The kingdom of the book: The history of printing as an agency of change in Morocco between 1865 and 1012

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Boston University, 1990

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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

Dissertation

THE KINGDOM OF THE BOOK: THE HISTORY OF PRINTING AS AN
AGENCY OF CHANGE IN MOROCCO BETWEEN 1865 AND 1912

by

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by
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Boston University, Graduate School, 1990
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Abstract
From 1864, when printing technology was first introduced to Moroc-
co, until 1912 when the country became a French Protectorate, Moroccans
managed several printing establishments which can be credited with
contributing a variety of major changes in Moroccan history. The main
purpose of printing, according to Moroccans of the time, was to revive
Islam and maintain its tradition. Instead, printing technology changed
the manner in which Islamic tradition was transmitted and changed the
power structure of the traditional leaders.

On a political level the use of printing technology was recognized
by the Sultans, the Ulama (i.e., the religious scholars) and the
notables as a formidable agent of propaganda enhancing the power of the
group in control in the country and abroad. A conflict between the
Sultans and the Ulama emerged as a result of competition among these
groups for control of this technology, thus paving the way for censor-
ship and total monopoly of printing by the Sultans.

On an economic level the utilization of printing helped to introduce
the principle of gathering experts, namely technicians, scholars and
publishers, in one place to mass produce a commodity for the market-
place. This signified a shift from Morocco's centuries-old
service-oriented book trade towards an inventory-oriented business
which necessitated the opening up of distribution outlets and the use
of advertisements to insure profitability and growth. This new technol-
ogy also had a major impact on the function of the scribal class.

On yet another level, the use of printing also resulted in the
production of well edited texts, the accumulation of data, the preser-
vation and wider dissemination of knowledge. The abundance of printed
books gradually weakened the traditional memorization system in educa-
tion. Publishers focused their efforts on the larger reading public
producing more and more issue-oriented and affordable texts at the
expense of the traditional and too specialized texts. Both new ideas
and new forms of expression began to be widely circulated. Writers
copyrighted their works. A new era began in which independent and
creative ideas were more important and rewarding than writings which
served as links in the traditional chain of authority transmitting
divine knowledge from one generation to another.
PREFACE

My interest in Moroccan studies goes back to the Fall of 1969 when I was selected by the Ministry of Education in Iraq to become a member of the Iraqi educational mission to Algeria in order to assist the local government in its campaign to Arabize the country.

From 1969 until 1972, when I immigrated and settled in the United States, I was constantly exposed to Moroccan literature and its people through reading and numerous visits to various parts of the country like Meknès, Nadur, Milliliyah, Fes, Tetuan and Tangiers. As a graduate of Shari'ah College (of the University of Baghdad) in 1967 where I was trained in Islamic jurisprudence and Arabic studies, I was impressed with Morocco's ability to preserve its Arabic language and many aspects of its Islamic tradition despite almost five decades of French attempts to undermine the country's social and educational institutions. In contrast to other North African nations, especially Algeria, Morocco appeared to be less threatened by the French legacy and in particular the French language, which was the official language of administration and higher education in the country. At the time, I attributed Morocco's strong sense of security to a hybrid system of education combining both Islamic studies and Western topics right from the start of the French era in 1912. This combination was lacking in Algeria not only because of the absence of such education but also because of the much harsher French policies and their extended existence in Algeria from 1830 until the 1960s.

Aside from my involvement in Arabization and regular contributions as literary critic to the Algerian daily newspaper, "al-Sha'b", my interest in Morocco did not take a practical turn until the fall of 1977 when I was appointed Arabic Language Specialist at Harvard College Library, responsible for selecting books and cataloguing them.

The logistics of my responsibilities at Harvard brought me very close to the Moroccan collection, in particular, the Fes lithographs which are considered problematic for scholars and students because they are in the old Maghribi script which is not easy to read. Because no one else had attempted to control the Fes imprints, I took it upon myself to undertake this project to provide access to this literature and to carry out research about Moroccan intellectual life at a future time.

After I had completed my Master's degree at Boston University majoring in North African history, I began to collect data concerning the question of Arabization in North Africa. After I wrote a long essay about Arabization in Algeria I decided to engage my energies in studying the history of printing as an agent of change in Morocco because, unlike Arabization, no one had yet dealt with the topic in a systematic fashion.

With the endorsement of the library administration at Harvard, namely, Dr. David Partington, the head of the Middle Eastern Department, I began to compile the Fes bibliography. I also received suggestions and encouragement from several Moroccan scholars like G. Ayache, Muhammad al-Hamani, Abd al-Rahman al-Fasri and Abd al-Wahhab ibn Mansur among many others. I purchased a good number of the books for Harvard, recording whatever information I could find about the Fes lithographs during my repeated and productive visits to several re-
search libraries and old book stores in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, France, England and the United States. The result of this endeavor was
the accumulation of several hundred titles documenting the entire
period from 1864 when printing was introduced to Morocco and 1946 when
presumably the last lithographic machines were destroyed in Fez at the
hands of the French authorities.

With a wealth of material at hand and the proper background in
Arabic, Islamic studies, and librarianship, it was an easy choice to
deide the topic of my doctoral thesis under the direction of almost
the same professors who had trained me in the Master’s program.

However, the presentation of this thesis was no easy task. Studying
printing alone involved three dimensions each of which included at
least one or more aspect. For example, studying printing requires
knowledge about the technology, its product and the forces behind the
tool or the product. This included historical knowledge about the
technology, the purposes it was made for, the organization surrounding
printing and its management, the nature of the product (i.e. book
format and content), the skills of the printers, and the background of
those who were more likely to be involved in the process like authors,
editors, typesetters, scribes, publishers, and above all the ability to
read the Maghribi script.

To complicate the matter further, the element of change which was
suggested by Professor Irene Gendzier as the thrust of the thesis or
the bridge between the two eras of manuscripts and printing, required
thorough knowledge of Moroccan history before the advent of printing,
in particular the way Moroccans produced their manuscripts, and what it

meant to the country as a whole.

In my attempt to examine the era of manuscripts in Morocco, I was
faced with a major obstacle in the form of an apparent contradiction
between the availability of ample evidence in the Koran, Hadith,
etc. supporting learning, scholarship, education (see A. al-Yusi’s
Qanun, Fez, 1893) and the fact that no one in Morocco had made a
serious attempt to introduce into the country a printing machine which
is made to serve knowledge. As a student of Islam, I knew about the
existence of a few religious obstacles in translating the Koran into
non-Arabic languages, basically because the Koran is regarded by Mus-
lims as God’s miracle (Nur-jizah) the way it was written. I also knew
that because of the miracle factor, copying the Koran required extreme
attention to duplicate it the way it was put together by the Third
Caliph, 'Uthman ibn Affan, during the seventh century. Also, there was
the question of Tabarah (i.e., purity) which meant that non-Muslims
could not handle the Koran, first because they were non-Muslims and
second they might use impure, or unacceptable substances such as pigs
hair, fat, etc. in dealing with the Koran.

Accordingly, I turned my attention to the Ottoman Turks to see how
they came to be the first among all Muslims to accept printing technol-
y. To my surprise, the same patterns of apparent contradiction
between theory and practice were repeated despite the fact that the
Ottomans were followers of the Hanafiyyah school of jurisprudence which
is historically much more opinionated and less traditional than the
Malikiyyah school which the Moroccans followed. At this point, I turned
my investigation towards the Koran and the early legal texts of Islam
where I found a set of interrelated principles such as the belief in Islam’s superiority and purity in regard to non-Muslims to be the main factors which prevented Muslims for centuries not only from adopting printing, but also in their preference of one brand over another (i.e., lithograph versus moveable type) when they finally decided to utilize printing.

What is significant here is that no other scholar has attempted so far to make the connection between Islam’s refusal to adopt printing for centuries, and its self-proclaimed superiority. This conviction energized Muslims from the Seventh Century on to build their education, scholarship, script, etc. around the Koran. But it hindered them from adapting to the rapid changes of the world, especially since the modern world was conceived and propagated by Europeans who as Christians were regarded as inferior by the world of Islam.

What this means is that Muslims, and in particular the traditional elements, had to change their attitudes towards non-Muslims if printing were to be accepted. It also meant that without the threatening challenges put to Muslims by Europeans, printing would never have been accepted. It was Europe’s rise to supremacy which forced Muslims to change their attitudes towards non-Muslims and their printing technology. The acceptance of printing therefore signified the modification and sometimes the abandonment of traditional Islamic principles. It was also for this reason that the relatively open-minded and practical Ottomans emerged to be the first Muslims to adopt printing (in 1727) while the more traditional Moroccans were among the last (in 1864).

So, to trace and develop the elements which contributed to Islam’s change of attitude towards printing, it was necessary to present this study in three segments; the first, which I refer to as the era of manuscripts, required the coverage of manuscript production in Morocco and its intellectual contents as evidence to see how Islamic principles have been reflected in manuscript production (Chapters I and II). In the second segment (Chapters III and IV) the history of printing in Europe, its invention, management and spread to the Muslim world, namely Istanbul which was the main center of Islam from which it spread to the rest of the Muslim world.

In the third segment (Chapters V through IX) I traced and discussed the elements which contributed to the introduction of printing and its initial acceptance among Muslims in Morocco. The acceptance of printing and its integration into Moroccan society resulted in a series of modifications and changes which affected the social, economic, political, educational, and intellectual aspects of Moroccan life, and ultimately helped the country to become a meaningful member of the modern world.

Two important points should be noted: first, with few minor modifications, I have used the Library of Congress’s transliteration system for its convenience and legibility to many scholars; Second, this study could not have been completed without the assistance and input of a great number of friends, relatives, among them my wife who labored long hours to edit, type, revise and suggest ideas for the sake
of clarity for readers unfamiliar with the subject. Also I want to thank Dr. David Partridge who read and discussed with me most of the thesis, and Professor Muhsin Mahdi of Harvard who listened patiently for over a year to my arguments about the topic. It was through these discussions that I found my way to the core of Islam to address questions related to the use and implications of printing in Morocco between 1864 and 1912.

Finally, my sincere thanks and gratitude go out to all the members of my committee who took time to read this thesis and provide valuable suggestions. In particular, Professors Irene Gendzier, Herbert Mann and Merlin Swart whose contributions and impact on the direction of this thesis are evident throughout, especially in its organization and thrust.
INTRODUCTION

In this Introduction I will discuss the significance of the major sources which I utilized in writing about the history of printing in Morocco, and point out, whenever possible, some of the reasons why this subject has been overlooked. This study consists of nine different chapters but thematically it is in three interrelated categories: first, the study of book production in Morocco before the advent of printing; second, the invention of printing and its spread in the Muslim world; and third, the history of printing as an agent of change in Morocco between 1865 and 1920.

In the first category (chapters I and II) three kinds of sources were utilized: unpublished manuscripts, secondary sources and consultations with experts on Moroccan or Maghribi script. Among the unpublished materials, there is no doubt that Ahmad al-Rifa‘i’s manuscript, Ḥilyat al-kuttab, (Rabat, 1816) is the most useful and important text available. What is significant about al-Rifa‘i’s work is that it represents Moroccan standards for penmanship. al-Rifa‘i informs us that he first composed a poem entitled, Ḥama al-la‘ali al-ṣiqq, and when requested by his contemporaries to explain it he wrote, Ḥilyah in which he gave an explanation of the rules of penmanship. Prior to al-Rifa‘i’s Ḥilyah, Moroccans possibly used al-Arabi al-Masari’s Nur al-siraj, (Fez, n.d.) as a guide to script writing. However, this latter 17th century text is too brief and general as it covers all aspects of Islamic scholarship. It was also written in poetry form (ḥama), but no one attempted to write a commentary about it until the 1890s when one of the leading Ulama of Fez, Ahmad al-Balghithi, did so and published it in Cairo in 1898. al-Balghithi’s commentary is entitled, al-Ṭa‘āla‘a‘.

