opposition to this pretender and the European powers (i.e., the French) known to the public in a small pamphlet called, "collective advice."

With many current and important issues being echoed in books and pamphlets, the awareness of printing technology as an agent to disseminate political views, grew larger and soon was recognized by the government. In 1905, with the establishment of the Arabic newspaper al-Sa'adah in Tangiers by the French Embassy, Moroccan officials became alarmed especially as the editorials of al-Sa'adah exposed the Sultan’s internal policies to the ambivalent Moroccan public. The government’s first reaction was to silence the newspaper through diplomatic channels but the government became aware that the only way to respond to al-Sa'adah editorials was to establish its own newspaper. Not having a qualified journalist in the country, nor printers who were specialized in typographical printing, the Moroccan government of Abd al-Aziz persuaded two Lebanese journalists, Paraj and Artur Rumur, to move to Tangiers where they founded Morocco’s first newspaper which became known as The Voice of Morocco. 53

52. — Number 948, we learn that the same book was printed twice. No dates of publication are given by al-Idrihi who, despite his occasional errors, was well informed about the Fez imprints. According to al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 23–25, al-Karduchi died in 1891. Among the other authors whose anti-Western literature was printed and circulated widely were Mu'ayyad al-Aynayn and members of the Kattaniyah family. For more on this see Chapters VII and IX of this study. 53. M. Gharrit, Fawasi, pp. 110–120.
56. Ibid.

In addition to the endeavors of the Namur brothers in defining Morocco’s internal policies and defending them, their newspaper, The Voice of Morocco, became an open forum for reform ideas. For example, among such ideas was a provocative suggestion by an anonymous writer to replace Islamic law with a constitution. At this period, between 1905 and 1908, there were two distinct suggestions: one was to model a constitution on the Western style, while the second called for an Islamic constitution patterned in the Ottoman style. What the Ottomans did is to decide on one religious opinion which was most acceptable to all Muslims, and disregard the customary multiple opinions and judgments about the same matter. Thus, they forced one law for all.

It is interesting to note that in 1905 or 6, there was in Fez an Ottoman citizen by the name of Abd al-Karim Murad who drafted such a constitution which the Ulama like the Kattani seems to be supporting. However, the Murad constitution was never printed in the government newspaper. Instead, the Western-styled constitution was. In fact, The Voice of Morocco seems to have been established to follow the Western line of reform which was compatible with Sultan Abd al-Aziz’s openness towards Europe for new ideas, and as a consumer. This Sultan had the reputation of being a great spender on cameras, bicycles, cars, etc. His openness did not sit well with Moroccans and the traditional Ulama, especially when parts of the country like Wajdah and

57. M. H. al-Mazzawi, Madhakhirot, vol. 4, pp. 70–74. Also see Allal al-Diri, Mafrigayat courtiyyah, p. 16.
59. Ibid.
60. See note 55 above.
61. Lawrence Harris, With Malal Fadil at Fez, pp. 74–75.
Canablanca fell to the French. As a result, Sultan Abd al-Aziz was deposed by his half-brother Sultan Abd al-Hafiz who became known among the traditional 'Ulama as al-Qa'imi (the conqueror). The new sultan did not conquer anything. This expressed the wishful thinking on the part of the 'Ulama that the new sultan would restore the old world of Islam to Morocco by ridding the country of European forces and influences.

According to al-Manuni, the Sultan Abd al-Hafiz purchased the printing machine which the Namur brothers had used to print their newspaper and dismantled and shipped it to Marrakesh. However, in his book, *With Malal Hafid at Fez*, the British journalist L. Harris informs us that in one of his meetings with Abd al-Hafiz in 1909 in Fez he saw a printing machine inside the palace. Harris also informs us that the Sultan's intention was to establish his own newspaper in Fez by having Harris become its editor. However, instead of founding a newspaper, Sultan Abd al-Hafiz apparently established two printing operations, one lithographic, in the same location as the first government printing office at Zanzat Jaza' Barqubah, and the second, typographic, located at his own palace in Fez.

With the exception of the Namur brothers, the Sultan employed all the lithographic printers as well as Ahmad Yumi who managed the moveable type, to produce scores of scholarly and religious books, including one by the Sultan himself in which he launched into a severe criticism against the thriving Tijaniyah Sufi order in Fez and the

63. Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158.
64. al-Manuni, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 291-292.
65. For more information about Yumi and his background, see Chapter VIII of this study.

68. Burke, *op. cit.* For a list of Abd al-Hafiz's writings, see al-Idrisi, *Ta'lim al-mi'alafa*, nos. 713-723.

rest of Morocco. What all this tells us is that by confiscating or purchasing printing machines from his opponents or those who served the policies of his deposed brother, Abd al-Aziz, Sultan Abd al-Hafiz was motivated by his own desire to reshape public opinion in the country in his own favor; so the novelty of printing and the changes it helped to bring about were not all positive. Printing became not only a tool to disseminate knowledge and popularize it, but also a tool for the government to impose its own line of thinking.

Aside from the Sultan's wishes to control printing and direct it to serve his own purposes, some of his decisions were detrimental to printing itself. By locating the moveable type in his own palace and utilizing it to print his own works, Abd al-Hafiz marked the beginning of the end for lithographic printing in the country. It is true that Moroccan 'Ulama like al-Baghthi, al-Ha'iri, etc. printed their own works by moveable means beyond the 1880's and 1890's, but this took place in Cairo and not in Fez. Also, these 'Ulama were less important than the Sultan who was the spiritual figurehead for all believers in Morocco. Abd al-Hafiz, in particular, held this esteem as he was also considered a true scholar.

The reason why the Sultan selected the moveable type over the lithographic machine, which had come to symbolize Maghrebi script, was the fact that the moveable type was better equipped to produce many more thousands of copies than the lithographic machines. Also,
the moveable-type was standardized and at this time legible for both Moroccans as well as other Muslims whom the new Sultan might have wanted to reach through printing. His decision took business away from the various lithographic establishments which had been in action in Fes for decades and weakened the power of the lithographic printers. From 1914 the name of al-Arabi al-Azraq disappeared for good and the same destiny befell the rest of the printers as well. However, during the French protectorate, one or two lithographic printers like Ahmed al-Qadiri remained active, but whatever was printed after 1912 was very small as lithographic printing slowly died out. In 1946, when the last printing machine was presumably destroyed by the French, only a small number of specialists and traditional Ulama could read and appreciate lithographic-printed books.

In summary, the government's involvement in printing, which began in 1865 when Morocco’s first book was printed and ended in 1912 when the country lost its independence to France, brought many changes to the country. Among these changes was the introduction of a new concept, which was to assemble a variety of talents and professions (printers, scribes, editors, binders, interns, etc.) under the same roof and in one centralized organization to produce a product in multiple numbers thereby creating a sizeable inventory. Another change was how to deal with an inventory at all. Books became a commodity for the first time. The Governmental officials, as managers of the printing establishment exhibited good economic judgment in setting up their business near potential markets and making an earnest effort on the highest level to distribute their product outside Fes, by creating a book distribution center in Marrakech. However, these officials were not accustomed to pricing products, opening new markets, or generally to thinking like businessmen. In addition, they did not attempt to integrate this printing business into their governmental reform programs (upgrading the army or reforming the tax system). As a result, the operation of printing became a burden the government could no longer carry. Thus, printing was handed over to private hands. However, the government officials, namely the three Sultans, Hassan I, Abd al-Aziz and Abd al-Hafiz, continued their involvement in printing. Hassan I tried to improve his image in Cairo, Mecca and Madinah by printing Subaydi's Ithaf and distributing it free of charge. By doing so, he became the first Moroccan Sultan to utilize printing as a tool for external propaganda. Abd al-Aziz tried to regulate printing by imposing censorship for the first time in Moroccan history. This move was carried even further by Abd al-Hafiz who, as a result of his awareness of the great power of printing as a political weapon, brought all the available machines in the private sector under his (i.e., governmental) control.

Another important change occurred in Morocco when Sultan Abd al-Hafiz showed his preference for typography over lithography in printing his own scholarly works in great numbers. This preference set the precedent for the Ulama to follow suit and abandon not only the traditional Maghribi script but also to bring a gradual and definite end to the use of lithographic printing in Morocco.
In the next chapter I will discuss and analyze the involvement of the 'Ulama in printing to see whether or not their lives and activities were influenced or changed by the utilization of printing.

