Nights* were also announced for purchase from the director of *al-Jawā`ib* by those wanting to learn French.⁶⁶

Advertisements in *al-Jawā`ib* were not central or commonplace. Few advertisements could be noticed in its first year. In one example it reported that Ḥāj Muḥammad Gharīb al-Ḥuṣrī was supplying luxurious rugs and carpets, suitable for mosques and mansions, and sold at convenient prices.⁶⁷ A cure-all, Holloway's pills and

⁶³ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 10, August 2, 1861, 4.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 39, February 29, 1862, 4.

⁶⁶ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 95, May 6, 1863, 4.

⁶⁷ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 47, May 1, 1862, 4.

ointments, were advertised as medications for kidney and intestinal diseases as well as yellow fever. Initially sold in the Strand (London), Holloway's had sales agents in Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Tunis, and Morocco.⁶⁸ *Pâte de Degenetais*, an ointment for chest pain, cough, flu, and other respiratory ailments was being advertised as a medically tested cream sold in Montmartre, Paris, and supplied in Istanbul by the director of *al-Jawā`ib*. Recommending iron phosphate pills produced by Grimault & Co. as a supplement to cod liver oil for the strengthening of bones, relief of abdominal pains, and ease of menstruation, *al-Jawā`ib* marketed several bizarre medical products. Also from Grimault & Co., it advertised herbal creams for erectile dysfunction, sold at all drugstores in the Ottoman realm.⁶⁹

The newspaper also provided the prices and titles of books sold in other Arabic and Ottoman-Turkish bookshops, both in Istanbul and in the Arab provinces. For example, a Persian work *Mir`āt al-`Aqā`id* by Mulla Jāmī, as well as its Turkish translation, were sold at Muştafa Efendi al-Warrāq in Bayezid.⁷⁰ Catering to the Arab community in Istanbul, the paper also advertised Arabic books printed in Cairo and sold in Bayezid marketplace at Hāj Husayn Efendi al-Ḥalabī's shop.⁷¹ Advertising its editor's masterpiece, the paper announced that *al-Sāq `ala al-Sāq* (15 francs) was available for purchase from Muḥammad al-Barbīr and Sons in Beirut.⁷²

⁶⁸ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 66, September 16, 1862, 4.

⁶⁹ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 89, March 19, 1863, 4.

⁷⁰ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 13, August 23, 1861, 4.

⁷¹ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 99, June 10, 1863, 4.

⁷² *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 14, August 30, 1861, 4.

C. Al-Shidyāq's Preambles and Editorials

The main voice of *al-Jawā'ib* or its editor is most articulated in the editorials al-Shidyāq penned. While the translated material was usually culled from English, French, or Ottoman sources, the editorials were the indigenous voice of the periodical. They were not like foreign news meant to convey raw facts and events. The editorials were the space in which *al-Jawā'ib* problematized, analyzed, and commentated on contemporary developments around it. They were argumentative, polemical, and had clear objectives. One of the main purposes of *al-Jawā'ib*'s arguments and polemics was to promote the socio-cultural and political opinions of its editor as well as those he supported. In this manner, al-Shidyāq's writings engaged in many controversies. Yet, the broadest and most recurrent theme of controversy related in one way or another to Europe, whether as a point of reference or a site of power, and a model to either accept or reject. From their earliest formulations, those pieces of writing engaged with systems of ideas, their circulations, and their flaws.

After its first closure, *al-Jawā'ib* returned with a pronounced Islamic zeal and a broadened geo-political scope that incorporated Muslims in India as part of its targeted audience.⁷³ Already Ottomanist in outlook, it added the Islamist dimension to its arguments directly after obtaining a semi-official status and direct state subsidy, in 1862. The newspaper, especially in its internal news section increased its coverage of state decrees, legislations, policies, and other governmental functions including banquets, ceremonies, and celebrations involving high ranking officials. It became increasingly vigorous about

⁷³ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 37, February 15, 1862, 4.

Islam and the Ottoman Empire. Lost was the opportunity it potentially possessed to be more outspoken and freely expressive. “Although this *Jawā`ib* is written in Arabic, we wish for it to be known to non-Arab Muslims, especially the people of India... hoping that readers in India would enjoy its language and learn about the affairs of the East as well as the West.” The paper invited readers over there to correspond with *al-Jawā`ib* and supply it with the latest about Arabic books printed in Bombay and Calcutta.⁷⁴ It offered its services to connect Muslims through the Arabic medium and acted as a source of knowledge exchange among Muslims especially those who read Arabic in different parts of the world.⁷⁵

In the fourth issue, *al-Jawā`ib*'s editor introduced a mini-editorial, *tamhīda* (preamble). For the first time, the editor directly addressed his readership. The subject was the profession of journalism and the role *al-Jawā`ib* performed. In his light, straightforward, and playful tone he explained that most of his newspaper's content was translated from European languages. He candidly admitted that most of the events in European newspapers would not be of interest to Easterners (*ahl al-Sharq*) since they mattered most to Westerners. More often than not, they contained news that would not matter to anyone, he cynically added. Al-Shidyāq argued that the authors of foreign newspapers were very talented, eloquent, and keen to maintain neat linguistic expressions.

⁷⁴ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 37, February 15, 1862, 4.

⁷⁵ In a conversation with Austen Henry Layard, freshly appointed British Ambassador at Constantinople, in the summer of 1877, Salīm Fāris claimed “a circulation of nearly 8,000 copies” of his paper, which had by then turned into a biweekly, most of which were distributed among Muslims in Egypt, India or the Maghrib. *FO/Affairs of Turkey: Further Correspondence*, Part XI, No. 588. June 9, 1877, 219. Also, at one instance, during the 1877 Russo-Turkish war, *al-Jawā`ib* transmitted £4,000 pounds it had collected from Muslims in India to the Ottoman Government in aid of its war efforts. *The Times*, no. 29004, July 26, 1877.

The dual aim of *al-Jawā'ib* was to keep up a precise and proper linguistic Arabic standard as well as educate readers, he added. “Thus, we ask the good reader to either look away from what appears displeasing or attribute it to necessity ... If friends wish to contribute useful news, we might produce this newspaper twice a week,”⁷⁶ hoped *al-Jawā'ib*.

In a later issue, the editor, in a short column on the front page, discussed the significance of *The Times* as a distinguished newspaper. It was not the number of news items that made it famous but its analytical and controversial (*munādhara*) edge. It was particularly renowned for the rigor of its editorials in assessing world issues and developments. This was what *al-Jawā'ib* believed to be necessary for any journal and a condition for success. The editor as such played the different roles of advocate, counselor, and educator. The mere reporting of news or events had nothing to do with journalistic proficiency since those changed on a daily basis. The core rules and regulations of the profession itself, however, did not change.⁷⁷

The article distinguished between the leniency with which the Ottoman government treated its subjects and the intolerance of some European states (without naming any in particular).⁷⁸ Then the author, mixing up historical and contemporary examples, exalted the Ottoman ethics of governance and their respect for minorities. Discussing Ottoman clemency towards Christians since the 15th century, he contrasted it to medieval European witch-hunts and incidents of Jewish persecution in Europe. He

⁷⁶ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 4, June 21, 1861, 1.

⁷⁷ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 5, June 28, 1861, 1.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

additionally inserted events in Syria into the argument to show that its people enjoyed prosperity under Ottoman rule and suffered unrest under foreign control. His text in *al-Jawā'ib* summed it up as follows:

Looking at other subjects in other states, many of those subjects did not ever enjoy the comfort and luxury nor did its women own the silk and jewelry that Shamis had for hundreds of years. The generosity of the Ottoman state, its patience and tolerance, have been foundational characteristics since the days of Sultan Muḥammad the Conqueror who forgave his enemies and allowed the Byzantians (*Rūm*) to keep half their churches. This was at a time when other states were ordering the burning of their own subjects for mere suspicion of heresy. They also stole money from Jews, an act the Ottoman state never committed. The recent events in Syria and the calamities were because of their [Syrian] intrusions in what was not their business; since the business of subjects is obeying their Sultan and following up their own affairs. This clear-white truth could not be tainted by twisting facts and assigning blame.⁷⁹

Fī al-Tamaddun (On Civilization), one of al-Shidyāq's most daring and intellectually advanced statements, appeared on the second page of issue six. Striking, like he did in the conclusion of his *Leg over Leg*, the supremacist and pretentious tenets of orientalist, the editor of *al-Jawā'ib* questioned their very definition of civilization in its Euro-centric configuration. He referred to that idea as a pompous one. Apropos Arabists and self-professed specialists on Arab-Islamic culture, he sardonically questioned what qualified them to classify people and categorize them as civilized and savage. The editorial in *al-Jawā'ib*, the third written in the first six issues, was of a cultural import. Coming after the preamble on translated news and the column on journalism, this article engaged with Europe over its ethnocentric definition of civilization. An overture announced:

It is known that the notion *al-tamaddun* [civility or civilization] is derived from *al-madīna* [city or polity], which in turn is derived from *m-d-n* [settled] ... the synonym of *tamaddun* in European languages corresponds also to city. To European languages, it is likeliest that the expression meant setting up all the

⁷⁹ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 5, June 28, 1861, 2.

potential competencies, physical and rational, essential for the urbaness of population and city. For example, their saying that a certain man is civil (*mutamaddin*) falls into what we call polite (*muta'addib*), courteous (*kayyis*) or expert (*khabīr*). As this notion reached extreme fame and became widely circulated by tongues and pens, it remained shrouded by opacity and ambiguity. Since each craftsman thinks that his own craft represented civility, if a [European] painter (*muṣawwir*), singer, or dancer for example, goes to a country where their profession is not commonly practiced, they deem the people of that country to be uncivilized.⁸⁰

Thus far, al-Shidyāq's etymological and comparative translation of civil, civility, and civilization correlated with what other contemporary Arabic intellectuals defined as *tamaddun*.⁸¹ Al-Shidyāq problematized the concept and gave it a comparative dimension in highlighting the labelling of others as uncivil. "The antonym of civility is the state of savagery –that which is void of arrangement and order. Civility for them is that which all the people of Europe (*ahl Urubba*) possessed, whereas they attributed savagery to others," *al-Jawā'ib* reasoned.⁸² The newspaper here pinpointed the crux of the matter: Europeans claim civility to themselves and deprive others of it. The author recognized that civility in the imagination of the claimer is an exclusive attribute and privilege; others, non-Europeans, do not qualify. *al-Jawā'ib* newspaper was laying the early foundations for deconstructing and critiquing the claims of European orientalist, racist, and positivist thought.

The distinctive spirit and tone of this specific piece of writing which have attracted the attention of more than one historian are different from the general reformist and

⁸⁰ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 6, July 5, 1861, 2.

⁸¹ Abu 'Ukṣa, *Freedom in the Arab World*, 52.

⁸² *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 6, July 5, 1861, 2.

revivalist Salafī response of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad ‘Abduh, or the Sufi riposte of Abu’l Huda al-Ṣayyādi and Yūsuf al-Nabhānī, or others who were in conversation with the West. Here, the tone is particular to al-Shidyāq. He was not merely negotiating, responding, or engaging with the European thinking. In this instance, he openly rebutted European claims of superiority.

The article on *tamaddun* marked the beginning of a clearer direction in *al-Jawā’ib* to question French policies in general. It picked up on a debate in French newspapers about the obscure circumstances of the death of Sultan Abdūlmecid, for example. Al-Shidyāq accused the French journalists of meddling in the subject. They should not have assumed that the new Sultan would revoke the *Tanzimat* policies and worried themselves about the future of Christians. He reassured the journalists that Muslim leaders had always trusted their non-Muslim subjects (*ahl al-dhimma*) and taken them as physicians and translators; or how else, he asked rhetorically, did non-Muslims amass their wealth in lands under Ottoman rule. Al-Shidyāq added that those French writers should not have listened to whatever lies merchants had fed them. The author here in a short passage defended his superiors in Istanbul, addressed the Christian concern, and belittled the French journalists behind the upsetting allegations.⁸³

Focused articles on general subjects like history, steam and steamships, nature versus nurture and more, occasionally featured on the second page of the newspaper. With time, the articles developed into reflections on political, philosophical, and socio-cultural questions. It was out of those articles, as well as the early editorials, that *al-Jawā’ib*’s

⁸³ *al-Jawā’ib*, no. 8, July 19, 1861, 1.

commentaries were born. Many such articles were reprinted in the first two volumes of *Kanz al-Raghā'ib fī Muntakhabāt al-Jawā'ib*. They were thematic conversations on contemporary scientific and intellectual topics.