Both texts, and their commentaries, were utilized to assess book production in Morocco in terms of the script used and the background of scribes. Although the above texts are available at the National Library in Morocco and the introductory portion of al-Rifa‘i’s Ḥilyah has been printed in two scholarly periodicals, Dal‘as al-Maqri (Rabat) and al-Mawrid (Baghdad), no one has thus far benefited from these valuable sources to explore the still somewhat obscure cultural history of this period.

The second category of sources I used included scores of catalogues covering the manuscript holdings of various private and public libraries in Morocco (for details see the bibliography). Among the most useful of the manuscript catalogues was Muhammad al-Manuni’s bibliographic essay, "al-Miraqah fi l-‘asr al-‘Alawi." al-Manuni’s essay is a record of the production of some one hundred and twenty scribes who were active during the period between 1790 and 1860. al-Manuni’s main purpose in compiling his bibliography was to highlight the achievements of Morocco under the Alawite sultans by giving the numbers of manuscripts which were produced in all fields of Islamic sciences. To put al-Manuni’s material to a different use I reorganized his bibliography under several categories such as subject matter, the financial sponsors or buyers of books, the origin and the background of the scribes. The purpose of such reorganization was to see what kind of themes were of greatest interest to Moroccans before the advent of printing, and from
what social background or regions of the country the scribes came from, and above all, who benefitted most from the production of manuscripts in Morocco. Such insights were of great significance to this study in order to be able to recognize and properly assess the various changes which directly or indirectly related to the utilization of printing.

The third source of information was direct contact with famous scholars like Muhammad al-Manuni, Muhammad Najji, the former Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at the University of Muhammad V, Rabat and al-Arabi al-Khatibi, the Librarian at the Bibliothèque Royale in Rabat. The purpose of these consultations was not only to examine the needed manuscripts but also to confirm certain findings such as the fact that book production in Morocco was service (shu'ra') oriented instead of inventory based; the verification of scripts and their documentation according to locale. Some of the results of such consultations are evident in illustrations of various Maghribi scripts. In addition, it was also able to obtain valuable biographical information about many Moroccan scribes like member of the Ibn Sudah family. Information about script and scribes is not easily obtained without considerable training and knowledge of Maghribi scripts which probably is the main reason why most of the contemporary scholars have overlooked the history of printing in Morocco. Most of the primary materials are still in manuscript form and for the most part inaccessible except for those who can visit the country and use them on site.

In general, none of the sources material cited above, whether primary or secondary) examined the social, religious or intellectual signifi-

cance of book production in Morocco before the advent of printing. This study provides the first attempt to do so.

The second segment (Chapters III and IV) of this study is a brief review of the history of printing in Europe, its invention, management and spread to the Muslim capitals, especially Istanbul, which became the first Muslim center to import a machine and utilize printing technology.

Most of the source material utilized in this segment are familiar texts and documents. This includes Alois Sonnefelder's A Complete Course of Lithography (London, 1819); Antoine Ramcourt's A Manual of Lithography (London, 1821). These books were of great assistance in appreciating lithographic printing which was very common in Pez up until 1912. In addition, other serious works were consulted about the moveable-type printing which appeared in Tangiers in the 1880s and in Pez in 1906. Among such works were James Moran's comprehensive study, A Anatomy of Printing (New York, 1970).

However, among all the useful books about printing, the most significant and interesting works were Elizabeth Eisenstein's The Printing Press as an Agent of Change (Cambridge, England, 1980) and Ibrahim Muteferrika's essay, "Wasilat al-tiba'ah", which he published as an introduction to the Ottoman's first printed book, al-Jawhari's Sibah, (Istanbul, 1728). Eisenstein worked hard to diagnose and define the major elements of what she called, "the print culture". Such elements are normally reflected in the various effects which the utilization of the technology brings about. Among such effects are the production of
identical texts in large numbers, the standardization of the script, the creation of an organization to handle the distribution, the accumulation of data, and the preservation and dissemination of knowledge, among many other potential effects.

Although Eisenstein's study does not directly address the history of printing in Morocco, I have benefited from its framework as a guide to the observation, documentation and discussion of the various effects of printing technology in Morocco (Chapters VI-IX).

As for Muteferrika's essay, "Wasilat al-tiba'ah" it, too, was of enormous value to this study. Muteferrika was from Transylvania. He converted to Islam and emerged as a statesman in the Ottoman Empire. He also became the first official manager of the printing establishment in Istanbul during 1728. To facilitate the acceptance and spread of printing among the Muslims, especially the religious leaders, he wrote his "Wasilat al-tiba'ah" highlighting the various benefits of the technology to education and for the dissemination of knowledge. Also, he solicited over ten written statements from leading Ottoman judges and Ulama of the time to support his venture. However, despite all, the Ottoman Sultan, with the recommendation of the Empire's Grand Mufti, limited the utilization of printing to produce secular topics only.

This ban on printing Islamic texts was not broken until late in the 18th or early 19th century when the traditional Ulama like Muhammad Haqqi printed their books and came to grips with the economic and other values of the technology. It was via Haqqi's book, Nafa' al-

khali'aq, (Cairo, N.D.) that Moroccan 'Ulama like al-Mahdi al-Wazzani, in his book al-Mi'yar al-jadid (Fes, 1910) copied Muteferrika's ten points in defense of printing, attributing them, as Haqqi did, to the Ulama of Islam instead of to Muteferrika.

In Chapter IV of this present study I have presented the ten points in defense of printing the way Haqqi understood them. The difference between Haqqi's and Muteferrika's interpretation is that the former saw printing as a tool to serve Islam in the traditional way to stand up to Europe, whereas Muteferrika viewed printing as a means to strengthen the declining power of the Ottoman Empire by spreading education. In Morocco, where the Malikiyyah Tradition went back to the early days of Islam, and Sufism had deep roots at all levels of society, the path of reform envisioned or forged by Haqqi was followed with the aid of printing.

The third segment, which embodies the central theme of this study, is devoted to the history of printing in Morocco and the effects of its utilization on the government, the Ulama, the printers, the publishers and the production of intellectual or scholarly publications in the country between 1865 and 1920. (Chapters V-IX).

Aside from the tens of sources which were used to construct and present the first two segments (Chapter I-II; and III-IV) additional sets of published and unpublished books, bibliographies, and documents were utilized. This literature consisted of:

A) The Fes imprints which are documented in my bibliography Matbu‘at Fas al-hajariyyah, 1865-1940, (Rabat, 1989 forthcoming). In this bibliography some 463 titles have been verified and classified under the
names of authors, editors, publishers, printers, scribes, and the
distributors of paper in Morocco whose names appeared in the water or
dry mark in the books. The production of this bibliography has been an
integral part of the research for this study, and most of the factual de-
tails about book production in Morocco have been gleaned from the
bibliography.

My bibliography is an extension of several previous works, among
them R. Levi-Provençal's and M. Bencheheb's _Essai de Répertoire chrono-
logique des éditions de Fès_ (Algeria, 1922). The significance of
Provençal and Bencheheb's work is that it presents a subject classifi-
cation of the 405 different titles it includes. Many of these titles
were erroneously presumed to be printed books and dated some eighty-two
years before lithographic printing was invented by Alois Senefelder of
Germany in 1798. Another significant aspect of this work is its
presentation of the various editions of the same book in and outside
Morocco until 1922. A combination of the subject classification as
well as the list of editions, was utilized in this study to learn about
the popular texts in Morocco as well as to understand the direction of
scholarly and intellectual activities.

In addition to Provençal’s _Essai_, there were other similar works
upon which my bibliography was based. The most important was Idris al-
Idrisi’s _Al-Ma’jam al-mustaf’a al-Maghribiyah_ (Rabat, 1989). al-Idrisi
died in 1971 leaving behind him a short list (one hundred typed pages)
of Moroccan imprints. This list was developed by al-Idrisi’s son, Abd
al-Wahab, into four times its original size and was published at the
beginning of this year under the name of al-Idrisi.

The difference between the original and the expanded version of al-
Idrisi’s list is not only the size but also the content. The expanded
version consists of biographical information about each author along
with an extensive record of Moroccan imprints between 1865 and 1970
including educational material for all levels of schools in Morocco.
Both the original and expanded versions by al-Idrisi have been utilized
in this study to document the activities of printers and to assess the
size of the book production.

B) Published and unpublished primary sources. Included here were
several significant works by Muhammad al-Manuni in his _Masahir yaghat
al-Maghrib_ (Beirut, 1985); Germain Ayache’s _L’Apparition de l’Imprim-
erie au Maroc_ published in _Mousadica-Pamuda_ in 1964; Abd al-Salam al-
Runda’s _Hadith ma’a al-Tayyib al-Asrag_ (Mazm., Rabat, 1917).

In _Masahir_, al-Manuni presents over one hundred different documents
covering the social, economic, political and cultural conditions in
Morocco between 1830 and 1912. Most, if not all, of these documents
were beneficial to this study, especially the ones related to the
history of printing. This includes, first, the contract which was
signed between Muhammad al-Tayyib al-Rudani, the Moroccan who first
introduced the tool of printing to his country, and Muhammad al-Qabbani
of Egypt, who was brought to Morocco by al-Rudani along with printing
equipment to start a business and operate it. Second is the financial
records of the printing operation which were kept by the Grand Vizir,
al-Tayyib Bu’l’ahrin also known as Bel Yanani. These documents show the
wages paid to the printers and students and the cost of running the
printing operation. Third is the correspondence between Moroccan offi-
cial and Egyptian heads of state on the one hand and the printers and scholars on the other, in regard to importing supplies, training students, establishing outlets to distribute books, and honoring printers. Fourth is a brief list of the Fez imprints showing the products of the printers and those who were involved in promoting them.

al-Munani's overriding aim in writing his book, Mazahir, was to demonstrate that there was a general movement and awakening (Tazqah) in Morocco before the French protectorate in 1912. This movement was generated by the rise of Europe and its direct and indirect threat to Morocco. Although al-Munani succeeded in his purpose, he stopped short of providing any form of critical appraisal of his documents, and questioning of their meanings. To give one simple, but still very significant example, while compiling his historical data, al-Munani transmitted the opinion which was common among the court historians like Abd al-Rahman ibn Zaydan, that when al-Rudani brought his printing machine to Morocco he gave it as a gift to Sultan Muhammad IV. It is rather unusual and illogical to think that al-Rudani purchased a printing machine from Egypt, shipped it to his hometown, Tarudant, in southern Morocco, commissioned a printer to work for him for a year, then, while at the port of al-Sawiyrah (near Tarudant) decided to give his machine to the Sultan.

According to al-Naba'a's Hadith which I uncovered in Rabat during the summer of 1965, when the machine arrived at al-Sawayrah, the authorities discussed its fate with the Sultan who ordered it to be sent to Meknes in central Morocco where the country's first book, Al-Shama'il by al-Tirmidhi, was printed in 1865. The narrator of this incident in Hadith was al-Tayyib al-Azzaq who was one of the students of the Egyptian printer who accompanied the machine to Meknes and became Morocco's first manager and instructor of printing for the government.

Contrary to al-Munani's approach to writing history, is that of Germain Ayache. He had identical interests with al-Munani but was critical in approach and interpretation. In his essay "L'Apparition..." Ayache provides similar documentation to that of al-Munani. In fact, a facsimile of the contract between al-Rudani and al-Qubbani (Ayache calls him al-Qayyani) are presented along with an illustration of al-Shama'il's colophon (ending remarks) in which the date and the place of the publication appear. Using such material, Ayache drew a clear picture about the circumstances in which printing arrived in Morocco and he also raised interesting questions such as what happened during the interim period between August 1864 (the date the contract went into effect) and 1865 when al-Rudani's machine ended up in the hands of the Moroccan government. Ayache suggested that because of this time lapse (a few months) it is possible that another publication might have been produced before al-Shama'il.