CHAPTER VII
THE ULMANA AND PRINTING

During the second half of the 19th century, the 'Ulama of Morocco played a variety of roles in their communities throughout the country. They were educators, scholars, notary publics, judges, leaders of the daily or Friday prayers, market inspectors (Muhtasib), orators, time-keepers (Muwaggit), customs officials (Omana), scribes, and advisors to the Sultan.

In this chapter, I will take up the impact of printing on the 'Ulama in Morocco as writers, editors, scribes and publishers. Furthermore, I will discuss why some of the 'Ulama like al-Siba'i opposed the use of printed books by students and scholars especially when printing changed hands from government control to the private sector.

Between 1864 and 1871 when printing was under the direct control of the government, there was no apparent opposition among the 'Ulama to printing. In fact, just as the 'Ulama and government officials like al-Saffar and al-Anawi paved the way to adopt printing technology, other 'Ulama like al-Rinda, al-Laajja'i and al-Arabi al-Hushrafi supported printing either through their direct involvement as editors or


2. See Chapter V of this study.
through praising the innovation in public. Support by the majority of Ulama was expected for several reasons: A) when the Sultan decided to adopt printing, the Ulama had no choice but to follow suit. As al-Nasiri the 19th century historian tells us, "the words of the Sultan were final and the Ulama rarely contested them". B) When traditional Ulama like Muhammad ibn Qayyim promoted printing, it was unusual for other Ulama like him not to follow suit unless there were strong personal or regional reasons for not utilizing printing, especially since most of the Ulama acknowledged printing as a formidable weapon to serve the cause of Islam. C) The lithographic machines which were in operation in Fez were not a threat to the traditional Nashri script or the format of manuscripts which continued as before.

However, around the 1900s, a decade after the management of printing was transferred from the government to the private sector, a unique but meaningful voice emerged from the ranks of the traditional Ulama cautioning Muslims about printed books. According to Muhammad al-Siba'i of Marrakesh (d. 1914) "printed books cause the abandonment of memorization, forgetting (Islamic) knowledge and diminishing desire (among students and scholars) to pursue learning."

To understand and appreciate al-Siba'i's position vis-à-vis printed books, one could consider three interrelated reasons for his opposition. The first reason is that al-Siba'i was already a mature scholar in the 1880's and did not benefit a great deal from the new technology of printing. He did write several books on jurisprudence and history as well as some other timely topics like the problem of the growing number of Moroccan merchants and notables who were seeking the status of "protege" (protection by Christian states from their own Muslim governments), but the bulk of his benefits (in terms of recognition and increased business) went to the government, the sheikhs, and other notables. In addition, al-Siba'i was already famous as a great memorizer who could provide spontaneous answers to religious inquiries in Morocco. However, despite all his achievements al-Siba'i was considered an outsider not only because he was not connected with any of the sheikhs, or notables of Fez, but also because his origin was from one of the tribes (i.e., Bani Siba') of Mauritania.

The second reason which is more significant than the previous one, was that the fact that al-Siba'i was known for his strict character and uncompromising attitude in regard to the conduct of the government officials when he accused in his writings of embezzling public funds and other acts of corruption. al-Siba'i also attacked some of the Ulama of the time for providing the public with erroneous religious judgments. Furthermore, al-Siba'i was one of two or three Ulama who took the trouble to write about the "proteges" whom he equated with "infidels" and who deserved to be put to death. The ranks of such proteges included numerous individuals from Moroccan notable families like Binnat, Tinjallun, al-Bula, etc. It is interesting to note that
it was some of these notable families (i.e. al-Bulu) who provided the printers in Fez with paper imported from France or other European countries. Therefore, it is not surprising that al-Siba'i was overlooked by the publishers and printers of Fez who were (as we shall see in further details later) closely associated with the government.

The third reason for al-Siba'i's negative remarks about printed books could very well be his resentment that students and junior scholars were beginning to consult the well edited and prepared printed texts instead of relying on al-Siba'i's knowledge and memory for religious judgments. This resentment stemmed not only from the fact that al-Siba'i's usefulness was threatened but also from the fact that al-Siba'i had labored at least three decades of his life to earn his reputation as a scholar and memorizer of Islamic sciences. On the other hand, the new generation of students and scholars did not have to memorize or travel for knowledge since the needed knowledge was made available to them in well-edited, printed books which were abundant in Marrakesh or other nearby major cities of the country.

Whether al-Siba'i opposed printed books for one or all of the above reasons, the most significant aspect of his expressed concerns about printed books is that it marked the very beginning of a new era when reading and understanding written material replaced memorization.

9. Mustapha Bouchara, Immigrations et protections au Maroc, 1861-1894, vol. 1, pp. 74-75; A. al-Akkeni, Khai'ah, B. al-Shardadhiti, Mustafa A. al-Yusuf, al-Manari al-ism wa al-akhras; and M. Barhilla's MAISI. The paper of these Fez lithographic imprints bear the official stamp of the paper merchant al-Mahdi al-Mulki and his partner, Beneusin. See also R. Le Toureur, Fez avant le Protectorat, vol. 1, p. 641, Arabic translation. I have used this edition because it includes updated information by the translators M. Hajji and al-Akhbar Ghazaal.

10. al-Fasi, op. cit.

of knowledge as the road to scholarship. The initial result of such a trend might have been erroneous as al-Siba'i himself indicated in his attacks against the 'Ulama of his time, but it paved the way towards the present, modern method of education which relies on thinking and understanding instead of memorization. In Fez it was clear from the overwhelming involvement of the 'Ulama in printing that the Western technology would remain as a permanent aspect of book production in the country.

To illustrate the extent of the influence and changes which the utilization of printing brought to the lives of the 'Ulama we need to examine their roles as scribes, editors, writers and publishers.

1. 'Ulama as Scribes

In the field of copying books the utilization of printing introduced mixed consequences for scribes. During the era of manuscripts, copying texts did not follow rigid rules. Instead scribes adhered to a loose set of ethical codes in regard to the quality of ink, paper and the legibility of the script, especially when they duplicated manuscripts for others by contract or informal agreement.

In the era of printing, this medieval approach to copying books was revised. As a result, scribes were limited to copying only from texts edited by qualified 'Ulama. In addition, some scribes were no longer responsible for finding or supplying paper, ink, etc. for their clients because both printers and publishers had their own supplies.

The significance of this reorganization is that scribes in the era of


12. See Chapter I of this study.

printing became accountable to the editors, the printers and the publishers who not only provided them with specific assignments but also reviewed the quality and accuracy of their work.

Despite the limits placed on their functions, those scribes who were also scholars were not prevented from copying books for printing. As a matter of fact, those scholars who were able to perform more than one aspect of printing were very attractive to printers and publishers. Hiring one scholar who could both copy and edit was more convenient and economical than hiring two individuals to undertake these tasks. Furthermore, those scholars whose writings were appealing to the reading public were favored more because they provided printers and publishers with clear copies or final drafts written on transfer paper and thus ready for direct printing. Between 1872 and 1912, we find three categories of scribes in Morocco: one group like the three sons of Ibn-Sudah (Muhammad, al-Wafi, and al-Fatimi) who were known as copyists only; a second group like Abd al-Rahman al-Kattani and al-Hu’zziwi who did both editing as well as copying; while a third group like Ibn al-Khayrat and Ibn al-Mawzan, etc., provided printers and publishers with their clean copies which did not require editing or copying.

What all this means is that printing brought into Morocco not only flexibility to printers and publishers who were able to make better deals with scribes, but also advantages to the 'ulama scribes who were also editors, and recommended books for publication. As for scribes who were authors (i.e. Ibn al-Khayrat) their writings constituted a good portion of the circulating literature which existed at this period. However, those privileges were by no means permanent. In 1906, when Moroccans began to open up to the moveable-type printing machines, the shift, interestingly enough, did not generate any objections despite the fact that the new technology did not require any scribes. The lack of objection could be attributed to the fact that the government and the leading 'ulama themselves needed the new technology. The moveable type was first introduced to the country by the Kattani leaders but soon was confiscated by the Sultan to serve his own policies. Furthermore, despite the adoption of the new technology, the old machines continued to function and produce books.