In another compilation, “*Fī al-Tārīkh*” (On History) was the subject title.⁸⁴ Elaborating on the concept of history as understood in his age, the editor penned an argumentative essay. He employed a conversational technique whereby he placed an idea after the expression *qīla* (it was said) and weighed it against his own opinion in *aqūlu* (I say). First, he presented Arab-Islamic knowledge and views on history. He then compared them with the development of European historiography and inserted his own critical views. In its first part, the article assumed an analytical and discursive spirit.

The editor elaborated that verifying knowledge about the past depended on archaeological artifacts, and that European historians believed that recording history started with the spread of writing. They assumed that modern history began ca. 800 with the reign of Charlemagne. Following a synthesis of the views he had been discussing, al-Shidyāq identified there a methodological flaw and a professional failing:

I say what is more despicable than history's concern with generalities and negligence of faraway nations is that it seldom mentions anything about the masses [*jumhūr al-nās*], since the core of its narrative was about states and wars between them. A historian must be investigative and evaluative in what he reports, without being preoccupied with the elite community (*al-khāṣṣa*) at the expense of the public or commoners (*al-‘amma*). For this amounted to seeing one side of the picture.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 8, July 19, 1861, 2.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

The subject of the article moved from a sophisticated assessment of the subaltern voices historians have muted in their accounts to a more localized emphasis on Ottoman historiography. The author named leading Ottoman historians such as Subhi Bey, Ahmet Vefiq Efendi, and state-chronicler Ahmet Cevdet Efendi, all of whom *al-Jawā'ib* described as foremost authorities on the intricacies and problems involved in the study of history. As for historical works narrated in poetic verse, the newspaper believed that Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulṣī excelled in that genre.

Drifting back to polemics in his conclusion, the editor shifted the entire subject of history to produce a pastiche of passages hailing Sultan Abdūlaziz. Moving from the argument about history as poetry, he digressed to enumerate verses by prominent Ottoman officials and scholars who preached the ascendancy of the Sultan as an historical moment and point of reference. These examples of Ottoman historiography did not abide by the criteria referred to in the above quote and instead they were chiefly concerned with official and elite history. Cited there were poems by Abdurrahman Sami Paşa of *Dīwān al-Ma'ārif*, Halis Efendi of *Dīwān al-Tarjama*, and others. Persian and Ottoman excerpts from their poetry commemorating Abdūlaziz's rise to power were furnished along with their Arabic renderings.⁸⁶ Some of those personalities in Istanbul, and possibly all, were known by Shidyāq in person. At least, with Sami and his son Abdūllatif Subhi Paşa, he had developed personal friendship since his days of residency in Malta. In Istanbul, Sami Paşa's

⁸⁶ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 8, July 19, 1861, 3.

permanent salon where diplomats, belletrists, and state officials gathered,⁸⁷ might have facilitated Shidyāq's induction into this elite grouping.

The above variety of examples from the early issues of *al-Jawā'ib* illustrate the colorfulness with which this publication drew the human condition. It also demonstrates the meticulousness, intricacy, and delicateness with which it illustrated many vignettes from the 19th century. Assorting and translating as well as commentating on a myriad of events and subjects, was the industrious task Shidyāq performed. He synthesized ideas, languages, and meanings to produce an enlightened perspective on global news in Arabic. Chiefly a one-man show, *al-Jawā'ib* emerged in 1861 as a rich Arabic intellectual experience that vibrantly sketched the world in diverse configurations.

It was a comprehensive modern view of the world, highly engaging and reflecting the realities of his time. The editor acted as a historian in presenting a map that more or less approximated the actual state of affairs as understood or at least expressed by an Arab commentator. In that, he was original. The newspaper was not alien to international economic processes and sources of development and industrialization. It formulated answers to the dilemmas of modernity and tradition as well as binaries of savagery and civilization, progress and decline, or Islam and science.

⁸⁷ Sami A. Hanna and George H. Gardner, *Arab Socialism [al-Ishtirakīyah Al-'Arabīyah]: A Documentary Survey* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969), 36.

D. Insights from the Early Issues of the Newspaper

Al-Jawā`ib sketched a sophisticated view of the world it examined. Both in its selection of the source material to translate from and in the commentaries it affixed to them, it shaped the readers' understanding of international military, political, and economic developments. Its English sources were mainly *The Times*,⁸⁸ *Galignani's Messenger*,⁸⁹ and *The Examiner* while its French sources included *Le Siècle*, *Le Temps*, and *Gazette de France* (*ghazetta faransā*). In Constantinople, in addition to the official memoranda and local sources, it relied on information in the *Levant Herald* and *Le Journal de Constantinople*. *Al-Jawā`ib*'s own perspectives began gradually to take the form of editorial columns. Its treatises on journalism and civilization, for example, were the early manifestations of its intellectual breadth. As the newspaper acquired a voice of its own, its editorials spoke more about and to Europe.

Themes in *al-Jawā`ib* appeared interconnected and sorted as if according to a certain order of things. *Al-Jawā`ib* configured the Ottoman Empire in a world it mapped

⁸⁸ *The Times* was the foreign newspaper from which *al-Jawā`ib* translated most frequently. This was because the editor considered that *The Times* was the finest paper at the time. Also, perhaps this was because al-Shidyāq was prone to side with the British and their policies. His command of English surpassing his skills in French and having lived longer in England and known *The Times* since many years earlier, made him inclined to rely on it more than other European periodicals.

⁸⁹ Settling in France in 1798, Brescian-born Giovanni Galignani (1757-1821), scion of a 16th century Italian family specialized in the business of printing and publishing, founded a diversified media and print capitalist venture renowned for publishing in 1814 the *Galignani's Messenger*, "the longest lived and most influential international newspaper in the nineteenth century." Benjamin Colbert, "The Romantic Inter-Nation: Newspaper Aesthetics in Galignani's *Messenger* and John Scott's *Visit to Paris*," in *Foreign Correspondence*, ed. Jan Borm (Cambridge Scholars Publisher, 2014), 92. Al-Shidyāq was familiar with Galignani's publications. In *al-Wāsiṭa*, he often cited the 1844 edition of *Galignani's New Paris Guide*. He also culled statistical and news material, especially when enumerating lists of focused information about a particular topic. Alongside *The Times*, both of which feature in *al-Jawā`ib*'s citations and translations, *Galignani* inspired much of the Arabic newspaper's content and debates. The editor equally followed their layouts, journalistic techniques, and methods of public reasoning. The first English newspaper in Continental Europe, *Galignani's Messenger* lived on for 91 years, and was completely dissolved in 1904. "Unique Mission of Galignani's Messenger Has Ended," *New York Times* (1857-1922), August 21, 1904, SM8.

according to the relations between Istanbul and the rest. Similarly, Britain, France, Russia, or any other country, showed up in relation to the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire. They otherwise featured under the foreign news section. Miscellaneous news contained accounts from everywhere. Omnipresent all over the world, explicitly or implicitly, was again Europe, in particular Britain and France. Yet, *al-Jawā'ib* and its editor captured the interconnections and dynamisms that brought the world it reported about to life and motion. In addition to its analytical and editorial commentaries, in its miscellaneous section it reconfigured that world of industry, warfare, revolts, trains, and ships with jokes, anecdotes, trivia, and poetry. At the end of each issue of the newspaper, the editor signed “Aḥmad Fāris, *Ṣāhib al-Jawā'ib*.”⁹⁰ The signature was often preceded by a couplet of Arabic poetry composed by him.

⁹⁰ Although he entered Istanbul under his birth name, Fāris al-Shidyāq, as shown in the Basbakanlik Osmanli Arsivi document *Dahiliye İradeleri* of July 4, 1859, he lived there by his adopted Muslim name. Indeed, four months later, in November 1859, his name seems to have been corrected in the records of the Ministry of Interior to Aḥmad Fāris. Abu-Manneh, 16. Few years later the name of his son, Salīm al-Shidyāq who started as a reporter and agent for the newspaper in Tunis, and later became the director of *al-Jawā'ib* in Istanbul, was altered to Salīm Fāris.

CHAPTER III

SHIDYĀQ AS JOURNALIST: THE CONSTRUCTION OF A EURO-OTTOMAN CONVERSATION IN *AL-JAWĀ'IB*

Al-Jawā'ib formulated its discourse along a complex set of circumstantial constraints. By balancing between its stated objectives and the prerogatives of its numerous patrons and benefactors, the newspaper adhered to specific guiding principles. First and foremost, it was an Ottoman organ. Second, yet not less important, was its commitment to revitalizing the Arabic language. Third, it emphasized Europe and its modernity as an arena in which the Ottoman Empire and Arabic language had to survive. Fourth, *al-Jawā'ib* adopted a pan-Islamic tone, that nevertheless did not impinge on either Ottoman or British strategic interests. Those guidelines in *al-Jawā'ib* shaped the orientation of the newspaper and the emergence of its author as a public intellectual and a journalist.

Al-Jawā'ib had to negotiate between the official Ottoman discourse it represented and the factual transformations creeping into every Ottoman quarter. Shidyāq was not only descriptive but more importantly comparative in his expression. Furthermore, without assuming a defensive or an inferior stance, his writings were rather boldly critical of Western societies, but at the same time avoided swaggering about the Arab-Islamic or Ottoman past. Ottomanist and pro-state views were adopted by *al-Jawā'ib* which then served as a semi-official Ottoman journal. Firmans, laws, and decrees were usually published on its pages. (Perhaps this was the chief medium through which the Arabic readership had access to those official documents). It was supportive of reform, and keen

on maintaining internal stability. Major European newspapers valued and copied *al-Jawā'ib* on matters pertaining to Eastern political affairs.¹

This chapter recasts al-Shidyāq as a journalist and presents highlights of the newspaper's development at major junctures. It then focuses on how socio-cultural, political, and economic aspects of European civilization were engaged in his newspaper. Similarly, it traces the newspaper's representation of the Ottoman context in relation to European modernity.

A. Recasting al-Shidyāq as a Journalist

Once a scribe in Mount Lebanon, then a newspaper proofreader in Cairo, a printer in Malta, a translator in London, and a belletrist in Paris, al-Shidyāq became a journalist and the owner of a newspaper and a printing press in Istanbul, thus crowning a checkered and itinerant career. Shidyāq's profession as journalist became a vocation following his earlier pursuits to practice journalism. At 55, he entertained the idea of establishing an Arabic newspaper whenever the opportunity arose. His career shift was the product of a conscious choice which ultimately opened up a brighter future for him as a newspaper proprietor, upgraded his social status, as well as shaped him into a prominent public intellectual.

The subjects of his writings and the ideas he propagated were attentive to matters of public interest (*al-manfā'a al-āmma*). A more attuned socio-political voice surfaced in *al-Jawā'ib* and his intellectual output was as nuanced and sophisticated as his previous

¹ 'Abbūd, 98; and Ḥasan, 10.

writings. Coupled with his organizational and administrative skills, this set him and his institution on a successful path. Mastering the technology of modern printing gave the middle-aged lexicographer and poet an edge and an advantage in the burgeoning market of print capitalism. Already, he had amassed a not so humble fortune, much of which was unfortunately lost in the September 1873 massive fire of Istanbul.² He became a member of Istanbul's new educated elite composed of lawyers, doctors, bureaucrats, and journalists. The efendi joined the prestigious ranks of the newspaper owners and became a *ṣāhib jarīda*.

Al-Shidyāq was rather skeptical about the sources from which he selected news to translate into Arabic. *Al-Jawā'ib* claimed that the stories of *1001 Nights* or the epic of *'Antara* were superior to the concise stories disseminated by telegraphic companies; in fact, he urged that Reuter and Company be sued for the fake stories they reported. The paper called on states to punish lies in the news like they treated theft; in wartime, lies were as fatal as venom, or as dangerous as lethal weapons, it maintained.³ *Al-Jawā'ib* stressed that editors of periodicals misled people with telegraphic news and deluded them into believing they were important and accurate ones. This illusion that telegraphic services were a source of public information concealed the fact that many of those services were intended for private profit, and not to educate the public in local or international affairs. What public

² In issue 660, al-Shidyāq estimated his losses at around 5,000 Liras. al-Maṭwī, *Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq*, 172 and 177.

³ "Jumla Siyāsiyya," *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 498, February 12, 1871, 1.

benefit was served by the news, reflected Shidyāq, that on February the 13th the pregnancy of Princess Margaret, wife of Crown Prince Humbert, was confirmed?⁴

In 1868, the paper ceased publication for three weeks. The typesetters at al-‘Āmira printing house refused to set the letters for *al-Jawā`ib* free of charge any longer.⁵ This contradicted the initial agreement between *al-Jawā`ib* and the government, which specified that al-‘Āmira was to supply papers and printing services for free to *al-Jawā`ib*. Al-Shidyāq was intransigent and complained both publicly and privately, refusing to incur further costs. Betting that his newspaper had established its worth and indispensability to the Ottoman government, he brought its appearance to a halt. In mid-June 1869, Safvet Paşa, minister of public education, issued an imperative order to the incumbents of the imperial press to resume the printing of the newspaper and abide by the previous terms of their agreement.⁶ This incident might have hastened al-Shidyāq’s decision to found an independent printing establishment; within a year, *maṭba‘at al-Jawā`ib* had opened its doors.