On the one hand, this present study benefitted a great deal from Ayache's pioneering efforts in marking the beginning of printing in Morocco, and pointing out the problems faced by earlier historians dealing with the topic. On the other hand, Ayache's essay included a few inaccuracies which had to be revised in this study. Among them was his suggestion that Moroccans did not know before 1964 that al-Shama'il was Morocco's first printed book. Another inaccuracy was his sugge-
tion that there might have been another book printed before al-Shama'il because of the gap between the machine's arrival in the country and the date of al-Shama'il's publication. His third inaccurate assumption was that al-Rudani gave his machine to the Sultan as a gift, whereas a more reasonable conclusion is that the Sultan confiscated it for his own use.

C) Secondary published and unpublished studies like Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani's "al-Mazahir al-amsiyah," (Ms., Rabat, 1927?); Muhammad Zarif's "al-Nayat al-adabiyyah fi al-zawiyyah al-Ma'ayniyah," (MA thesis Rabat, 1987); Roger Le Tourneau's "Fès avant le protectorat," Beirut, 1986; Susan Miller's "Voyage to the Land of the Sun" (Ph.D. thesis), The University of Michigan, 1976, were used to clarify and strengthen a variety of points made throughout the thesis. A. al-Kattani's al-Mazahir offers a wealth of information about several members of the Kattaniyyah Sufi order like the author's father, Abd al-Kabir, his brother, Muhammad, and his first cousin, Muhammad Za'far. In addition, the text includes a wealth of information about the relationship between the Kattaniyyah leaders and Ma'al-Aynayn, members of the Pan-Islamic Ulama in the Ottoman Empire (like Yusuf al-Mahbani) and the Moroccan officials, namely Sultans Abd al-Asia and Abd al-Hafiz. These facts were very valuable to this study because among all the other Sufi orders in Morocco, the Kattaniyyah leaders were involved in utilizing printing technology to promote their internal interests as well as their relationship with the Ottoman Empire. Similar to al-Kattani's al-Mazahir is M. Zarifi's al-Nayat al-adabiyyah where one can find numerous details about the 19th century religious leader Ma'al-Aynayn and his followers, and the religious and cultural activities in Morocco.

Ma'al-Aynayn was involved independently and in conjunction with the Moroccan government in utilizing printing to consolidate his standing and influence in Morocco.

Le Tourneau's famous book, Fès avant le protectorat, was also very important to this study as it covers many of the same topics. Among such topics are: the history of printing, scholarship, and education in Morocco. However, because of the very wide scope of this book, there exist many serious omissions and errors. Some of these errors have been observed by Ayache in his essay, "L'Apparition".

Le Tourneau leads us to believe that the movable type printing in Morocco started by the turn of the century when Sultan Abd al-Asiz imported a German-made machine from Leipzig which apparently was unused and consequently dismantled. Le Tourneau informs us that he obtained such information about printing from a printer called Muhammad Bardul-lah (i.e. Baradallah). In fact, Baradallah was not a printer. He was a publisher whose name appears as such in the colophon of the Fes imprints three times between 1897 and 1918. Second, the Leipzig machine was imported from the East to assist the pro-Ottoman elements in Fes to resist the rising European influence in Morocco, through the promotion of Pan-Islamism, a point which is discussed in detail in this present study. Furthermore, despite the fact that Le Tourneau lived in Fes for a decade, he failed to write about printing in Morocco beyond the few erroneous remarks mentioned above or discussed by Ayache. Also, Le Tourneau consulted French sources like A. Periáde's "Les Medrasas de Fès," and G. Delphin's "Fès, son université, et l'enseignement supé-
rieur musulman," Oran, 1889, which provided external and superficial information about the nature of traditional education in Morocco. This was done despite the availability of printed texts like Ahmad al-Balghithi's al-Bithajal (Cairo, 1898) in which a great deal of insights are provided about education and scholarship. Al-Balghithi was a leading poet, writer, and one of the graduates and teachers of the Qarawiyin Mosque College in Fez. In this study, I have used al-Bithajal on numerous occasions to provide a clearer and more realistic picture of education and scholarship in Morocco in as much as they relate to the utilization of printing.

B. Susan Miller's "Voyage to the Land of the Rumi" is a translation and a study of Muhammad al-Saffar's Rihlah (Journey), to France in particular, Paris between December 1845 and March 1846. This study is as interesting and useful as the above works. The accounts by al-Saffar are important because they came in reaction to the growing threat of the French in Morocco. This threat prompted the Moroccan Sultan to send an envoy to Paris, whom al-Saffar accompanied as clerk, spiritual leader and observer of the basis upon which Morocco's enemies built their power.

In this study, I used long citations from al-Saffar about printing and reform and compared them with Oulabi Mehmed's accounts of his travels to France from his Ottoman homeland.

Mehmed was a statesman, and his observations and recommendations about the French civilization and power are often referred to as the manual which guided the Ottoman elite in their reform policies. In Morocco, al-Saffar's accounts most likely had the same guiding effects as did Mehmed's accounts. It was al-Saffar who tutored Morocco's renowned reformer, Sultan Hasan I, when he was young. He also was one of the closest advisers and ministers to both Hasan's father, Sultan Muhammad IV and Hasan himself, up to the early 1800's, a period which is marked in history books as the most significant in the history of reform in Morocco.

In short, a substantial number of primary and secondary sources materials were used in this study, especially the Fez lithographs which are significant not only because of their contents, but also because the colophons are rich with information about the details of printing in Morocco. I have used these details to document and interpret the history of printing in Morocco between 1865 and 1920.
CHAPTER I
MANUSCRIPT PRODUCTION IN MOROCCO BEFORE THE ADVENT OF PRINTING

In this chapter I will direct my discussion to the actual activities of book production in Morocco and examine three major points about books during the era of manuscripts: 1) the script, 2) the background of the scribes and, 3) the size of the book production.

The purpose of this study is twofold: the first is to emphasize the Islamic and the Malikiyah principles as they were translated into action in the field of book production, and the second is to see how the forces of the Malikiyah tradition (i.e. the Sultans, the 'Ulama and the notables) were the major benefactors of the system. The significance of this attempt is to find an answer to the question of who in the era of manuscripts contributed to and monopolized the dissemination of knowledge and how this knowledge was shaped to suit the needs of those individuals or groups within the society who acted as its guardians and promoters. This point is very important because it will reveal to us some of the major characteristics of the era of manuscripts in Morocco, which will be the subject of modification and change as a result of utilizing printing technology.

Assessing manuscript production in Morocco during the nineteenth century, or in any given period, is both difficult and complicated. Records are rare and the field is still unexplored. As a consequence, relevant information must be gleaned from a variety of sources such as the personal accounts of scribes, the colophons of manuscripts produced during the period, and the numerous bio-bibliographical dictionaries which recorded the lives and activities of scribes and scholars who were the backbone of book production in the country.

Below, I will present and analyze the personal accounts of Ahmad al-Rifa'i (d. 1846) who was one of the leading professional scribes of his time who left behind a significant and still unpublished manuscript: Rihayt al-kuttab, in which he recorded his experience as a young student, and described the process of script writing.

The accounts of al-Rifa'i are as follows:

When I was little, I was sent [by my parents] to the Maktub (i.e. primary school) with other Muslim children. God...gave me the inspiration [or the instinct] to like copying. Our teacher was Sidi Sabath al-Andalsi of Rabat, who had very fine handwriting. Continuously I watched him and copied on my Lawh (i.e., board) what he wrote. He [the teacher] corrected me, and I rewrote repeatedly the way he did with the hope that I would pick from his garden a few flowers. When I felt that I had picked some fruit from his high branches, I began copying on my own.

When my teacher knew of my interest, he added a few more words for me to imitate, and told me; do it this way and not that way. Then I began writing on paper until my script was improved and turned straight.


2. The original copy of this manuscript is at al-Khizah al-Azamah, Rabat under the number, 2544. In my possession is a microfilm of this copy.

At the second stage I kept close contact with my first cousin and teacher, Mawlay Ahmad, who also had pretty good handwriting. My first cousin taught me how letters are organized and how harmony among them is created.

At the third stage I moved to read books which were written in pretty script, and selected what I liked or others liked (among all kinds of scripts). I have never found a script which can express meanings as powerfully as the Andalusian script, which also added to the clarity of the truth.

In Fez, when I was studying and visiting the shrine of Mawlay Idris, God gave me the easy opportunity to meet the complete (mystical) master, Abd Allan Sidi Muhammad al-Tuhumi al-’Alami al-Wazmani, who took me out of Fez to his house among the tribe of Bani Warayghi in the al-’Urf region of the [Southern] Dar’ash Valley where I copied for him several books, the last one of which was al-Bukhari's [Sahih] in ten volumes.

For about four years, I resided with [al-Wazzani] until Shaykh al-Islam Abu al-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Ahmad... the son of the Sharif [al-Wazzani] who is mentioned heard about me and requested that I join him in his Zaawiya (i.e. sanctuary) in Wazzani. At my departure, I asked Sidi al-Wazzani to pray for me and for my script in order that it be acceptable to others.

When I joined Mawlay ‘Ali he said to me that he wanted me to copy books for profit which will be for both, I replied, 'yes, my master. Working with you, plus [sharing] the profit that is the best.' Thus he pointed out to me what he wanted to be copied. I remained with him an [additional] four years copying nothing but books on Sufism. Once he gave me the privilege to copy a book for him about the divine secrets. The very last which I copied for him was the copy of Muharrat [i.e., the Koran].

Then, from Mawlay ‘Ali I moved [to work] for his son, Abu Abd Allah al-Tuhumi, whom I stayed with in Wazzani, copying books in the field of Ta’li (i.e., fixing time for prayers) and the like until my handwriting fell in the hands of the [Sultan] Sulayman al-’Alawi. He asked Mawlay ‘Ali who was present at his court, whether he could recognize in whose handwriting the script was. [Mawlay ‘Ali] replied yes we know him. He used to write for us. Then the Sultan requested from Mawlay ‘Ali to bring the scribe with him during his next visit to the Sultan.

It happened that [the Sultan] was ill in Marrakech and Mawlay ‘Ali was about to visit him [again]. He introduced me to Sidi Muhammad ibn al-Sadig al-Sharif al-Rayami al-’Alami who accompanied me to meet the Sultan and join the corps of nine other scribes in his court.

[After years of working for the Sultan, he] selected me from among the ten scribes in his court to teach his son whom I accompanied until he memorized the Koran.*

Although the above citation by al-Rifa’i does not provide clear and direct information about the scribes in general, the script or the size of the books, it is still of great significance in the details it provides about the process of copying. From al-Rifa’i’s account it is possible to make certain inferences which will be discussed below.

The points from al-Rifa’i’s remarks which concern us most are: first, the script, its variations and what they meant in terms of culture and education; second the scribes and their social background; third the size of the book production, and who used the books most.

1). The Script

Based on what al-Rifa’i told us, it seems that he had to learn the art of permanence, or copying in a public school and through imitation. First he learned by imitating his teacher, Sabbitah, then from his cousin, Mawlay Ahmad, who had good handwriting, and finally from the scripts of selected manuscripts which were available to him in his hometown, Rabat, where he was educated. Also al-Rifa’i told us that his personal choice for a script was the Andalusian script because it

4. For general biographical information about Ahmad al-Rifa’i see M. Bouhanir, al-ta’lif-bat, pp. 39–48. See also note 3 above.
"added to the clarity of the truth." In actuality, what al-Rifa'i told us suggests that becoming a professional scribe was an individualistic effort based on talent and instinct which was further nourished and crystallized by education and the availability of good samples to imitate.

