format to sell to the public in 1528,

"Violent protests were at once voiced at the Sorbonne against the audacity of Robert Estienne in issuing his controversial revision of the Holy Bible and in printing it in the undig- nified format of books. Estienne met the challenge by completing his textual examination of the rest of the Bible. The officials of the Sorbonne threatened extreme measures to suppress Estienne's activities, but the French Crown protected the printer in part perhaps because he was doing the Court's circle a real service by distracting the attention of the theologians from others in high stations whose opinions were tending away from traditional orthodoxy. When the controversy became more annoying in 1534, Francis I issued a preemptory order forbidding all printing. This produced other unexpected trouble for the Parliament refused to register the decree. A revised order forbidding the printing of new books met the same refusal and when the King accepted the situation, the first move had been won in the struggle for freedom of the press. It was a very limited freedom according to modern ideas but of fundamental importance as recognizing a principle." (22)

What this citation tells us is that Europeans, whether they were church men or common individuals like Estienne or politicians, found in printing a useful tool to serve their various purposes. Such diverse and widespread usage contributed further towards the integration of printing in the European economy.

Another obstacle to printing in its early years came from the miscalculations of the printers themselves in assessing the nature of the market and the book buyers.

"Florence was at first unfriendly to the earlier printers, for the wealthy merchants who set the fashions for the citizens preferred the beautifully illuminated manuscripts for which they were well able to pay. An effort was made to meet their desire for books that cost more than others could afford by issuing books with illustrations from copper engravings instead of the common woodcuts."(23)

22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., p. 53.

Another interesting and relevant example of misjudging the market by printers or publishers came about in the 1530s when an Italian printer by the name of Alessandro d'Faganino de Faganini, from Venice undertook to produce a printed copy of the Koran. Since 1469 Venice had been a major center for the book trade and by the turn of the sixteenth century, Venice produced printed books in non-European languages such as Hebrew, for export to the various Jewish communities in North Africa and the Muslim World. Alessandro d'Faganino de Faganini perhaps was dreaming of building a fortune by printing the Koran to tap the Muslim markets around the Mediterranean Sea.

According to a recent essay, "Il Corano Arabo Ritrovato" by Angela Nuovo "because of the well-known hatred of Islam for the printing press, the edition was a failure and this brought an end to the publishing career of Alessandro Faganini."

However, if the five sample pages introduced by Nuovo were indeed from Alessandro's Koran, then the main reason for Alessandro's failure could be attributed to several factors rather than "Islam's well-known hatred for printing."

Such factors include the existence of numerous errors in spelling and a total disregard to the Islamic tradition of copying the Koran according to Mushaf 'Uthman (i.e., the Koran of the Caliph 'Uthman). Among the errors in Alessandro's Koran in the five short lines of Surat al-Fatiha alone is the letter dal written as dhal; the use of wrong vowels such as fattah instead of kashah or

26. Ibid.
sukun; and copying words like al-'Alamin and Malik with a long alif while the traditional script disregards the long alif in both words above.

Accordingly, it is certain that such errors which are very likely repeated throughout Alessandro's Koran, had not only a direct bearing on the publisher's failure, but also might have soured Muslims' attitudes further about printing. This is perhaps why the celebrated Lebanese Christian author and priest, Louis Cheikho, attributes Islam's long-standing rejection of printing to the fear that printers might commit errors and thus distort the Koran.

There is one more significant observation to be made about Alessandro's Koran aside from its textual problems. The text seems to have been printed in block print instead of moveable type, and in wood rather than copper. This is clear from the occasional blur or fuzz in the ink which resulted from chips of wood which were broken during the process of engraving the script. If this is true then it suggests two things: first, Alessandro's intention was to distribute his Koran among the common people in the Muslim world for an affordable price in the same manner as European printers produced what is known as the "poor man's bible" with an apparently undignified format. Second, Alessandro's choice of block printing was based on economic factors as printing the Koran with moveable type would have meant producing a massive number of pieces at a higher cost. Also, what this meant is that European printers were not yet ready to develop types for Arabic language.

In short, what made printing a European phenomenon was not only the fact that a European (Gutenberg) invented the new technology, but also other important elements such as a suitable alphabet and conducive economic conditions for printing to take hold. Printing helped to create jobs and open new markets. Printing also made affordable books available to a larger number of people in a short period of time. However, for printing to be adopted in the Muslim world and in Morocco, the problems of the Arabic alphabet needed to be overcome and an agreement needed to be struck with the scribes and the 'Ulama in general who might be affected by the shift from script to the printed word. Also, to ensure the continuity of printing and its success, it had to be integrated into the economic system and utilized in all the institutions which relied on books, whether educational, cultural or scholarly. Accordingly, one of the important questions which will be answered in the coming chapters, is how well Moroccans did in creating a healthy environment for printing technology.

27. Ibid., p. 239. The same is true about the rest of the examples on pages 243, 245, 247, 251.

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II. The Management of a Printing Shop

The purpose of studying the managerial aspects of printing technology here is to understand the skills needed to make printing a success. Since such skills were known in Morocco, learning them here will assist us in understanding the changes which printing technology brought to the country and how Moroccans would adapt themselves and their resources to accommodate this new technology. The term manage or manage means to handle, to train, to carry on successfully or otherwise to take charge and to treat with indulgence or consideration.

30 Here our discussion is limited to the definition of management in terms of organization, namely the manpower which is required to operate a printing shop and the skills required to carry on a printing operation.

During the 19th century when printing was first introduced to Morocco, an average printing shop consisted of ten to fifteen people including the manager, his deputies, the overseer of the case room (or the printer), the compositor; the proofreader, the binder, the accountant and several workmen or assistants to carry on miscellaneous duties around the shop.

When manuscripts were submitted for printing and an agreement between the management and the author or editor were reached, the manuscripts were passed down via deputy offices to the printer who in turn regulated the number of pages to be set in type by compositors. From compositors the manuscripts then moved on to the proof readers who, with the help of reading boys, made sure that the manuscripts and set copies were the same. When all was in order, books were bound and the final cost analyses were set by the accountants.

However, regardless of the size of the staff in any printing shop, or the number of machines utilized, the most important element in the whole process was the printer and to a certain extent the proof reader, because the main work was executed by them alone. The success or failure of the entire operation in terms of accuracy and quality of printing rested upon their shoulders.

In a movable type printing operation, what counts most is the ability of the printer to mould type and produce all kinds of type pieces to insure a good quality printing job. In big printing centers, obtaining different type faces, ink and paper would be feasible economically if the printing shop were located near suppliers and type manufacturers. But for those printers in distant lands such as Turkey, Egypt and Morocco the knowledge of how to prepare or make the type or ink etc. was essential to save time, to reduce costs to the middle men and to meet the local tastes in choosing certain types above others.

In Lithographic printing the skill of the printers is more crucial to the outcome of the printing operation than in typographical printing. Because obtaining the elements such as stones, ink, transfer paper, etc. necessary for printing is not sufficient. Precise knowledge of how to use each element is also essential for the success of the operation. To make this point clear a brief description of the

32. In Kh. Suhail's Book, Zarikh al-tiba'ah fi al-Sharg, pp. 148-158, we find the Egyptian government having great difficulties in 1810 in finding suitable individuals to learn moulding type(s). Students were sent to Italy to learn moulding for four years and yet the results were not satisfactory in producing durable and aesthetically acceptable types.
lithographic printing process is necessary. The process of drawing or laying down a design or transfer on a specially prepared stone or other suitable surface like marble, is done in such a way that impressions may be taken therefrom. The principle on which lithography is based is the antagonism of grease and water. A chemically pure surface will have been secured on some substance that has an equal affinity for both grease and water. The parts intended to print are covered with an aqueous composition and the rest of the surface is moistened so that when a greasy roller is applied, the portion that is wet resists the grease and that in which an affinity for grease has been set up readily accepts it; and from the surface thus treated...an impression on paper or other material is secured by applying suitable pressure normally by a printing press."

The basic elements which go into making a lithographic printing are the stones, the ink, the chalk, the transfer paper, the press and about thirty tools of various sizes. The stones, known as lithographic stones, are calcareous slate with the ability to absorb moisture and grease with equal power. The best quality stones are found in Bavaria, Germany, the homeland of the inventor. They are also found in various parts of Europe like Spain and France. The stones are mixed and sold in large size. They need to be cut to an ideal thickness of 2 and 1/2 inches for book size printing. The folio size requires the thickness of 3-5 inches which means that printers need to treat the stones until they reach the thickness needed. Also, both sides of the stones need to be smoothed down so that not even a single particle or grain of sand remains on the surface. Such grains would render the final product unprofessional with black lines appearing across the printed page.

Lithographic ink is a compound of wax, dry white soap, tallow or lard, shellac, and lampblack. When it is not prepared well, it has no tenacity. Sometimes after dissolving it in water the ink becomes thick and astringent requiring treatment before it can be used. The ingredients need to be mixed and burnt sufficiently so that the mixture will not turn into a soft liquid which attaches itself to the fingers or become full of bubbles because it has been cast too hot on a marble slab.

Another significant aspect of lithographic ink is its application with rollers. Skilled application is only learned through experience and experimentation. The casual application of the ink rollers will result in uneven impressions in relation to lightness or darkness of the printed page.

The third ingredient which goes into lithographic printing is the lithographic chalk which is similar to a pencil. Here again, when the chalk is not well prepared, the writing on stone with such chalk will not leave enough ink distributed evenly throughout the page to produce a high quality final product. The end result will be blank lines because the uneven areas were not elevated to the same 1-120th of an inch on the surface of the lithographic stone, and therefore could not absorb enough ink.

The fourth part of the lithographic printing process is the transfer paper. The necessity of reversing both writing and drawing on stone made the use of transfer paper indispensable to all those who were not in the habit of writing in reverse. The transfer paper must unite two qualities: first, it must be as good to write upon as common paper; second, the writing must leave no traces behind the paper when it is transferred to the stone. To transfer the writing from the paper to the stone it is sufficient to wet the paper and rub it gently until
the impression is settled on the stone.

The fifth major component of lithography is the press which is not very different from the presses used in typography. Some of the presses were wooden and about six feet in height. The modern ones are made of metal and run by power instead of by hand.

What all of this suggests is that the managers of lithographic shops needed to know a series of complicated applications without which the business would not succeed. Having such factors in mind, the early printers like Raucourt and Bensfelder provided the user with a guide to manage the one hundred different applications and to handle expected problems along with their solutions. With such a guide, printers needed at least a year of experience to master lithographic printing and without it students would remain at the mercy of experts in the field.

In addition to the technical know how, printers and managers needed to know that the lithographic process was best suited for relatively small jobs running to a maximum of two to three thousand copies while typography was suited for much larger tasks running into over ten thousand copies. Lithography was also best suited for producing artwork, maps, musical notes, postcards, educational material, posters, and invoices. Lithography also had the natural capacity to preserve 'signatures' or script thus making it best suited for those who would like to preserve the traditional script instead of changing or standardizing it through typography.

In short, what all the above would mean to Moroccans is that they would have to change in terms of learning new modern skills and in terms of putting together a variety of experts, printers, compositors, binders, distributors in order to yield positive results in their printing operation. All of this should guide us for a better and proper understanding of how Moroccans managed printing.

34. Antoine Raucourt, A Manual of Lithography pp. xi, 3-6, 9-10. Also T. Bensard, Typographia, pp. 891-893, 901, 909-909. Both texts include illustrations of the tools utilized in lithographic printing.
CHAPTER IV
PRINTING IN THE MUSLIM WORLD; THE CASE OF ISTANBUL

Studying the introduction of printing technology to Istanbul seems at first to be irrelevant to Morocco, but in reality the Ottoman experience at printing technology is very important to an understanding of the history of printing, not only in Morocco, but also in the Muslim world in general. The Ottoman Empire, the largest and most powerful Muslim state, became the first one to adopt printing. To do that a consensus (Ijma') of the Ulama was needed. Since no objections were voiced in Istanbul against the use of printing, the decision automatically became a regulation for all Muslims in the Empire. This decision was significant because the Ottoman subjects belonged not only to the Hanafiyyah School of law but also to schools like the Malikiyyah, the Shafi'iyyah and the Hanbaliyyah, among other schools. Thus, the process of decision making and the arguments put forth to support the use of printing in the Ottoman Empire are useful in analyzing the Moroccan approach to the issue of whether or not to adopt the new printing technology.