Both the newspaper *al-Jawā`ib* and its printing press contributed to the Arabic literary and linguistic renewal, modernization, and reform. The language of the paper, its subjects, and the famous controversies it engaged in were vital to the formation of everyday Arabic written style. The printing press salvaged a handful of classical Arabic manuscripts on logic, jurisprudence, literature, poetry, and history from oblivion, by reproducing them in print form.⁷ Al-Shidyāq believed that the spread of printing disseminated knowledge on a

⁴ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 378, February 23, 1869, 2.

⁵ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 373, January 19, 1869, 1.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ṭarrāzī, 1:99.

mass and public scale.⁸ His journalistic tenure, however, did not completely obstruct his lexicographic research and writing. Thus, he composed *Sirr al-Layāl fī al-Qalb wa al-Ibdāl* in 1868, while focusing on the newspapers affairs, but it was the opening of his printing press that brought him back to the book industry with renewed vigor.⁹

Preserving, reproducing, and popularizing Arabic classics was one task he attended to. His press also introduced works by his contemporaries like Yūsuf al-Asīr, Mikhā'il 'Abd al-Sayyid, or Ibrāhīm al-Aḥḍab, in addition to the publication of official state documents (such as *Nizāmāt Majlis al-A'yān wa Majlis al-Mab'ūthān*, 1879 – the Statutes of the Senate/Notables and the Chamber of Deputies), and the reprint of five of his own books and other assorted feuilletons.¹⁰ In 1870, *al-Muwāzana Bayna Abī-Tammām wa al-Buḥturī* of al-Āmidī was the first book transmitted from manuscript to print form at the press. Between the years 1879 and 1884, the establishment was at its highest peak;¹¹ there ensued 75 other titles - 68 in Arabic (several of which were collections of more than one work merged into one volume), five in Ottoman-Turkish, and two in Arabic-Turkish.¹²

Al-Jawā'ib became a platform for the outbreak of major linguistic controversies by, for example, the two *Nahḍawī* icons al-Bustānī and al-Shidyāq. The most radical of the conservatives was Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī, who one way or another ignited the heated debate. It all began in 1871 when he responded to a poem and a eulogy by al-Shidyāq dedicated to

⁸ Quoted and translated by Roper, "Transition from Scribal to Print Culture," 239-40.

⁹ Roper, "*Al-Jawā'ib* Press and the Edition," 214.

¹⁰ Alwan, 6; and Roper, "*Al-Jawā'ib* Press and the Edition," 214 and 217.

¹¹ Alwan, 6.

¹² *Ibid.*, 5.

Nāṣīf al-Yāzījī, father of Ibrāhīm.¹³ *Al-Jawā`ib* respectfully announced the death of Naṣīf al-Yāzījī (al-Lubnānī) as a loss to Arabic language whose banner he had raised. He, according to Shidyāq, was loved and respected by all, and despite his eloquence, neither defamed nor lampooned anyone; he was immortalized by what he wrote.¹⁴

Ibrāhīm was dismayed at al-Shidyāq’s later criticism of his father’s linguistic errors enveloped in an obituary, for al-Shidyāq had mentioned in an article published in *al-Jawā`ib*, his friendship but also his professional disagreements with Nāṣīf.¹⁵ What started as a discussion between the two men on the use of two Arabic terms *fithal* and *marbaḍ*, escalated into a series of counterattacks on the pages of al-Bustānī’s *al-Jinān* (f. 1870), Yūsuf al-Shalfūn’s *al-Najāh*, (and resurfaced years later in al-Yāzījī’s *al-Diyā`*) on one hand side, and *al-Jawā`ib* on the other, generating a systematic critique of the books, sources, lexis, and premises of one another.¹⁶ This was but one episode in a series of contestations that continued between experts, in journals, books, and newspapers, on how to promote Arabic into a more versatile language.¹⁷ Throughout the debate, *al-Jawā`ib* highlighted the need for a simplified language that facilitated modern bureaucratic and commercial transactions.

¹³ Patel, 104.

¹⁴ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 502, February 26, 1871, 1.

¹⁵ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 519, May 10, 1871. Al-Yāzījī’s response was published in *al-Jinān* of June 15, 1871.

¹⁶ Ṭarrāzī, 1:62-63; and Rebecca Carol Johnson, “Archive of Errors: Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, Literature, and the World,” *Middle Eastern Literatures* 20, no. 1 (2017): 38.

¹⁷ Patel, 102-21.

Another aspect of literary controversy was the translation of foreign terminology. While scholars like Rifā‘a Rāfi‘ al-Ṭaḥṭāwī adopted words like *conférence* or *constitution* from French and transcribed them in Arabic letters, al-Shidyāq had different criteria for translating concepts that had no precedent Arabic equivalence.¹⁸ Carving (*naḥt*) new terms derived from Arabic roots was his proposition, and he explained in *al-Jawā‘ib* to the editor of *Rawḍat al-Madāris* (1870-1878), al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, that this method was more suitable than direct vocal replication.¹⁹ Al-Shidyāq coined neat neologisms, arabicized alien terms, and reactivated outmoded words like: *qiṭār* (convoy of camels) for train, *ḥāfila* for the omnibus, *muḥarrir* for editor, *murāsil* for reporter, and *madrasa-jāmi‘a* for college or university.²⁰ However, he was not obdurate about the usage of foreign words, so he would alternatively borrow *busta* for post, *ṭulumba* (pump) for firefighters, or *kazetta* and *jurnāl* for newspapers although he was the one to designate the word *jarīda* (resuscitating the classical Arabic word for *jarīda*, *al-nakhīl* –palm leaf) for the purpose.²¹ Such efforts of his “simplified the language of journalism, purged it of heavy-handed rhetorical devices and ornamentation, and enriched it with new vocabulary.”²²

¹⁸ In translation, Butrus al-Bustānī regarded the practice of copying to resemble applying sedatives to injuries rather than repairing Arabic speech. Rebecca C. Johnson, “Archive of Errors,” 47.

¹⁹ Muḥammad Sawā‘ī, *al-Ḥadātha wa Muṣṭalahāt al-Nahḍa al-‘Arabiyya*, 3.

²⁰ George Juḥa, “Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq wa Ṣu‘ūbat Idkhāl al-Ḥadātha li al-‘Arabiyya,” *Middle East Online* (March 15, 2013): 2-3. <http://www.middle-east-online.com/?id=151213>

²¹ Mohammed Sawaie, “An Aspect of 19th Century Arabic Lexicography: The Modernizing Role and Contribution of Faris al-Shidyāq (1804?-1887),” in *History and Historiography of Linguistics: Papers from the Fourth International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences: Trier, 24-28 August 1987*, ed. E. F. K. Koerner and Hans-Josef Niederehe (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 1990), 157; Ṭarrāzī, 1:7; and Yasin, 46.

²² Hafez Sabry, *The Genesis of Arabic Narrative Discourse: A Study in the Sociology of Modern Arabic Literature* (London: Saqi Books, 1993), 47.

Competition and rivalry between newspapers and journalists in the Arab world did not quell chances of cooperation in marketing of ideas and publications alike. The Beirut *al-Muqataṭaf* had the *Jawā`ib* press office as its sole agent and subscription point in Istanbul. At the reading-room of Buṭrus al-Bustānī's *al-Jam`iyya al-`Ilmiyya al-Sūriyya* in Beirut, *al-Jawā`ib* was made available along with *Ḥadīqat al-Akḥbār*, *Wādī al-Nīl*, and other Arabic and French newspapers and periodicals, for society members to read or borrow.²³ Similarly, Bustānī's *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* and al-Yāzījī senior's *Majma` al-Baḥrayn* were sold in Istanbul at the office of *Jawā`ib*.²⁴ Particularly in the aftermath of the 1860 civil and sectarian clashes in the Levant, an alternative public sphere, civic in outlook, was being constructed via interplay between newspapers and periodicals. Hence, the Catholic-Jesuit *al-Bashīr* engaged *al-Jawā`ib*, *al-Jinān* as well as the bulletin (*nashra*) of the protestant missionaries in Beirut, by quoting and debating their ideas on literature, civilization, and politics.²⁵

Language was not for al-Shidyāq a matter of origins or tradition, but one of contemporaneity. It was to him a site for reciprocity between world cultures. In his work, it seems as if “the world is composed of texts as much as it is by trade routes, capitalist competition, or imperial expansion.”²⁶ In a post-structuralist and post-modernist reading of the writings of al-Shidyāq, he appears to “reject both the notion that Arabic literary

²³ Elizabeth Holt, “Serialization and Silk: The Emergence of a Narrative Reading Public of Arabic in Beirut, 1870-1884” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2009), 19.

²⁴ The *Jawā`ib* Supplement ‘*Alāwat al-Jawā`ib*, 1, no. 95 (24 Ramadan 1299/1882), 5.

²⁵ Holt, 29.

²⁶ Rebecca C. Johnson, “Archive of Errors,” 32.

modernity is a European import and that it is a product of a national literary past.”²⁷

Specifically in *al-Sāq* but also throughout his project, “Arabic literary modernity does not enter the world map so much as it incorporates the world within it.”²⁸ To be a living language, Arabic had to be able to absorb and express all the meanings in the world it lived in and communicated with.

al-Shidyāq writings in *al-Jawā'ib* indicate the author’s mastery of the minutest intricacies that were involved in the complex relationship between languages and worlds, between religions and ideologies, between cultures and identities, between East and West. He deconstructed the structures of linguistic, institutional, and societal components of European civilization, and critically pointed to the weaknesses and strengths of western civilization. Fāris Efendi was a commentator on world affairs and explicator of their paradoxes in *al-Jawā'ib*. The editor and public intellectual all the while was passionate, and generally good-humored, but frequently a controversialist who mastered the play on words and ideas.

B. Highlights of the Development of *al-Jawā'ib* and its Discourse

Between 1861 and 1869, *al-Jawā'ib* sided with the *Tanzimat* party in Ottoman political life and became the main Arabic publication to articulate the reformers’ agenda.²⁹

Up until it bought its own printing press in 1870, it pledged to propagate the Sublime

²⁷ Rebecca C. Johnson, “Archive of Errors,” 31.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Juan R.I. Cole, *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East: Social and Cultural Origins of Egypt's 'Urabi Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 120.

Porte's perspective, in return for allocations from the Ottoman Ministry of Finance and logistic facilities from the Sultanic press.³⁰ Yet, the newspaper preserved some of its early independent stance, and as it grew stronger or more influential, it spearheaded the Ottoman-Arabic public sphere in its appeal for liberal and constitutional ideals. The docility it acquired after its entry on the government's payroll did not completely stop it from expressing its own particular concerns and viewpoints.

The newspaper formulated most of its analyses of developments in the international arena in light of its political allegiances. As it announced the arrival of his excellency Ismā'īl Pasha, the ruler of Egypt, in March 1863 to Istanbul, *al-Jawā'ib*, for instance had to grapple between its allegiance to the Khedive and the controversies in European newspapers surrounding the construction of the Suez Canal. Ismā'īl distributed financial gifts to *al-Jawā'ib*, *Tasvir-i Efkār*, and the other Turkish newspapers printed in Istanbul. This was at a time when Ismā'īl was aware of the critical voices against corvée labor conscripted for the construction of the Canal.³¹ After his investiture in 1863, Khedive Ismā'īl embarked on a massive public relations campaign that mobilized diplomatic, familial, and mass media platforms to secure Sultan Abdülaziz's endorsement for dynastic primogeniture in Egypt.³² *Al-Jawā'ib* was one of several Arabic and Ottoman media Ismā'īl paid to promote his cause. In "1863 the editor Fāris al-Shidyāq read a panegyric in Arabic

³⁰ Ami Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 30.

³¹ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 89, March 19, 1863, 1.

³² Adam Mestyan, *Arab Patriotism: The Ideology and Culture of Power in Late Ottoman Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 62.

in front of Ismail during the latter's visit in Istanbul."³³ In the mid-1860s, the Turkish *Ceride-i-Havadis*, the French *Galata Courrier* and the Arabic *al-Jawā'ib* acted as the Khedive's main propaganda organs in the public sphere of the imperial capital, each obtaining regular payment from the Egyptian treasury, *Dīwān al-Māliyyah*.