In addition to defining "script" as something written by hand, it can also be defined as a "signature" or an "autograph" in the sense that each script, or piece of handwritten material has its own unique character. Despite the fact that education will create similarities within any given region, there will still be differences from one script to another. The significance of this point is that scripts as signatures were verifiable on an individual basis, or according to the regional styles. This made it possible for the authorities to recognize and control, if needed, the nature of the books produced. For example, a duty of the Muhtasib (i.e., market inspector) was to make sure that trade monographs were well prepared in terms of their quality of ink and paper, as well as their legibility. The inspector also determined whether or not they were potentially damaging to morality or the religious standards. However, when the Sultan Sulayman asked his associates to identify the scribe of a letter in his hand, his intention seems to have been to hire al-Rifa'i as a scribe in his court.

Historically, the style of writing in Morocco is known as Maghribi script which is believed to have reached the North African regions via Egypt and al-Andalus as well as Andalusia. The origin of the Maghribi script and its development have not been sufficiently studied and documented yet. But, from the very little that we know, it seems that the original Andalusian script is a variation of the Eastern Kufic script. While the Andalusians abandoned their style in favor of other Eastern scripts during the Abbasid period, Moroccans remained faithful to the original Andalusian script.

Because of Morocco's geographical location on the fringe of the Muslim world, it is tempting to assume that it was its isolation from the main center of Islam which prevented it from adapting or replacing its medieval form of script. However such an assumption has proven to be untrue because on the one hand Moroccans throughout their Islamic history have remained in close contact with Eastern Muslims through annual pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina and through the importation of basic Malikiyyah Traditional texts and commentaries. On the other hand, there is clear evidence that the Eastern Naskh (cursive) script had always been in use in Moroccan manuscripts but much use was limited to title pages and chapter headings only, for aesthetic purposes. (see illustration number 1) Other than that, Moroccans remained loyal to the original Kufic style because it was viewed as the script with which the oldest surviving copies of the Koran were inscribed. In fact, Moroccan 'Ulama and Sufis alike regarded copying Islamic books as a form of worship which involved maintaining not only the Malikyyah tradition, but also the traditional script of the Koran as well. Fur-

themselves, Moroccan Ulama adhered to the same Islamic belief that the Koranic script is as sacred and holy as the Koran itself. Al-Dabbagh 9 who was a leading 18th century Sufi scholar from Fez wrote that:

The script of the Koran is one of the [divine] secrets of viewing [Husnab had] God, and complete [spiritual] elevation. [The script directly] comes from the Prophet. Neither the companions of the Prophet, nor anyone else had anything to do with it, not even [in as much as] as a single [piece of] hair. It was he [the Prophet] who ordered them [i.e., secretaries] to write it [i.e., the Koran] according to the known structure with [the letter] Alif [sometimes] added [to words] and [sometimes] dropped, and the like for secrets [which] our minds cannot comprehend without God's revelation. [Thus, just] as the composition of the Koran is a miracle, its script is a miracle as well."

The implications of such a belief were great in Morocco. It paved the way for a set of religious instructions and appropriate etiquette to control the quality of manuscripts in terms of using better ink, paper, and clear, beautiful script so that the text would add to the clarity of Islamic truth. Also, to some devout Muslims and even to those calligraphers who were well paid, producing aesthetically exceptional texts was an effort to express the inner spiritual quality contained in the text. This took an extended period of time to produce.

So what did this mean to printing technology? Would Moroccan Ulama, as decision makers, agree to the shift from the traditional sacred script to the printed word which originated in Christendom or the East? There, printers disregarded some of the characteristics of the Maghribi script by using one dot for the letter Qaf and putting the dot for the letter Fai under. Could printing technology successfully challenge the Arabic tradition of penmanship and calligraphy and produce texts to rival manuscripts in quality, and beauty? Answers to these questions we shall see will further our understanding as to why Moroccans resisted the change for centuries and what were the real reasons for the shift from script to the printed word.

The other important aspect of studying the Maghribi script is its cultural and economic implications. During the first half of the 19th century, in addition to utilizing Andalusi script in the main cultural centers like Rabat, Fez, Tetuan, etc. Moroccans used another set of styles which are considered regional variations of the Maghribi script. In the far south, Moroccans used the Sahrawi script (i.e., the desert script) while in the Sous region, the style is known as the Susi script. What combines the Susi and the Sahrawi or the Andalusi script is that they are all Maghribi scripts. What separates them is the fact that each of the styles is the product of different economic and educational environments. For example, the Sahrawi script appears rough and uncultivated as if it were a clear reflection of the harsh desert environment where books are scarce and higher educational centers are rare or nonexistent. As a matter of fact, during the 19th century the Western Sahara did not produce any good quality scholars except for Ha’ al-Ayna al-Qa’ami (d. 1910) whose numerous writings and private library constitutes the main and the most visible sign of

10. For examples of the various Maghribi scripts see Muhammad Hajji, Fihrist makhzumat al-khizanah al-Subayhiyah, pp. 19, 26, 30 44, 37, 40. Sukayij, "al-Khatt....", Makhzalat al-Thaqafah al-Maghribiyah, no. 2(1944), pp. 87-72.

cultural activity in the desert.

In contrast to the desert, the Sous region was much richer in educational centers like Tarudant, al-Souwayrah, and Madi Dar'sah which produced scores of great scholars and books which are carefully recorded in al-Mukhtar al-Susi’s bio-bibliographical work Al-Ma'sul. In comparison with the Sahrawi script, the Susi script appears much finer and richer in colors and use of gold to decorate the punctuation and chapter headings, etc.

Furthermore, when we compare both the Sahrawi and Susi styles with the Maghribi script used in various main educational and cultural centers like Fez, Tazaun, Sala, Rabat, Marrakesh, it becomes apparent that the styles used in those centers were superior. The script in general is much clearer. The use of colors in decoration or to differentiate between quotations and commentaries is rendered in two or more different sizes. In the main centers we also find additional styles within the Maghribi script such as the muqawwar script according to which letters are drawn in round shapes to resemble jewels, to enhance the beauty of the script (see illustration number 2). There is the nabut style in which letters are extended for the purpose of clarity and simplicity, and the ginami style which tends towards a repetitive but still distinctive and elegant style. (see illustration number 3).

What all these varieties of styles in script in Morocco show us is that it was in the main educational centers like Fez and Rabat where the best quality books were produced. As a matter of fact, in these main centers, as al-Rifa'i informs us in his book, Hilyat al-kuttab, scribes were divided into four distinctive groups: one group was organized by the royal court and specialized in writing letters for the Sultan and government officials in the ginami style which was most fit for governmental prestige and status. The second type specialized in the text of the Koran using the nabut style which is simple and clear so that the text would be legible without much effort. The third type specialized in copying texts in Hadith and Fiqh in the same style as the Koran because Hadith and Fiqh came after the Koran in reverence and status. The fourth group specialized in instructing the children of the Sultan.

However, despite the seemingly highly specialized and diversified script of 19th century Morocco, it seems that the only organized group of scribes in the country were those like al-Rifa'i himself who worked for the royal court or taught members of the royal family. What this means is that if the Makhzan (i.e., government) were to adopt printing technology for its needs then there would be little or no resistance to it not only because the bulk of the Ulama and the most influential scribes were government employees, but also because the Sultan, as a direct descendant of the Prophet, and a representative of the divine authority had the final decision in determining the fate of printing.

12. See also his other books, like Madaris Sus al-fatihah, Khilal Jawmih, Al-Ti’iyiyat, al-Triziy al-mudani, great sources of information about the cultural activities of the Sous region.
13. A. al-Khatib, L’Art Calligraphique Arab, pp. 154, 156.
Therefore, despite all the religious, social and economic obstacles to printing, the authorities provided an open door through which the new technology could enter into the lives and activities of the Muslims. Also, would the Moroccan government, or whoever adopted printing technology take into consideration the type of printing which should be used? Should it be the lithographic machine which has the capacity to maintain the diversity of the Maghrebi script, or should it be the moveable-type which, because of its make and nature, would alter the traditional script through its standardized type?

II) The Scribes

During the first half of the 19th century, in addition to scribes like al-Rifa’i, there were an estimated ninety other scribes who were actively involved in the profession for monetary or other gains. According to a bibliographic essay by Muhammad al-Manuni about the scribes in Morocco during this period it is possible to identify three groups or categories of scribes. The first group included several members of the royal family and a high government official. The second group consisted of numerous members of the notable (A’yan) families from the main cultural centers of Fes, Tetuan, Rabat, Sale, Wazzan, and Marrakech. The third group consisted of scribes whose backgrounds or regions indicate an involvement to a certain degree of less privileged members of the society in producing books in Morocco.

To realize in full what book production meant to each of these three groups, and to find out how these groups interacted to serve the needs of Moroccans for resources, educational and spiritual, it is necessary to take a close look at the activities of each group. In the first group, in addition to Sultan Sulayman, we find the names of his two sons, Prince Abd al-Salam and Yusuf, and the Minister al-'Amravi among the noted scribes at this period. It is also interesting to note that before assuming his ministerial position in the Moroccan government, al-'Amravi was engaged in bookselling (Warraq). This gives us a good impression that the Warraq profession, which included copying books, was prestigious and instrumental in obtaining higher positions. This was true for al-Rifa’i who climbed the social ladder to be a private scribe at the royal court and a teacher of the Sultan’s children. According to Bujandar in al-'Inabitat, al-Rifa’i was appointed governor of Fes for a year in 1817.

In the case of Sultan Sulayman, his direct action in copying books such as the poetry collection by al-Bilha (c. 1861) is not surprising because such involvement normally yielded handsome religious or political rewards. At the same time involvement in scholarly activities was a traditional endeavor for most of the Moroccan Sultans for centuries mainly because they were educated and heavily influenced by the ‘Ulama educators. Sultan Sulayman, for example, was a student of al-'Asyib ibn Kiran (d. 1812). Even after he assumed power in 1792, the Sultan continued to attend classes of leading scholars at al-Quarawiyyin Mosque in Fes. In fact, Sultan Sulayman had an earnest interest in

17. Ibid.
18. al-Manuni, op. cit.
scholarship and has been acknowledged as the main link in the chain of authority for the famous Hadith collection Sahih [by] al-Bukhari. He has also been credited as one of the commentators on the other most popular book in Islamic jurisprudence, Muhattaar by Khalil ibn Ishaq.

The rewards of copying books or promoting scholarship were immediate and evident throughout Sultan Sulayman’s reign. Abd al-Rahman ibn Zaydan, in his book, al-Durar al-Fahrias, informs us that it was the great scholar al-Tawadi ibn Sudah (d.1795) who put together the document of Bay’ah (homage) for the Sultan. Also, when Sulayman ordered books to be authored or copied, the Ulama such as Hamdan ibn al-Hajj (d. 1816); Abu al-‘Ala Idris, etc. composed poems in praise of the Sultan and his good deeds which brightened the face of Islam and Morocco. These poems were rendered in two places; the colophon of books, as Abu al-‘Ala Idris did in his book al-Bayan wa al-tawdih, and in public places like water fountains, or the gates of mosques and schools where the public could see and read the beautifully inscribed words in praise of the Sultan. This is not to mention the fact that it was much easier for the Ulama to praise the Sultans with vigor and sincerity during the Friday masses, when the Sultans acted like one of them. So in short, whether or not the direct involvement of the ruling family was purely religious or for more scholarly purposes, there were clear propaganda values which were reaped from any form of involvement with scholarship or copying books. What this means is that the Moroccan Sultans, knowing the propaganda value of their involvement in books or scholarship, continued their same endeavors during the upcoming era of printing and thus became one of the major beneficiaries of printing technology.