Another significant point to be made about the scribes in the era of printing is that they continued to emerge from the well-established notable and Sharifien families like Ibn-Sudah, al-Kattani, Ibn al-Khayrat, etc. In this regard, the utilization of printing in Morocco seems not to have affected the traditional dominance by these families over scholarship and book production. However, one important novelty is worth noting. In the era of manuscripts, Moroccan scribes mainly served their clients according to their social and economic status in the sense that each social class received a different service.

14. Ibid.
16. Ibid., pp. 135-166.
17. Ibid.
19. See Chapter VIII in which more details about the arrival and activities of the moveable-type press are provided.
in terms of quality and aesthetics. This class-oriented copying service was drastically altered or democratized in the era of printing when all scribes were employed by printers and publishers whose overriding aims were to provide identical books in volume to greater numbers of the reading public. In short, the impact of printing on the Ulama as scribes could be seen not only in the reorganization of the old methods of book production and division of labor, but also in the acknowledgment of skills and their reward. This acknowledgment along with the attempt by publishers and printers to benefit from the multi-talented and skilled Ulama resulted in improving the quality of books and accommodating the needs of the reading public regardless of their social status or economic background. This democratization of knowledge was a clear departure from the traditional ways and was one of the many signs which are characteristic of a modern world.

II. Ulama as Editors

The second major function of the Ulama which was significantly affected by printing was editing. It is very likely that editing was as old as copying books in Islam. However, unlike copying books, editing was not a profession in the traditional era. Instead, editors were bound to the qualifications of the scribes which differed from one person to another. Guided by Islamic principles, editors in general looked for original texts to make extra copies for themselves or for their professors. In this manner they could obtain diplomas which are known as ijazat minawalah.

The aim of editing was to make correct copies and occasionally add explanatory notes in the margins to facilitate the use of the book. These notes were sometimes simple marks to point out chapter headings, sub-chapters, sayings by the Prophet, or Koranic verses, etc. The marginal comments were sometimes important observations about opposing religious views or they just marked linguistic or other forms of errors. However, not all editors kept the textual integrity of the works they edited. Many felt free to change or alter words or sentences whenever they thought the text was not correct.

The significance of these general remarks about the traditional approach to editing is that the same approach was continued into the era of printing by editors in Morocco. However, to repeat one observation made in the previous section, the one significant difference between the traditional period and the era of printing was that editors emerged as "professionals" and their roles took precedence over the function of the scribes. They became the supervisors of the scribes. They selected the books for printing. Accordingly, the Ulama as editors rose to prominence as a main force which shouldered the responsibility of reviving the traditional literature and ushering the works by new and contemporary authors to the spotlight. This involvement by the editors in book production brought numerous changes and benefits to their lives.

21. See Chapter I of this study.
To illustrate such benefits it would be useful to look at the activities of one of the exemplary editors of this period. Between 1865 and 1912 there were scores of distinguished editors like Muhammad al-Qadiri (d. 1912), al-Siqqilli (d. 1892), al-Mahdi al-Wazzani (d. 1923), 25 Ja'far al-Kattani (d. 1905) and Ahmad al-Bu'azzawi (d. 1919). The most interesting editor of the period, whose life and activities were a telling example of what the use of printing meant to editors, was Ahmad al-Bu'azzawi. Unlike the other editors who were from powerful shari'ah families of Fez, al-Bu'azzawi's family roots went back to an African slave by the name of Ibn Abi Ya'aza. Ibn Abi Ya'aza built himself into one of the greatest Moroccan saints and, as a result, his descendants were regarded as notables. Realizing the significance of genealogy and Sufism in advancing his career and position in society, al-Bu'azzawi wrote a three-volume book about Ibn Abi Ya'aza which very likely helped to consolidate his position at al-Qarawiyyin Mosque College as one of its many permanent faculty members and experts in Islamic sciences.

In 1888 when al-Bu'azzawi was thirty four, he showed an interest in printing, not as an editor, but as a publisher. Publishing at this time meant financing a book or more for publication. It is interesting to note that al-Bu'azzawi seems to have financed Gannun's book, Al-Nisbah al-sharifah which is about the shari'ah origins of its author. However, because Gannun's claim to shari'ah origin was a matter of controversy 29 al-Bu'azzawi's venture as a publisher suffered. He never repeated his publishing venture. Instead, he turned his focus to a less risky and more consuming aspect of printing, which was editing.

Between 1889 and 1906, al-Bu'azzawi worked mainly for two printer-publishers (al-Arabi and al-Badisi). During the same period he managed to edit fourteen major works in twenty-six volumes including the famous twelve volume set of al-Mi'yar by al-Wansharisi (17th century). What is important about al-Bu'azzawi's editorial activities is not only the fact that he selected a set of basic and highly regarded religious and other texts for editing, but also the fact that his activities as editor created a growing interest in collecting books. What might have ignited such an interest was the competition with other editors to find good quality books with wide appeal to the scholarly and reading public. al-Bu'azzawi succeeded in distinguishing himself as one of Morocco's best book collectors whose private library consisted not only of the books he edited or wrote, but also rare material which he purchased or copied while conducting his searches.

In the era of manuscripts one needed to be very wealthy like the shari'ah of Wazzan or members of the Royal family to be capable of building a private collection. But, in the era of printing, the profession of editing for printers or publishers made it possible for 'Ulama like al-Bu'azzawi to build their own libraries and possibly

27. Ibid., p. 114.
32. See Chapter 1 of this study. According to Yunus al-Kattani, the prominent Kattaniyah family of Fez accepted books as dowry for marriage. See his Nashrat al-imam, vol. 2, p. 11.
develop a reading and research habit at their own homes instead of attending the various mosque colleges in the country for the same purpose.

Although al-Su'uzawi's example provides us with the earliest and clearest example to mark the beginning of a change in reading and research habits among the 'Ulama editors, we still don't have enough details to see the extent of the change among other editors who were not from the sharifian families and who did not own private collections or had access to them. However, judging from the fact that such a reading habit is common among modern scholars, one therefore could attribute the emergence of such habits during the era of printing especially in the late 1880s when Moroccans in the major cities were going through a period of prosperity which encouraged the importation of additional printing machines, the distribution of more books, and the hiring or more editors.

Finally, the most important change which the use of printing brought to the editors was that it made them the guardians and overseers of the entire book production in the country. This guardianship which was approved and supported for the most part by the government, resulted in directing the intellectual and educational activities towards a revival of the traditional literature and Islamic themes (a point which I will discuss further in the final chapter). Here also, without the agent of printing which necessitated the restructuring of

the old ways, the editors would not have been able to emerge as a major power directing the flow of information in the country.

III. 'Ulama as Authors

The third aspect of the 'Ulama's involvement in printing was as authors. The term author in the modern sense encompasses the writing of literature, or creative works. In the medieval sense it meant the occupation or career of writing essays and books of non-fiction.

Here my discussion will be limited to the 'Ulama as authors in the medieval sense to see how printing affected or changed their careers. (In the final chapter I will take up the question of whether or not printing affected or influenced creative writing).

From 1865 to 1912 there were in Morocco over seventy different authors who participated in printing activities through writing books and articles. Among the most famous authors of the time were 'Ulama like Ahmad al-Balghithi (d. 1929); Ahmad Sukayri (d. 1943), 'Abdullah ibn Khadra (d. 1905), Muhammad Akinsus (d. 1877), Ahmad al-Nasiri (d. 1897), Abd al-Salam al-Di'ari (d. 1910), Abd al-Rahman Zayed (d. 1946) and several members of the Kattani, Gammun, and Ma al-Aynayn families.

One of the interesting and telling aspects of the 'Ulama's involvement as authors in printing was perhaps in the area of Targiz writing. The term, Targiz means to praise or command in the form of writing, or orally, whether in prose or poetry. The intention of Targiz

34. See Chapter VIII of this study.
35. This number is based on the authors who published their books in Fez between 1865 and 1940 with lithographic printing machines. This does not include Targiz writers or editors who did not publish books or pamphlets. For a list of such authors see Abdulrazak, OB., cit., Pp. 110-116.
36. Ibid.
admiration for the achievement of the Ulama by his colleagues or admirers. Instead it emerged as a formidable tool of publicity, and religious and political propaganda. With the absence of newspapers and other means of modern publicity, Moroccan printers and publishers encouraged Tajrid literature and utilized it to market their products.