In 1866, *al-Jawā'ib* devoted ample space for the publication of Khedival news during the countdown for the Sultan's Firman, which Ismā'īl was granted in May 1866.³⁴ Ismā'īl dedicated more financial rewards to foreign newspaper editors than he paid journalists at home. Authors of periodicals like *Le Derby* in Paris or *L'Egypte* in Alexandria received more than the staff of *al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya* did.³⁵ Egyptian subsidy for *al-Jawā'ib* was sustained over the following two decades. At least in the year 1883, it was obtaining higher subventions than Salīm Taqlā's *al-Ahrām* and other local Egyptian journals.³⁶

Al-Jawā'ib explained that it was inevitable for the Ottoman Empire to reorganize its laws, in order to establish the common legal grounds for the regulation of political and commercial exchange with Europe. The newspaper emphasized that this need had nothing to do with matters of religious belief or doctrinal credence. Arguing that without accord, states would fail to communicate and drift into war, the newspaper questioned the opponents of *Tanzimat* and refuted their skepticism about the reforms' compatibility with Islamic law. Assuming the tone of an advocate and councilor to the Muslim nation (*al-*

³³ Mestyan, 62.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid, 63.

³⁶ Ibid, 208.

Umma al-Muḥammadiyya), the paper purported to seek its glory and primacy as well as guard its welfare and interests.³⁷ Therefore, it dutifully acted to expound on the legitimacy of the new legal and administrative system, while pragmatically explaining that the Ottoman Empire's other option would be war. There, it reminded the oppositional views, some of which came from the *ulema*, that French, British, and Sardinian blood was shed in the Crimea in defense of Istanbul while none of those skeptics objected back then. In a rather sober tone, the paper formulated the proposition that laws and jurisprudence were henceforth regarded as domains of political and non-religious authorities.³⁸

European journalists in 1868 paid attention to the Young Turks movement, but *al-Jawā'ib* objected to their assumption that such a group actually existed. It thought that those journalists were better off devoting their time to write about the “Young Ottoman State,” which was going through structural reordering and modernizing its laws. For, this state was adapting a modern court system, applying novel educational methods, allowing foreigners to purchase property, and equating its non-Muslim subjects with Muslim ones in legislative statutes as well as in the redistribution of tax revenues. Security, stability, and reform, on the other hand did not occur in Europe except gradually and across several centuries, argued *al-Jawā'ib*. It skeptically repeated that the Young Turks would not be able to match what the Ottoman State was accomplishing.³⁹

³⁷ *al-Jawā'ib*, “Fī Mūjab al-Ṭanzīmāt,” 176.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 175. Generally speaking, the newspaper enjoyed the reputation of having “as much influence among Eastern Christians as among Mohammedans” as George Birdwood put it in a newspaper article. George Birdwood, “Indian Mahomedans,” *The Times*, June 25, 1877, 8.

³⁹ *al-Jawā'ib*, December 8, 1868, 1.

The newspaper was not totally oblivious to the growing influence of the ideas of the Young Turks. “Although originally similar to at-Tahtawi and his generation in Egypt in regard to political views, ash-Shidyāq in the 1870s clearly felt the impact of Young Ottoman and constitutionalist ideas” suggested Cole.⁴⁰ al-Shidyāq commended the reformist achievements of Âli and Fuad Paşas, but he gradually drifted away from the center to the left of the *Tanzimat* faction. The *Tanzimat* policies received mixed reactions from Arab intellectuals. Buṭrus al-Bustānī, for instance “resisted the authoritarian implications of Ottoman modernization as it was being articulated by Tanzimat-era statesmen such as Fuad Pasha” as Makdisi explained.⁴¹ Al-Shidyāq, in contrast with al-Bustānī who lived in Beirut and propagated secular as well as patriotic notions of reform, was not troubled by the centralizing spirit of the *Tanzimat*. In this regard, he was an Ottomanist who, from his residence in Istanbul and his connection with Fuad Pasha, saw in the emerging state policies a counter force to European pressures on the Ottoman government to adapt to requisites of modernity.

Al-Jawā'ib's editor, who leaned towards constitutionalism during the mid-1870s, “forthrightly defended consultative, parliamentary government” and expressly hailed the promulgation of *majlis al-mab'ūthān* and the Ottoman constitution.⁴² As his ideas on democratic representation were reaching Egypt among other Arab provinces, Khedive Ismā'īl himself did not consider reigning in *al-Jawā'ib*'s thrust for a parliamentary

⁴⁰ Cole, 120.

⁴¹ Ussama Makdisi, “After 1860: Debating Religion, Reform, And Nationalism In The Ottoman Empire,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34, no. 4 (2002): 602.

⁴² Cole, 119-120.

system.⁴³ Between 1876 and 1878, the newspaper geared towards this doctrine of reform, and the cynical Shidyāq “supported the new restrictions on the sultan wholeheartedly. He argued that Islam mandated consultative government, that absolutist rule was inevitably unjust.”⁴⁴ He even claimed that consultation was a prerogative in Islam and it would have been a sin for a Muslim state to do without it.⁴⁵

The concern that the Ottoman Empire, facing the prospect of being attacked by the Russians, would disintegrate into a state of chaos similar to that of France in the early 1870s, made Fāris Efendi expressly opposed to absolute monarchies and in favor of the American, British, and Belgian models of governance.⁴⁶ *Al-Jawā`ib* acknowledged the republican, constitutional, and parliamentary values in those polities. Moreover, it pressed for a constitutional monarchy in the Ottoman Empire and stressed the need for consultative and parliamentary systems of governance.⁴⁷ Assemblies, it maintained, were to be elected by the people, and not just represent the ruling class.⁴⁸

Genuinely believing that the political momentum propelled by the Constitution could not be reversed, the newspaper’s editor demonstrated unbending defiance to authority. The climax of *al-Jawā`ib*’s intransigency was felt in 1879, when it disobeyed a Sultanic order to Ottoman newspapers to attack the deposed Khedive Ismā`īl. The

⁴³ Cole, 121.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ In a later discussion, the newspaper argued that republicanism created the illusion of a certain equality between the commoners and the elite. *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 515, April 5, 1871, 1.

⁴⁷ Cole, 120.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 121.

newspaper took the risk and “was suspended for six months because of the editor's refusal to publish an article critical of the Egyptian khedive, ... and for printing a sympathetic piece instead.”⁴⁹

The *ulema* became accustomed to reading newspapers which gradually became widespread in Islamic lands, pointed *al-Jawāʿib*. It argued that many *ulema* developed a desire to keep abreast with political affairs. Some *ulema* also followed up, analyzed, and debated the latest in Europe.⁵⁰ In the West however, a background in science or poetry did not prevent a person from understanding politics or becoming a politician the way Alphonse de Lamartine during the Second French Republic was appointed as foreign minister. Likewise, Léon Gambetta⁵¹ and Jules Favre, who practiced jurisprudence, became respectively foreign minister and minister of interior under the French Republic. Fāris Efendi might not have been totally innocent in demonstrating the qualification of *ulema* and poets –including himself- to legitimately aspire for political positions. In this case, his statement flattered the community of *ulema* and at the same time groomed belletrists, journalists, and other educated segments of society for governmental roles. Horace Greeley’s nomination by the democrats in America for presidency as successor of General Grant, also amused the author of *al-Jawāʿib*, as Greeley was the publisher of *The New York*

⁴⁹ Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 30.

⁵⁰ In 1864, *The Athenaeum* described *al-Jawāʿib* as “a well-conducted paper,” and also observed that it “circulates not only among the Arabic-speaking population, but among the Turkish Ulema, and thereby exercises a considerable influence.” H. C. “The Newspaper Press in Constantinople” *The Athenaeum*, no. 1888, January 2, 1864.

⁵¹ To the editor of *al-Jawāʿib*, Gambetta had rapidly risen -at the growth speed of pumpkins- to the political stage then faded altogether. *al-Jawāʿib*, no. 499, February 17, 1871, 1.

Tribune.⁵² Fāris Efendi's relationship with the *ulema* was not always on good terms, however. His newspaper was believed to have disturbed members of the conservative faction in the Ottoman administration, who opposed the secularizing momentum of legal and educational reforms, which as of 1856, equated non-Muslims to Muslims in their civil rights.⁵³ *Al-Jawā'ib* might have "alienated the religious establishment after it advised Muslims to learn one another's languages in order to understand one another; the establishment could not envision formal education in a vernacular other than Arabic."⁵⁴

In its capacity as semi-official publication, *al-Jawā'ib* struggled to polish the image of the Ottoman State to the Arab provinces, as well as to the outside world, and sugarcoat a powerful and sometimes bellicose European sway over the Ottoman lands. It perceived Europe as an undeniable reality, but not as a destiny. As a reformist newspaper, it believed in the possibility of transforming the Ottoman Empire into a modern state. The reformist message of the newspaper reflected its commitment to Ottoman sovereignty, and the conviction that the world of Muslims, Ottomans, and Arabs was neither helpless nor doomed. Europe was a leading model of industrial, military, and cultural advancement. That said, *al-Shidyāq* did not depict Europe as the epitome of civilization, but perceived it as the rising power of the day in an ever changing world. A pan-Islamic and Ottomanist outlook, was one response his newspaper devised to address European encroachment upon Muslim-Ottoman lands.

⁵² *al-Jawā'ib*, no. unclear, June 23, 1872, 4.

⁵³ Cole, 120.

⁵⁴ Kemal Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 124.

The imminent Russian danger, which had thus far been restrained by the Treaty of Paris,⁵⁵ resurged in light of Abdülhamid's bloody repression of the Bulgarian revolt in 1876. What is more, the event proved gravely damaging to the Anglo-Ottoman cooperation and British support for the Ottomans against the Russians.⁵⁶ After the 1877-1878 Russo-Turkish war, Abdülhamid leaned further towards pan-Islam.⁵⁷ This Ottoman policy shift was partly in response to British schemes that entertained changing the center of the caliphate, away from Istanbul. British voices began in the late 1870s to challenge the legitimacy of Ottoman claims to the caliphate. Orientalists George Birdwood, James Redhouse, and George Percy Badger entertained Mecca or Egypt as contending seats for hosting the caliphate.⁵⁸ Birdwood for instance affirmed in a letter to *The Times* that *al-Jawā'ib* was instrumental in supporting the Sultan's bid for the caliphate. Birdwood explained that:

The editor is a man of the widest political knowledge and highest Oriental culture, and has the most intimate relations with native scholars, and statesmen, and nobilities, not only in Turkey and Egypt, but in India, the Eastern Archipelago, Central Asia, and Northern Africa... He is the practical reviver - through (*Al*) *Jawâib* - of the old and obsolete theory of the spiritual office of the Sultan as Caliph of Islam, and his claims, therefore, to the obedience of all Mahomedans; and from the Bosphorus to Gibraltar and Singapore, and from Bokhara to Zanzibar, Ahmed Faris Efendi and his paper, *Al Jawâib*, are held in universal repute... it is the *Jawâib* which has taught the Mahomedans of India to accept the

⁵⁵ Florian Riedler, *Opposition and Legitimacy in the Ottoman Empire: Conspiracies and Political Cultures* (London: Routledge, 2011), 27.

⁵⁶ Michael Christopher Low, "The Mechanics of Mecca: The Technopolitics of the Late Ottoman Hijaz and Colonial Hajj" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2015), 10.

⁵⁷ François Georgeon, "Aux antipodes de l'État-nation: le monde pluriel des Ottomans," *Confluences Méditerranée* 73, no. 2 (2010): 24. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-confluences-mediterranee-2010-2-page-21.htm> (accessed November 2, 2017).

⁵⁸ Tufan Buzpinar, "The Question of Caliphate under the Last Ottoman Sultans," in *Ottoman Reform and Muslim Regeneration: Studies in Honor of Butrus Abu-Manneh*, ed. Itzhak Weismann and Fruma Zachs (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 27.

Sultan of Constantinople as Caliph, and has kindled the sympathy of Indian Mahomedans with Turkey into a political force, with which Englishmen must now count.⁵⁹

An analysis similar to George Birdwood's was produced by leading Orientalist and Hungarian scholar Ignaz Goldziher, "one of the first European scholars to take seriously the role of the Arabic press in molding public opinion," who singled out *al-Jawā'ib* as an exceptionally zealous champion of pan-Islamism.⁶⁰ The program, he explained was aimed at an Islamic alliance under an Ottoman Caliphate. In this regard, *al-Jawā'ib* attempted to persuade and rally Muslims to that cause.⁶¹ In 1881, French newspapers revealed that Paris had repeatedly objected to the Porte that the tone of *al-Jawā'ib* on North Africa was intolerable.⁶² Both because Arabic was the language of Islam and because of the importance of the Arab provinces to the empire, Goldziher asserted "it is no accident that the promoters of pan-Islamism in the Turkish capital preach this programme for the future of the Muhammadan world in an Arabic language paper."⁶³

While many authors tend to describe the paper strictly in terms of its pan-Islamic position, some distinguish pan-Islamism as one of several projects *al-Jawā'ib* promoted. Indeed, in its pan-Islamic outlook the paper served the British and Ottoman interests within

⁵⁹ George Birdwood, "Indian Mahomedans," *The Times*, June 25, 1877, 8.