The second group of scribes included among its members numerous Sharifian or notable names such as al-Rifa’i himself, al-Qudiri, al-Rahmani, al-Pasi, al-Siqilli, al-Nahir, al-Shabibi, al-Simali, al-Tadilli, etc. At the same time most of the prominent scholars and educators of the period like Ibn Sudah, Ibn al-Hajj, Abu al-‘Ala Idris, Ibn Zaydan, etc. came from the same background. Furthermore some of the scribes like al-Rifa’i and his teacher al-Rahmani were also scholars and educators. What this meant is that the Sharifian and notable families had a dominant role in both book production (in terms of writing and copying) and education (in terms of teaching and tutoring).

Furthermore, when we verify the regions or cities where scribes (or scholars) came from, we find that the overwhelming majority came respectively from Fez, which is the cultural and religious capital of Morocco, and from other important cities like Rabat, Tetouan, Marrakech, and Wazzan. This suggests that, in order for the printing business to succeed, it had to be located in one of the major cities. It would also be obviously a tool in the hands of the notable and Sharifian

22. A. Bin AbdAllah, Ma’lamat al-fiqh al-Maliki, p. 123.
24. Ibid., pp. 68-70, 74.
25. al-Manuni, op. cit.
27. Bujandor, op. cit.
28. al-Manuni, op. cit.
families who would determine its direction and the types of books it would produce. Furthermore, since the Sultans and Sharifians or notables were the major benefactors of book production, would not this common interest among the upper echelon of Moroccan society and government continue during the era of printing? Or would there be a rivalry between the Sultan and the Sharifian for example, in determining the nature of the knowledge which would be disseminated among the public?

The third group of scribes included among its members, names like al-Timill, al-Yashfini, al-Asifi, al-Sahrawi and al-Tijkani who are credited with copying a few books in distant regions of the desert or in the southern Sahara regions. Because not much information is known about them, one could suggest that at their best they were like an oasis in a large desert where their usefulness and importance was great. However, their impact on the main stream of book production in Morocco was minimal. Nevertheless, these far and distant lands could some day be of some use as fringe markets for printed books.

III) The Size of Book Production

In assessing the size of the book production in Morocco during the first half of the 19th century, the obvious and most direct way is to multiply the number of active scribes during the period by the number of their output. However, such an approach is neither possible, as no one knows yet the exact output by each scribe, nor is such a method fruitful because it might obscure the real nature of the book production. The book trade was essentially a service oriented market and the source of the demand normally dictated the nature of the product.

29. Ibid.

Scribes geared themselves to fulfill demands from various social and economic groups in the society such as the members of the royal family, the religious body and the literate among the public. Thus, rather than strive to assess the exact size of the book production we can compare the output of three scribes, al-Rifa'i, al-Qandusi and al-Yadili who produced books for different constituencies in Morocco to understand more fully the nature of book production during this period.

The accounts of al-Rifa'i show that during the twelve years he worked in Dar'ah in southern Morocco and in the northern city of Wazzan, he managed to produce about seventeen books of various lengths, among which was Sahih by al-Bukhari in ten volumes. This meant that al-Rifa'i's output was on average 1.4 volumes per year. This seems to be a very low production rate. The most likely explanations for why al-Rifa'i could not accomplish more are two: first, al-Rifa'i, like most of the scribes of his time, was not totally devoted to copying books. He wrote the correspondence of his employers (the Sharifs of Wazzan) and possibly was also engaged in other activities in the religious sanctuary of Wazzan such as teaching. Second, the type of specialized and key books like Sahih which he copied for his employers required meticulous attention to detail especially to the rules of proper copying. These rules included the proper preparation of the

30. In Kenneth Brown's book, People of Sale, there is no trace of scribes as a distinct group. This is the case because it was not a full-time profession except for the scribes of the royal court.
31. al-Tahiri, Tahfat al-ikhwan bi-manadh Shurafa Wazzan. This book includes a great deal of information about the activities of the Sharifs in Wazzan and their services and about the followers of the sanctuary who performed services as builders, herdsmen, tutors, etc.
paper, good quality ink, special plates to make straight lines throughout the text, etc. However, the most important aspect of book making was not in obtaining the proper materials. These were available in the market. Instead, it was the actual copying of the text itself. For example, when we take a close look at Sahih by al-Bukhari, we find that it is made up of 97 books with 3450 bab (i.e., chapters or sub-chapters) and some 7397 traditions (sayings by the Prophet) with their full iṣnad (chain of authority) to Muhammad the Prophet.

To copy Sahih properly meant hard and extended labor; total alertness to avoid errors; and the skill to render the text in two or three colors or different sizes so that the citations would be recognizable and consistent in format and the chapter or sub-chapter headings would be visibly larger than the main content. Although decorating books, especially at the beginning and conclusion of texts, was not required, some master scribes like al-Rifa'i added such decorations as an extra to reflect their high regard for their sacred texts, or to please their distinguished employers. So, accordingly, the low output by al-Rifa'i is understandable because of the length of Sahih and because of the special care and creativity which went into it.

Among the scribes who were as skilled as al-Rifa'i and also had similar low output, were al-Zahawi (1801) who copied al-Rihlah (a book on travel to Mecca and Medina) by al-Nawawi; al-Baqqal (1814); al-Gufary (1838); al-Sa'ir (1856) and Ladhari (1860) who were believed to have prepared copies of Makhtasar and its commentary by al-


Kharashi. They also made copies of Sahih for various notables and government officials like al-'Alawi al-Madshari, the Chief Justice of Meknes; Muhammad al-Salawi, who was a minister to the Sultan and both 'Abd Allah and Abd al-Qadir ibn Hisham who were members of the royal family.

The second type of scribe represents a few artistic steps higher than scribes like al-Rifa'i who were employed by the wealthier members of Moroccan society. A rare example is al-Qandusi who is known for copying seven copies of the widely popular book, Bala'il al-

khayrat by al-Januli as well as a few copies of the Koran. The sample pages from Qandusi's work as they are presented by al-Khatibi in L'Art Calligraphique Arabe leave no doubt that al-Qandusi's intention was not simply penmanship or copying according to the religious regulations. Instead, his aim was the production of a work of art through calligraphy. Each page of al-Qandusi's Bala'il included no more than three or four lines, and each line had three or four words rendered in blue against a yellow background.

What is most intriguing about the era of manuscripts in Morocco is that despite the fact that there were no schools to train calligraphers, the general environment was conducive for unique calligraphers as al-Qandusi, to polish their talents and learn, through imitation, the art of calligraphy. They used this form either to express their attachment or devotion to religious texts like

34. al-Manuni, op. cit.
35. al-Khatibi, op. cit., pp. 145, 151, 154, 156
36. al-Rifa'i, op. cit., p. 30. Here al-Rifa'i states "that the reason why he rose to compose [his] book about scripts was because the art of penmanship was completely absent in the Gharb [i.e., Morocco]."
Dala'il, a main prayer text in Sufi circles, or simply for material gains, or even for both.

There is no clear evidence that al-Qundusi was hired by any particular person. However, the fact that he produced multiple copies and that the surviving copies, at the present time, are only available at the Royal Library in Morocco suggests that at least six of the seven copies which al-Qundusi produced were to meet the demand of the few who could afford the quality of his work. Also, given the fact that Dala'il was widely popular (see the following chapter) al-Qundusi probably produced his Dala'il for the royal family members because his skill would match both the status and prestige they would demand.

The third example, al-Mu'ti al-Tadili (fl. 1846) represents the populist aspect of book production. There were scribes who devoted their lives to their profession which was the main source of their livelihoods. As his name indicates, al-Mu'ti al-Tadili came from the Tadla region which was the center of the historically important Zawiya al-Dila'iyya. It was a large religious sanctuary during the 17th century and housed the largest and richest library in Morocco in Andalusian manuscripts. This was partly due to the fact that the Zawiya emerged for a brief period of time as a small kingdom under the Dila'iyya Sufi leaders who turned the Zawiya into an important cultural and educational center. Also it is due to the fact that the Tadla

37. al-Manuni, "Tarikh al-Muhaf al-sharif fi al-Maghrib", Majallat Min'ad al-Makhzumat, vol. 15, pt. 1 (May 1939), p. 37. Here al-Manuni indicates that al-Qundusi wrote a portion of the Koran (i.e., Rab'a which means a quarter) for Minister Idris al-Arsami in twelve volumes. These volumes are in Ibn Zaydun's private library in Meknes. The Ibn Zaydun of Meknes are members of the 'Alawite Royal family in Morocco.

agricultural region was heavily settled by Andalusian families who are believed to have donated their books to the Zawiya for public use.

According to al-Manuni, the scribe al-Mu'ti al-Tadili is believed to have produced one thousand copies of both Dala'il al-khayrat by al-Jazuli, and the text of the Koran combined. If we assume that al-Tadili was engaged for 30 to 40 years in copying then we can also assume that his average output was between 25 to 30 volumes per year. This seems reasonable especially if his main requests came from the public sector where much texts were used heavily and discarded according to Islamic regulations through burial or burning. Given this custom, it is also not surprising that none of al-Tadili's works has survived. Just as al-Qundusi was unique in his talent and excellent work, al-Tadili was also a rarity in terms of his high productivity. As a matter of fact, the nearest scribe in terms of level of production was al-Mu'in al-Aswani who is believed to have copied 200 copies of the widely used school judicial text, Sharh al-tuhfa by Ibn 'Asim. What all this means is that scribes in Morocco were well adjusted to meet demands from across the social spectrum for scholarly books, prayer books, educational or artistic books. In addition, the extreme and sharp contrast in level of production between scribes suggests that Moroccans were self sufficient in book production as they seem to have responded well to the demand. Also, it seems clear that only the upper

41. al-Manuni, op. cit.
42. Ibid., p. 10.
34
society, namely members of the royal family, levels of the 'Ulama, the heads of religious sanctuaries, benefited most from the production of books. They were the main consumers of the legal, educational or artistic texts while the literature for the public was limited to popular religious texts like the Koran and Dala'il al-khayrat, and possibly the text Mukhtasar by Khalil, etc.

In short, an examination of the activities of the scribes and the system of book production in Morocco during the first half of the 19th century reveals that both the early Islamic principles and that of the Malikiyah Tradition dictated the manner in which books were written and helped to clarify who were the guardians and promoters of knowledge, (i.e., the Sultans, the 'Ulama and the notables). Accordingly, it is not surprising to see that the book business in the era of manuscript-writing in Morocco was class and service-oriented, especially since the bulk of literature was housed in Morocco's major cultural centers where most of those three power groups resided and operated.

What this has shown us is that printing technology was not needed and its introduction to the country in 1864 was an untimely accident. Printing represented change and the necessity to transform the book business from its service orientation to an inventory-based operation establishing a network of outlets for distribution and publicity. The most significant aspect of printing is that it allowed the mass production of books. The technology introduced the ability for its users to produce many thousand identical copies of the same text which meant that what previously had been a scarce commodity would thereafter become accessible to a much wider number of people. Knowledge and information which previously had been under the control of a small number of people (the 'Ulama, the notables and the Sultans) would now be easily available to large numbers, thus diminishing the power of these groups. It is with such factors in mind that Moroccan decision-makers will hesitate and prolong the adoption of printing in the country.