Since the transformation of the Caliphate from Abbasid to Ottoman hands, the Ottomans sought to extend their sovereignty over Morocco as well. At various points in history they attempted, through force, to achieve this aim without success. However, by the turn of the Twentieth Century, when foreign competition to bring Morocco to the

2. Donald Plotcher, An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire, pp. 107-109.

fold was at its peak, the Ottomans tried again to expand their influence into Morocco through the local Ulama, and interestingly enough, through the introduction of Morocco's first moveable-type printing machine in Fez in 1906. Accordingly, it is important to see how the Ottomans set the precedent for the Muslim World, including Morocco.

The introduction of printing in Turkey goes back to the very early years of the 16th century when David Nahman, an exiled Jew from Spain, is believed to have opened his printing office in Istanbul and printed his first book in 1503. Between 1503 and 1593, the Jewish printers such as the renowned Gerson and the Ya'abes families managed to print some one hundred titles for the estimated 30,000 members of the Jewish community in the Ottoman Capital.

One interesting aspect of the history of printing in Turkey is that Sultan Bayazid II (1481-1512) and those who followed him to power for at least two centuries prohibited their Muslim subjects from using printing, while allowing all their non-Muslim subjects such as the Jews and Christians to produce or print books in Hebrew, Latin or Armenian.

Another interesting occurrence was Sultan Murad's decree of 1588 which allowed Europeans to distribute their merchandise including printed books of a scientific nature, in Arabic, Persian and Turkish in the Ottoman Empire thus covering most of the Muslim world as well as

3. For more details on this see, Chapters VI and VII of this thesis.
important segments of Christian Europe between Vienna and Istanbul.

Due to the lack of any explanation for the Ottoman directives regarding the 1494 prohibition of printing for Muslims or any assessment of the Muslims' reactions to printing, most historians such as Carter, Kinross, Sabat, etc. assumed that the anti-printing attitude among the Turks and Muslims in general, was due to "reactionary forces," the "Ulama, as well as to the sultans who feared that an awakening would be caused by the use of printing, which would threaten their authority."

Although Islam, especially its holy book, the Koran, its educational system and the Arabic language, could create serious obstacles to printing, one should still ask whether the Ottoman Turks initially rejected the use of printing for Muslims on religious grounds. To answer this question it is important to ask two other questions of the history of printing which have not been properly analyzed to date; namely, how the Europeans utilized printing since its invention in their relations with the Muslim world, especially the Turks, and how the 'Ulama dealt with the use of printing among Muslims when it became a reality.

According to Eisenstein in her widely known book, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change, the Reformation was the first religious movement, it has been said, which had the aid of the printing press. Even before Luther, however, Western Christendom had already called on printers to help the crusade against the Turks. Church officials had already hailed the new technology as a gift from God - as a providential invention which proved Western superiority over ignorant infidels.

What Eisenstein is probably referring to is the 1454 "Letters of Indulgence" which were printed in Mainz, Germany, three years before the Gutenberg Bible was printed. These "letters" which were issued by Pope Nicholas V were a declaration of pardon of sins to all Christians who had given money to support the war against the Turks. It has been said that seven editions in two styles were issued for distribution among the faithful in Europe.

The use of printing against the Turks was not limited to the Pope. In the 1470s a non-commercial press at the Sorbonne printed The Oration of Cardinal Bessarion. This book, a copy of which still survives at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris was "an appeal by its author for universal peace among the Christian nations, in order that they might unite in opposing the advances of the 'Mussulman power.'" A copy of this book richly illuminated and accompanied by a printed personal letter urging the case for which it was issued, was sent to each European ruler and to many influential dignitaries.

In addition, European commercial printers might also have inadvertently alienated Muslims against printing. In 1694 a printing establishment in Hamburg seems not to have learned any lesson from Alessandro's failure when it produced multiple copies of the Koran.
which carried not only an erroneous title, but also an offending statement about the Islamic faith. The title page of Hamburg's 1694 edition of the Koran read: al-Qur'an shari'at al-Islamiyyah Muhammad ibn Abd Allah. This title should have been: al-Qur'an: shari'at al-Islam (i.e., the Koran: The Law of Islam) without the authorship statement, because to Muslims, the Prophet, Muhammad ibn Abd Allah, did not write the Koran. Instead, it was God's eternal words and his miracle revealed through his messenger, Muhammad, the Prophet.

Accordingly one might assume that the Ottomans were aware of the shortcomings of printers and the fact that printing technology could be used to distort facts or beliefs. Therefore they objected to its utilization among the Muslims. However, such assumptions are not convincing because they depicted the Turks as rigid and unintelligent at a time when they were at the zenith of their power. If in fact they had needed printing they would have purchased it for their own use.

When printing was first put to use in the 1450s Sultan Muhammad al-Fatih was at the helm of the Ottoman Empire. This Sultan had a unique taste for Western artifacts and talents. He was the first head of a Muslim government to employ Christian-Greek architects to design a grand Mosque in Istanbul which is now known as the Mosque of Muhammad al-Fatih. Also, this Sultan was the first Muslim Sultan to break away openly from the Islamic tradition of making images, when he hired an Italian artist to make his own portrait. When the Ragusa Republic of Venice made peace with the Ottomans, Sultan Muhammad specified that the

11. Mahid Ghoura, Le début de l'imprimerie arabe à l'Istanbul, p. 269. "Facsimile of the title page is provided."

12. Mustafa Mu'min, Qasamat al-'Alan al-Islami, pp. 33-35.
specifically a select group of individuals from the government and the Ulama, began to realize this imbalance between their Empire and the European states. They called for reform using the same elements upon which their European rivals had built their success in science and technology. To make this point clear we need to provide some details about how the Ottoman Turks opened up to Europe and what kind of arguments they utilized to achieve the intended reforms.

During the 17th century among all the Ottoman officials and Ulama there was one scholar who could clearly recognize the Ottoman imbalances and had the vision to call his countrymen to learn from European ideas and technology. He was Haji Khalifah, who was also known as Katib Celebi. Because Celebi was a pioneer thinker and both his works and activities would become vivid examples of the future in terms of reform and orientation, it is important to take a look at his biography to see why and how Celebi distinguished himself apart from his contemporaries.

Celebi was born in Istanbul in 1609 and like most of the children who were born to well-to-do families, his father hired a tutor to teach him the alphabet, writing, the Koran and both Arabic and Turkish grammar. He began this study at the age of five or six. Being the head of the government’s finance department, Celebi’s father seems to have employed his son as a clerk (katib) at the age of fourteen. In this office he was trained as an accountant. However, in less than a year, Celebi accompanied his father on various campaigns with the Turkish army to such Ottoman provinces as Iran, Qaysariyah and Iraq. He witnessed the enormous difficulties which the Ottoman subjects were suffering, such as famine, high inflation and the burden of oppressive taxation. He also lost his father on such a campaign. All of these early impressions appear later in his writings as examples of the disorder created by the Ottoman system of government.

On his return to Istanbul in 1628, Celebi attended the open classes of Qadizadah who taught theology, jurisprudence and Koranic commentary at the Mosque of Muhammad al-Fatih. Celebi’s total devotion to studying and writing did not come until 1645, only a few years after he inherited a large sum of money. This inheritance apparently gave him the freedom to study and write about topics of great interest to him.

Celebi is unique in that although he received the same traditional Islamic education, he decided to follow another path of knowledge and scholarship, unlike his contemporaries. He began showing a strong interest in European history, geography, exploration, economics, gardening, literature (Belle Lettres), and ideas of reform.

The reason why Celebi departed from the traditional line of Islamic studies could be attributed to several factors which might have shaped his thinking. First, Celebi was deeply disappointed in the lack of aid from his superiors for advancing his career as a government official.


14. Katib Celebi, Kasıf al-‘ınum vol. 1, pp. 13-18. These pages include Celebi’s autobiography translated into Arabic from the Turkish manuscript by Muhammad Sharaf al-Din Yaltaqiyya, the editor of Kasıf al-‘ınum, above.


16. Ibid.
clerk. Therefore, he abandoned government service as soon as he could support himself and his deeper interests. Second, Celebi showed strong indications that he was also disappointed with the direction of scholarship in Istanbul and felt that the Ottoman Empire was intellectually outmoded. This disappointment was evident in three things which he did or didn't do: 1) He did not complete his book of commentary on the Koran which remains incomplete; 2) He compiled a collection of rather unique Fatwas (religious judgments) by various Ulama. This book has been declared lost, which is because of the critical nature of its address to the Ulama. 3) In his lexicon, Kashf al-nur, when citing the seven medieval rationales for writing or composing books, Celebi deliberately replaced the first reason of 'extraction' with the term 'invention' as if to say that Muslim Ulama had enough with extracting the meanings of the Koran and other Islamic texts. Instead, they should be concerned most with the sciences and with inventions.

Despite Celebi's disappointment with the government and traditional Islamic studies, he was basically a good citizen who was concerned with the future of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, he presented himself through his writing as an example of what the ideal scholar should be. In his essay, Durrat al-anal il-islah al-khalal (The Principles of Restoring the Imbalance), Celebi diagnoses the following imbalance:

17. Ibid.
18. Celebi, op. cit. p. 35. The seven rationales for writing, as Celebi put it, were: 1) to invent something new; 2) to finish the incomplete; 3) to clarify the obscure; 4) to summarize without losing the meaning of the original; 5) to compile the scattered; 6) to organize the mixed; 7) to correct the errors of authors.

"at this state of the union, there are few funds in the Treasury, and too large expenditures for the big (Ottoman) army at a time when (Ottoman) citizens are weak (too weak to pay extra taxes)." (19)

Celebi's prescription for a remedy is loud and clear.

"There [will be] no state [or kingdom] without men [i.e., good soldiers]; no men without swords [good arguments]; no swords without wealth; no wealth without [able] citizens, and no citizens without justice."(20)

Although Celebi stopped short of calling for restructuring Islamic education by shifting its focus from theological and Koranic studies to scientific and secular topics, he proceeded to provide his readers with other books in which he described the European states, their history, and how they once were weak and then rose to strength and power. Furthermore, he stressed the significance of geography and explorations and the use of scientific maps and charts for navigation, just as the Europeans of his time were doing.

For Celebi to know that much about Europe and Europeans, he had to have a good understanding of Latin or French or another Western language. Instead of learning any Western language, Celebi is believed to have relied heavily on the assistance of an ex-French clergyman who had converted to Islam and lived in Istanbul under the name of Muhammad Ikhlas. Among the books which Ikhlas helped to render into Turkish for Celebi were The Atlas of Minor and the 1548 Paris edition of Johann Carion's Chronicle. It is not clear whether Celebi acquired his

20. Celebi, Ikhlas al-khalal p. 3. This is a wise anecdote which is common in medieval literature. 21. Gokyay, op. cit. p. 962.
22. Ibid.
The introduction of printing in Turkey was mainly the work of Mehmed's son, Said, who later became the Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire. In his petition to establish the printing press, Said wrote to the Sultan, in the same pattern as Celebi had done the previous century: "Why do Christian nations, which were so weak in the past compared with Muslim nations, begin to dominate so many lands in modern times and even defeat the once victorious Ottoman armies?" Giving the answers he urged that "Mooslems should awaken from the slumber of heedlessness." "Let them be informed of the conditions of their enemies. Let them act with foresight and become intimately acquainted with new European methods, organization, strategy, tactics, the study of geography: also the sciences of navigation by naval charts such as had led the Christians to the discovery of the New World and to the conquest of Mooslem lands."