⁶⁰ Ignác Goldziher, "Muhammadan Public Opinion," trans. Jerry Payne and Philip Sadgrove, *Journal of Semitic Studies* XXXVIII, no. 1 (1993): 98.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid., 100.

the broader vision of an alliance between Queen Victoria and the Sultan Abdülhamid II.⁶⁴ Evidence suggests that throughout the period between 1877 and April 1897, the editors of *al-Jawā'ib* Aḥmad Fāris and his son Salīm steadily obtained allocations from the British Secret Service Fund of the India Office. In a folder on payments to agents, it is clear that the Fārises received reports, assignments, and money in the form of subscription fees to *al-Jawā'ib* from the India Office. Salīm, and his newspaper *al-Qāhira al-Ḥurra* (founded in 1886), continued to be on British payroll till 1897, at least.⁶⁵

By contrast, Trābulsī and 'Azmeḥ argue that the paper's pan-Islamic devotion was expressive of just one of its many other causes. The two authors add that it evolved from pan-Ottoman to pan-Islamic, but eventually to a pan-Arabist voice.⁶⁶ Kemal Karpat offers a glimpse of other causes the paper had advocated by arguing that “Abdulhamid gave Al-Cevaib money and moral support, not only because it defended the caliphate and Ottoman territorial integrity, but also because it advocated change and education, as well as unity.”⁶⁷ Another depiction, by Juan Cole, shows that al-Shidyāq fluctuated between three clear phases: the 1860s when he was an ardent *Tanzimat* supporter, the 1870s when he rallied for constitutional government, and lastly towards the late 1870s when he shifted his emphasis to a constitutional monarchy, with a tinge of pan-Islamism.⁶⁸ So the newspaper's political

⁶⁴ Cemil Aydin, *The Idea of the Muslim World: A Global Intellectual History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2017), 44 and 70.

⁶⁵ IOR/L/PS/8/48 Papers of the Secretary, India Office Political and Secret Department: Secret Service and intelligence matters “Subscription to Al Jawā'ib, reports and payments to editors, Ahmed and Selim Faris, Constantinople and Cairo,” 1897.

⁶⁶ Trābulsī and 'Azmeḥ, 7 and 26.

⁶⁷ Karpat, 124.

⁶⁸ Cole, 120.

views which were dictated by its semi-official status as Ottomanist and pan-Islamic organ were also motivated by change and reform in the broader matters of education, socio-economic development, political representation, and public welfare.

C. Revisiting the Newspaper's Discourse on the Euro-Ottoman Interplay

Writing in Arabic about the relationship between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, the newspaper acted as a translator of both worlds to Arabic readers. It employed a professional jargon that presented the two worlds in clear Arabic form. In other words, *al-Jawā'ib* mediated the advantages and the challenges of European modernity to the local context based on concepts like *tamaddun*, *'umrān*, and *manfa'a* to facilitate its audience's understanding of European modernity and its impact on Ottoman lands. As Butrus Abu-Manneh noted, Shidyāq as a journalist “was not simply a pillar of Arabic cultural revival, but the views and ideas he expressed throughout *al-Jawā'ib* show that he was a thinker and a promoter of social and economic reform, in short of *tamaddun*.”⁶⁹

The newspaper found in the concept of *tamaddun* a set of defining variables through which it assessed political, diplomatic, military, and socio-cultural behavior worldwide. The essay on *tamaddun* was not an isolated discussion but an overture for a series of discursive writings on similar subjects pertaining to civility, civilization, progress, and other concepts that defined human cultural behavior and classified it into categories. In addition to that article on *tamaddun*, an essay comparing East and West (*Fī al-Farq bayna al-Sharq wa al-Gharb*) and another on the need for the *Tanzīmāt* reforms (*Fī Mūjab al-*

⁶⁹ Abu-Manneh, 24.

Tanzīmāt), expressed the centrality of European ideas in *al-Jawā'ib*'s rhetoric.⁷⁰ Sources from which it translated, concepts it rendered into Arabic form, and arguments it developed were largely European inspired. Their salience became multifaceted as the newspaper developed its own analysis. Even in many matters internal to the Ottoman Empire, or Arabic language, much of the periodical's content addressed Europe. In turn, European scholars, diplomats, and journalists did not fail to notice *al-Jawā'ib*'s impact. Many European newspapers in Britain, France, Italy, and Germany acknowledged it as a source of information for Ottoman official matters.⁷¹ In his editorials, the author primarily aimed at debating European thought and touching on its controversial elements. Nevertheless, when *al-Jawā'ib* adhered to one view or opinion, it predictably leaned towards favoring what served the interests of its patrons in politics and economics.

Al-Jawā'ib did not take European supremacy for granted. It challenged and questioned European civilization equally as it cherished and admired its positive sides. The author of *al-Jawā'ib* who in 1855 demonstrated a diligent awareness of orientalist activities and dedicated the last chapter of *al-Sāq* to rebuffing and unveiling their ignorant role, was not possibly incognizant of the powerful presence of the West, specifically in its ideologies, ideas, and discourses. Perhaps not so clearly but the presence of the West as a concept in *al-Jawā'ib*, whether in the form of sources from which material was translated or subjects and news chosen to appear in *al-Jawā'ib*, show that unlike other parts of the world (such as China or Japan), *al-Jawā'ib* focused most on Europe and the

⁷⁰ The three articles were reprinted in the first volume of Salīm Fāris, ed., *Kanz al-Raghā'ib fī Muntakhabāt al-Jawā'ib* (Constantinople: Maṭba'at al-Jawā'ib, 1871), respectively on pages 3-4, 87-101, 175-178.

⁷¹ Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 31.

Ottoman Empire in European public opinion, politics, culture, and international affairs. The co-existence of two worlds, Ottoman-Arab and European, is clearly discernible as a primary concern of this newspaper.

Al-Jawā'ib negotiated for a quarter of a century the complex matrix of Middle Eastern and European cultural, linguistic, economic, and political exchange. It translated core components of what was being said about the East in the West, how the West imagined the East or Orient, and how it introduced to Arab publics the growing European presence in their world in the late 19th century. It was in this niche that the editor gathered information, translated news, and mobilized ideas.

1. Conversing with European Cultural Tenets: Intellectual, Literary, Educational, and Religious Observations

Denying the exclusivity of civilization to Europe, and rejecting the positioning of Europe as a higher example, ideal, and model for assessing the rest of the world, *al-Jawā'ib* early on questioned who was and who was not civilized -the very category and concept and the very initiators of it. It contested the monopolization of civilization by the West. This Arabic newspaper subverted Europe, Europeanness, and the Orientalist euro-centric claims of superiority. *Al-Jawā'ib* confronted the discourse that everything European was civilized, absolute, and ultimate. This discourse was picked on by *al-Jawā'ib*, deconstructed, reinvented, and redirected towards the West, its original author.

Dwelling on economic, industrial, and commercial disparities between the Ottomans and the Europeans, *al-Jawā'ib* grew more critical. The striking statement it made

about the essential similarity between all humans was confident and rational. “Anyone who has known Europe also knows that there is really no difference between us and Europeans; neither in the power of reason, nor in the power of understanding, nor in the power of intelligence... nor in any other natural attribute” maintained *al-Jawā'ib* of May 12, 1866.⁷² Those aspects in al-Shidyāq’s thought were not aimed at overall westernization but were employed to argue for what was worthy of emulation in European progress and civilization.⁷³

Typical, however, in that newspaper was its polemical employment of many of its examples to either reclaim near-exclusive virtues to the Sublime State, or denigrating its opponents, its mutinous subjects, and its critics. On its pages, thus, Islam became a privileged source of religious and cultural superiority, Ottomanism the exemplar of seamless governance, and Arabic the mother, source, and purest of all languages, especially European ones.

Hourani and Sharabi expounded on how Western thought and ideas challenged Arab thinkers as it became central in both stimulating their responses and shaping their arguments. For Hourani, the manner in which Islamic notions were re-fitted into European form so that “Ibn Khaldun’s *‘umran* gradually turned into Guizot’s ‘civilization’, the *maslaha* of the Maliki jurists and Ibn Taymiyya into the ‘utility’ of John Stuart Mill, the *ijma’* of Islamic jurisprudence into ‘public opinion’ of democratic theory, and those ‘who

⁷² Sharabi, 59.

⁷³ Ibid.

bind and loose' into members of parliament.”⁷⁴ For Sharabi, it was the sociopolitical and economic ideas of Francophone thinkers like, Montesquieu, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Gustave Le Bon that influenced many Christian Arab intellectuals like al-Shidyāq, while those who came in contact with British and American educational missions, acquired a taste for Herbert Spencer, Jeremy Bentham, and John Stuart Mill.⁷⁵ The following section focuses on how al-Shidyāq represented education, literature, religion, work ethics, cultural values, industrial progress, and politics in Europe and how he made them relevant to the Ottoman reality. *Tamaddun, maṣlaḥa*, *‘umrān*, as well as *ijmā‘* and *shūra* were terms in traditional Arabic form that Shidyāq loaded with modern European signification.

Addressing the question of human nature and the bearing of nurture and education on human behavior, *al-Jawā’ib* highlighted the discrepancies at the core of European and Ottoman cultures. It focused on the intimate space of the household, motherhood, education, employment, and gender roles. The paper argued that education altered manners, and proposed the comparison of educational methods in the East to those in the West as examples to draw on. At the risk of sounding self-Orientalizing, the author deplored how mothers in the East inculcated obsessions and illusions in their children’s minds by insinuating to them for example that griffins or genies arise in the dark to punish misbehaving children.⁷⁶ The outcome of such frightful upbringing resulted in children becoming weak, fearful, and docile. Employing his intimate knowledge of social practices

⁷⁴ Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 343–44.

⁷⁵ Sharabi, 66–69.

⁷⁶ *al-Jawā’ib*, “Fī al-Farq bayna al-Sharq wa al-Gharb,” 88.

in the households and schools of the East, the author in *al-Jawā'ib*, renowned for advocating women's rights to sexual pleasure, choice of partner, education, and employment, did not solely blame women or mothers for faulty upbringing. Rather Shidyāq directed the blame towards men above all, simply for keeping their women in a state of ignorance and idiocy.⁷⁷

The author argued that motherhood in Europe practiced a different role than it had in the East. European mothers introduced science, literature, and good manners to their children in their pre-school stages. At schools, kids were taught to respect their parents and acquire a profession or craft (*ṣan'a*) that would benefit the pupil, the country, and the state. Unlike a child brought up to fear genies in the dark, a child over there learned to profit from crafts and sciences and hard work, all the while believing that in labor individuals earned themselves and others personal and collective benefit. Children in Europe grew proud, active, and took initiatives, in contrast to children of kingdoms where genies dwelled; in the East, despite the profusion of mosques and *ulema*, kids grew dull, slow, lazy, and nonchalant.⁷⁸

European educational activities in the Levant were frequently mentioned in *al-Jawā'ib* based on reports appearing in Beiruti, Syrian, or Egyptian periodicals. For instance, reporting on Mrs. Thompson's school in the Mṣayṭbeh quarter of Beirut, *al-Jawā'ib* explained that girls there learnt Arabic, English, and French languages as well as history, geography, and music, added to a vocational training in embroidery (*taṭrīz*). The

⁷⁷ *al-Jawā'ib*, "Fī al-Farq bayna al-Sharq wa al-Gharb," 89.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

school, which housed some fifty orphan and poor girls, graduated outstanding students some of whom went on to teach in Beirut, Mount Lebanon, and Damascus explained *Hadīqat al-Akḥbār*.⁷⁹ In comparison to the state of public schools in Ottoman provinces, and taking the cue from the *Takvīm-ı Vekāyi*, *al-Jawā'ib* confirmed that the Rushdiyya public schools in Damascus, Aleppo, and other Arab cities had been unsuccessful because Turkish teachers sent there from Istanbul were unable to speak Arabic. This resulted in a waste of funds dedicated to spreading literacy and knowledge. Eventually, the state decided to invite fifteen teachers of Arabic to reside in Istanbul and attend the *Dār al-Mu'allimīn* in order to learn the Rushdiyya curriculum. *Al-Jawā'ib* hoped that the new approach would prove more fruitful provided that those teachers knew the Turkish language.⁸⁰

Furthermore, it appreciated the American missionaries' educational endeavor. Speaking of the Syrian Protestant College, it saluted the immense services and remarkable achievements of the college the Americans founded in Beirut. This was noted on the occasion of doctor George Post's visit to Constantinople in 1877. The newspaper described Post as an American whose command of Arabic equaled his mastery of mathematics, since whoever heard him speak the language would have thought he was born and bred in Syria. As for the benefits brought by this college, it specifically recognized the numerous medical doctors it graduated, many of whom attained fame in the East and the West alike.⁸¹

⁷⁹ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 352, August 11, 1868, 1. The school in question was the Normal Training School for girls (founded in 1866), also known as the Training College remained "the main source of female teachers for the Protestant mission schools until the middle of the twentieth century." Jean Said Makdisi, "Elisabeth Bowen Thompson and the Teacher Training College," *Archaeology & History in the Lebanon*, no. 22 (2005): 93-94.