In the next chapter I will take up another major aspect of the era of manuscripts in Morocco, which is the intellectual content of book production, to see what the major trends of thinking in the country were before the advent of printing. Such knowledge should be of great use in determining how these trends were affected by the utilization of printing, a subject taken up on the coming chapter.
CHAPTER II

INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITIES IN MOROCCO BEFORE THE AVENT OF PRINTING

In this chapter I will discuss the most popular topics or themes as revealed by the manuscripts produced in Morocco during the first half of the 19th century. The purpose of this discussion is not only to learn about the major intellectual activities of the period, but also to ascertain the religious and historical significance of such activities. In addition, this discussion should provide us with a proper background to readily recognize the similarities and changes in the themes addressed in the books produced before and after the advent of printing.

The topical inventory of books produced between 1800 and 1865 show a wide range of subjects which seem to have preoccupied the ninety or so scribes who were active in copying books for themselves or their clients during this period. Among such topics were Hadith literature, jurisprudence, Sufism, poetry and a few scientific works on geometry and arithmetic.

1. The majority of works produced were in

1. M. al-Manuni, "al-Wiraqah al-"Alawiyah", Da'war al-kaa, no. 248 (1885), pp. 131-151. Here al-Manuni lists 124 individual scribes who were active between 1790 and 1861. I have narrowed down this number to ninety as I limited the period between 1800 and 1861. The year 1800 was chosen for convenience only and because the focus of this study is the 19th century.

2. The manuscripts which were produced at this period also included travel literature like Rihlab al-Ayyam (copied in 1801); medical texts like Takmilat al-Tabarkirah by al-Antaki (copied, 1806); literary or poetry books like Ghaem by zawati (copied, 1820); Ghawwam by al-Hilali (copied, 1822 - this book was copied by Sultan Sulayman); Kammat al-sahr by Ibn Abdun (copied, 1856); al-Massak al-sahr by al-Kifani (copied, 1820); and historical works like al-Tahaddad by Ibn Khalid (copied, 1830); Nashir al-mathab by al-Qadiri (copied, 1813); Rayhanat al-kuttab by Ibn al-Khatib (copied, 1831). See al-Manuni op, cit.

3. Among the books on Sufism which were copied along with their dates of duplication were al-Hijaz by al-Sha'ri (copied, 1806); al-Salat by Ibn Khashiyah (copied, 1812); al-Masalih by Ibn Zarqah (copied, 1840); al-Masalih by Ibn 'Ata (copied, 1849); al-Masalih by al-Ansar (copied, 1844).

4. al-Guwain al-Tihiyyah by Ibn Jawzi (copied, 1813) Sharh muhaddis of Waili ibn Ishaq (copied, 1814, 1815, 1838, 1840, 1841, 1847, 1856, 1857, 1862); Huwatta by Malik II Anas (copied, 1818, 1845); Sharh by al-Tawadi about 'Imam al-Azam's Tuhfat (copied, 1819).

5. Among the Hadith literature, the following were copied; Sahih by Muslim (copied, 1814, 1833, 1860); Sahih by al-Bukhari (copied, 1817, 1825, 1833, 1844-twice, 1851) and historical one of which was an abbreviation; al-Tarhib al-tarhib by Ibn Mandhuri (copied, 1813); al-Mu'jam al-Baidy (copied, 1818); al-Zam' al-kabir by al-Bukhari (copied, 1818); Sharh Sahih by Ibn Badhan (copied, 1835); Rashiyah 'ala al-Zam' al-sehir by al-Bukhari (copied, 1831); Irshad al-sahr by al-Qasimian (copied, 1831); Nawasib al-nawma, al-Nawasib al-akhir (copied, 1844).

6. Ibid.

anywhere else in the Muslim world.

The text of Sahih is believed to have been introduced to Morocco during the 11th century by natives returning from the annual pilgrimages to Mecca and Madinah. But Moroccans did not distinguish themselves in their use of Sahih until the Sa'di period and specifically during the reign of Ahmad al-Mansur (1549-1603). According to Hajji and al-Kattani, who have studied the religious and cultural institutions of the Sa'di era, the Sultan Ahmad al-Mansur was the first to organize groups of Qurra (reciters) to read chapters from Sahih al-Bukhari in public during crises. He did so to reduce animosity among the public and to entice them to prepare for religious wars (jihad) against the enemies of Islam, namely the Portuguese who were invading the northern part of the country at the time. The same Sultan also initiated a series of public celebrations in various parts of the country like Fez, Marrakesh, Tadla and Tamagrt. To these celebrations which lasted for thirty days, the Sultan or his governors invited the leading Ulama to lecture in public about various aspects of Sahih al-Bukhari. And at the conclusion (i.e., Khatmah) the Sultan as well as his representatives personally attended the celebration and rewarded the participants.

What prompted Sahih to become a permanent religious, social and political phenomenon in Morocco could have been al-Mansur's victory over the invading Portuguese in response to the prayers of the Qurra. It could also have resulted from the fact that the Sultans feared Sahih as a formidable tool to create strong bonds between the authorities on the one hand, and both the religious body as well as the common people, on the other. It is interesting to note that with the exception of Sultan Isma'il (d.1727) who went to the extreme of replacing the Koran with Sahih in homage or oath-taking ceremonies by his army (Abid al-Bukhari), almost every other Sa'di or Alawite Sultan also recognized the utility of Sahih and its enormous implications to them, the Ulama and the common people.

To the Sultans, the Sahih celebrations simply signified an open acknowledgment of their authority and legitimacy as descendants of the Prophet, and his inheritors of government. What made this message clear was not only the content of Sahih, which evolved around the Prophet, his thoughts and activities, but also the recitations of popular poems and texts like al-Muradah and al-Nabawiyyah by al-Masiri, or Dala'ij al-khayrat by al-Jazuli. These examples are basically devotional literature in praise of the Prophet, his family and their ensuring qualities which are exhibited as a model for all Muslims to follow.

Aside from the symbolic side of Sahih celebrations, there were also practical implications of these events. The leaders of various communities (the Ulama, the notables and a limited number of the public) were systematically invited to attend the celebrations and

10. Ibid.
participate in its month-long activities. The gathering of leaders was very significant for the authorities as it gave them the chance to be acquainted with each other and even to hand out prizes to 'Ulama or poets who took active roles in the annual celebrations.

During the 19th century, among the four main Sultans (Sulayman, Abd al-Rahman, Muhammad IV, and Hasan I), both Sulayman and Hasan I distinguished themselves through their direct and more intense involvement with Sahih. Sulayman, unlike other Sultans, became a full-fledged scholar and specialist in Sahih which entitled him to teach and transmit Sahih to willing students. According to Ibn Zaydan in his book al-Durar, Sultan Sulayman was one of the main participants in Sahih celebrations whether in his own majlis (meeting) or in open classes at al-Qarawiyin Mosque in Fez. As for Sultan Hasan I, in addition to his traditional involvement in celebrating Sahih with the 'Ulama and leaders of the country, he distinguished himself from other Sultans by taking with him in his internal campaigns a copy of Sahih in a demonstrative fashion. He provided a specially decorated horse to carry Sahih alongside his own horse, as a symbol of his religious legitimacy and as a reminder of his Sharifian origin.

To the 'Ulama, the text of Sahih meant a variety of things as well. In addition to teaching it and writing commentaries about it, they also gave public lectures on Sahih in front of the Sultan or his representatives during these celebrations. The lectures rotated among the 'Ulama to cover as many aspects of Sahih as possible, and to allow the thirty or so 'Ulama to participate. This was a golden chance for some to demonstrate their knowledge to achieve fame and possibly high positions as judges or orators of the Friday prayers in large mosques. The historian Ibn Zaydan informs us that during the 19th century the Sultans like 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Hisham (d. 1859) often used the 'Ulama who were specialists in Sahih as advisors.

Among the most distinguished 19th century 'Ulama who were specialists in Sahih were Handun ibn al-Hajj (d. 1816); 'Abd al-Qadir ibn Shaqrur (d. 1804) and al-Tayyib ibn Kiran (d. 1812). Also, to the 'Ulama like al-Qadiris, the Irqalis, al-Fasis etc., who also were descendants of the Prophet, the celebration of Sahih was a great opportunity to renew old ties or create new ones with officials or other 'Ulama from various parts of the country.

To the general public, the celebration of Sahih meant a valuable source of entertainment and free food for over a month. The text of Sahih is rich in references to the history of creation, the news of past prophets, the details of paradise and its rewards, and hell and its punishments which await the unbelievers. Also, at the time of the celebration the public came to view from close range their leaders and saints, and scores of notables who generously supplied the celebration with bread and hot meals on a daily basis. In short, the reason

18. Ibid., p. 76.
why Sahih was widely recognized and celebrated as the most significant book after the Koran, was its utility and multiple benefits to bright Moroccans and their decision makers. It was for the same reason that Sahih as a book was copied along with its commentaries more than any other text.

The significance of the discussion above about the different utilities of Sahih is to keep in mind a few questions such as whether or not the Sahih tradition, which was one of the major characteristics of the intellectual life in Morocco during the era of the script, will be affected in any way by the proliferation of printing technology in the country. Also, whether or not the abundance of printed books will become a factor in diminishing or altering the mystique of Sahih as well as other sacred texts like the Koran, especially when printers and publishers begin to treat books as just another commodity in the marketplace is another issue to be addressed.

Islamic Jurisprudence

The second range of topics covered in the books of the period was fiqh (i.e., Islamic jurisprudence) as represented by books like al-Nawawita by Malik ibn Anas and Mukhtasar by Khallil ibn Ishaq. In addition, there were several texts such as the six-volume comprehensive commentary by al-Kharashi about Mukhtasar and Ibn 'Asim’s Tuhfah which is about judicial and contract law. Other texts like al-Mudkhal by Ibn al-Hajj; al-Qawanin al-Fiqhiyyah by Ibn Juzayy; and Sharh al-marshid by Mayyarah, were summaries or abridgments of the Malikiyyah legal and religious principles in general.

With the exception of al-Mudawwanah by Sahnun which seems to have been replaced in popularity by Mukhtasar as the main text of Islamic jurisprudence, nothing else seems to have changed since Ibn Khaldun outlined the major works of Malikisyyah and their patterns of expression. This is to say that the format and content of commentaries and abridgments remained intact. Morocco’s reliance on the outside world for quality Malikiyyah texts remained unchanged. For example, with the exception of Mayyarah of Fez, all the works by Khallil, Khurashi, Ibn ‘Asim Ibn Juzayy and even Ibn al-Hajj al-Abdari, were written in Egypt or Andalusia (before it was reclaimed by Spaniards). Just as in the past, what mattered most during 19th century Morocco was not to be progressive, innovative or original. Instead, it was essential to remain faithful to the old principles and patterns according to the Malikiyyah Tradition. Therefore, all knowledge and methods of education were designed to serve the supreme goal of remaining traditional.

Let us first study Mukhtasar to see why it came to replace al-Mudawwanah and then try to find out the meaning and significance of Mukhtasar in Morocco, especially in its educational circles where it was regarded as the backbone of Islamic studies.

In preparing Mukhtasar, Khallil summarized al-Baradhul’s Tabishib which is, by itself, a summary of al-Mudawwanah and the various early

22. See Chapter Three of this present study.
23. Ibn al-Hajj al-Abdari (d. 1336) was originally from Fez in Morocco where he was born and educated but he immigrated to Egypt where he continued his studies and wrote his famous book, al-Mudkhal. See A. Bin Abdullah, Ma‘lamat al-fiqh al-Maliki, p. 63.
commentaries and abridgments about it. So, in a sense, Mukhtasar is a summary of a summary. But, because of Khalili’s wider knowledge of various aspects of Malikiyah principles and his prolonged labor to perfect the book (25 years), he succeeded in condensing almost every aspect of Malikiyah principles.