It is interesting to note that from 1865 until 1871 when printing was under the government's control in Morocco, none of the books included any Tajrid literature, but from 1872 on the private printers and publishers used it as a tool to make their businesses successful. From that time the colophons of the Fez imprints were loaded with scores of Tajrid literature written by the leading Ulama in Morocco; among them were Ahmad ibn al-Khayyat, Ahmad ibn al-Mawazza, Muhammad al-Tahir al-Fasi, Ja'far al-Kattani and Abd al-Hadi al-Sigilli, from the city of Fez and others like Muhammad Takru, Sidi al-Atiq, Muhammad al-AI, al-Hafsa al-Susi and al-Sadiq al-Nayfar.

40. The colophon of the following books provides sample Tajrid: A. al-Lajjia's Bayan al-shahal wa al-tauab, U. al-Habbabi's Tajrid fi bayan baha'a sufi al-tauab; and al-Mahdi al-Mazrani's Nashiyah ala arba' ta'sil, the colophon.
42. A. ibn al-Khayyat, Al' al-lija' wa al-shiqq, the colophon. See the colophons of al-Mu'ayyad's Khush al-Khatim al-Mubarak, and al-Mahdi al-Mazrani, Nashiyah ala arba' ta'sil, the colophon.
43. H. H. Ma' al-Muyyad, Sidi al-Muzayn, and Ma'mu' mubtanil ala arba' ta'sil, the colophon.
44. See Notes 40-49 below.
who were from various parts of Morocco like Meknes, Wazzan and Harrakeh, and regions outside the country like Mauritania, the Western desert and Tunisia.

It is not clear yet whether the publishers or printers compensated the Muqrizs in cash with free copies or whether they were satisfied simply with the recognition. Whatever the case might have been, one could suggest that printing was an aid to both publishers and printers, as well as the Muqrizs writers in terms of publicity, recognition, and possibly some form of compensation.

However, what is significant about Muqriz literature was its utility in publicizing authors and books within the greater Malikiyah regions in North Africa and its function as a forum to voice religious or political views through praising or supporting this or that author. At hand we have two vivid examples. The first one is from 1910 when the famous shari'iah author and politician 'Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani wrote his renowned essay Mafa'aka. Its publisher, Ahmad al-Tayyib al-Aqrab, rushed to obtain Muqriz from three political and religious leaders in the country, Ibn al-Muwaz (writer and minister to Sultan Abd al-Hafiz), Abd al-Hafiz al-Hasi, and al-Abbas al-Tazi who were notable 'Ulama and judges of the time.

The essay by al-Kattani was a refutation of a political editorial which appeared in the French-Arabic newspaper "al-da'ash" ridiculing the shift in support by the 'Ulama in Morocco from the deposed Sultan Abd al-Atiz to Sultan Abd al-Hafiz who overthrew his brother in 1908.

To prevent damage to the 'Ulama's reputation and position in the eyes of the reading public in Morocco, al-Kattani's essay along with three Muqriz pieces were reprinted several times and read in public at an official feast held at the house of the Sultan's representative in Fez, 'Abd al-Salam al-Amrani.

The other example of the novelty of using Muqriz literature to support religious views is the colophon of al-Muhdi al-Wazzani's essay, Bughyat al-Falâ'il, printed in Fez in the 1890s. al-Wazzani expressed his judgment that it was legal to hold the annual al-'Id prayers in local mosques (masjids). This judgment was a refutation of a previous judgment by another 'Alim from Fez who saw that al-Id prayers should only take place in the Grand Mosque (al-Masjid al-Jami') because the intention of al-Id prayers was to bring together all the faithful into one place. To calm the doubts of the public about the legality of al-Id prayers in local mosques several distinguished 'Ulama and judges (like al-Iraqi and al-Tazi) from both Fez and Meknes wrote their Muqriz in support of al-Wazzani's judgment.

In short, Muqriz literature was one of the traditional tools to express admiration for books, but its effectiveness had previously been limited to places where books were copied. However, with the utilization of printing, the effectiveness of Muqriz literature was dramatically increased and changed as publishers and printers began to solicit Muqriz from distant lands. This new use not only assisted

50. See notes 40-49 above.
51. See notes 41 and 42.
52. al-Hasi, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 63-68 which contains a brief biography of al-Amrani. See also notes 40-42 above.
publishers to publicize their books and market them in wider regions, but also it helped the 'Ulama to become widely known and possible recipients of compensation, or at least free copies of books, for their services. Tarjia literature also became a forum for the 'Ulama to voice their religious or political persuasions, all of which could not have emerged and developed without the aid of printing technology.

The changes which printing brought to the lives of 'Ulama who were also writers was yet greater. To illustrate such changes the most important example is the life and activities of Ma' al-Aynayn (d. 1910). Ma' al-Aynayn's activities and writings were a good reflection of the print culture in terms of documentation of knowledge and the preservation and collection of data. In reviewing his works we see the limitations of printing technology as a tool and the environment in which printing could be the most productive and influential.

Ma' al-Aynayn (whose real name was Muhammad Mustafa ibn Muhammad Fadil ibn Manqin al-Qalqani) was born in 1830 in the Southern Hedj region of Mauritania. He was the twelfth child of forty-eight brothers. The father, Muhammad Fadil, was an established Sufi and Sufi leader in the Qadiriyyah order. Because of his wide following his order became known by his name, al-Fadiliyyah. This same thing happened to Ma' al-Aynayn whose order became known as al-Ma' Ayniyah. What seems to have distinguished Ma' al-Aynayn from his numerous brothers is the fact that he was singled out to be sent to Fez for further education. However, no one yet knows who Ma' al-Aynayn went to Fez and who, among the Moroccan 'Ulama, taught him. In addition, Ma' al-Aynayn's biographers inform us that he met both Sultan Abd al-Rahman and later on his son, Sultan Muhammad IV, on his visits to Mecca for pilgrimage. Here again, no one knows for sure why Ma' al-Aynayn made the effort to meet the Sultans nor why the Sultans granted him an audience. But if such information is accurate, one can assume that such a meeting and relationship between the Sultans and Ma' al-Aynayn was beneficial to both parties because, as Ma' al-Aynayn's record indicates, he was an emerging leader who needed both moral and economic support to expand upon the social and religious base which he had inherited from his father.

It is very likely that the Sultans were cultivating Ma' al-Aynayn to defend the southern borders of the country against any further European penetration. This is especially true of Muhammad IV who lost the Tetuan war to Spain and was forced to conclude a commercial post on the shores of the desert. He realized the military and political value of Ma' al-Aynayn as a defender of Morocco and Islam in the desert and he, and those officials who came after him, paved the way for Ma' al-Aynayn to become the country's most celebrated religious and intellectual leader. As a result, the cause of printing, printers, and printed books accelerated a great deal because the technology was put

53. B.G. Martin, Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-Century Afri-
can, pp. 125-151.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Muhammad Idris, al-Bayat al-adabiyyah fi al-zawiyyah al-Ma'ay-
58. Abd al-Wahhab bin Manser, Hafriyyat Sahrawiyah, pp. 69, 81.
to use (as we shall see below) to make Ma' al-Aynayn a great phenomenon in the country.

The other significant aspect of Ma' al-Aynayn's background and contacts with Moroccan Sultans is that up to 1890, he succeeded in building up his power base and popularity in the desert without the aid of printing technology. To review the means upon which Ma' al-Aynayn built his religious strength in the desert is very important because it illustrates the basis upon which he made his thrust into the minds and hearts of his people in the desert and for the same matter into Moroccan religious and political circles as well. Such a review should also make clear the limitations of printing as a tool in the dissemination of knowledge and its preservation.

When the activities and writings by Ma' al-Aynayn are examined one can easily observe a few obvious factors which contributed to his success as a dominant religious and intellectual leader in his desert environment. One of these factors was his social connections. In addition to his father being a widely recognized religious leader, he had help from forty-seven brothers who spread his influence in the desert. Ma' al-Aynayn is also believed to have married over one hundred wives in the same style as Muhammad the Prophet, apparently to unite the numerous tribes in the desert and their various branches. According to H. Zarif who wrote his thesis about the religious

59. Zarif, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 82. This includes a xeroxed copy of a letter sent by Sultan Hassan I to the Omena in al-Suwayrah, asking them to put Ma' al-Aynayn's name in their payroll. This letter is dated 29 April, 1887, and is the oldest source in which Ma' al-Aynayn's name appeared in Moroccan records.
60. al-dusti, al-Ma'mul, vol. 4, p. 97.

sanctuaries of Ma' al-Aynayn in Morocco, it was with this unity that Ma' al-Aynayn brought these tribes under his control and worked to fend off the Europeans from venturing into the desert. In fact, when a local chieftain in the region of Adrar made a solitary agreement with Spain to allow its citizens to make commercial contact with the interior, Ma' al-Aynayn attacked the Spanish post in Adrar. He also wrote his essay, lRihab al-Hayara fi asr al-Nasara (Guiding the Bewitched about Christians) in which he recommended that Muslims should not trust Christians because they don't enter any Muslim country without controlling it later.