In 1725 or 6 Said was given permission in the form of a royal decree from the Sultan, appended with the approval of the Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, Abdallah Efendi, to take the necessary steps to set up a printing shop. Soon such a shop was created and its management was delegated to the Hungarian, Ibrahim Muteferrika, who made his own residence in Istanbul the center of his printing activities.

The most interesting aspect of this royal decree and the approval of the Grand Vizier was that it continued to limit the books to be printed to non-Islamic texts, eliminating the Koran, Hadith,

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24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
Jurisprudence and even books of *Islam*, because such books dealt with Islamic theology and divinity. This meant that the Ottomans still did not want a Christian machine used on the sacred books of Islam, since such an application would disturb the traditional nature of book production which was closely tied to the 'Ulama and the Islamic educational system.

What makes this even more evident is the fact that the management of the newly purchased printing machine from Paris was handed to Muteferrika, an ex-Christian. Not being an expert, he hired a Jew from one of the Hebrew printing shops in Istanbul, along with French compositors or typesetters, who were brought from Europe to run the Press. Furthermore, between 1728, when the first book was printed under the supervision of Muteferrika, and 1745, when Muteferrika died, not even one Muslim printer seems to have been trained to insure the continuity of the printing operation. Therefore, the press came to a sudden halt with the death of its manager.

The establishment of the printing press in Istanbul was either a personal favor to appease reformers like Celebi Mehmed and Muteferrika, who were close associates of the Grand Vazir and the Ottoman Sultan, or the real intention was, to cause reform without trying to interrupt the traditional method of producing books. Regardless of the motives, the printing machine and whatever books it produced remained on the fringes of the Ottoman educational system, since the main stream of book production in Istanbul involved Islamic books.

However, Muteferrika’s efforts were not totally fruitless as he intelligently solicited from the leading 'Ulama and judges of his time some sixteen letters in praise of printing technology as well as the royal decree and the Fatwa permitting its use. In addition, Muteferrika wrote a very interesting essay known as *Wasl* al-tiba’ah (i.e. the Agent of printing) which he printed in the first book of the Istanbul printing press along with the letters and permit, just to make sure that the public and the remaining 'Ulama would realize that what he was doing was legal and there were definite and positive results which could be gained from the utilization of printing technology.

For about forty years the Ottoman Turks neglected printing technology, but its benefits, as Muteferrika outlined, were not forgotten. Sultan Selim III revived printing in the 1780s as part of his energetic movement which focussed on reforming the army and the Empire’s financial affairs. He continued on the previous path of excluding Islamic texts from being printed, but this time Muslim printers like 'Abd al-Azim Efendi were trained to cast the needed type. This brought the new technology one step closer to the hearts of Muslims. However, the actual acceptance of printing did not occur until the turn of the century.

For the impact of printing on the cultural life of Istanbul at this period see Wahib Gibara’s *Le début de l’imprimerie Arabe à l’Istanbul*.
of the 19th century when the 'Ulama began to realize the enormous implications of printing to both the educational and scholarly world in which they prospered.

To illustrate and to mark the early stages of the shift to the printed word in the production of Islamic texts there is no better example than the Ottoman religious scholar, Muhammad Haqqi's, ten-point commentary in praise of printing, which is believed to have been written in 1839. Haqqi's comments, as we shall see, were nothing but an abbreviated form of Mateferrika's essay "Wasilat al-tiba'ah". But, there remain basic and significant differences between the way both men presented their case in defense of printing.

Below, I will cite Haqqi's ten comments and compare them with those of Mateferrika. The purpose of such a comparison is to highlight the main reasons which prompted the 'Ulama to accept the shift from script to the printed word and to show that printing was used as an agent by reformers like Mateferrika to initiate change, and by traditional scholars like Haqqi to maintain the status quo while trying to revive Islam according to traditional lines. These points are relevant.

It is not clear exactly when the 'Ulama allowed Islamic texts to be printed in the Ottoman Empire. However, based on the numerous catalogues of Ottoman Imprints, it seems that 1818 was a turning point in the history of printing in the Muslim world as increasing numbers of Islamic texts were being published from this date onwards. One of such early publications was Isma'il al-Kalânibî's Hasbihâh 'åli Jalâl al-Dîn al-Dawânî printed in Istanbul in 1818. No name of publisher is given, but the name of Abd al-Rahîm Efendi appears in the colophon as being the printer. This suggests that the Ottoman government was the publisher since Abd al-Rahîm was an official printer.

Sarks, Mu'^ân al-mubâ'ât, vol. 1 pp. 784-785. According to Sarks, Haqqi died in 1883 and his first book Kharînat al-sarât was published in Cairo in 1872.

to Morocco as the 'Ulama took full advantage of printing technology both to enhance their popularity, and to continue their centuries-old traditions. Haqqi's comments were repeated by some Moroccans in their quest to import printing technologies to their country.

At this point let us see how Haqqi presented his case for printing, and compare it with the style of Mateferrika, recognizing the differences between the two men and their effectiveness in persuading Muslims to utilize printing machines. Under a saying by Muhammad the Prophet: "What the majority of Muslims see as acceptable is then acceptable with God as well," Haqqi provides his readers with a brief introduction and follows it with his ten comments about printing.

"Among the good things which are created is printing books instead of copying them by pen. The 'Ulama of Islam, the centre of Islam, deliberated repeatedly in 1725 and they agreed that there are ten [different] benefits in [using] printing [machines]. The Shaykh al-Islam [i.e., Abdallah Efendi] approved it [as well as] the Sultan, Ahmad al-Ghazi.

The first benefit: the making of printed books has better rewards and is faster in meeting the needs of the common 'Awm as well as the Khawas (elites).

Second: the past time Mutahids [jurists] and authors - God may have mercy upon them - made their earnest efforts to strengthen Muhammad's religion and Islamic law through making books and spreading them to [all] distant lands from the early days of Islam, so if those books are printed, they would spread around the world in a short period of time with the help of his [prophets] blessed miracle - God may praise him and his family and the Karamat [generosities] of the authors.

Third: when printed books are produced with the corrections of good Musâhidh [i.e. editors], students would understand their [books] rapidly because the writer of the [manuscript] might copy the wrong [and sometimes] erase what he was not supposed to. Accordingly, teachers or students would not need additional copies because printed books cannot be erased or damaged by
humidity.

Fourth: the making of printed books created many benefits which are countless. And the greatest benefit is the making of a thousand copies in the same time as one book is edited. All of which with correct sentences benefiting many with little expenditure as many of the poor and the rich achieved their aims by gaining knowledge to reach perfection in a short period.

Fifth: making printed books is producing organized books with the sense that they are generally, indexed, along with numbered pages and even numbered lines in Indian numerals as we find then during our time.

Sixth: lowering the price [or the value] of books and facilitating owning them becomes common in cities and villages. [To give an example] once I wanted to have a second copy of Kaʿb al-ʿArabī in Istanbul, the scribe wanted one thousand and five hundred Qushr to do the job. [In an additional example] I heard from my teacher, Hajj Akhrinya, during the days I was studying in Istanbul, saying that Hajj Ayyub ordered [him] to buy [a copy] of Sun al-bayān [a Koranic commentary by Imām al-Suyūṭī] Haggl to add it to the library. [The book] was found with a man who wanted fifteen thousand for it. We gave him twelve thousand [but] he refused. And another man [who could pay the price] bought the book for fifteen thousand. But now [days] the book is only for four hundred or less because of the goodness of printing and [therefore] both the poor and [the financially] disabled own it.

Seventh: through printing, the number of books increase [and, as they increase] they are deposited in libraries [where] students copy them or review what they wish or desire and with increased volumes of books, the Muslim lands [will] flourish.

Eighth: through their increase and widespread distribution to the shelters and outermost points of Muslim lands which are the sovereignty of the Ottoman state, a focus [against] the infidels [is created] and jihad is also possible against them by soldiers of God especially when those imprints [or publications] are of the Koranic commentaries, Hadith; the secrets of the Koran, its peculiarities; the prayers [which were handed down [from one generation to another] as well as the prayers for [Muhammad, the Prophet] the master of mankind and the Jinns. Those [printed] words are [like] weapons and protection from calamity and fierce fire, whatever location they are at. Also, they are the cause of mercy, blessing, tranquility, dignity and satisfaction. [Furthermore] the words conveying the means of the divine support [to Muslims] when men and women among the believers read them. Accordingly, it was [well] said that 'printing books is a blessing and a help.'

Nine: the making of printed books [whether] in Arabic or in non-Arabic languages is blessed when it is [only] done by hands of Islam. When printing is done by infidels there will be no blessing on it.

d: the making of printed books did not take place at the first days of Islam. It was innovated after. and the dazzling clear benefits were found in its [use] in regard to spreading knowledge." (36)

When a concise comparison is made between Haggl's ten points and the same ten points presented by Muteferrika in his essay, "Masālat al-tibāʿah", one can recognize important similarities as well as differences. The similarities between what Haggl and Muteferrika wrote about "the agent of printing" are not due to similarities in their experiences. Instead, the ten points above were a simple abbreviation of Muteferrika's original arguments. With the exception of a few insertions by Haggl plus a few misrepresentations, they match exactly what Muteferrika wrote, more than a century previous.

One of the most serious shortcomings of Haggl is his attribution of these ten points to the Ulama of Islam and their unanimous agreement (ʾijmaʿ) instead of to the original author, Muteferrika. Such a shortcoming could be interpreted as plagiarism, but a better explanation could be that when Haggl read the original documents including the sixteen letters of the Ulama in praise of printing in which they repeat Muteferrika's arguments, he preferred to refer to the Ulama.

instead of to Mateferrika because such a reference would be more beneficial and effective in spreading the case of printing among Muslims.

The second serious problem with Haqqi’s ten points above is that he appears to make his readers believe that the ‘Ulama of Islam permitted printing Islamic texts in 1725/6, which is contrary to what actually took place and was very clear from the Fatwa of Abd Allah Efendi. Printing was not fully accepted by the ‘Ulama until 1818 when they actually began allowing Islamic texts to be printed with the new technology. This problem could also be attributed to Haqqi’s zeal to defend printing, but in reality Haqqi was careless in the use of his data. For example, in point number five above, he should have rendered Mateferrika’s original idea as follows:

"Printed books are better organized than manuscripts because they provide a list of Errata, numbered in Indian numerals, which shows the exact location or errors according to page and line." (1881)

The most significant difference between Haqqi and Mateferrika was the treatment of their topic and their methods of presentation. In presenting his ten points Haqqi resorted to Sufi terminology such as Katamah, Mu’rajah, Barakah and tried to convince his audience that when the words of the Koran and Hadith as well as the prayers of Islam were printed by Muslims and spread in all the Ottoman lands, these words would constitute a great force in a holy war against the infidels.

As a traditional Sufi scholar, Haqqi was popular during the 19th century in several important regions of the Muslim world such as Egypt.

37. See the comment above in note, number 34.

Hijaz and North Africa where his books like Khasinat al-asar (The Store of the Divine Secrets) and Maf’a al-khalil (The Shelter of The Sacred People) were widely circulated, read and copied. In his book, Khasinat al-asar, Haqqi repeats his beliefs in the spiritual powers of the Koranic words:

"Any Muslim who wants to achieve any important matter or to prevent dangers he needs do nothing but write Surat al-ikhlas (which is a short chapter in the Koran) plus the Nasrallah (in the name of God, the most merciful, etc.) one thousand times. And if he wants God’s protection from his enemies and jealous people, or a cure from any ailment then [this Muslim] has to write the Nasrallah in a cup filled with mud and drink it.”