⁸⁰ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 351, August 4, 1868, 1.

⁸¹ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. unclear, June 3, 1877, 1.

Al-Shidyāq often observed how the Ottoman state had labored to enlighten its subjects, regardless of religion or gender, by establishing schools for sciences and medicine, which graduated bright practitioners -an enchanting sign of *tamaddun*. Ignorance was still rampant among the public to the extent that many women still opted for shamanic alternatives to cure their ailments –a negative sign for *tamaddun*. In relation, *al-Jawā'ib* announced the launching of *Ya 'sūb al-Ṭib* in Cairo, a periodical that served in bridging the gap in scientific knowledge between professionals and lay people. It remarked that the circulation of such medical advice was far more useful than publishing the “vacuous news of the telegraph, which neither mattered to us nor suited our language.”⁸²

Like education, European literature had its share in the newspaper’s comparative elaborations on differences between East and West. French literati were the target of al-Shidyāq’s mockery in more than one instance. Napoleon III’s indifference to the poem al-Shidyāq delivered to his court seemed to have injured the author’s pride.⁸³ The insulting comments of orientalist Count Alix Desgranges (1793-1854), one of Napoleon’s secretaries, that the French had no use of poems that flattered their leadership -unlike the case in Arab culture- irked al-Shidyāq. Later on in his newspaper, he spared no opportunity to belittle French *littérateurs* and deride their output. Mimicking Desgranges’ mood, he stated in his paper that French poets in the days of Louis XIV went far in producing unimaginative poetry and composing dull verses.⁸⁴

⁸² *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 370, December 15, 1868, 2.

⁸³ Kilito, 81.

⁸⁴ “Fī al-Mukhayyila wa al-Takhayyul,” *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 12, August 16, 1861, 2.

Al-Jawā'ib also harbored a distaste for Alphonse de Lamartine (who had visited the Levant and toured in Mount Lebanon in 1832-3). It picked on a debate between several French newspapers and de Lamartine, intending to direct heavy criticism against him. The newspapers *La Presse*, *Le Siècle*, and *Le Temps* stood up to M. de Lamartine for critiquing the famous philosopher and writer Jean-Jacques Rousseau.⁸⁵ *Al-Jawā'ib* dwelled on such criticism as if to repay insult to one of France's celebrated authors and renowned orientalis. It threw similar light on Victor Hugo's disdainful political and cultural claims with the aim of toppling yet another French literary icon.⁸⁶ Neither Hugo's philosophical nor political views stood the test of *al-Jawā'ib*'s wrathful crusade against French intellectuals.⁸⁷ Their opinions had little worth for the newspaper. Still, it was not opposed to everything French, as will be shown in relation to the city of Paris.

Conversely, Anglophone thought was held in higher esteem. Figures like Isaac Newton, John Locke, and George Berkeley were praised for their scientific observations and theories.⁸⁸ In one instance, upon receiving a copy of the first part of Rifā'a al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's *Kitāb Anwār Tawfīq al-Jalīl fī Akhbār Miṣr wa Tawthīq Banī Ismā'īl*, *al-Jawā'ib* compared

⁸⁵ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 16, September 14, 1861, 4.

⁸⁶ See *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 411, October 18, 1869, 4. Expressing neither admiration nor respect to Hugo's philosophy, that once invited al-Afghānī's naïve inquisitiveness about Hugo's opinions, to which the latter famously answered "la rose" was what thrilled him most in life and struck him as the epitome of perfection. Sharabi, 39.

⁸⁷ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. unclear, December 6, 1871, 3. Overall, while *al-Jawā'ib* acknowledged Hugo's eloquence, it disliked his performance as a journalist and described his expressions as contemptuous and ridiculed the triviality of his ideas.

⁸⁸ "Fī al-Bu'd," *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 13, August 23, 1861, 1-2.

it to Edward Gibbon's monumental history of the Roman Empire, for its investigative approach, and its synthesizing of inferences from multiple sources.⁸⁹

The paper paid attention to European and American archeological excavations in the Middle East and North Africa and followed their news. Remarking on Khedive Sa'īd's authorization to the French Monsieur Mariette to excavate ancient sites, it noted: "the Franks passionately desired those antiques (*al-athār*)," and recalled that the French under King Louis-Philippe had designed a special ship to transport an obelisk from Egypt to Paris and had immensely invested in the project.⁹⁰ Similarly, a certain Mr. Davis periodically shipped artifacts and archeological ruins from Carthage to be exhibited in the Museum of London. This was an example, the paper noted, of the generosity of the Islamic State. Nevertheless, al-Shidyāq lamented the removal of historical artifacts, which in his view constituted an attestation of a people's glorious past. As such, any state has a right and a claim to them, except that bullying foreign states necessitated their export.⁹¹

In a similar account, the newspaper tangentially narrated that a group of British engineers⁹² landed in Jaffa to survey the land of Palestine and excavate ancient artifacts that were of interest to a certain society in London.⁹³ A few weeks later, the newspaper specified that a British archeological society had obtained Ottoman permission to excavate

⁸⁹ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 344, June 16, 1868, 1.

⁹⁰ Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha had gifted the Luxor obelisk in 1826 and it was transported onboard the eponymous barge, *Louqsor*. King Louis-Philippe installed it at the Place de la Concorde in 1833. Grant Parker, "Obelisks still in Exile: Monuments made to Measure?," in *Nile into Tiber: Egypt in the Roman World*, ed. Bricault, Laurent, M. J. Versluys, and P. G. P. Meyboom (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 219.

⁹¹ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 17, September 21, 1861, 1.

⁹² The team might have been affiliated with the Palestine Exploration Fund, founded in London in 1865.

⁹³ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. unclear, December 12, 1871, 2.

a site on the condition that half the finds would be given to the Sultan's museum; this, the paper again lamented, did not happen, since the society's agents transported a shipload of artifacts directly to London without sharing anything at all.⁹⁴ In contrast, another story on how European authorities dealt with vandalism of artworks in their countries reported that one Abbé Octave was punished for destroying the genitals of the nude statue of Adam and Eve in one of the churches in France.⁹⁵ The perception of fine arts including sculpture was not a universal European given, however. The erection of a statue of Voltaire in Paris gravely upset the Pope in Rome who, as *Le Journal de Paris* revealed, was saddened to see Frenchmen being so inconsiderate towards the Catholic faith.⁹⁶

Al-Jawā'ib did not favorably compare the Ottoman cultural institutions and educational system to those in Europe. It indirectly undermined the traditional Ottoman education which centered around the *ulema*. Even the modern Rushdiyya schools did not seem for the newspaper to match those of the missionary institutions. Moreover, at the level of the household, *al-Jawā'ib* tended to praise British and French modes of child rearing by contrast to those in the East. Motherhood, it thought, was founded in the former on the raising of healthier children than in the East. European cultural and literary heritage were also brought into the newspaper's assessment. It neither accepted French claims to literary supremacy nor respected the European crave for looting other cultures' archaeological heritage. Still, it observed that the Europeans were more appreciative of archaeological

⁹⁴ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. unclear, December 28, 1871, 1.

⁹⁵ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 16, September 14, 1861, 4.

⁹⁶ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 382, March 22, 1869, 4.

remains than the Ottomans who squandered their wealth of historical artifacts and allowed their transportation to the West. al-Shidyāq thus anticipated the later plunder of the cultural legacy of non-European countries.

2. Comparing Economic Prospects: Urban, Commercial, and Industrial Infrastructures

By comparing and contrasting the Ottoman and European sides of Istanbul city in the early 1860s, *al-Jawā'ib* aimed at spinning the early threads of its narrative relating to Europe versus the Ottoman Empire. Theft and burglary, it remarked, had diminished in Beyoğlu and Galata thanks to the deputy director of the police (*al-dabtiyya*), proving that security in the metropole was maintained by a police force as competent as that of Paris or London.⁹⁷ Security was highlighted by the paper as one aspect of urban life in which the Ottoman city could improve and advance to match the leading European capitals. In doing so, it aimed at promoting a positive and optimistic avenue for progress, and by demonstrating how one particular part of the Ottoman lands had developed, it argued that it was absolutely possible for the Empire to modernize. If the European quarters made it into a better way of living, then impediments of all sorts in other quarters or provinces could be overcome, it maintained. Accordingly, *al-Jawā'ib* focused on addressing the cultural as well as economic differences, and discerning the factors that hampered or fostered *tamaddun*, as it broadened the scope of its analysis to portray what distinguished Europe from the Ottoman Empire. Its reports dwelled on the minutest examples on costs of living, consumer goods, labor force, and industrial productivity. The newspaper also accentuated

⁹⁷ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 91, April 1, 1863, 2.

structural economic dissimilarities between Istanbul and other Ottoman cities, on one hand side and Paris, Lyon, Manchester, Liverpool or London, on the other. In the process *al-Jawā'ib* spared neither Turk or Arab, nor Muslim, Christian or Jew in its critique.

Commuting in Europe was a remarkably more pleasant experience than in Istanbul. Omnibuses travelled back and forth inside European cities crossing marketplaces, main streets, and suburbs. Commuters got to rest and protect themselves from rain or sunshine while indeed avoiding the crowded pedestrian paths or stepping in mud. In Istanbul, a pedestrian had to go through alleyways, stairways, mud, and avoid muleteers. Only with good governance, capital, and laboriousness could there be straight roads for omnibuses to transport passengers, and only then would people appreciate the taste of *tamaddun* (civilization). Till then, the author feared people would keep paying expensive fares to travel from Pera to Aya Sofia by horse -a sum of money with which one might as well travel from Paris to London by land and sea. To him, transport facilities were more essential sources of public well-being than the *ḥammām* or the coffeehouse.⁹⁸

He was determined to reverse the arguments for European supremacy to encourage his people, affirming that the “Franks, no matter what they have now achieved in sciences and arts, are inferior to us in mind and comprehension; as for taste, they are below us in many stages” as he argued in an article on crafts and industries.⁹⁹ The piece maintained that the “Europeans have outdone us in this age in handicrafts and paid vocations because of their orderliness and the organization of their affairs,” *al-Jawā'ib* thus simplified what it

⁹⁸ *al-Jawā'ib*, “Fī al-Farq bayna al-Sharq wa al-Gharb,” 97.

⁹⁹ *al-Jawā'ib*, “Fī al-Ṣanā'i',” 148.

saw as the crucial achievement of the West over others.¹⁰⁰ Reducing the gap in economic performance between East and West to mere differences in industrial and organizational structures, the newspaper claimed that such discrepancies did not render the West more “civilized.” It nonetheless admitted that the practices of Ottoman tradesmen and craftsmen led to a state where “our crafts continue to decline while they are improved by the Europeans, and the same applies to trade.”¹⁰¹ The paper appreciated the efforts of the Ottoman state in founding *Majlis al-Ṣanā’i* (Council of Industry), though it demanded that the government do more to foster local industry. Imports from Europe were flooding the Ottoman market, which in turn could not match the quality and price of European commodities. “We still needed to purchase our clothes and home furniture from foreign countries,” it complained.¹⁰²

Ottoman citizens and Muslims in particular were encouraged to be involved in modern trade and industry given that even handkerchiefs were mostly imported despite the basic know-how and availability of cotton in Ottoman lands. *al-Jawā’ib* provocatively suggested that in Istanbul only Christians, Armenians, and Jews, but not Muslims, excelled in trade and the professions. Examples it gave included jewelers and goldsmiths, most of whom were Christians, whereas Jews specialized in cutting and polishing gems and precious stones. Muslims on the other hand operated the lowlier professions. *Al-Jawā’ib*

¹⁰⁰ *al-Jawā’ib*, “Fī al-Ṣanā’i,” 148.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 149.

hoped that the newly established council would bring in skilled master artisans from Europe to improve local technical know-how.¹⁰³

Crucially aware of the socio-economic challenges facing the Ottoman Empire and equally sensible to the cultural issue of borrowing from the West, the newspaper suggested various tactics that would bring modern Western standards to the Ottoman reader. It calibrated between not undermining Muslim-Ottoman self-esteem and articulating how advanced the West had become. Thus, it chose to scold Muslims and Ottomans, when it felt it had to, by reminding them that they were once ahead of Europe or concurred that Europeans were in no intrinsic ways superior to Muslims or Easterners. In fostering progress and advancement, it also found it pertinent to arouse the Muslim ego against the fact that non-Muslims were more successful in running key trades and industries.