The second factor which contributed to Ma' al-Aynayn's success in the desert was his educational or religious activities. With his success in the social arena, and with continued economic supplies arriving from the Moroccan political capital of Marrakesh, Ma' al-Aynayn built a permanent camp in al-Summarah in the late 1870s or early 1880s. In this camp Ma' al-Aynayn set up a large library by desert standards, consisting of some four hundred volumes stacked in boxes and housed in a large tent under the management of one of his wives or concubines. Supported by his private collection and vast knowledge of Islamic sciences, he attracted scores of students from all parts of the desert who were not only sheltered and fed in his camp, but also

62. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 46.
64. Martin, op. cit., p. 139.
65. Zarif, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 44.
educated and, upon graduation, appointed as his assistants and lieutenants to roam the desert as teachers or spies collecting information about European attempts to explore the interior.

At his camp, Ma' al-Aynayn provided his followers (estimated at 10,000 in number) with food and shelter and religious services in the form of writing charms and "Hijab" literature to protect them from illnesses, poverty, and to bring them wealth and prosperity. To his followers Ma' al-Aynayn was a true saint (i.e., Qubb) who could communicate with the unseen, who wrote letters to distant lands from where caravans of supplied arrived. What all this meant is that Ma' al-Aynayn, in fact, did not need or utilize printing technology or even printed books to become the supreme ruler of the desert.

Despite his wide success as an author (of presumably over three hundred books and pamphlets), Ma' al-Aynayn's reputation and writings remained limited to the desert communities up to 1891 when his writings began to be circulated in rest of the country via the agent of printing. It took Ma' al-Aynayn about forty-five years of religious activities and scholarly writings before his works made their way into the cultural center of Fez and from there to other cities in Morocco. As a matter of fact, without the agent of printing and the fertile environment in which printing emerged at that time, his writings might not have reached the greater Moroccan audience. Without printing, we would have lost the bulk of his writings. (His unpublished works remain to this day unexplored either because they are lost or scattered in various parts of the desert among his numerous descendants.) All his printed books have been preserved and proved to be indispensable in documenting his rise to power and influence from 1891 to 1900 as a widely celebrated religious leader and scholar in Morocco.

When the colophons of Ma' al-Aynayn's printed books are carefully examined we find the name of Ahmad ibn Musa (d. 1900) repeated as the one who ordered their publications and the one who financed them. By discussing the relationship between Ma' al-Aynayn and Ahmad ibn Musa, we might be able to pinpoint one of the major reasons why Ma' al-Aynayn - and for the same matter - printing, became widely spread in Morocco from 1891 onwards. Ahmad ibn Musa was the Chamberlain (i.e. Hajib) for Sultan Haaseen up to 1894, and Morocco's Grand Vizier for Sultan Abd al-Asis until 1900. What is most interesting about Ibn Musa is that as the Chamberlain to the Sultan he was engaged in a heated struggle for power with Sultan Haaseen's Grand Vizier, al-Jami', who was also the Sultan's uncle. The origin of the struggle between the two men went back to the early years of Sultan Haaseen's reign in the 1870s when Abd al-Malik ibn Ahmad al-Bukhari, who was Ibn Musa's uncle, was removed from his post as head of the new army originally organized by Sultan Haaseen's father, Muhammad IV, in early 1860 and given to al-Jami'1

67. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 12.
68. Martin, op. cit.
70. Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 126-127, 155.
71. Ibid.
72. Abdurrazak, op. cit.
73. M. Gharrir, Fawqal al-Junan, pp. 82-89.
74. This is the same person who pressured the Egyptian printer, al-Qabban, to leave Morocco for Egypt. See A. al-Ruha, Hadith ma'al-Tayyib al-Assra, one page, unpublished document.
show, was to provide permission to whoever wanted to publish Ms' al-
Aynayn's writings. In addition, between 1891 and 1912 he edited and
directly financed at least fifteen different titles by Ms' al-Aynayn.

A significant accomplishment by Ahmad ibn Musa for Ms' al-
Aynayn and the cause of printing is that he broke up the monopoly on
printing held by the Azaq brothers through encouraging others like al-
Yamani and al-Dhuyayb to establish their own printing operations (for
more details see the next chapter). Here again Ibn Musa's overriding
aim was to speed up his propaganda campaign to popularize Ms' al-
Aynayn. Between 1891 and 1900 a good portion of the books printed in
Morocco were the writings of Ms' al-Aynayn. The question of whether or
not Ibn Musa succeeded through the utilization of printing in promoting
Ms' al-Aynayn brings us to yet another important factor without which
both the popularity of Ms' al-Aynayn and printing would not have been
successful. This factor was the readiness of various elements in
cross-sections of Moroccan society to appreciate Ms' al-Aynayn and his
writings.

Among such elements were the upper echelon of Moroccan society
which rushed to capitalize on Ms' al-Aynayn's growing popularity. For
example, in addition to Ibn Musa who declared himself a member in Ms'
al-Aynayn's religious order, other high officials like the Sultan's
brother, Abd al-Malik, along with the Mutasim of Sala, Muhammad al-
Sabini, and other leading Ulama like Ibn al-Khayyat and al-Mahdi al-
Wazzani, asked and obtained ijazahs (diplomas) from Ms' al-Aynayn.

76. Ibid.
125-127.
With such recognition and significance given to Ma' al-Aynyn, scores of 'Ulama composed poems in praise of his enduring qualities. These poems, along with his biographical accounts, were compiled and printed in Fez for the reading public. In addition, the 'Ulama like Abd al-Rahman and Ja'far al-Kattani spent several years of their lives in editing or copying Ma' al-Aynyn's books and preparing them for publication. Both printers and publishers like al-Arab! al-Asraq, al-Yanabi, and al-Shuwayh also capitalized on the growing phenomenon by publishing and circulating additional works by Ma' al-Aynyn which came to constitute about one quarter of what the three main printers produced in Fez between 1821 and 1890.

Another important factor which contributed to his surging popularity was his strong political appeal to the other Sufi orders, especially the Kattaniyah and its dynamic leaders, Abd al-Kabir and his two sons, Muhammad and Abd al-Nayr. What attracted the leaders of the Kattaniyah to the political ideology of Ma' al-Aynyn was the latter's call in his books, Mafsid al-rawi and Mubdir al-mutashawif, for a general brotherhood among all Sufi orders, both on the local and universal levels. To achieve his aim, Ma' al-Aynyn presented a pragmatic solution to all Sufi orders to utilize a unified Hizb literary format combining the major Hizbs utilized by most of the Sufi orders.

The term Hizb means party or group. In the religious sense it signifies the sixtieth portion of the Koran. However, to the Sufi orders Hizb meant a few lines or pages of prayers or devotional literature composed by their leaders, contemporary or ancient. Therefore, each Sufi group recited or chanted its own Hizb which united the group and served to distinguish it from other groups not only because each group had different Hizb authors, but also because each differed in terms of intensity, devotion and thus in religious superiority.