It is not clear, yet, to what extent Haqqi was effective in his utilization of Sufism in popularizing printing technology. But the famous Moroccan jurist and Sufi scholar, al-Mahdi al-Wazzani, recorded 41 Haqqi’s ten points in praise of printing in his book Al-Ni’yar, a collection of fatwas by various ‘Ulama from within and outside Morocco.

Because Sufi scholars like Haqqi or al-Wazzani embraced printing and promoted its usage in their books on Sufism and Islamic Jurisprudence, it was not necessary for the religious authorities to issue new fatwas to permit printing. Instead, they referred to a consensus of the ‘Ulama in its use, as we shall see was the case in Morocco.

Contrary to Haqqi and other Sufi scholars, Mateferrika was a product of a Western culture and education. His biographer, N. Berkes, who is a contemporary Turkish historian, informs us that 39. Sarkis, op. cit. All in all, Haqqi had ten published titles to his credit.
41. al-Mahdi al-Wazzani, op. cit.
42. Berkes, op. cit.
Muteferrika was educated at the College of Klaovar in Transylvania in order to become a Unitarian minister. But at a certain point in his life Muteferrika was captured by the Turks in one of their encounters with Austrian troops. As a result, Muteferrika was put into slavery and owned by a cruel master whose ill treatment might have been the reason for Muteferrika’s conversion to Islam and freedom. This is likely because Muteferrika showed throughout his life very little interest in theology and religious studies. His essay, Risale Islamiyeh (The Islamic essay) is nothing but a sentimental attack against the Pope and his temporal power which any Unitarian of the time might have expressed, especially as Unitarianism was an underground religion. However, upon circulation of his essay, Risaleh, Muteferrika rose to power and prestige as an Ottoman statesman, diplomat and, among other things, an adviser to the Sultan on European affairs.

With such a background and political responsibility in mind, Muteferrika’s major interest in printing technology was to direct it as an agent of change and reform according to the European experience which he knew best. In his essay on printing, Muteferrika’s vision and aim are clear, that is to stem the rising tide of the European powers by democratizing education and knowledge for all the Ottoman citizens, whether they were in the smallest village or the farthest parts of the Empire, because without knowledge and education any Jihad against Europe would not be possible. In this scheme printing with its capability to produce massive numbers of books and texts was a formidable tool to achieve such a goal. At the same time Muteferrika did not lose sight of the other benefits of printing technology which were abbreviated by Haqqi. But, unlike Haqqi, Muteferrika went further to remind his readers about the systematic destruction of Islamic books in Baghdad during the Abbasid period and in Andalusia, something which could not have happened if those books had been printed in multiple copies. Also, in addition to seeing printing as a tool for the preservation of knowledge, he called on Muslims to revive the treasures of Islam by printing them. To dramatize his defense of printing, Muteferrika made reference to the Europeans who printed Islam’s classical texts like al-Shifa and al-Quran by Ibn Sina, to benefit from their medical and philosophical knowledge which contributed to their strength and power.

What we are presented with are contrasting profiles of a reformer and a pragmatic statesman, Muteferrika, and a spiritual leader with a firm belief in miracles and Islamic tradition, Haqqi. Although both men held the same concern and shared the same goal of stemming the rising tide of Europe, their backgrounds and beliefs led in two different directions. To Muteferrika and those like him (i.e., Kâtip Celebi, Mehem and Said Efendi), the remedy was through democratization of knowledge according to European lines. This meant to train students in the secular sciences and Belles Lettres, while to Haqqi and the traditional scholars, spreading knowledge meant producing more and more theologians in order to restore Islamic traditions and power.

45. Muteferrika, op. cit., point number eight. 46. Ibid., Point numbers two and nine.
In short, what we have at hand are two different understandings of reform. Both resulted from the rise of Europe as a threat to the Ottoman Empire. One line called for radical change through democratization of education and a shift of focus from theology and jurisprudence to scientific and technological disciplines, borrowing from Europe. This approach was conceived by a few Muslim intellectuals like Kâtip Celebi and Ibrahim Muteferrika. The other line expressed the need to revive Islamic sciences and literature and viewed reform within the Islamic educational and cultural tradition.

So the question to be asked is what line would Moroccans follow, and would they use the Western technology in the same fashion as Haggii envisioned, or would they use it according to Muteferrika. In the next chapter we will try to find out to what extent the Ottoman experience was echoed in Morocco and how Moroccans approached the introduction of this Western technology of printing.

CHAPTER V
PRINTING IN MOROCCO: THE EARLY ATTEMPTS

In reviewing the history of printing in the Muslim world, we can easily observe three distinctive patterns according to which printing technology was introduced into Muslim lands. These patterns were: A) the minority pattern which meant that members of the non-Muslim Jewish or Christian communities within the Muslim world attempted and obtained their own printing machines to produce their own religious material. In this regard the Jews and Armenians of Istanbul as well as the Arab-speaking Christians in Aleppo in 1706, were the best examples. B) The official pattern was carried out when Muslim officials made their journeys to such European capitals as Paris, where they learned about printing and either purchased the machines directly or made the effort to obtain them later. In this regard, the best examples are the Ottoman officials, followed by the Egyptians in 1820, and the Tunisians in 1860. C) The Colonial pattern was when the Europeans brought their own printing machines to the Muslim lands for their own use as was the case with the French in Egypt in 1798 and in Algeria in 1830.

In Morocco, the efforts to introduce printing machines to the country bear similarities to the three patterns above, but yet there were striking differences which resulted in an outcome which was unparalleled in any Muslim country. A private citizen by the name of

Muhammad al-Tayyib al-Rudani in the Southern Sousse region, surprised his government by bringing into Morocco its very first printing machine in 1664.

In this chapter I will trace the origin of Morocco's attempts to acquire printing technology to see where the same patterns cited above were repeated and why the outcome was different. The significance of doing so is to find answers to the question, why Morocco, despite its close proximity to the West, remained one of the last Muslim countries to adopt printing? Was it Morocco's self-imposed isolation from Western civilization or was it Morocco's unyielding attachment to its Islamic tradition and unwillingness to change which delayed its adoption of printing?

The beginning of printing in Morocco is perhaps traceable to the early years of the Sixteenth Century when Samuel L. Isaac and his son were believed to have set up a Hebrew press in Fez and printed some fifteen works between 1516 or 1521 and 1524. The basis upon which the establishment of the Hebrew press of Fez was built is the fact that Samuel Isaac had visited Lisbon where he learned the art of printing and from where he imported his machine. At the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. there is still surviving an odd and imperfect work of Abudarhan's commentary on Jewish liturgy and calendar, which is set in Lisbon type and thought to be one of the fifteen works published in Fez. Unfortunately the Fez specimen does not bear either a date or a place of publication which could be used as solid evidence that the work had actually been published in Fez.

The establishment of a Hebrew printing press in Fez in the early 16th Century fits within the minority pattern described above, and is compatible with the general Islamic attitude about printing technology and books of non-Muslims. But there still remains serious doubt whether in fact a Hebrew printing operation ever existed in Fez during the 16th Century. This is so because if there had indeed been such a printing machine it would, like the Istanbul Hebrew establishment, have appeared in Moroccan sources. To hide a bulky machine from the watchful eyes of the Moroccan authorities at the port of entry, or in the city of Fez for several years, does not seem likely. In addition, the late 15th and early 16th centuries were the years when both Muslims and Jews were expelled from Spain and Portugal, and if either group had brought in any unusual machines we would have read about it. Accordingly, one has to remain doubtful about the reality of the Hebrew press in Fez until new information can be found. The fifteen Hebrew books could simply have been imported texts from Spain, Portugal, even Venice where there were printing establishments which produced Hebrew texts for export.


5. It should be noted here that because of the lack of dates and places of publication for some of the Hebrew books which were presumably printed in Istanbul by the turn of the 16th century, no one yet knows for sure what the first Hebrew imprint was in Istanbul. Here too, more evidence is needed to document the exact beginning of Hebrew printing in Istanbul. However, unlike Fez, there are a few Hebrew publications which bear a date or place of publication.
The second interesting and relevant reference to printing comes in the form of a news report in the French Gazette, "Courrier de l'Egypte" printed in Cairo in 1799. In it we read about,

a group of distinguished Ulama like al-Mahdi and al-Sawi, who were invited by Napoleon's government to review the newly installed Arabic-French movable type printing machine in Cairo. Among the distinguished guests were Shaykh Muhammad al-Fasi [i.e., from Fez] who commented that he also had seen the Istanbul printing machine and thought that the Cairo machine was faster and produced better quality books. (6)

What is not clear about al-Fasi is whether he was a traveler or a merchant on his way to Mecca or Madinah, or was just one of many North Africans who lived in Egypt. Also, it is not clear whether al-Fasi was comparing the French press in Cairo with that of Mauterlik's or the 1780 printing machines which interestingly enough were also imported from Paris. Based on what we have learned from the Ottoman experience at printing, (see Chapter IV) it is possible that al-Fasi meant the 1780 printing machines of Istanbul which continued to have technical problems for lack of skilled type-casters who were the key to producing good quality books. What is most important about al-Fasi and his remarks in relation to the French and Turkish presses in Cairo and Istanbul, is that there were at least some Moroccans, especially those who travelled to the East on pilgrimages or for commerce, who knew about the existence of printing machines in the Muslim world. And yet, they seemed uninterested in pursuing the idea further by suggesting

7. For a general survey of North Africans in Cairo, see A. Abdurrahim, Les maghrébins en Egypte à l'époque Ottomane (1517-1798).
and the French Sultan had delegated authority to nine different ministers to administer the Treasury, foreign affairs, education, internal affairs, justice, commerce and agriculture, roads and bridges, war and military affairs, and finally the naval and sea affairs.

Among all nine ministries, the Ministry of Education, or the Ministry of Schools as al-Saffar called it, must have been quite interesting for its telling contrasts with the Moroccan educational system. In this regard, al-Saffar wrote that

"this Minister of Schools...supervises the teaching of the learned sciences. He has authority over all matters of education including the organization of the school and the transfer of [instructors] to distant parts to teach them the latest knowledge even if it is about the planting of trees. A learned man there [in France] is someone who is able to discover new principles and reveal their fine points [i.e., conclusions] by presenting sound proofs of them to those who doubt or oppose his findings. The name 'alim for them is not limited to someone who has studied the sources of Christian faith and its various branches. They are called priests and are rather undistinguished in respect to other logical and precise sciences."

During his visits to the Royal Library and the Government printing establishment where he witnessed some eight hundred individuals at work, al-Saffar continued his investigation into the elements of French civilization which evoked even more astonishment and deep admiration. At the Royal Library he found all sorts of Arabic manuscripts in both the Maghribi and Eastern scripts along with scores of printed books in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, etc., including Kitab Calabi's book, which

11. Ibid., pp. 251-252.
12. Ibid., pp. 100-112.

he seemed to recognize. Although he described other Parisian institutions like the museums, zoos, botanical gardens, and theatres, al-Saffar appears through his enthusiasm and involvement to be most at ease with the printing press, which he described in meticulous detail.

"On Thursday, the thirteenth day of the month, we went to the house for printing books called the astange (astang) which is another of their marvelous crafts. First of all, the letters they print with are cast on a tin die, thick at the bottom and narrow at the top, where the letter (appears). Then, [the printer] takes the letters he wants and places them on a frame the size of the page to be printed, arranging them in straight lines, like writing. The letters are held tightly together on a frame by a device that keeps them in order. Then they coat it with ink and lay a sheet of paper on it, pressing it tightly by means of a vise. When the paper comes out, it is completely covered with writing... We tested one of them [i.e., a typesetter] by writing out a line [in Arabic] and he set it down exactly in type. We told him to break it up, which he did, and there were thirty-four letters. Each one was returned to its place [i.e., compartment] without a mistake. This completely astounded us.