In expounding on modern European urban life, the newspaper provided detailed examples from European cities. For instance, speaking about a new boulevard in Paris - described as a vast street lined with trees on either side like many others in the city where people promenaded- *al-Jawā'ib* painted a vibrant modern metropole. Reproducing the impressions of a couple of British newspapers about both London and Paris, *al-Jawā'ib* conveyed how *The Globe* wished London city would widen its narrow streets especially its poor quarters that lacked ventilation and sunlight, *al-Jawā'ib* reported. *The Globe's* writer added, however, that the British would not enjoy having policemen watching their streets as in Paris, since the real purpose of constructing boulevards in Paris was to allow free

¹⁰³ *al-Jawā'ib*, “Fī al-Ṣanā'ī,” 150; and *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 338, May 5, 1868, 1.

military access to the city's quarters.¹⁰⁴ Fascination with the French capital's urban infrastructure was brought up frequently in *al-Jawā'ib*, as when it summarized an article from *The Herald* in which the writer reported on his visit to Paris then to London. He stated that at first impression Paris appeared as the most beautiful city in the world and London the ugliest. Contrasting the whiteness of Parisian buildings to the dimness of London's brick buildings, *The Herald* described London as overpopulated and underdeveloped, but buzzing with people, trade, wealth, and motion.¹⁰⁵ Bringing attention to the inequalities within London, *al-Jawā'ib* selected a piece from *The Spectator* which skeptically addressed Londoners' pride in the wealth and lucrative trade of their city, and reminded them that more than 150,000 of its inhabitants lived in dire poverty, many unable to secure their daily sustenance.¹⁰⁶ The concern with multiple aspects of European urbanity, its positive and negative attributes, was evident in the Arabic periodical. In return to the boulevards of Paris, and upon Baron Haussmann's visit to Istanbul in February 1873, *al-Jawā'ib* presented him as the initiator of the massive urban expansion of Paris under Napoleon III and claimed that people in Istanbul hoped he would be appointed to improve their city as well.¹⁰⁷

Urban gentrification in Istanbul repeatedly attracted *al-Jawā'ib*'s approbation. Shifting the subject of a passage about a conflagration that destroyed an old residential quarter near the ministry of finance in the capital, it emphasized the positive side to the

¹⁰⁴ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 16, September 14, 1861, 2.

¹⁰⁵ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 18, September 27, 1861, 3.

¹⁰⁶ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 344, June 16, 1868, 4.

¹⁰⁷ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. unclear, February 19, 1873, 1.

story in that fire-fighters rushed to extinguish every fire around the city. The passage added that the government had been busy improving infrastructure in all quarters. The author suggested that Aya Sofia and the mosque of Sultan Ahmet quarters were in dire need of maintenance. In all, the writer in *al-Jawā'ib* believed that the city was becoming a rather more cheerful and lively place, creating the impression that it was a potential hub for civilization and business. What the food and beverage markets still needed though was neatness and order. Here, the author brought up the markets of Galata and Pera as brilliant examples in selling, preparing, and handling food.¹⁰⁸

Public works in the Ottoman lands, a subject dear to *al-Jawā'ib*, was raised frequently and reflected different aspects of social challenges. People with physical disabilities were not accommodated in the urban and rural habitats, although they deserved to benefit from public utilities and care systems, the paper stressed. It was something to revamp neighborhoods on the outside but it was a failure when all the gentrification and public works did not take into account the needs of the disadvantaged members of society like the blind or the disabled.¹⁰⁹ “The current understanding of civilization could entail a confusion between the beneficial and the harmful” stated the newspaper as it emphasized that urbanization too had its setbacks. A destructive facet of *tamaddun* alluded to in *al-Jawā'ib* involved conspicuous consumption. A mode of consumerism that highlighted the superficial tendency of the rich as well as the poor to accessorize a horse with expensive saddle equipment or smoke a cigarette through a long ornamented stem was the pinnacle of

¹⁰⁸ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 364, November 3, 1868, 1.

¹⁰⁹ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 370, December 15, 1868, 2.

civilization for this generation, the author added sardonically. As al-Shidyāq claimed to have been contemplating the urban improvements in Istanbul, he concluded that perpetuating the profession of porters carrying heavy luggage across the city was inhuman.

On the bright side, *tamaddun* led to a decrease in prices of commodities worldwide and brought comfort to the lives of an increasing number of human beings, affirmed *al-Jawā'ib*. On the negative side, fashionable clothing, artifacts, and other gadgets filled households but also generated jealousy between people and augmented greed as every individual coveted what was novel in his or her neighbor's property. Furthermore, while civilization created a global circulation of goods and people, thanks to inventions, primarily railroads, steamships, and telegraphs, its benefits were not universal. In the case of Ottomans and Muslims, the globalization of trade only increased consumerism, to the extent that butter could be imported from Milan, potatoes from Malta, wax from Marseille, lager from England or Austria, and wheat from Moldovia, thus creating a dependence on foreign goods. Despite Ottoman suzerainty over Yemen, Istanbul even imported American coffee instead of the closer source in Yemen. The British flocked to Aden to colonize it just as the French did in Algeria and both ventured into China and other faraway places to foster their trade while Istanbulites turned away from travelling to Yemen or India. Worsening the situation was the fact, *al-Jawā'ib* iterated, that trade inside the Ottoman capital had been relegated to Christians both native and foreign while Muslims resorted to the petty businesses and ignored crafts and major transactions. It was a shame, the newspaper carried on, to see that mosques and minarets were either built or restored by non-Muslims, at a point when a Turk neither dug earth nor climbed up high to earn his living in construction projects. States that sought true civilization for its people would prohibit that disparity and

promote trade and industry. Wealth and welfare did not emanate from laziness, poverty, and unemployment, the paper concluded.¹¹⁰

3. Tackling Political Transformations inside Europe: The State-Church Nexus and the Franco-Prussian War as Examples

Highlighting the vulnerabilities intrinsic to European political and military cultures, and dwelling on inter-European rivalries in domains ranging from church-state relations to international geopolitical strategies, *al-Jawā`ib* dedicated enormous efforts to translating and analyzing news from Europe. It addressed socialism, nationalism, secularism, and other contemporary trends in European political thought. It also framed Euro-Ottoman cooperation within the pan-Islamic doctrine that it promoted. Furthermore, the newspaper assessed such topics according to *tamaddun*, a notion it repeatedly employed as a multifaceted and dynamic tool for measuring cultural, economic, and political phenomena.

In 1868, and in response to an article in *Le Journal des Débats* that dwelled on instability in Europe and depicted the continent in a state of regression due to the lack of security and absence of accord between its states, *al-Jawā`ib* argued that France was heading towards civil strife, while Prussia was fomenting turmoil in Spain to create additional trouble for France next-door. *Le Journal des Débats* expressed French concern about the perpetuity of peace in the continent as well as at home and stipulated that peace

¹¹⁰ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. unclear, September 29, 1873, 1.

was in the interest of all European states.¹¹¹ *al-Jawā`ib* further observed that European states and societies, as they built up for war, were also turning against the power of the church. In Italy, Catholics were abandoning the Pope, Spain was ousting the Jesuits, and Austria was reviewing the relationship between the state and the church.¹¹² *Al-Jawā`ib* analyzed such developments as reconfigurations of power inside the continent and a redefinition of its social and political priorities.

The eventual collusion between the French and the Prusso-German armies, led to the defeat of the former and the fall of Paris in January 1871 to Prusso-German armies. *Al-Jawā`ib* was of the opinion that surrendering the city was better than allowing it to be destroyed by cannon; but even that did not seem a plausible way to end the war. Concerned that this city which exceeded the charm of any other city, did not deserve that one single wall be destroyed, the newspaper recommended its surrender.¹¹³ The proprietor who knew Paris intimately, dedicated many of his editorials to the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871. In his writing about the city, he demonstrated a good knowledge of its quarters, streets, and topography.¹¹⁴

Sympathizing with the fate of Parisians, *al-Jawā`ib* insisted that France had no interest in prolonging the war and acknowledged the courage with which the capital had bravely resisted the German offensive for four months.¹¹⁵ France, it recalled, which had

¹¹¹ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 367, November 24, 1868, 4.

¹¹² *al-Jawā`ib*, October 27, 1868, 1 and 4.

¹¹³ “Jumla Siyāsiyya,” *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 489, January 8, 1871, 1.

¹¹⁴ See “Jumla Siyāsiyya,” *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 490, January 11, 1871, 1.

¹¹⁵ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 496, February 5, 1871, 3.

terrified Europe since 1792, and to which all nations of the East and the West came to learn military arts at the Saint Cyr academy, and who introduced modern military organization to Egypt and Tunis, was outshined by a rather insignificant nation, Prussia. Still, imprudent French politicians like M. Gambetta were crying out for the resumption of war, while the Emperor himself was taken into captivity and Paris had been sacked. “Do not tell me that the neutral states are appalled by all of that ... or tried to protest,” the editor of *al-Jawā'ib* cried out.¹¹⁶ The newspaper, at the time, angrily spoke of British hesitation to stand by France, and advised the British leaders to act before France was totally wiped off. Nothing short of a British military intervention seemed to satisfy al-Shidayāq, and as a telegraph announced that the British were shipping 2,000 tons of dried meat, oats, and buckwheat to relieve Parisians, *al-Jawā'ib* cunningly wondered if that was out of British generosity or based on a mere sales transaction for profit.¹¹⁷

Al-Shidyāq confessed facing difficulties in grasping the intricacies of war in the European continent and understanding the enigmatic news that reached him by telegraph. He repeatedly blamed the inconsistencies in incoming reports. Accordingly, *al-Jawā'ib* had to apologize to its readership for any confusion it caused, insisting that telegrams underestimated the minds of the public and circulated mendacities.¹¹⁸

In brief, *al-Jawā'ib* saw in the humiliation which the Germans inflicted on the French a method intended to show the world that Prussia and Germany were the only

¹¹⁶ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 497, February 8, 1871, 1; *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 510, March 22, 1871, 1.

¹¹⁷ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 497, February 8, 1871, 3.

¹¹⁸ “Jumla Siyāsiyya,” *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 498, February 12, 1871, 1.

powers in Europe, and indicated that in politics as in war, they were claiming the upper-hand. When Prussia was gearing up for war, the French only mobilized words and promises.¹¹⁹ Even worse, according to Shidyāq, Napoleon III's own fascination with warfare led to his downfall. He was taken captive and his story became a lesson to all.¹²⁰

More salient, the newspaper felt, was how the sway of two ideological forces, nationalism and socialism, swept across Europe, especially during the war in France. *al-Jawā'ib* maintained that nationality (*al-jinsiyya*) had impeded political solutions. To some, it was based on the unity of language; but the newspaper could not see much force in that argument, given that many tribes who shared a common language did not form a nation, whereas many states or kingdoms assimilated people speaking different languages, while more than one opponent states shared the same language.¹²¹ National unity compounded with the sharing of a common language and religion did not seem to consolidate harmony and stability in places like Italy. So *al-Jawā'ib* thought that nationalism was emerging as a divisive force that did not promote peace.

Next to nationalism, socialism was a socio-political force *al-Jawā'ib* was suspicious of. The rise of socialism (*sushyālizm*), especially in Spain, France, Belgium, and Britain turned the newspaper's attention to the subject.¹²² From 1871, al-Shidyāq investigated and analyzed the French Commune, and later the Russian socialist movements,

¹¹⁹ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 505, March 8, 1871, 1.