Although the leaders of the Kattaniyah composed their own Hizb literature, and even their own dance movements, they embraced Ma' al-Aynyn's ideology and publicized his works through the printing establishment of al-Shuwayh, one of the activist members of the order. As was mentioned before, two leading members of the Kattaniyah family, Abd al-Rahman and Ja'far, were among the 'Ulama who participated in editing numerous works by Ma' al-Aynyn. One good reason why the Kattani's embraced Ma' al-Aynyn's ideology was the fact that there was

82. Ma' al-Aynyn, Mafsid al-rawi, p. 4. Also, according to A. Bammari, Ihath al-insiyah, p. 110, Ma' al-Aynyn's main goal was to unite the various Moroccan orders into one.
83. Lane, op. cit., item "Hizb" or "Hizab".
84. Abd al-Kabir al-Kattani, Niyum al-mahtadid, this text which is by the founder of the Kattaniyah Zawiya describes the characteristic of the dance motions performed during worship. In their dance, the Kattanis stamped their feet on the ground and while one leg was lifted up they shook their bodies, stamped and shook. Also the Kattanis refrained from knocking on doors before entering. Instead, they yelled "Allah is great" to make known their presence.
85. Etd., pp. 127-128.
86. Etd., pp. 185-187.
87. Etd., p. 144.
a political vacuum in Morocco between 1894 and 1900 when the Grand Vizier, Ahmad ibn Musa, took all the State's power into his own hands by designating the succession of the Sultan's youngest son to the throne above his older brothers, Muhammad and Abd al-Hafiz. It is interesting to note that in 1897, when Ahmad ibn Musa sensed the emerging popularity of the Kattaniyyah order, he moved to test the political intentions of Muhammad al-Kattani and ironically called upon Ha' al-Aynayn to decide the fate of al-Kattani. The latter, realizing the value of the Kattaniyyah order in promoting his ideas and books, set al-Kattani free. al-Kattani proceeded to become more active than before, until his death at the hand of Sultan Abd al-Hafiz, in 1910.

Another telling example about the utility of Ha' al-Aynayn to the Kattaniyyah leaders was the latter's anti-European sentiments and call for his fellow Moroccans to cooperate with the Ottoman Sultans and use their experts and lines of reform instead of Europeans. Such a call was repeated in Ha' al-Aynayn's publications like Muharir al-mutanawwif in which he described the Ottoman Sultans as "the cream of all the Sultans, and their empire as the cream of all the States. [This is so] because they fight the [negative] principles of men among the French, English and other infidels and adulterers." 94

92. Gharrat, op. cit., al-Asaw, al-nasir al-Awali, p. 193. Gharrat draws attention to the fact that Ibn Musa and two of his relatives who held high positions in the government of Sultan Abd al-Hafiz, died around the same time. But he did not elaborate. However, al-Asaw indicates that Ibn Musa and his two relatives were poisoned to death by the Royal family.
94. See vol. 2, p. 175.

To the leaders of the Kattaniyyah such anti-European statements were strong enough to promote their own calls to replace European experts in Morocco with Ottoman advisers. As a matter of fact, most of the leading members like Da'far al-Kattani and both his sons, Abd al-Rahman and Muhammad, as well as Abd al-Kabir al-Kattani and both his sons, Muhammad and Abd al-Nasir, had strong contacts with various Arab 'ulama from the East who were at the service of the Ottoman government. Such 'ulama were Ba Fadl al-Hadrami and Abu al-Nasir al-Sayyadi who were directors of the Panislamic committee in Istanbul promoting universal unity among all Muslim Sufi orders. The Kattaniyyah leaders also had

95. The Istanbul Panislamic committee consisted of four leaders; Ba Fadl al-Hadrami, Shaykh As'ad Efendi, Abu al-Nasir al-Sayyadi, and Da'far al-Madani. Each leader was responsible for one or multiple orders in a given region of the Muslim world. For example, Ba Fadl was responsible for Southern Arabia, Eastern Africa and the coast of Mekah in India where the Alawiyah order was predominant. Just as Ha' al-Aynayn and the Kattaniyyah leaders called for unity among all Sufi orders and utilized combined Sufi literature, this committee ascribed to the same principles. There was a strong relationship between the Ottoman 'ulama and Ha' al-Aynayn or the Kattaniyyah leaders. In addition to the information available in Muharir al-mutanawwif by Ha' al-Aynayn (see note 94 above), this religious leader informs us in his book, Ma' al-bidaya, p. 40 that "when he [i.e., Ha' al-Aynayn] visited Mecca he was received by an individual called Abd al-Rahman Efendi who gave him many precious gifts and told him that he had seen the Prophet in his dream. The Prophet told him about Ha' al-Aynayn and his father and that he [the father] is the Prophet's representative on earth." Similar tactics were utilized by the Ottoman 'ulama in Mecca with religious leaders from East Africa who, upon their return to their homelands, revolted against the Europeans. See Martin, "Notes on some members of the learned class of Hausar and East Africa in the Nineteenth Century" in African Historical Studies, vol. IV, no. 3 (1971), pp. 525-549. As for the relations between the Kattaniyyah leaders and members of the Panislamic Committee, we read in al-Mafrish al-Sayyadi, by Abd al-Haqq al-Kattani, that his father, Abd al-Kabir received i'tibarah (diploma) from Ba Fadl al-Hadrami in the Alawiyah order. Also, he had met Ba Fadl in Mecca (see Fihris al-fahar, vol. 2, p. 140.) Furthermore, according to Fadl in his Mu'jam, Abu al-Nasir al-Sayyadi wrote a book about the Idrisidea of Morocco, al-Zad al-mairith (unpublished), and given i'tibarah to Sultan Abd al-Hafiz by correspondence.
leader and statesman in his desert community of Mauritania, where socioeconomic, religious and educational achievements were sufficient to achieve his high status. However, despite Ma' al-Anyyn's wide appeal to his people in the desert, neither his religious fame nor his writings which exceeded three hundred in number helped him to become a popular figure in Morocco until the late 1880s when the encroachment and threat of Europe, and Ma' al-Anyyn's access to the desert people, brought him to the attention of the most powerful people of the time in Morocco. It was through printing that these people assisted Ma'al-Anyyn to become the most popular leader of the time.

- The 'Ulama as Publishers

The final aspect of the 'Ulama's involvement in printing was in the field of publishing. In general there were two categories of publishers: a) the institutionalized publishers who were mostly professional printers and b) the individual publishers who were either from the ranks of the notables, or the 'Ulama. Here I will limit my discussion to the 'Ulama and the changes which publishing brought to their lives while in the upcoming chapter I will take up the publishers from the ranks of the notables.

Publishing during this period meant both financing a publication and distributing it. Between 1872 and 1912 and beyond, the majority of the seventy plus 'Ulama authors seen to have financed their own publications. This is certainly not surprising because it was not any different from the older times when authors made their own clean copies from which their students or scribes produced additional copies.
country. Most of the ’Ulama moved frequently from one job to another in different parts of the country. For example, in case of Ahmad al-Nasiri, he had various professions as a judge, a customs official, a teacher, and Imam which took him to many parts of the country like Meknes, Tangiers, Marrakesh and Fez.102 Despite the fact that we do not know exactly how the ’Ulama distributed their books, one can still suggest that printing gave the ’Ulama another useful dimension not only to publicize their books and themselves through their works, but also as a possible financial benefit.

In summary, by studying the attitudes of the ’Ulama vis-a-vis printing, and their roles as writers, editors, scribes and publishers, I have pointed out that certain ’Ulama like al-Siba’i resisted the utilization of printed books on the basis that such utilization would harm the traditional system of education. However, although al-Siba’i’s fear of the ultimate change was well founded, his real objection to printed books may have stemmed from the fact that he was an outsider and more significantly a proven critic of the government which under its watchful eye and encouragement the entire printing operation was carried out.

As for the remainder of the ’Ulama, especially those who became involved in the new technology in one way or another, printing was a

103. Abd al-Haqq al-Kattani, Marid al-ma’ali, p. 8 of the last fascicle. Here al-Kattani informs his readers about books in circulation and forthcoming, including ones to be published in Istanbul. See also, A. Sukayrij, Murid al-ma’ali, pp. 6-8 of the last fascicle which includes an advertisement of FIFTY forthcoming titles by the author, Sukayrij.
formidable agent which brought success of benefits and improvements. Among such benefits were, first, the reorganization of the old system which resulted in providing the scholar as editor not only a new source of income and a means to build up his personal collection, but also an upper hand as the editors became the overseers of the entire book production operation in the country. This reorganization also led to a great improvement of knowledge as books were carefully examined by editors for possible errors and misuse of information. Second, the new technology helped the Ulama to become widely recognized in relatively short periods of time and helped to preserve their writings for future generations as available sources of information about their activities and scholarship. Third, printing helped the Ulama to become small capitalists as many of them financed their own publications and distributed them personally or exchanged their works with other authors' works. Fourth, the involvement of the Ulama in printing helped to create wide and farreaching intellectual activities, a point which I will discuss in greater detail in the final chapter.