...With these letters they can print as many pages as they want, a hundred, a thousand, or tens of thousands of them, all of them exactly the same. They do the same for every page until they reach the last page of the book.

The most amazing printing device we saw was a special way of printing a book regardless of the writing, be it non-Arabic or Arabic, Eastern or Maghribi [script] or whatever. They do this by taking a sheet written on with special ink that is reddish-colored like the dye from walnuts. They place it on a stone, flattening the sheet to the stone. When they open it up the writing is printed on the stone just as on the page [sic] with this stone they print whatever pages they want after having smeared the stone with that ink. The pages come out written exactly like the original without any change whatever. I wrote in my hand a line with that ink on a piece of paper which they put on stone and the writing became imprinted on it. Then they printed other pages with the stone which came out exactly like the [first] one. [In this way] you can print a book in whatever handwriting you wish."
To comment on al-Saffar's remark above, one could say that Moroccans like al-Saffar and before him Muhammad al-Fasi, knew much about printing technology and what it stood for. What makes al-Saffar's remarks very important is not his detailed knowledge or awareness about printing. Instead, it was al-Saffar's own position in Morocco. Between the 1850s and 1882, al-Saffar served three Sultans, Abd al-Rahman, Muhammad IV and Hasan I in various capacities. He was a clerk and a scribe at the Court of Sultan Abd al-Rahman and during the reign of Muhammad IV he became Morocco's first Justice Minister and advisor to the Sultan. This was a position he held during the reign of Hasan and until his death in 1882. Also, al-Saffar tutored Sultan Hasan I who was known as the most reformer among all the Moroccan Sultans during the nineteenth century.

Interestingly, it was during this period in Moroccan history that various attempts at reforms were taken in regard to updating the army, centralizing the tax system and even deciding the fate and direction of printing technology.

Another factor which adds to the importance of Saffar's remarks is that he was very likely instructed by the Moroccan Sultan, Abd al-Rahman, to visit France and record his observations about their practices so that Moroccans would "learn lessons" from the French. The timing of his visit to Paris came only eighteen months after the French handily defeated the Moroccans at the Isly river near the Algerian border. Thus, like the Ottomans, the Moroccans were under heavy pressure from Europe at the time that they sent an envoy to France to seek solutions to their problems. It also means that the awareness they gained of printing came not when Moroccans were changing their reading habits, or increasing their consumption of books, but rather at a time when they were on the defensive and becoming overwhelmed by European threats.

However, there were also telling differences between the Ottoman and Moroccan encounters with Europe. The Moroccan visit to France did not result in a commitment to adopt printing technology along with the other reforms brought back from this country. Moroccans were far more traditional than the Ottomans and unwilling in their attachment to their educational system and culture. They did not see any need to change their traditional system of book production, which was closely associated with Islam and the Malikiyah 'Ulama.

To illustrate this point, let us compare the two envoys to France, Mehmed Chelebi, the Ottoman envoy, and al-Saffar, the Moroccan envoy to see why the Ottomans became the first Muslims to adopt printing while the Moroccans were among the last Muslims to accept printing. Unlike al-Saffar, Chelebi was a career diplomat and a statesman with considerable experience in solving political problems which required practical approaches to meet the challenges of Europe on land and at sea. When Chelebi recommended the shift from script to the

14. Dawud, op. cit., vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 291-301. "al-Saffar was instructed to write about what he heard or saw because there might be knowledge or science to learn. However, as Dawud pointed out, all the travel books in Morocco were considered confidential reports. In fact, no one in Morocco — even al-Saffar’s children — has seen his "Nihab", which still exists only at the Bibliothèque Royale in Rabat.


printed word as a means of progress and preparation against Europe, there was a relatively quick response. What helped Celebi's case was the fact that he was surrounded by supportive government officials like his own son, Said, who became the Grand Vizier and had learned French for easier access to French thought and technology. There was also NatefERRIs who became the manager of the printing establishment. Celebi and his reformist colleagues viewed the Ottoman Empire as progressive and Europe as the source of new ideas and reforms. They saw printing as one of the tools of modernity. They were more concerned with progress than the fate of traditional book makers in Istanbul whose profession might be put in jeopardy by the advent of printing.

On the other side of the spectrum was al-Saffar who, as his main biographer Muhammad Dawud informs us, was a typical scholar and product of Morocco's Islamic educational system. He memorized the Koran, learned Hadith, and studied jurisprudence based on Khalil ibn Ishaq's Makhtasar. In his professional life, al-Saffar became a qayyim in the Andalusian style. He then worked as adil (notary public) preparing legal and formal petitions for judges for settlement. In addition to working for the governor of Tetuan, Abd al-Qadir Ash'ash, as clerk, he taught Islamic sciences and provided fatwa (religious judgments) for the public. It is also important to note that when the Sultan chose Abd al-Qadir Ash'ash to visit Paris on a diplomatic mission, al-Saffar was included not only as clerk and reporter but also the group's spiritual leader. al-Saffar stayed in France about fifty days but did not become influenced by the French way of life. He viewed their adherence to Christianity as corrupt and invalid. Nevertheless he was generous to the French when he described them as "honest, hardworking, lawful, crafty and good fighters in battle." What is unusual about his report is his assertion that "religious zeal is not enough to win battles." Instead, it takes "good training, discipline, organization and good weaponry," which he witnessed in France.

al-Saffar was different from Celebi. He was in the company of very traditional Sultans and Ministers like Idris al-Amrawi and al-Tayyib Bu'ishrin (better known as Bilyamani). It was with similar officials who were embedded in Islamic education and were its main beneficiaries that al-Saffar worked and served. Therefore, it is not surprising that al-Saffar and his associates in the Moroccan government made no attempt to disturb the status quo by adopting printing despite the fact that al-Saffar, and the very few who read his reports, knew what it took to produce books by hand.

About fifteen years after al-Saffar's visit to Paris, Spanish forces invaded Northern Morocco and took control of Tetuan in 1560. As a result, another diplomatic mission was sent to Paris to learn more about ways of strengthening and protecting Morocco. This time the choice of ambassador was Idris al-Amrawi, who also was a clerk who had risen to the rank of Minister to Sultan Muhammad IV. Unlike al-Saffar,

18. Dawud, as in note 14 above.
22. Charit, op. cit.
al-Anrawi was from a prominent Andalusian family in Fez and the son of Morocco's most popular poet whose pro-Jihad and anti-European poems were very common throughout the country. They echoed the grave dangers Moroccans faced, including the threat of European domination.

In his report to Sultan Muhammad, al-Anrawi followed exactly the same steps as al-Saffar in describing all impressive aspects of the French civilization, but he went a step further in making a direct appeal to the Sultan to adopt printing.

"This machine which the French use to print (books and periodicals, etc.) is useful in every aspect. It helps to increase the number of books and to disseminate knowledge of the sciences to the public. Its [positive] result is evident to every intelligent person. [The machine] has been used in all Muslim countries (except Morocco) and the famed 'ulama are delighted about it. The printed books are low in cost, and the [editorial] give their fullest attention to producing accurate and well-set scripts. [Accordingly,] we request...our Sultan to acquire a printing press and thus improve our country."

What is interesting about al-Anrawi's appeal is his reference to the 'ulama of Islam like Haqqi and even Ahmad Qabadi of Tunisia, who became the first director of the Tunisia's printing press which produced Imam Malik's book, al-Muwatta in 1863, among many other Malikiyah traditional texts. Once again, the appeal was shelved by the Sultan for the same old reasons, at a time when al-Saffar was the main advisor of Sultan Muhammad IV.

The defeat of Tetuan left the Moroccan treasury in ruin. With a bankrupt treasury the Moroccan Sultan was very likely reluctant to approve al-Anrawi's appeal, even if he had agreed to the usefulness of printing technology and its potential use to serve Islam and Islamic sciences.

The reluctance of the Moroccan Sultan to import printing technology into Morocco left the door open for an unusual move by a private citizen, Muhammad al-Tayyib al-Rudani, to bring to Morocco not only the country's first printing machine, but also an Egyptian printer to operate it in 1864. Who was al-Rudani? What prompted him to bring a printing machine and printer? What did he intend to do with it? What was the reaction of the Moroccan authorities to al-Rudani and his printing machine, and to the printer?

Biographers of al-Rudani inform us that he came from the capital of the Southern Sousse region, Rudanit, which is near the coastal port of al-Mawyara. Because Rudanit is mainly populated with Berbers, one can presume that al-Rudani was from Berber stock. He seems to have come from a line of learned scholars, for his father and grandfather were 'ulama who held the position of Qudat (i.e., judges) in the region.

Accordingly, it is very likely that al-Rudani was educated at home first, then sent to Fez, as his biographer adds, for further education. Upon completion of his education, al-Rudani taught Arabic and Islamic sciences and followed his father by becoming a judge.

al-Mukhtar al-Susi, who is one of al-Rudani's main biographers, informs us that al-Rudani often replaced his father on the bench during his absences. Another significant piece of information we learn from al-Susi is that al-Rudani's father and grandfather were both strict and
conservative scholars with uncompromising moral codes. They did not hesitate to remind the makhzan (government) officials of their shortcomings or abuses of power. This attitude and uprightness caused both men to be out of favor with their local authorities. As a matter of fact, al-Rudani’s father had been once exiled from Rudani and sent to Wujah, on the Algerian border, for taking the side of the rebels in a local uprising against the Makhzan officials. However, according to al-Rudani’s letter (diplomatic), which was signed by his teacher from Fez, Muhammad al-Nahdi ibn Suda, he seems to have been working as a judge in Wujah (Ibn Suda described him as the Judge of Wujah around Sept. 1849), so al-Rudani was fully aware of his father’s plight, as he shared his exile with him.

Muhammad al-Manuni who is one of the leading Moroccan antiquarians and biographers, informs us that al-Rudani built water fountains in his home town to provide fresh water for drinking and washing five times daily for the prayer rituals. What the biographical account of al-Rudani tells us is that he was a religious scholar and teacher with a noted philanthropic attitude. So, was it al-Rudani’s wish to import a printing machine to aid teachers like himself in their educational endeavors or was it his intention to open a new chapter in his own life and become a publisher?

Before al-Rudani went to Mecca in 1864, he gave no indication of his intention except to pay a visit to the holy Islamic cities of Mecca, Mekkah, Medina. But on his return trip, he stopped in Cairo, bought a lithographic printing machine and made a contract with an Egyptian printer by the name of Muhammad al-Qubbani (or al-Quyumi) to work for him for a year. Because the content of the contract between al-Rudani and the Egyptian printer shed a good deal of light on al-Rudani’s intent, and where he wanted the press to be operated, I will cite its text and make a few observations about it.

It was on the blessed day of Wednesday, 14 days past the 20th of Rabi’ al-Awal, the year 1281 (i.e., August 17, 1864) that the eminent Qadi, Monsieur al-Rudani, son of the late Muhammad al-Rudani from the town of Rudani [Rudani] in Morocco agreed with Muhammad al-Qubbani al-Mahdi [i.e., al-Qubbani] son of the late Ibrahim from Misr [i.e., Cairo]—the editor of this contract—to go to the town of Rudani in the land of Morocco to assume the task of operating the printing press for the period of a full year, starting on the month of Rabi’ al-Awal, 1281 (August, 1864) and ending in the gracious month [meaning the month of Safar, 1282] (November, 1865). As compensation [Mr. al-Qubbani will be] satisfied with food, drink and clothing as he wishes, and after every month he will be given two hundred piastres as pocket money [to which] Muhammad al-Qubbani immediately agreed. And after a year, if Muhammad al-Qubbani wants to return to his country, Egypt...the Qadi, Monsieur al-Toyib will send him (back home) at his own expense. He [al-Rudani] also agreed to that stipulation. [In addition] Muhammad al-Qubbani has received from him [al-Rudani] a loan for the sum of nine Binitons to pay back his [al-Qubbani’s] debts in Cairo. This sum will be paid back to al-Rudani at the place of his residence, and if he [al-Qubbani] wants to return to his country after the year of service, the debt will be paid back all at once.