¹²⁰ *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 508, March 15, 1871, 1.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *al-Jawā'ib*, no. 515, April 5, 1871, 3.

for which he crafted the term *ishtirākiyyūn* in 1878.¹²³ In the case of the French Commune, Ṭarābulsī and ‘Azmeḥ are intrigued by his diligence in observing what even “Marx had missed or omitted: the patriotic and nationalist dimension to the [class] struggle.”¹²⁴ Al-Shidyāq’s analysis was rather attentive to European national contexts. He had also found terrifying the eventual atrocities and violence committed by the communards in Paris, which made him foresee their downfall, and favor tyranny and even state suppression over militant popular demands for change.¹²⁵ As *al-Jawā’ib* kept pace with the spread of populist and socialist movements across Europe, it observed that in France and other places, the protest against the central government, was coupled with a call for the rise of the poor against the rich. *al-Jawā’ib* was however convinced that the socialist beliefs were being implemented through violent means and often ended in looting and pillaging.¹²⁶

Opposed to all ideology, it singled out religious overzealousness (*al-ta’aṣṣub fī al-dīn*) as the opposite of *tamaddun*.¹²⁷ It added that obedience to priests, attending churches, and honoring religious leadership was something commoners simply inherited from their ancestors. Even kings were careful to respect the clerical order, and Napoleon III himself who was seen by many as an a-religious philosophe regularly attended Sunday mass. He must have occupied Rome chiefly to satisfy the elders of the French Catholic church, the newspaper suggested. In this respect, *al-Jawā’ib* continued, the Irish Catholics were the

¹²³ Ṭarābulsī and ‘Azmeḥ, 46.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 47.

¹²⁶ *al-Jawā’ib*, no. 518, April 16, 1871, 1; *al-Jawā’ib*, no. 411, October 18, 1869, 4.

¹²⁷ *al-Jawā’ib*, no. 493, January 25, 1871, 4.

most religiously zealous people in Europe, and their fanaticism was unwavering. The newspaper did not deem it opportune for European leaders to clash with the church elders, as their countries fought one another.¹²⁸

More significantly, sensing turmoil and instability in Europe, during the early 1870s, *al-Jawā`ib* promptly demanded European powers to cease meddling in the affairs of the Ottoman Christian minorities. It argued that just as France defended the Catholics in all corners of the world, the Ottoman Empire offered a canopy under which all Muslims in the world could seek refuge and support. In its protection of the Orthodox Christians everywhere, Russia emerged as their guardian power, and both, Russia and France, permitted themselves to interfere in matters relating to Ottoman Christian subjects although they were Ottoman citizens, so Istanbul had the right, *al-Jawā`ib* reasoned, to intercede and interfere in all issues pertaining to Muslims, everywhere. As the Dutch fought their spice trade wars in the Indian Ocean and the Russians threatened all Muslim lands in Central Asia, *al-Jawā`ib* propagated Islamic unity as a counter strategy.¹²⁹

The 1870s was the period when *al-Jawā`ib* conversed confidently and spoke openly about Europe. Coinciding with the eventful years that struck the continent and shook the foundations of its supremacy, *al-Jawā`ib* shifted its focus momentarily away from the internal news of the Ottoman Empire and focused on news from Europe. The emphasis in the writings of Fāris Efendi on inter-European conflicts, the emerging states system, the socio-religious makeup, and the cultural and ideological metamorphosis of the

¹²⁸ “Jumla Siyāsiyya,” *al-Jawā`ib*, no. 493, January 25, 1871, 1.

¹²⁹ *al-Jawā`ib*, no. unclear, June 4, 1873, 1.

late 19th century Europe lasted up until the early 1880s when European powers returned to the Middle East, and eventually occupied Egypt.

Al-Jawā'ib was one of the early Arab-Ottoman bridges with Europe. Without it the view of Europe would have probably developed more monolithically in Arabic thought and language. His *al-Jawā'ib* offered a second view – a second opinion – and an alternative, especially for the Arabic reader, trajectory or discourse in approaching the west and defining the interplay between equals. Here Europe was not just Paris, and Paris was not the only iconic modern city in Europe or the world. Moreover, *al-Jawā'ib* illustrated more than a single side of Europe – that of might, civilization, and splendor. It shed light on the darker side of European civilization that produced rigid social stratification, poverty, prostitution, inequality, struggle, and conflict.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

After repeated attempts at establishing himself in journalism first in his youth at *al-Waqā`i` al-Miṣriyya*, then with *Uṭārid* and *al-Rā`id al-Tūnisī*, al-Shidyāq achieved his historical moment with *al-Jawā`ib*. Reinscribing al-Shidyāq as a journalist and revisiting his career as editor of *al-Jawā`ib* renders his writings more nuanced both politically and socio-culturally. His newspaper's *raison d'être* was to serve as the Arabic mouthpiece for the Ottoman Empire. The role it played in promoting the political agenda of the Ottoman administration contradicted the early role al-Shidyāq played as a belletrist and a free thinker. This was because he willfully locked himself up in the Sultan's cage preferring to enjoy the luxuries of stability and security while he managed to pursue a career he long sought.

The newspaper sketched a world in which Europe was everywhere on the offensive while the Ottomans and Muslims were on a defensive retreat. Within this context, it called for Ottoman reform and Islamic unity. It similarly called upon the speakers of Arabic tongue to revitalize their written and spoken language by incorporating new and contemporary ideas in the world around them.

Seen in retrospect, the topics *al-Jawā`ib* grappled with reflected the Ottoman Empire's interaction with modernity and the power of Europe. What *al-Jawā`ib* concealed or glossed over was all that irritated or threatened the Ottoman authorities. In other words, what it revealed was the impressions those in authority aimed at creating for public

consumption. As far as Europe was concerned, *al-Jawā'ib* attempted to introduce modernity piecemeal. Overall, it was tailoring modernity to fit in an Ottoman context.

Al-Shidyāq was survived by his wife Şafiyya (1841-1915), his son Salīm (1826-1908), and his grand-daughter Rose (1879-1936). We know little about his second wife Şafiyya, a British convert to Islam who died in 1915 and was buried in the family's Muslim vaults in the Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris. She was believed to have been authoring a book entitled *The Soul of Islamism*.¹ Educated at the Bardo Military School, Salīm Fāris worked as a translator for the Tunisian Ministry of Foreign Affairs before he joined his father's business. From the late 1870s to 1884, Salīm acted as the managing director (*mudīr al-Jawā'ib*) under the tutelage of his father.

Upon the terminal suspension of *al-Jawā'ib* in 1884, Salīm considered moving the family business to Cairo.² Lured by the British diplomatic service to found a paper there, he established the newspapers *al-Qāhira* (1885); a year later he replaced it with *al-Qāhira al-Hurra* (1886).³ He readily received payments from the British government. At least at one point, he managed to blackmail the British Foreign Office and extract an unusual amount of

¹ "The Late Mrs. Safia Ahmed Faris," *The Times*, June 23, 1915. Other sources suggest that she was buried at the Muslim cemetery in Brookwood, England. Jamie Gilham, *Loyal Enemies: British Converts to Islam, 1850-1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 288. See also "Frontispiece: In Memoriam," *Islamic Review and Muslim India* 3, no. 8 (1915).

² In 1886, al-Shidyāq visited Cairo and received a warm welcome. They might have at the time contemplated relocating *al-Jawā'ib* to Cairo, but this project never materialized. Incidentally, when Fāris Nimr applied for a license from the British Authorities in Cairo to start his *al-Muqaṭṭam*, Lord Cromer declined to approve. Nimr narrated that Cromer claimed to have mixed up between Nimr and al-Shidyāq, on account of their shared forename. The incident suggests that Cromer was not quite fond of al-Shidyāq. Ismā'īl Sirāj al-Dīn, *Dhākirat Miṣr al-Mu'āṣira* (Maktabat al-Iskindiriyya, 2008), 110.

³ Ṭarrāzī, vol. 3, 47-50.

money from it in return for propaganda services in Egypt.⁴ In 1885, Salīm was paid £200 to launch an Arabic newspaper “to counter the anti-British tone of the local press.” He was also assigned an additional £100 per annum. Shortly after, he bluntly demanded additional funds from Sir Evelyn Baring (later Lord Cromer), then British Consul-General in Egypt, and threatened to turn his newspaper into a pro-Turkish one unless he was paid more.⁵ Also in 1885, his publication, under the franchise of *al-Jawā’ib* press of an extravagant album featuring portraits of the successive Ottoman Sultans suggests that he too kept a courteous and possibly lucrative relationship with the Ottomans.⁶ The only book he wrote was *The Decline of British Prestige in the East*.⁷ This work ignited an internal row between the British Foreign Office officials and Baring in Egypt in 1887. Evelyn Baring angrily responded to Salīm Fāris’ accusations against his administration in Egypt in a report to his superiors in London.⁸ Baring wrote “there is scarcely a statement in his book which is not either absolutely untrue or very inaccurate.”⁹

Pertaining to *al-Jawā’ib*, Salīm indicated that the late newspaper had distinctly honored British political and strategic interests; he elaborated:

During the last ten years that I conducted the *El-Jawā’ib*, that well-known Arabic journal, which was founded in 1860 by my father, Ahmed Faris Efendi, in

⁴ James MacManus, “How Newsmen were ‘Bought’ to Meet Secret Service Needs,” *The Times*, July 16, 1993.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ *Abda ‘ mā kān fī Ṣuwar Salāḩīn Āl ‘Uthmān: Album Des Soverains Ottomans* (Constantinople: al-Jawā’ib Press, 1885).

⁷ Selim Faris, *The Decline of British Prestige in the East* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1887).

⁸ “Sir E. Baring to the Marquis of Salisbury,” Cairo, December 14, 1887, no. 562, in *Affairs of Egypt: Further Correspondence Part XXIII*, (July-December 1887), 93-123.

⁹ Ibid., 93.

Constantinople, the policy of that paper on all subjects relating to Central Asia has always been more in favor of England than of any other nation. The articles of *El-Jawāib*, were not only largely reproduced in the native press in India where they were extensively read, but also by the chief organs of public opinion in London.¹⁰

Salīm Fāris's name later featured within the inner circle of the Young Turks movement.¹¹ He became a leader of the Parti Constitutionnel en Turquie.¹² In 1895, he began the publication of *Hürriyet* (Liberty) in London that became a mouthpiece for Ottoman liberals and opposed Abdülhamid II. He later unsuccessfully negotiated with the Ottoman government the concession for the Beirut water company in return for terminating *Hürriyet*.¹³

Salīm's career in journalism was neither as stellar nor as long as his father's. He seems to have only understood the profession of journalism as a tool for propaganda, political intrigues, and financial profit. Lacking his father's cultural background, he practiced journalism with the spirit of a political player and not a belletrist. Still, he was a man of the world who seems to have travelled extensively between Cairo, Istanbul, and London, and associated with influential figures, especially in London and Istanbul. For example, he maintained correspondence with British Orientalists Wilfred Scawen Blunt and

¹⁰ Faris, *The Decline*, v.

¹¹ Hasan Kayalı, *Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 40 and 42.

¹² M. Şükrü Hanioglu, "The Young Turks and the Arabs before the Revolution of 1908," in *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, ed. Rashid Khalidi, Lisa Anderson, Muhammad Muslih, and Reeva Simon (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 32.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 33.

George Birdwood.¹⁴ His business card was found among the possessions of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī suggesting a possible acquaintanceship.¹⁵ Salīm Fāris died in San Remo in January 1908.

Rose, Salīm's daughter, was named after her grandmother Warda (al-Shidyāq's first wife) and was known to enjoy, like her grandfather, the play on variations of her name. In Istanbul, where she grew up and attended Robert's College, she went by the name Gül, while in Europe she adopted Rosalind.¹⁶ We learn from court documents in France that Rosalind disputed her inheritance rights against her father's relatives in Mount Lebanon, specifically her cousin Najā, the son of Ṭannūs al-Shidyāq. She won the case on grounds that her father died as a Muslim. The young Miss Fāris must have inherited a hefty fortune, estimated by a French court at 350,000 francs, which included many of Aḥmad Fāris' possessions.¹⁷ Rosalind, however, lived to squander much that was bestowed on her. Her marriage to a certain Lieutenant Legge of the British armed forces ended in fiasco and in court.¹⁸

¹⁴ Between 1883 and 1887 Blunt received 9 letters from Salīm Fāris; they are held at the West Sussex Record Office (Blunt/Box 20/Faris). Also, judging by the online archive catalogue of the British Library: Asian and African Studies, Fāris sent at least one letter to Sir George Birdwood (Mss Eur F216/15, 1889).

¹⁵ 'Alī Shalash, *Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī bayna Dārisīh* (Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq, 1987), 59.

¹⁶ Būlus Mas'ad, *Fāris al-Shidyāq* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Akhā', 1934), 48.

¹⁷ *Journal du Droit International Privé: Recueil Critique de Doctrine, Jurisprudence, et Législation, concernant les étrangers et les conflits de lois dans les différents pays*, nos. 1-2 (1911): 1265-1270. Another source, the *Journal de Salonique* edited by Saadi Levy suggested 800,000 francs. Ab-der-Rahman, "Souvenirs de l'ancien régime: Selim Faris," *Journal de Salonique*, January 16, 1910, 2.

¹⁸ "An Army Officer's Divorce Suit: Legge v. Legge and Landolf," *The Times*, February 8, 1924, 5.

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