CHAPTER VIII
PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS AND PRINTING

During the five or six decades between the 1860s and the 1920s, there were in Morocco about ten native and foreign printers, and about twenty individual publishers among the ranks of the notables who were neither professional printers nor scholars. In this chapter I will discuss the activities of five exemplary professional printers, as well as three categories of publishers among the notables, to see in what way the utilization of printing technology affected their lives and brought changes to the country.

1. al-Tayyib al-Araj, the Pioneer Printer.

In September, 1871 when the Egyptian printer al-Qabbani returned to his homeland, the Fez printing establishment apparently remained idle for several months under the guardianship of al-Talib

1. According to the colophons of the Fez lithographic and moveable-type imprints between 1865 and 1917 the following printers or publishers were active: Muhammad al-Qabbani (he flourished between 1865 and 1871); al-Tayyib al-Araj (1872-1894), al-Arabi al-Araj (1876-1914), al-Makki ibn Idris (1876-1877), Ahmad ibn Yasmine (1887-1910), Ahmad ibn al-Tayyib al-Araj (1890-1908), Abd al-Balami al-Hashewy (1896-1913), al-Khidir Muhammad Barbadah (1897-1918), Muhammad al-Badini (1898-1908) and Ahmad Yume (1906-1909). Muhammad al-Hamum, Manahir, vol. 1, p. 293 indicated that Ahmad ibn Abd al-Karim al-Qediri was also one of the printers or one who owned a printing establishment, but the colophon of the Fez imprints shows that al-Qediri was mainly a publisher. According to Roger De Tournay, Fez avant la protectorat, vol. 1, p. 601 there was another printer by the name of Muhammad Badrillah. The colophon of the Fez imprints shows no such name, therefore it is very likely that he meant al-Khidir Muhammad Barbadah whose activities lasted up until 1918.

2. Muslih al-Mulk, al-Mahbouf al-Bajariyyah, p. 187. The last thing which the Egyptian printer produced was presumably Mifa’al’s Qaidah which was in February, 1871. The following book, Dala’il al-Ahrar by al-Jazuli, was produced by al-Tayyib in March, 1872. So if we assume that it took six months to produce Dala’il, then by September the Egyptian printer was no longer in Morocco.
al-Shami, the rector of al-Qarawiyyin Mosque College. According to a document dated, December, 1874, several individuals who were described as Jana'ah min al-ilm (a group of students or 'Ulama') approached the government to request that al-Tayyib al-Azarq became the new manager of printing in Fez. However, when the government granted the request, it apparently wanted al-Tayyib to manage printing at his own financial risk including paying a fee to the government of one-tenth of the books he produced.

Being both a student and a printer since the early days of printing in Morocco, al-Tayyib knew the extent of the financial resources he needed to make printing a successful operation. Accordingly, he hesitated until he found a willing partner in the person of al-Husayn al-Dabbagh. The significance of this partnership between al-Tayyib and al-Dabbagh, which may have lasted until 1876, was as important as the financial boost which Fust, the merchant and banker, gave to Gutenberg, the inventor of printing. In fact, al-Dabbagh may have helped al-Tayyib far beyond providing financial support by paving his way to establish a strong link with the Moroccan government as well as the 'Ulama and religious leaders in the country.

al-Husayn al-Dabbagh was not only a wealthy individual from Fez, he was also from a prominent Sharifian and Sufi family. His father was the head of al-Zawiyyah al-Dabaghiyah in Fez which had numerous followers in Morocco. His brother, Ibrahim, was one of the 'Ulama who participated in printing as an editor for al-Tayyib. It is interesting to note that during 1872, when the rector of al-Qarawiyyin was holding onto printing stones from al-Tayyib in order to increase the government's share of his output by three extra copies, al-Dabbagh wrote a letter to the Grand Vizier requesting the direct involvement of the Sultan (whom he called our cousin) to put an end to the rector's unreasonable demands. It is not clear whether al-Dabbagh succeeded in protecting al-Tayyib from the rector of al-Qarawiyyin, and his demands, but we know that in 1874 Sultan Hassan issued a letter of acknowledgement and respect for al-Tayyib's efforts as master printer and teacher (mu'allim) of the art of printing.

Thus, it is reasonable to assume that al-Dabbagh did in fact succeed in protecting al-Tayyib and his own interests as well. With such an acknowledgement and recognition from the highest level in Morocco, al-Tayyib was able to continue his profession for the next twenty years, during which he established himself not only as a pioneer printer in Morocco but also as the person who brought into Morocco several new techniques which served as a model for the printers who worked with him or were influenced by him.

One of the first challenges which faced al-Tayyib at the onset of his professional career as the first private manager of a printing establishment was to turn a losing enterprise into a profit-making

3. al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 299-301. This information is from a letter sent by al-Husayn ibn Muhammad al-Dabbagh, al-Tayyib's partner to the Chamberlain Musa ibn Ahmad dated December, 1874.
4. Ibid.
6. See note 3 above.

7. al-Amin, Mawazi (Fez, 1875) was printed by al-Tayyib ibn al-Azarq and edited by Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-Dabbagh.
8. See note 3 above.
business. To achieve this, al-Tayyib took several necessary steps. He cut costs by lowering the quality of the paper in terms of the color of the paper he used. Before 1872, the Egyptian printer had utilized high quality white, acid-free paper which was fit for the use of the Sultan and his high-ranking officials in their correspondence. al-Tayyib substituted such paper with a thin, brown, cheaper paper. Also, he abandoned the complete vocalization of the script because it cost him extra time and money. The quality of the script was also reduced indicating that he hired mediocre scribes whose handwriting skills were acceptable, but not of high quality.

The other step which al-Tayyib took was to improve al-Qabbani’s inconsistent system of pagination for better control and for other practical reasons. For example, the Egyptian printer sometimes utilized the Indian numerals and at other times Arabic numerals in numbering pages. al-Tayyib began using only Arabic numerals because they were more common in Morocco than were the Indian numerals. He continued the fascicle system in numbering pages as before. Each fascicle was in eight pages or two sheets which took four impressions on each side. To distinguish one fascicle from another the beginning of each one was marked with an additional number connecting it to the following one. In cases of multiple volumes, the beginning of each fascicle was marked with the volume number along with an abbreviated form of the title and author. This system of pagination is laborious because if one wanted to know the number of pages each book contained he would have to count the number of fascicles and multiply them by eight, subtracting the blank pages at the end of the book.

Despite this, the system was less costly and more useful to the printing operation in many ways; first it allowed printers to utilize cheap laborers with limited reading ability. All they had to do was put together the piles of fascicles into book form for binders without much supervision by the printer. Second, it allowed printers to rely on a maximum of four stones each bearing two frames to complete the job, fascicle by fascicle. What this also means is that by using a limited number of the imported and expensive stones, printers could share or rent the remaining stones to others for a fee. It also meant they could free themselves from being tied down to one scribe or editor. Accordingly, the older concept of bringing together a variety of highly specialized professionals to produce an expensive product had to change as the aim shifted from serving the cream of the society to producing affordable books for a wider public.

It is unfortunate that no price list for al-Tayyib’s products has been uncovered yet to determine to what extent his prices differed from the pre-1872 prices of printed books. But, judging from the fact that other printers and publishers rushed to carve out their share of the

10. I have reached these conclusions by examining the books produced by the Egyptian printer between 1865 and 1871 and the books produced by al-Tayyib al-Atrash. All such samples are available at Harvard College Library.

11. See the pagination of al-Tirmidhi’s al-Shama’il (Meknes, 1865).

12. See the pagination of al-Khurashi’s Sharh ‘ala mukhtasar Khalil (Fes, 1867).
new business, it is possible to assume that al-Tayyib succeeded in bringing books closer to a larger number of users and thereby insuring the permanency of the book business in Morocco. Accordingly, one could consider al-Tayyib's initial changes as a significant step forward in Morocco's gradual transition towards the democratization of books.