Upon this both have agreed in the presence of the Muslims in attendance [witnesses]. [This contract was] written in 14 Rabi’ al-Awal, the year 1281 (August 17, 1864)

27. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
by Muhammad al-Qabbani al-Matbe'ji [and] the honorable
Qadi, Monsieur al-Tayyib al-Rudani."

It is clear from the contract above that al-Rudani wanted his
newly purchased printing machine in his hometown, Rudani, but it is
not clear whether he wanted to print books, periodicals, or legal
documents (i.e., Matba'iq). But knowing that he was a teacher and a
judge, one can imagine that producing educational and legal materials
would very likely be his first choice. Also, as a Muslim scholar and a
Moroccan, he purchased a lithographic printing machine which was best
suited to produce books in the same manner as producing manuscripts to
maintain the characteristics of local, traditional Maghribi scripts.

But how about the financial aspect of the operation? The contract
shows al-Rudani as being very generous and trusting to have advanced
his printer money to pay his debt in Cairo and to have even agreed to
pay him his monthly wage seventeen days before the contract was writ-
ten. Does this generosity of al-Rudani mean that he was being purely
philanthropic towards the people of Rudani and the surrounding re-
gions, or was he lured by the Egyptian printer, who was in debt, to
purchase the machine and hire him to set up an operation about which
al-Rudani knew nothing, except that it could produce multiple copies of
books while preserving the integrity of the Maghribi script?

The answer to such questions will never be answered because in
September, 1864, the Moroccan government did not allow the printing
machine to go beyond Meknes where the Sultan resided. According to
the famous Moroccan historian, Ibn Suyydan, who was also a member of the
royal family, al-Rudani presented his printing machine as a gift to

Sultan Muhammad IV.\[31\] (al-Mu'akkar al-Sus, unlike Ibn Suyydan, used the
term Hisyar, which means either to buy from or to take away, in de-
scribing the transfer of the machine from al-Rudani to the govern-
ment.)

Based on a document which I uncovered in the summer of 1986
what happened in al-Sawiyrah was that when the printing machine arrived
at the port, the Amin (i.e., customs official), al-Fannaawi al-Quabbaj,
notified the Qadi (governor) of the region, Abd Allah Wabba al-Susi, about the machine. He in turn wrote the Sultan asking what he should
do about this machine which was totally new to his eyes. The narrator
of the port incident, al-Tayyib al-Azraq, who was one of the Egyptian
printer's students in Fez, and Morocco's very first printer, pointed out
that the Sultan ordered that both the machine and the printer be
destroyed in Meknes. (It was in Meknes that Morocco's first printed book was
completed in June 1865). But al-Tayyib did not make any mention of
the fate of al-Rudani who seems to have
died in 1865 before seeing the first product of his printing machine.

What this means is that the Moroccan government must have confis-
cated the machine. This seems to be the case since al-Saffar, who knew
much about the chemical or stone printing, was the Justice Minister and
the second main adviser to Sultan Muhammad IV in his court. Also, it

32. al-Susi, op. cit.
33. The original copy is with the al-Randa family in Rabat. It is
part of the notebook in which the late Abd al-Salim al-Randa, Morocco's
former Justice Minister, recorded his memories and business affairs.
The family kindly allowed me to xerox the document and use it.
34. al-Susi, op. cit. Here a poet who eulogized al-Rudani's death
wrote that al-Rudani was "forced to his grave" without giving any other
details.
is interesting to note that whatever surviving financial records about wages of printers and other expenses existed, were kept by al-Saffar's teacher, the Grand Vizir, al-Tayyib Bu ishri, indicating that the latter was chosen to oversee the finances of the newly confiscated machine. Another interesting point is that the al-Runda document shows that it was the Egyptian printer, al-Qabbani, who upon being informed about "Fez and its abundant Ulama and books," requested from the Sultan to move the printing machine to Fez in 1865 where it remained in use probably until the 1940s serving the Sultans, the Ulama, the notables, the common people, and playing an important role of reviving Islam and Islamic education while bringing scores of other changes which I will examine in detail in the coming chapters.

As we have seen, the attempts by Moroccans were similar in some respects to the attempts by the Ottomans to acquire the new printing technology for their countries. Both regions recognized the ramifications of the fact that this technology came from Europe. However, in the case of the Ottomans, they were open to the new European influences whereas the Moroccan decision makers drew their strength and legitimacy from the traditional Islamic system and thus were resistant to reform ideas which suggested changes in that system. Their reforms were all directed at updating the army according to modern European methods but the calls to adopt the new printing technology were postponed until a private citizen introduced the country not only to its first printing machine, but also to a foreign printer from Egypt to operate it.

The significance of al-Rudani as a Muslim scholar was that he determined the type of printing machine he would use. The lithographic machine was best suited for Moroccan traditional Ulama because it maintained the integrity of the Maghribi script and the format of the traditional book.

The reaction of the authorities in Morocco to the arrival of the printing machine was to confiscate it from private hands. This was expected as there were officials like al-Saffar, Idris al-Arawi, etc. who had seen printing machines in France being utilized by the government for educational political and cultural purposes. The question remains as to how the Moroccan government would utilize printing technology. Would these officials use it in a limited way to reform its army and educate its soldiers, as both the Egyptians and the Ottomans did, or would they hand the machine to the Ulama to utilize as they saw fit in reviving Islam and Islamic education. In the next chapters we will try to answer such questions to see the limits of change or lack of change which could be attributed to the use of printing in Morocco.

35. Ayache, op. cit.
On the European side, however, the literature which emphasized the various connections between printing and change is overwhelming. This connection continues to provide a lively scholarly topic because of the complexity of European history and the multiple social, economic and political factors which contributed in one way or another to the transformation of Europe from its medieval to modern forms.

This is in contrast to Morocco of the 1860s where there was no Renaissance movement or Industrial Revolution. Instead there were small and limited efforts at reform which originated from the reaction of Moroccans to the mounting threats and encroachments of European forces on Moroccan land. Whatever major social, economic or political changes were taking place in Morocco between 1865 and 1912 could be readily linked to a direct or indirect interference from Europe in Morocco's internal affairs, rather than to printing technology. This is particularly true since the management of printing at this period remained in the hands of the traditional forces, the government officials, the 'Ulama and the notables.

Here, and in the next three chapters, I will take up the involvement of various segments of the Moroccan society in printing, to see how it affected or changed their lives. I will include the Sultans, the government officials, the 'Ulama and the notables, in the discussion with special reference to the influence of printing on the intellectual life in Morocco. I have limited my discussion to the period between 1865 and 1912 because after this time Morocco came under French protection and management. During this time the direction of

3. Eisenstein, op. cit.
the country turned towards an abandonment of the Islamic educational system and a limited application of Islamic law.

I. The Moroccan Government and Printing

Between 1865 and 1912 the Moroccan involvement in printing on a government level went through three distinct phases. During the first phase, which lasted from 1865 to 1871, the government acted as the sole manager of printing. From 1872 to 1907, printing, in its second and third phases, came under the management of the private sector. During the second and third periods the government continued to utilize printing on an occasional basis to serve the religious and political purposes of the Sultans, namely Hassan I and Abd al-Asiz. During these latter phases the government became aware of printing as a formidable political tool. It moved to regulate printing and impose censorship. This set the stage for the final phase which started in 1908-9 with Sultan Abd al-Hafiz, who reinstated total government control over printing and undertook other actions which brought about many significant changes to Morocco.

In this chapter I will discuss the four phases of government involvement in printing to see what types of changes the utilization of printing technology brought to Morocco.

A. Phase One: The Moroccan Government as Manager of Printing

When the authorities in Morocco, namely Sultan Muhammad IV and his advisers the Grand Vizier al-Tayyib al-Yamani and al-Saffar, decided to send al-Hudami's lithographic printing machine and the Egyptian printer, al-Qabbani, to Meknes, they did not mean only to confiscate the machine but also to assume control of its management. The very concept of the government as manager of a printing establishment was novel to Morocco and a visible departure from the government's traditional functions, which did not include producing multiple sets of books for commercial use (see Chapter I). Therefore, examining this new role of the Moroccan government should give us valuable insights into the extent to which printing influenced and changed the country.

For the Moroccan government to become the successful manager of this printing establishment, it had to undertake several important steps such as finding a suitable location, creating the support staff, managing the financial affairs, and marketing the product. Above all it had to set the standards for quality control as well as the rules and regulations in regard to what could be printed.

Among the very first decisions taken was the choice of locating the new establishment in Tangier, Jaza' Barqyah in Fes. This site was an excellent choice because it was on the bank of the Fes river where plenty of water was available for the various functions of the process such as cleaning the printing stones or washing the hands of the workers. Also, the location was within reach of the marketplace around the ancient al-Qarawiyn mosque which indicates that economic or educational factors were present in the minds of the managers. In addition, 4. Khalid al-Ahbari, Hashiyah 'ala al-Kurrumiyyah, the 1878 Fes edition. In the colophon (ending remarks) of this edition there is a stamped statement with the name of Jaza Branch in Fes as the location of the printing establishment. A facsimile copy of the colophon is provided by al-Manuni in his Masahir as-Saghir al-Musrib Vol. 1, p. 264. Also, the name of the street is known in Fes as Qusam (instead of Jaza) Barqyah. See Roger Le Tourneau Fes avant le protectorat, map number 17.
the location was near Hayy al-Makhtfiyeh where most of the 'Ulama and
religious leaders of Fez lived, especially those of Andalusian origin. The managers wanted to be near the 'Ulama for commercial purposes and for their professional assistance as editors. The success of this location was evident from the fact that it remained the same for about a half a century. Even when Sultan Abd al-Hafiz decided to confiscate the private printing machines and establish his own printing operation in 1909, he used the same location at Sangat Jana' Barqagh.

The second important decision about the printing establishment concerned the recruitment of its staff and its organization. When the Egyptian printer was in Mecca he was assisted by a local royal scribe by the name of Muhammad ibn Suleyman. Suleyman also seems to have joined al-Ghabani in copying most of the remaining six titles which were produced in Fez until 1871 when al-Ghabani returned to his country, Egypt. Early records show the selection of an editor and the appointment of some twenty individuals. The editor, Abu Hafs 'Umar al-Runda was the second ranking judge in Fez and one of its distinguished 'Ulama. Neither al-Runda nor Suleyman relinquished their former professions. Instead, they worked for the printing establishment on a consignment basis. The other twenty individuals were

5. Le Taourneu, op. cit.
8. al-Manuni, op. cit.

students (i.e., Talabah or Mu'ta'allim), workers and binders. The names of the students are not known except for Muhammad al-Tayyib al-Marrakushi who became Morocco's very first professional printer, and Muhammad al-Marrakushi whose works and activities still remain unknown. Both al-Marrakushi and al-Marrakushi were trained by al-Ghabani and were given 'ijarah (diplomas) as professional printers, not by al-Ghabani, but by Abd al-Qadir al-Shafashawi on February 16, 1889. al-Shafashawi must have been one of al-Ghabani's students whom Sultan Muhammad IV sent to Bulaq in Egypt to learn the art of printing at the Government printing office and to become the government's general inspector of printing.