During the fourteenth century when Mukhtasar was made available to the scholarly public and students, it soon became one of the basic texts of Malikiyah Tradition throughout the Muslim world including Morocco where it became as al-Balghithi put it, “undat al-nadhah”, or the pillar of Malikiyah. The 18th century Moroccan poet and scholar, al-Hilali, who studied and examined Mukhtasar observed that the text included references to one hundred thousand matters (i.e., maasalaha or maa’sil) according to their “ael” origin or roots which Khalili touched in his Mukhtasar. What al-Hilali is telling us is that Khalili included almost all aspects of the tradition in his small volume. Although Mukhtasar was small in size, which made it possible to memorize or copy in a short period of time, its proper comprehension and application remained impossible without academic training or the help of specialized scholars or detailed commentaries about the Malikiyah. Therefore the popularity of Mukhtasar was in fact to the benefit of the Ulama or those who had access to private or public libraries where comprehensive commentaries were normally available. Accordingly, one can infer that the popularity of Mukhtasar in Moroccan educational circles was not due to the fact that it gave the average literate man access to the laws and regulations of Islam in Morocco. Instead, it was due to the adoption by the ‘Ulama of Mukhtasar as the main curriculum in training students as jurists (Fusaha) or ‘Ulama (scholars).

A closer look at how Mukhtasar was taught in Morocco during the 19th century and what students had to learn in order to comprehend it will further our understanding of why this book became such an indispensable tool in educational circles. According to Ahmad al-Balghithi who was one of the products of al-Qarawiyin mosque college in Fes, and one of its leading Ulama and poets, “as soon as students were taught the basics about prayers and faith, they were engaged in memorizing Mukhtasar.” To facilitate the process teachers advised students about the best times of the day to memorize, and the best diets which were helpful for quick results. During the process, students attended open classes to listen to their teachers interpreting Mukhtasar line by line through memory or with the help of commentaries. Serious students often carried with them notebooks (i.e. Kanaah or Kanannish) in which they rendered portions of Mukhtasar which they had memorized along with their teachers’ comments or dictation (i.e., Tahrirat). Because there were no guidelines as to what should be interpreted, and for how long, teachers were free to use any commentary texts they chose for their courses.

The most common commentary book used by scholars and teachers was

25. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 151.
26. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 150.
27. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 151.
by al-Kharashi. But commentaries both by al-Sattah and al-Zarqani were also used by those who had access to them in private or public libraries. In addition, some of the teachers sought to have taken extended periods of time in concluding their interpretations of Mukhtasar. In al-Durar al-fakhriy by Ibn Saydan, we find a telling statement by Sultan Hisham Ibn Abd al-Rahman that “students learned very little from Mukhtasar because of the elaborate comments which left students as ignorant as they were when they started their studies.”

However, the basic problems of Mukhtasar were not only in the ways it was taught or interpreted, but also in the text itself which required knowledge of the Arabic language and its grammar, rhetoric, poetry, theology, Koranic readings, Hadith, history, etc. to interpret it according to the tradition of Malikiyyah. For example, if a scholar attempted to interpret Mukhtasar according to the Basrah school of grammar which, like the Mu’tazilah thinkers, puts logic above the grammatical structure of the Koran and its variations in readings (qira’at), such an interpretation would be rejected on the basis of innovation and abandonment of the Traditional principles which regard Koranic grammar and Koranic readings as divine. Therefore, it is not surprising to see the presence of grammar books like al-Ajurumiyah by Ibn Ajirum, and al-Arifiyah by Ibn Malik which are supportive of such beliefs.

It is not surprising to find the total absence of grammar books or philosophical, or intellectual texts which are critical. This is also true of other such as disciplines such as `Agidah (theology) where we can only find texts like al-Sanussiyah by al-Sanusi, al-Huseini\' to Ibn Asir, al-Razeziyah by al-Qarawani, Shahr Bandani `ala al-sullen by al-Ashbar and Jibay by al-Ghazzali which all remained within the domain of Malikiyyah Traditional principles and beliefs in regard to faith in God and his attributes including eternal speech as exemplified by the Koran.

What all this means is that by studying Mukhtasar alone and focusing on it for ten years did not necessarily mean abandoning other Islamic disciplines. In fact, the aim of Islamic education in Morocco was like that of other Muslim countries, to train and produce Pupaha and Ulama to assume a variety of tasks and professions like teachers, scholars, judges, notaries public, leaders of prayers, consultants in various aspects of life. In other words, "the Ulama" (scholar) was trained to be like the bazzar, where shoppers or seekers of knowledge, often found everything. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find

31. Ibid. According to Sultan Abd al-Rahman Ibn Hisham, it took two years to study the Alfiyah in Morocco. This seems short, as I personally studied the same Alfiyah for four years at Shari`ah College (Baghdad University). Note that during the first half of the 19th century in Morocco the following books in grammar were copied: al-Musa’id` al-tashil al-fawa'id by Ibn Asil which is a commentary about Ibn Malik’s Alfiyah (copied, 1836); Alfiyah by Ibn Malik (scribed 1846); Alfiyah by al-Kurshiyah by Ibn Hisham (copied 1851); and Alfiyah by al-Munnih al-inab by Ibn Hisham (copied, 1851) which is also a standard commentary in grammar about the Alfiyah.

32. Ghazzali’s Jibay was copied in 1813; and Bandani’s Shahr in 1833; while Sanusi’s text was copied in 1858.

33. Ibn Saydan, op. cit.

the Moroccan 'Ulama during the 19th century equipped in multiple Islamic sciences from linguistics to poetry, grammar, history, medicine, astrology, etc.

Another significant point to emphasize is that most of the other texts which were required or used to complement Mukhtasar were also available in Mekku (i.e., poetry) form. This includes all books mentioned above in grammar and theology, plus other texts like al-ragha'ib by al-Qasumi, which is in arithmetic but essentially was used to figure out the division of inheritance; and al-yawqit by al-Wazkani, which is in astrology but was utilized to fix the times of prayers and religious feasts. This also suggests that memorization was an integral part of learning not only Mukhtasar but also the books which complemented it. At the same time, the proliferation of memorization in education is another indication of the 'Ulama's grip over the educational and judiciary systems. So just as the text of Sahih by al-Bukhari was a dominant religious political and social tool in Morocco for the Sultans and the 'Ulama to create stronger bonds between the State and 'Ulama on the one hand and between the 'Ulama and the common people on the other, the text of Mukhtasar by Khalil also enjoyed similar signi-

35. These disciplines were also compiled in one single volume (Majmu') to facilitate memorization or access to the needed knowledge. One such Majmu' included Sughr al-samani, al-Hurshid al-mu'in by Ibn 'Abdir, 'Umdat al-hukma by Ibn 'Ali, Lamiyyah by al-Hakim, al-Adam al-mutlaq by Abd al-Wahib al-Fasi; al-Malik al-Fasi, by the latter author; Muzammal al-sakat by al-Fayyumi; al-Adab al-muhiri fi al-fara'id, by Ibn ADI 'Abdir; Fara'id al-Farsi; Musafir al-muhri fi al-murtaz al-Farsi; al-Muhiti by Ibn Atiqum; al-Mutna' by Ibn al-Husni; al-Mafali by Ibn al-Muzaffar, etc. For these and other Majmu' see F. Abdulrazzaq, Yihris al-mab'ud al-Hajariyyah fi al-Mub-

36. See Chapter 1; the long citation by al-Rifa'i.

37. A. al-Sulami, Taheerat al-mutnaswifah. This is a biographical dictionary of Sufi leaders in Islam.
Accomplished Sufis, whether they were jurists or spirituals, were called Shaykh or Qadi and they were also recognized as Awliya Allah which meant friends of God. To be recognized as Wali, (king) of Awliya implied being in the minds of the people an intermediary between mankind and God. It also meant the ability (whenever God was willing) to perform miraculous happenings in the corporeal world such as predicting the future, interpreting the secrets of the heart, healing the sick, protecting the healthy and communicating with the unseen, namely the jinn who were often cited in the Koran and Islamic books.

It is interesting to learn that the miraculous acts were known as Karahah (i.e., generosity) and not as Mu’ijaz (i.e., miracle), because the target of these acts were Muslims who were being served by God’s generosity via the Qadi or the Wali, while the target of the Mu’ijaz were the unbelievers whom God wanted to convert via his prophets. The Shaykh, therefore, was neither a prophet nor a demonstrative. Indeed, he was a private and secluded religious person whose Karahah were kept secret until his students or followers discovered and publicized them. Another point to emphasize is that Karahah were one of the main controversies in Islam between the Jurists and the Sufis during the medieval period when Ulama from various schools of Islamic jurisprudence had a dominant role in both the judiciary and educational systems. However, with the decline of the Abbasid empire and its partition into smaller kingdoms and emirates, Muslims from the 13th century onwards gradually drifted towards spirituality and Sufism. As a result, most of the Ulama in the Muslim world were also Sufis or had strong leanings towards Sufism.

In Morocco during the 19th century, the Ulama were not much different from their counterparts in the Eastern Muslim World. Most of them were either Sufi leaders or members of one of the numerous zawiyas which were the main centers of social and spiritual activity in Morocco. This does not mean, however, that all Sufis were Ulama in Morocco. Moroccan history is rich with Sufis and saints who were illiterate. This includes the widely worshiped Saint Ibn Abi Ya’arza whose Karahah were regarded as the most popular in the country.

According to Ibrahim Harakat who studied the Sufi orders and Moroccan zawiyas during the last two centuries, "there were over ten major zawiyas with several branches for each in various regions around the country." Among such zawiyas were al-Kattaniyah, al-Ma’riyih, al-Wazaniyah, al-Nasiriyah, al-Dargawiyyah, al-Tijaniyah, al-Banna-yah, the ‘Isawiyah, etc. al-Kattaniyah which was founded by ‘Abd al-Kahir al-Kattani during the second half of the 19th century was directed by his ‘Ulama son, Muhammad and Abd al-Hayy, and had several..."
branches in Fez, Rabat, Tetuan, etc. 45

What distinguished one zawiyah from another were three basic things: A) the quality of its leadership in terms of charisma and being recognized as able to deliver services directly or via his karamah (i.e. miracle). Such services included feeding the poor and followers who normally performed work for them, protection from evil, curing ills, and other things like teaching, copying, etc. The most popular Sufi leaders of 19th century Morocco were Ma' al-Ayyun and the Kattani, as well as the Wazzani Sharifs who all benefited from printing technology and helped to spread it in several significant ways (as we shall see in the upcoming chapter). B) The style of worship which was either simple and composed of a few lines or pages from the Koran or other devotional texts like Dala’il al-khayrat or long and peculiar in terms of using chants or body motions in their rituals as was the case with the Kattaniyah order. Judging from the various texts which were produced or reproduced at this period, the most popular texts in Sufism in addition to al-Dala‘il were Mi‘at al-behr by al-Shabili, al-Salat by Ibn Musihayn, and both al-Burakah and al-Ramiyah by al-Busiri. However, many leaders of the Zawiyah also produced their own Mi‘at, or prayer texts which further distinguished them from each other. C) The third major distinction between zawiyahs was their location. Those zawiyahs which were located in large cultural centers like Fez in particular and Marrakesh, Rabat, etc. in general attracted wealthier members like merchants, craftsmen, etc. than the remote zawiyahs whose members were farmers or common citizens. The zawiyahs in the larger cities had better access to books and thus had their own small collections which were used by the leaders and their followers in their spiritual or educational activities.