The fact that al-Shafashawi gave an 'ijarah (diploma) to both al-Marrakushi and al-Marrakushi indicates that there was an examination or a test of skills required before an individual could practice printing. It also meant that the Moroccan government was in the position to award qualified printers a certificate which made their trade a profession. Unfortunately, just as al-Marrakushi's name disappeared after 1871, so does the name of al-Shafashawi, whose involvement with other printers

11. al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 271. A xerox copy of the diploma given to al-Marrakushi and al-Marrakushi is provided. The original diploma is at The Royal Archives in Rabat.
12. Ibid.
13. al-Tayyib al-Yaman, "Risalah ila Amin al-Umm...al-Madani Binnis tata allaqi bi-iram shabb il-kiir" in al-Ma'tah, vol. 1, pp. 420-421. This is a letter dated July 1886 from the Grand Vizir, al-Tayyib, to the head financial officer, Binnis, in regard to sending a student [al-Shafashawi] to Egypt to learn the art of printing. See also Muhammad al-Fikri, al-Athbar al-Fikriyyah, pp. 55-56 which included correspondence between Sultan Muhammad IV and Khedive Isma'il of Egypt regarding al-Shafashawi who was learning printing at Bulaq (Egypt) in the government printing office. This letter is dated February, 1867.
remains unknown. One can only assume that al-Ghafnawi continued to examine other printers like al-Raki ibn Idris al-'Amrawi, and to give them diplomas as well.

What all this means is that the Moroccan government considered the printing establishment in Fes to be so significant to the country that it appointed a high-ranking editor, and a royal scribe, and it recruited students from the families of notables to train, examine and certify to assure the continuation and success of the enterprise in the country. The efforts to organize and assemble a variety of skills in printing, copying, editing, and binding under one roof, in order to produce a commodity in multiple numbers for both public and governmental consumption, was by itself new to Morocco and a sharp contrast to the traditional system of manuscript production which lacked a real sense of organization and control. (see Chapter I).

Although the Moroccan government succeeded in creating a new organization in a suitable location, the real success would come with providing good quality books at reasonable prices. The government, therefore, had to play the role of good business manager in terms of finance and distribution, which meant not only opening new markets but also changing the nature of the traditional book business from mu'ta'lifah, (or service) to an inventory-based operation. The financial management at this stage meant paying salaries, and rent, and securing

supplies, among other things.

al-Tayyib Bel Yamani's records show that al-Qabban, the Egyptian printer, had the highest salary of about 650 dinars per month followed by the editor and the scribe who each received 300 dinars. Each of the twenty workers made about 70 dinars per month. In addition, all staff members of the printing establishment received an annual reward in the form of one set of new clothing. 15 al-Qabban's wage seems very close to the highest paid Moroccan financial officers of the port cities, who received about 720 dinars per month. The work of both the scribe and the editor was essential to the success of the operation but their pay was less than half the pay of the printer. This was because they worked only when they were needed which was once every six months, the time it took to produce an average volume of 250 pages.

Knowing the fact that Morocco produced only six titles between 1865 and 1871, on an estimated average of 300 copies per title, one

15. al-Tayyib Bel Yamani, op. cit.
17. Fawzi Abdullaziz, FITRIS AL-MAHARI AL-HAWARIJJI FI AL-MAGHRIB, p. 193. This is an annotated bibliography of the Fes lithographic imprints. In this book, one can trace from its chronological arrangement, the period of time required to complete the publication of a book. See also al-Menani, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 266-269.
18. This estimate is based on the available information about the highest and lowest number of copies produced per title. For example, al-Tirmidhi's Shama'ijl was produced in 155 copies (G. Ayache, "L'Apparition de l'Imprimerie au Maroc" in Negbérie-Tabou, 1964, pp. 143-161, while Sharh Nasyrallah was produced in about 650 copies. According to ibn Zaydun, al-Durar al-Fakhrab, p. 93, Sultan Muhammad IV sent 300 copies of this book for distribution by his son, Basan I, in Marrakesh. In addition, a member of the Qadiri family in Casablanca told me that printers usually produced about 300 copies per title and if they sold their stock another edition was produced. Ahmad ibn al-Maarrab Qadiri was the last lithographic printer in Fes during the French protectorate.
could suggest that the financial managers of the establishment were running a costly business which resulted in a big deficit. Such results were expected from the sizeable funds spent on rent and importing supplies like ink, paper, stones, etc. from Egypt and Gibraltar, via Moroccan commercial representatives in both locations. Accordingly one could speculate that the Moroccan officials either did not care about their costs or they considered the printing establishment to be a long term investment which would eventually recover its expenses.

For six years Moroccans continued financing the establishment which produced good quality books in terms of the paper and ink and the clarity of script which was vocalized as well. As a matter of fact, at this stage, books were produced as good manuscripts not only in terms of format and appearance, but also in value. For example, al-Tufah by al-Tasuli, a medium-sized book of 260 pages, was priced at 81 mithqal. This meant that the average worker or intern in the printing establishment had to work over a month to be able to purchase a book.

In regard to Sharh al-Kharashi 'ala makhtasar Khalil which was in six folios, the price must have been six or seven times the price of al-Tufah. This meant that only the very wealthy among the 'Ulama or members of the royal family could have afforded to purchase the set.

While the government made available free of charge one tenth of the production of each title for the use of al-Qarawiyyin Mosque College, it soon came to realize the burden of a continuously increasing inventory. As a result, the Sultan summoned his son, Prince Hasan, to

19. al-Tayyib Bel Yanni, op. cit.
20. Ibn Saydan, op. cit., also Ayache, op. cit.

Marakesh to open up a shop for book distribution. Prince Hasan reported back to his father, the outcome and financial details. It seems that he succeeded in distributing 200 out of 300 copies of al-Tufah to the public and various Waqf foundations in and around Marakesh.

Prince Hasan's report also shed some light on the tax collectors (also called 'umara') who seem to have sold books for the government in Hassan's shop or elsewhere in Marakesh. In this, it is not known whether or not the Sultan or other government officials tried to establish new distribution shops around the country. One could suggest, however, that the government did succeed in doing so because as soon as the Egyptian printer returned to his country in 1871, the government abandoned direct supervision of the printing establishment. As we shall see in further detail in the coming chapters, the government preferred to pass the establishment to private hands for a fee and for the privilege of its occasional use. (One could also suggest that when the size of the inventory increased to over two thousand volumes without any hope of reducing this number significantly, the government officials put pressure on the Egyptian printer to return to Egypt.)

al-Tayyib al-Asqal informs us that al-Qabani returned to Egypt because Abd Allah al-Rabari, who was the head of the Sultan's newly Westernized army, began to interfere in the management of the printing operation and with the students at the establishment. al-Tayyib also added that Abd Allah was jealous because the Sultan was very generous with al-Qabani. (The Sultan was indeed generous with al-Qabani

22. Ibn Saydan, op. cit.
23. al-Runda, op. cit.
24. ibid.

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who, for financial reasons, extended his stay in Fez an additional two years beyond the date that al-Tayyib and al-Hafriki were declared qualified printers.) But the reality seems to be that the printing establishment was being mismanaged which made Abd Allah’s interference possible.

In addition to the financial burdens of the printing establishment, the government was either unwilling to change the nature of the traditional book market, or very likely it had no expertise at hand to do so: therefore it agreed that private citizens like al-Tayyib al-Azzaq would handle printing and bear the financial responsibility of the venture. Also, at this period between 1865 and 1871, Morocco’s attention was focussed on two major and urgent reforms: the collection of new taxes and the update of its military forces, which meant it had no time for new ventures such as printing.

The Moroccan government could certainly have utilized printing technology to produce scientific or military books as did the Egyptians with the Bulaq press, and as did the Ottomans in the 1780s, but instead they limited the utilization of printing to traditional educational and scholarly purposes. Furthermore, the government could have given printing a strong boost if it had chosen to print the thousands of new official forms and notebooks (Daftaric) which were required by the new tax collectors chosen as a result of the tax reform. Instead they appointed merchants and other individuals who had little education and often could not even sign their own names, thus would not be able to use any printed forms. As a result, printing received no direct or indirect support from this significant government reform.

In short, the government’s involvement in printing was on the one hand a success in that it brought a new concept of putting together a variety of specialities under one roof to produce a commodity in mass numbers. It also succeeded in producing well prepared and edited texts. The government, however, tried but failed to open new markets or integrate printing into its military and tax reforms which could have brought some economic success to the printing operation. What we have here are two fresh concepts which are characteristics of the era of printing. One is the creation of an organization, and the second is the simplification, in terms of putting the newly created concept or organization to work. At this stage the financial setbacks and lack of business expertise in government circles resulted in failure, but the effort continued and the inbuilt impulse for change pressed forward.

B. Phase Two: The Government and Printing as a Tool of Propaganda.

When the management of printing changed hands from the government to the private sector, it did not mean that the government began a hands-off policy vis-à-vis printing. In fact, it continued to benefit from printing in more reasonable ways, on an occasional basis without shouldering all its financial burdens. However, the most interesting aspect of such use was the government’s desire to produce certain books for the purpose of propaganda.

To illustrate the government’s sporadic and indirect utilization of printing after 1871 for propaganda purposes, one of the best examples is Sultan Hassan’s order in 1882 to print multiple copies of the book *Itthaf al-sadah al-nuttajin* by the famous 18th century scholar, Mustafa al-Zubaydi. The text of *Itthaf* is the most comprehensive commentary (i.e., *Sharh*) about al-Ghazzali’s well-known book *Ihya ulum al-din*, which means the revival of religious sciences. What made *Ihya* and its commentary *Itthaf* so significant to the Sultan and the ‘Ulama in general is the fact that both represented the Ash’ariyyah brand of Islamic theology to which all Sunni Muslims in the world adhered. Although followers of Malikiyyah might differ from the followers of Shafi’iyyah with respect to the details of prayer or Hajj, they held the same Ash’ariyyah beliefs confessed or expressed by all the other Sunni Muslims. Therefore, the Ash’ariyyah theology is known as *‘Agadat al-Sunnah wa al-jama‘ah*, which means the theology of all Sunni Muslims signifying unity or panIslamism.

Another significant point about Ghazzali’s *Ihya* is that it represented the middle of the road between the Traditionalists (i.e., Ahl al-Hadith) and the Mu’tazilah in that it combined theology and logical thinking. For example, with respect to the Koran, al-Ghazzali and the rest of the Ash’ariyyah believed that the Koran was God’s eternal word and miracle. But when the koranic words were pronounced during readings they were created which is the only instance approved by the

27. al-Muzami, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 305-309. Here is the text of the contract between al-‘Arq brothers (al-Tayyib and al-‘Arabi) and the government in reference to producing the text of *Itthaf*.


31. Ibid., pp. 407-413.

al-Zubadi's popularity in Morocco went beyond the circles of its Ulama and the pilgrims returning from Mecca. During the 18th century we find the Moroccan Sultan, Muhammad ibn Abd Allah, corresponding with al-Zubaydi about scholarly matters and providing him with gifts. However, it is not known yet whether or not Sultan Muhammad was corresponding with al-Zubaydi in order to obtain ijama from him. The Sultan was also deeply interested in the field of Hadith and al-Zubaydi was already known to have given, through correspondence, ijama to several Muslim Sultans and rulers, including the Ottoman Emperor, Abd al-Hamid I and other government officials.

In addition to the local factor in printing Ithaf, Sultan Hasan had additional reasons to produce the book in multiple numbers. In the 1880s, Sultan Hasan accomplished one of his most important local goals which was to gain tight control over Moroccan tribes throughout the country. Such a goal was not achieved before he had waged numerous and often brutal campaigns which lasted over twenty years. His heavy-handed internal policy brought him to the attention of both Europeans and other Muslims, especially in Egypt where thousands of Moroccan merchants lived and worked. In "The Times of Morocco," edited and printed weekly by B. Meaken in Tangiers, between 1884 and 1893, there was a complete follow-up of al-Hassan's campaigns. From Cairo, there was biting criticism of Hasan's "ruthless and unIslamic tactics against his own subjects whom he taxed and fined as he wished." 34

To counteract his critics in the Muslim World, Sultan Hasan saw nothing better than to distribute the rather expensive set of Ithaf free among some one hundred and fifty Ulama in Egypt and Hijaz as well as in Istanbul. The set of Ithaf was extremely rare in the Muslim world. Only two years before Ithaf was printed, the Grand Mufti of the Shafi'iyyah in Mecca, Ahmad b. Dahlan, had sent a personal request to Sultan Hasan to have Moroccan scribes produce a copy for him so that the 'Ulama of Islam might benefit from Ithaf and remember Hasan's great service to Islam. Hasan not only provided the Mufti of Mecca with a copy, but also made available the work in printed form. What is significant about Sultan Hasan's actions is that he used printing for the first time in Moroccan history as a propaganda tool to improve his image in the Muslim world.

The distribution of Ithaf by Sultan Hasan as a gift to the 'Ulama in the East (Cairo, Mecca, Medina and Istanbul) caught the watchful eye of Europeans. They accurately interpreted the overture by the Sultan to other Muslim nations as his effort to gain their attention and assistance in ridding Morocco of the ever growing interference of Europeans in their internal affairs. What concerned Europeans was the fact that there were already 'Ulama like Ma' al-Ayyun and Muhammad Ja'far al-Kattani who (as we shall see in further detail in the next chapter) had close ties with Ottoman officials and others who promoted the idea that Morocco should rely on Muslim officers instead of Euro-

33. Ibid. See also A. al-Kattani, op. cit.
36. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 304.
pean Christian experts to reform their army.

The use of printing as a propaganda tool was, in fact, not new to other Muslim rulers, like the Khedives of Egypt, who had used the same methods from the 1820s. Also they used their Balads printing establishment to show European visitors that Egypt was on its way to progress by means of modern technology. The Khedives of Egypt gave printed books in scientific or secular topics to European heads of state and diplomats for the same purpose.

In Morocco, however, the focus of the propaganda was essentially Islamic in nature. Moroccans, in fact, wanted to keep their printing activities out of sight of Europeans, especially since the bulk of their books were on Islamic topics. Even specialized scholars of Moroccan studies, like the Frenchman Levi-Provençal, did not know exactly when the Fes printing establishment had been formed, or its exact location in Fes, up until the 1920s, which is eight years after Morocco became a French protectorate. Despite the fact that they utilized printing to export books to the Muslim world for propaganda, Moroccans were at this stage unwilling or unaware of the fact that printing could be used to fend off European propaganda waged against them in newspapers and journals. In one of the issues of *The Times of Morocco* in 1886, its British editor, Budgeon Meaken, informs us that when Sultan Hassan was told that Europeans learned the news of

other nations from newspapers, he was amazed. In fact, in 1889, when an Arabic newspaper appeared in Tangiers (*The Maghrib*) for the first time, its two Christian editors from Lebanon, Iza Fera and Salim Kasbani, offered their services to the Sultan to become the country’s spokesman. The offer was not accepted, but within the next two decades, when Moroccan awareness dramatically increased, the range of propaganda increased to include Europe, as we shall see during the third phase of printing in Morocco.

In short, the government expanded the traditional use of producing books for local propaganda to include the wider Muslim world. Such beginnings were modest but by the turn of the century Moroccans used printing and viewed it as an indispensable tool in their internal and external propaganda efforts.

C. Phase Three: The Government as Regulator of Printing

The third innovation which the use of printing seems to have brought to Morocco is the creation of what is called, “the decree of February 7, 1897” which regulated the activities of printing. This decree, issued by Sultan Abd al-Aziz, included six main points. Here, I will discuss these six points and see in what way they presented a clear departure from the traditional regulations with regard to book production.

When we examine the six points mentioned above, we find them reflecting three major concerns: first the quality of the product,

39. See his *Essai de répertoire chronologique des éditions de Fes*, p. 3. See the discussion about this source in the Introduction.
42. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 313. Here, a facsimile copy of the 1897 decree is provided by al-Manuni.
second, the protection of publishers and third, the requirement of obtaining permission from the authorities before printing any book. In general, the 1897 regulations were a mixed bag of traditional and modern concerns. For example, the responsibility of carrying out the regulations was handed out to the Muhtasib of Fes (the market inspector) who was instructed by the Sultan to visit printers to inspect the quality of their products. Therefore, in terms of checking quality, the duties of the Muhtasib did not change from the era of the script.

With respect to the second concern which is protecting the interest of publishers, the 1897 regulations touched three points which were entirely new to Morocco. Moroccan publishers at this stage were a group of individuals who were willing to sponsor the publications of books either for charitable uses or for profit. The regulations protected the publishers who wanted not only to recover their expenses, but also to make some profit as well in an increasingly competitive market. The regulations made it clear that "(a) printers shall not reprint the same book twice unless a period of two years has passed from the date of the first printing," (b) "Printers shall not print more than or beyond the number which has been agreed upon with the publishers", and (c) "printers shall not sell books to distributors, instead only publishers shall."

43. According to the decree, the Muhtasib in Fes, at this period, was Muhammad ibn al-Nafid. For the various roles played by the Muhtasib in Fes at this period, see Latifah Amani, "Watba'iq hawla muhimmat al-Muhtasib bi-Fas" in Majallat Raliyat al-Adab-Fes, special volume, no. 2 (1985), pp. 403-423.

44. For a detailed discussion about the activities of publishers, see chapter VIII of this study.

So, aside from the clear intention of the law to protect publishers from each other in competition, or protect publishers from the possible mischief of printers, the provisions above provide us with clear evidence of Morocco's attempt to reorganize the traditional system. Printers had to be careful in recording the dates of the books they printed as well as the names of printers and publishers. Previously, recording such information was not consistent as many printers and publishers remained free in deciding whether or not to provide statements about their imprints. The new regulations made it impossible for printers and publishers to undercut each other without consequences. The 1897 regulations stated that "violators would be fined or their licences revoked."

The third concern of the provision above, which required that "publishers shall obtain permission before embarking on any new publication" brings us to another novel aspect of printing in Morocco, which is the birth of censorship in the country. In ancient Rome, the censor was the person who had the duty to supervise public conduct, while in Islam, the person who oversaw public conduct was the Muhtasib.

45. F. Abdulrazak, Fihrist al-nahw 'at al-imjariyah fi al-Maghrib. It is clear from this bibliography that rendering dates and names of printers, publishers, etc. was more consistent after 1897 than before. However, this consistency was affected after 1912 when books often did not include such information. This is possibly because of the French authorities which did not encourage the production of Islamic texts by the "Ulama in the traditional script."


47. T. Reynard, op. cit.
During the era of printing, the term censor evolved to signify the
duty of the government official who inspected books, journals, etc.
before publication to ensure that they contained nothing immoral,
heretical or offensive to the State. In Morocco, the 1897 decree,
which specified that publishers or printers had to obtain permission
from the judge of Fes to print books, can be considered the first
written document about censorship in the country. Here again the provision
was interpreted as an attempt by the Moroccan government to
reorganize the traditional duties of both the Muhtasib and the Judge of
Fes, by diminishing the duties of the former, while adding to the power
of the latter with the privilege of providing license to both publis-
ers and printers before publishing books.

This reorganization was necessary for a good reason. The govern-
ment regarded the phenomenon of printing to be very important from its
early days when it appointed high-ranking professionals to manage it
and selected students from the ranks of notable families to be trained
as printers. Therefore, it was only practical to appoint the judge of
Fes as chairman of the licensing board, since most of the publishers
and printers were from powerful Sherifian or notable families who might
have easily influenced the decisions of the Muhtasib who was selected
for the most part from among the merchant class. For example, in
early 1896, the Kattaniyah sanctuary, under the leadership of Abd al-
Kabir and Muhammad al-Kattani, was benefitting from the utilization of
printing which, through publications of its religious leaders, contri-
buted to the growth of the sanctuary in terms of exposure, publicity
and influence. The Kattaniyah leaders, as we shall see in the coming
chapter, were regarded with suspicion by the government in that they
were interested in claiming the state for themselves. Therefore, in an
effort to control the Kattaniyah leaders, a general regulation came
into effect, requiring all Ulama to obtain permission from the Judge
of Fes, the highest religious authority, and qualified scholar (who
worked closely with the Sultan) before utilizing the printing machines.

Finally, there remain two important observations about the decree
of 1897. First, it regarded Islamic texts which constituted the bulk
of book production up to this period, as another commodity which re-
quired inspection by the Muhtasib of Fes. Such a view of Islamic books
was inevitable due to the supply of books which started to accumulate
in stacks in bookshops, libraries and printing shops.

In the era of the script, both the scarcity of manuscripts and the
sacredness of Islamic texts like Sahih al-Bukhari, and the glorious
Koran, for example, went hand in hand. Muslims were protective of
Islamic script as it signified to them the names of God, or words from
the Koran or Hadith and were sacred. But in the era of printing, the
mythique and sacredness of the script began to suffer, and Islamic
books became just another commodity. The significance of this point is
the 1897 decree paved the way for a permanent departure from the tradi-
tional script to standardized printed letters which were soon adopted
with the arrival of the moveable type printing machines in 1906. Se-
cond, the 1897 decree was also a clear departure from the tradition in
the sense that the Sultan himself became involved in regulating the

48. See note 46 above.
49. L. Mannani, op. cit.
book business and printing. Traditionally, books were among the many concerns of the Ulama and Islamic law. As the nature of religious writing became more political, the state had to assume the regulation of printing, as we shall see in further detail when we discuss the final phase of printing in Morocco in the next segment.

In summary, among the changes which the use of printing brought to Morocco was the 1897 decree by Sultan Abd al-Asis, which introduced censorship and the reorganization of traditional duties of the Muhtasib and Judge of Fez. Above all it paved the way to reconsider the physical sacredness of Islamic script in favor of regarding books as commodities.

D. The Final Phase: The Government as Manager of Printing: The Second Attempt

The fourth and final phase of the government’s involvement in printing came during the Reign of Sultan Abd al-Hafiz (1908–1912) when he sought to control the printing machines either by confiscating them or by purchasing all the machines under his jurisdiction. In 1908 there were six known printers in Fez and Tangiers who utilized four or five printing machines. Two or three of the machines were lithographic, while the remainder were moveable type. On the surface, because the new Sultan was a recognized scholar and poet with a speciality in Hadith literature, one could suggest that his move to control printing activities originated with a desire to revise Islam and Islamic acts.

50. The printers who were involved in lithographic printing at this period were Ahmad and al-Arabi al-Azag, Abd al-Hawla al-Yamahi, Abd al-Salam al-Dhweyrih, Abu al-Qasim al-Badisi, all of whom were in Fez. As for printers who were involved in the moveable-type printing machines, they were Ahmad Yunni (in Fez) and the Hammur brothers in Tangiers.

51. However, Morocco in 1908 was not the same as it was in 1865 when printing was under the total control of the government. This is to say that in 1908 the political factors behind the Sultan’s actions to control printing became more threatening to the state.

Between 1865 and 1971, printing was utilized mainly to produce educational material. But from 1872 onwards, the private sector, as well as the government, widened the horizon of printing to include scholarly texts in all fields, and more significantly in politics on both the local and international levels. Locally, printers and publishers began giving their attention to the grave dangers which the country was facing as a result of growing European encroachment.

In the 1880s, books or pamphlets about Jihad (holy war) were printed and circulated in large numbers among the reading public. For example, al-Kardhudi’s book Kasab al-nihmah, which was written decades previously, found new audiences as publishers printed and reprinted it. Al-Kardhudi’s appeal was for Moroccans to mobilize themselves into an organized, modern army to fight back Europeans and beat them at their own games and with their weapons.

Between 1902 and 1909, Morocco was shaken by the revolt of Bu Himarah who claimed to be Sultan Hasan’s older son, Muhammad, and the legitimate heir to Morocco’s throne, instead of the younger son, Abd al-Asis. Bu Himarah’s revolt which weakened the government for seven or eight years, brought sharp criticism from the Ulama who made their