What is the most significant aspect of the existing diversity among Sufi orders as well as in their devotional literature is the fact that although many of them like the Qadiriyyah, Kattaniyah, etc. were of Sharifian descent and thus blood relatives of the Alawite royal family, they were a prime source of competition for clientele in Morocco, among themselves and with the State. What this means is that unlike the other disciplines, like jurisprudence and Hadith, which provided a unifying force in Morocco’s society in the form of fixed texts (i.e., Maktasar and Sahih) the field of Sufism provided an open door for change. This is why, as we shall see in chapters 6, 7 and 8 that printing began to proliferate in Morocco when the State and the Sufi leaders began to utilize printing to popularize their forms of Islam and religious ideology.

In summary, the existing intellectual and educational systems in Morocco were still following medieval patterns until 1864 when printing was introduced into the country. According to such medieval patterns, religion played the supreme role as the main source of all social values and knowledge. Islam made it clear that its Book...
(i.e., the Koran) was God’s eternal word. This belief energized the faithful not only to build their cultural and educational systems around it, but also their social values.

The medieval pattern has two other significant characteristics, one, the individuals who took upon themselves the organization of the society were regarded as sacred or holy men, and second these organizers were useful instruments to the State as legitimators of authority. Based on the accounts of the Mu’tazilah one could argue that it was possible to develop a rational line of thinking in Islamic society, if they were successful against Ahl al-Badith (or the Traditionalists). But, since the 13th century and the triumph of the Traditionalists, such a line was marginalized. The bulk of the intellectual energies was directed to Tadlid (imitation) and maintaining religious knowledge through various modes of expression such as Shurb, Hawashi, etc. This insured not only the continuation of Traditional beliefs but also the status quo and privileges of its leaders as educators, judges, scholars, scribes and holy men who possessed the power to communicate with the unseen, cure the ill, bring prosperity and protection to the believers.

What is most interesting about Sufism and its various leaders in Morocco is that despite their assertion that they were like the Idrieside or Alawite Sultans and Sharifian in origin, there was no unifying factor in terms of a book like Sahih or Mukhtasar to symbolize the bond between the Sultans and the Ulama on the one hand, and between the Ulama and their students on the other. Instead the Sufis used numerous texts collectively or individually within any given region. The reason for this lack of a unifying symbol or tool was due to the competition among the Sufi orders for a larger clientele which meant legitimacy and increased power. It was through this competition that printing (as we shall see) proliferated.

The difference between today’s Morocco and the country a century ago could be recognized in a few major changes which represent Morocco’s dramatic departure from its medieval system into modernity. On the educational level the system today, for all practical purposes, is secular in the sense that theology and divine teaching have very little role in deciding what the students at all levels will study. In regard to the printed media, it would be unthinkable not to find books, magazines and newspapers on all subjects in bookshops, newstands, public and private libraries. On both the political and judicial levels, the country is no longer bound by divine laws, the interpretation of the religious body and even the decision of the Sultan. Instead, the country’s internal and external policies are guided by a declared constitution and all the major financial, social and political policies are debated by members of the parliament who represent not only the elite, but also the general public.

Under what circumstances did the Malikiyyah forces in Morocco change their attitudes towards their traditional systems in favor of new ones? And what role did printing technology have in setting in motion this transition and change towards modernity? In the upcoming chapters I will examine both the roots of this change during the 19th century and also the various transitions which the utilization of printing brought to the country between 1865 and 1912.
CHAPTER III

PRINTING, ITS INVENTION AND SPREAD TO THE MUSLIM WORLD

Printing is the "art or practice of transferring by pressure, letters, characters or designs upon paper or other impresseeble surface, usually by means of ink or oily pigment". The making of an imprint goes back at least to 15 AD. 175, when it was practiced by the Chinese who had invented paper some seventy-five years earlier.

The term "printing" is often used to include all the various processes that go to make the finished product. There are three entirely different processes: the letter press printing (also known as typography or movable printing) which was invented by Gutenberg of Germany in the 1440s; the lithographic stone, or chemical printing which was invented by another German, A. Senefelder, in the late 1790's; and finally, copper plate printing which has not been attributed to any individual inventor.

In this chapter and thereafter, my description and analysis will be limited to a few specific aspects of the typographical and chemical printing processes. I will address the following questions: why printing became a European phenomenon, what did it mean to set up a printing shop, and finally how did the Muslim countries, namely Turkey, break the religious and psychological barriers to printing to open it up for the rest of the Muslim world, including Morocco. The more we learn about printing technology in Europe, especially the technical aspects of it, the reasons behind its success, its management and how it was utilized, the more we shall be able to relate it to the Moroccon experience which we shall discuss in detail in the next five chapters.

Why then is printing considered a European invention? To answer such a question one needs to compare the European technology (namely Gutenberg's typographical printing press) with block printing, and look at the way the technologies were received in both the European and Eastern environments. The significance of such a comparison is to underline the basis of the European success at printing and at the same time the reasons for the failure or hesitation of others, including Muslims. What made Gutenberg's invention different from the Chinese or Korean printing techniques could be summed up in four basic points:

1. Gutenberg created a "forme" which is a frame with rails upon which the letters rested or were maneuvered by thumb to form words or lines which could be locked when the "forme" was ready for printing.

However, the most significant aspect of this invention is how Gutenberg made his letters.

The key to Gutenberg's invention was the type of mold used for casting the individual letters. Each character had to be on the same plane, parallel in every direction and the exact same height. Gutenberg's two-part type mold which adjusted to accept matrices for narrow characters [like (1)] as well as wide ones (2) solved the need for casting large volumes of type made to critical tolerances. Type required a metal soft enough to cast but hard enough to hold up for thousands of impressions. It must not expand and contract when it was melted, poured into the type mold, then returned to a solid state as it cooled.

As a metal smith Gutenberg had learned that antimony would expand when it cooled from a liquid to a solid state in contrast to most metals which contract when cooled. He developed a unique alloy of 80 percent lead, 5 percent tin, and 15 percent antimony to maintain a constant mass throughout the process of manufacturing type. Gutenberg needed as many as fifty thousand single pieces of type in use at a time so the speed, accuracy and economy achieved by this type mold and its casting process were critical.

The type was stored in compartmented cases and pulled out letter by letter to set the lines. After a page was printed the type was returned to the compartment, letter by letter. (8)

So, mechanically Gutenberg's new invention was a far cry from the previously known block printing which was rigid, as the letters could not be maneuvered. Also, the new type was superior in quality, left sharper impressions than the wooden blocks, and lasted longer. Type is usable for the same or different books repeatedly because of its maneuverability, whereas in block printing new sets have to be engraved for each new book.

Secondly, Gutenberg incorporated in his new method of printing the use of a printing press. The form of the first printing press which did not change in essence for nearly four hundred years, must have resulted from a series of experiments carried out initially by Gutenberg and later by printers who followed him. Basically, the press used in vineyards, paper mills and bindaries, consisted of two main uprights with cross pieces at the top and the bottom. Through the top cross-piece there penetrated a turned wooden screw which was encircled by a nut in the form of a collar with a series of holes in its circumference. The screw terminated in a flat, pressing board which slid between the uprights.

Pressure was provided by pulling a pole inserted in one of the holes in the collar, causing the screw to move downwards. Increased

pressure was obtained by moving the pole from one hole to another. Such presses were modified to meet the required pressure for printing. Excessive pressure could damage the paper by leaving deep marks on the surface which could render the back-side of the paper useless for printing. This new procedure was also a sharp departure from the traditional simple method of printing in which bamboo sticks were used for rubbing and thereby producing the desired impression.

The other two differences between Gutenberg’s method of printing and the previous ones were in the brand of paper and ink used. In his new invention Gutenberg used the European oil-based ink instead of the Chinese water-based ink. The water-based ink was unsuitable because constant rubbing back and forth produced a smeared impression. The European paper was made from macerated linen and cotton cloth, treated with size to give it a hard, opaque surface. This paper was unlike the thin, soft, pliable and absorbent paper used with water-based ink in Oriental rub-printing. The combination of both European paper and ink was most suitable for Gutenberg’s printing method. It allowed him to make a sharp but decisive impression with the type onto the paper. This meant that not only was the casting of type different than in traditional printing, but also the other important ingredients of ink and paper were different than those used in traditional printing. In addition, the Europeans did not need to import any of these essential ingredients to the printing process from outside the continent.

12. I have learned this from observing some of the early Bulaq imprints at Harvard College Library in which excessive striking on the paper created deep impressions which came through on the back.

Aside from the technical elements which set Gutenberg’s invention apart from the old methods of printing, the most significant reason why printing succeeded in Europe was that the social, political, and educational infrastructure of Europe was more conducive to printing than was the infrastructure of China, Korea or the Muslim world. For example, the 26-character European alphabet which is derived from the Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans posed relatively few problems in casting letters in relief compared with other alphabets, like the Chinese or Korean. In these languages the ideograms ran into the thousands and would have proved impossible to produce in sufficient numbers to meet the requirements for printing.

To make this point clear the Bible which Gutenberg produced took fifty-thousand pieces to print with a 26-character alphabet, whereas the same book would require at least one million pieces of the Chinese or Korean alphabet. Therefore, relying on scribes in the Orient was much easier and cheaper. The Arabic language on the other hand, with its 28-character alphabet, is seemingly not very different from the European alphabet. However, Arabic requires initial, medial and independent letters, plus the Koranic variations, and if the vowels are added, printing the Koran would run into several hundred thousand pieces, which would render the operation of printing more difficult and costly than the simple reliance on scribes, especially if there were no economic or political incentives for the shift.

The third reason behind the success of printing in Europe, versus 14. Ibid.
15. Ibid. See also, Meggs, op. cit.
the Muslim world could be favorable economic factors and the ability of Europeans to compromise to solve problems in relation to the use of printing technology.

According to George Winship in his book, Gutenberg to Plantin.

The record of the late 15th century printing in Germany is explained by the economic transformation of the Rhine valley. Increasing numbers of people in the towns worked longer hours at their industries and bought their food instead of raising it. The amount of money in circulation became larger and almost everybody had more of it than previously. People took more holidays and they bought things they had not formerly enjoyed, and more children were sent to schools, and more books were sold.

This economic prosperity in Germany was evident from the personal accounts of Gutenberg, who, after registering his new invention with the local authorities in Mainz, found in Johan Pust a willing capitalist to provide all the funds which the fledgling printing establishment required.

The success of Gutenberg and Pust in producing the first printed book (the Gutenberg Bible) in 1457 arose from the superior quality of the product which could match the best of what the scribes could accomplish at a cheaper price. Yet they still derived a profit which prompted Pust, the merchant, to make his first business trip to Paris to tap new markets. Another indication of Europe's readiness to integrate the new technology into its book trade comes from the start-ling spread of printing throughout the continent and beyond.


From 1457, when Gutenberg’s Bible was completed, until the 1480s almost every major city in Europe and the new world had its own printers, booksellers, paper merchants, ink distributors and type specialists. However, despite the successful spread of printing in Europe, there were numerous problems and obstacles to be overcome as well. Recognizing some of these obstacles enables us further to appreciate the European success of printing.

In Augsburg, Germany, the guild of wood engravers had a dominating control of local affairs and they feared that the new invention would interfere with their prosperity. (This problem was solved through an agreement to employ engravers in printing establishments.) What made the employment of engravers possible was that the new technology was still not self sufficient, for engravers were needed for illustrations and setting large scripts for title pages and illustrations.

A further reaction to printing came from the religious elements. This is not to suggest that various church men did not benefit from the printing technology. As a matter of fact, printing religious literature was widespread and common as most churchmen were obviously involved in biblical studies and in scribbling in monasteries throughout Europe. But when printing was utilized for reasons unacceptable to the Church, there were strong reactions to it. One of many such examples is that of Roberto Estienne, who is described by Winship as “a mere lad” when he issued his revised text of the Bible, and printed it in octavo.

20. Ibid., p. 18.
21. Ibid., p. 74.