The second innovation which al-Tayyib brought to the profession of printing in Morocco, was to define its functions and its management. For example, when we examine the books which al-Tayyib printed or published during his career, which lasted until 1694, we find him utilizing special terms like Mu'allim Dar al-Tiba'ah to indicate that he was both the master printer and the teacher at his establishment. Also, he used other terms like Bi-Dhimah (i.e., financial responsibility) to define his role as a publisher, whereas other places used terms like Bi-Matba'ah (i.e. at the press of), Bi-Tammiq (i.e., with ornamentation), to specify the fact that a certain book was printed at his establishment possibly by one of his assistants or another printer who simply used his equipment for a fee. In addition, al-Tayyib used the term Bi-nubasharah to indicate that he himself initiated the work and

16. See the colophons of al-Turabani's Hashiyah, (Pez, 1687/8) and Ibn al-Hajj's Hashiyah (Pez, 1697).
17. See the colophons of Abu Sayyid al-Fasi's Sharh maze al-anal (Pez, M.H.) and al-Manhararsi's al-Mahaf al-rafid (Pez, 1805).
18. See the colophons of Abd al-Qadir al-Fasi's Hawashi (Pez, 1689/90).
19. See the colophons of A. al-Alami's Hawashi, and al-Tubaydi's Itkal al-sa'ah (Pez, 1804/5). This latter text was printed in cooperation with his brother, al-Arabi, which suggests that al-Tayyib might have initiated the work and his brother finished the actual printing.

187

others may have finished it.

These terms which al-Tayyib might have learned from his Egyptian teacher assist us to understand the different roles he played in his printing establishment and also the roles played by other Moroccan printers and publishers, because they also utilized the same terms in describing their roles. Another significant fact one can learn from these terms is that, with the exception of Tashih (i.e., editing) and Naskh (i.e. copying), he was involved in all aspects of printing and publishing. This concentration of multiple duties could be another factor for his success. Instead of hiring several assistants to perform various jobs, he himself acted as the printer, publisher, manager and teacher to insure profitability of his operation. This style of "do most of it if you can" set the pattern for other printers to follow.

al-Tayyib was not engaged in carrying out these functions all the time. The sporadic nature of his activities must have been another reason why he performed several types of duties. With the exception of the early period between 1672 and 1676, when al-Tayyib printed and published books in cooperation with his partner al-Dabbagh, he only acted as publisher twice, once in 1687 and the second time in 1699. So, al-Tayyib's workload was not too oppressive. He produced about twenty-seven different works during his twenty-two years of involvement

20. These two terms (Tashih and Naskh) have not been used by al-Tayyib in his production. He had others to carry them out.
21. The two books which al-Tayyib financed alone were al-Turabani's Hashiyah (Pez, 1687/8) and Ibn al-Hajj's Hashiyah ala al-murshid al-mu'in (Pez, 1697) which both are textbooks used at al-Qarawiyyin Mosque College.
Nevertheless, the action was of great symbolic importance in that Moroccans, and especially their traditional 'Ulama, finally came to accept reading copies of the Koran produced by Western technology.

There are three additional significant points about al-Tayyib which should be recognized. First, was his inability to utilize lithographic printing to its fullest potential. The lithographic machines were capable of printing books in both black and white or in color. None of al-Tayyib's books were printed in color and none of the Fez lithographic imprints were produced in color. This suggests that al-Tayyib neither learned the skill from the Egyptian printer, nor taught it to his students. Therefore, none of the Fez lithographic imprints were produced in color. The lack of this skill meant that while al-Tayyib and other printers succeeded in maintaining the traditional manuscript format in terms of title page, Dibajah (introductory comments), Matn (text), and Khatimah (conclusion), plus colophon (the ending remarks), they failed to incorporate the rich traditional craft and artistic skill of calligraphy and color ornamentation which were rendered in manuscripts. The attempts by printers like al-Tayyib to commercialize books had an adverse impact on the artistic aspect of traditional books, because printers lacked this skill. The increased volume of black and white books gradually reduced the exposure of students and scholars to the aesthetically superior books and thus diminished their desire to imitate or duplicate them in penmanship and illumination as was the case during the era of manuscripts.
The second point about al-Tayyib is the size of his production. The eight to ten thousand volumes which were produced by al-Tayyib during his tenure as printer can now be produced in only a few months. However, al-Tayyib’s level of production was still a giant step away from the era of manuscripts, and far superior to the first period of printing in Morocco. What is important here is that printing was growing in size and influence, reflecting Morocco’s gradual but definite departure from many of its medieval characteristics towards new and changing concepts in the field of book production and scholarship. However, the “new” was not pure all the time. Instead, it was a mixture of the old and the new. By looking back a century later, we can see this period as a transition leading to the eventual democratization of books, and to modernity.

The third aspect about al-Tayyib was the nature of the books he published alone or with his partner. When we take a look at the books al-Tayyib published we find them to be either text books or scholarly works. Being located in Fez, near the Mosque College of al-Qarawiyn, and scores of Madrasas (schools), al-Tayyib had no choice but to print books for students and scholars who were the main users of his products. In this aspect al-Tayyib did not apparently have any major impact on the traditional reading public. However, by the size

28. This estimate is based on the 27 different titles which he printed or published in 300 to 400 copies per title. Many of the titles were in multiple volumes. See Note 22 above.
29. At this period only six titles were produced in eleven volumes, so by the same estimate of 300-400 copies per volume, one could suggest that 3000-4000 volumes were produced during this period.
30. For an interesting description of the various schools around al-Qarawiyn in Fez, see A. Peretti, "Les Madrasas de Fez" in Archives marocaines, vol. 18 (1912), pp. 257-372.
31. See Chapter VI of this study.
Morocco could have imagined that their sacred book, which is to them God’s eternal words, would be produced by a tool made in Christendom.

II. Al-Arabi al-Azraq, Printing Reinforced.

The second major printer, who emerged to become Morocco’s most prolific printer between 1876 and 1914, was al-Tayyib’s younger brother, al-Arabi al-Azraq. al-Arabi’s name appeared for the first time in the colophon of Khujab’s commentary on Euclid’s Elements in 1876. During the same year the name of another printer, al-Makki ibn Idris, appeared in the colophon of the Fes imprint. It is not known yet whether al-Arabi and al-Makki owned their own printing shops, or just shared the government-owned printing establishment. However, because each printing stone could have produced three thousand or more prints and the level of production at this period was very likely only around three hundred copies per title, one could suggest that both al-Arabi and al-Makki shared the same printing machine and stones with al-Tayyib, for a fee. What was most surprising and interesting about al-Arabi al-Azraq was his instant success which in the long run overshadowed all other Moroccan printers including his own brother, al-Tayyib.

To see why al-Arabi was so successful, we have to examine his skills and other factors which facilitated his success. Examining such factors is also important in appreciating the innovations which he introduced. A simple comparison between his early products and that of his colleague, al-Makki ibn Idris, shows that al-Arabi was much more versed in the art of lithographic printing than al-Makki, whose products were loaded with technical problems which lithographic experts often warned against. Because al-Makki was not very meticulous in cleaning the surface of his printing stones, the remaining tiny grains of sand on the surface of his stones produced large black lines on some of his printed pages. Also, because he did not properly use his greasy crayons, faded lines appeared on his prints. Furthermore, he misused the ink, the rollers and even the press, so that his prints looked uneven in their light and dark colors. Therefore, it was not surprising to see that al-Makki abandoned the profession of printing after two years despite the fact that he was a member of a wealthy and powerful family and financially better off than both al-Tayyib and al-Arabi. (This was evident from the fact that he printed six books within two years at his own expense.) It is very interesting to note that whenever al-Makki faced a problem, he resorted to prayers to ease his pain. At the top margins of some of his products one finds a prayer, such as, “God may help us to conclude this work,” which is indicative of not only his religious tendencies but also the frustrations and difficulties he faced during his short-lived venture.

Contrary to al-Makki’s books, the products of al-Arabi al-Azraq appeared much superior. As a matter of fact, because the Moroccan

32. See the colophon of Muhammad Binnis’s Rabijat al-basar (Fes, 1876)
government contracted al-Arabi to print Khujah’s commentary on Euclid’s *Elements* in 1876, and supplied him with good quality paper and ink, his very first product was as excellent as any of the six titles which the Egyptian printer, al-Qabban, produced for the Moroccan government between 1864 and 1871. It is therefore very likely that al-Arabi received much better training at the hand of his brother al-Tayyib than did al-Makki, probably because the al-Azzaq brothers did not want any serious competition for their newly founded printing business. Keeping the secrets of the trade was a common phenomenon in Europe with both the inventors of the moveable type and lithographic printing, as well as by capitalist publishers like Pust. Therefore, it is not surprising to find al-Tayyib favoring his brother over al-Makki ibn Idris, the son of the Minister, Idris al-Murawi, in passing on the secrets of his trade. In addition, the monopoly of a craft or a business within families was not something new to Morocco. What was new which al-Tayyib helped to create was the integration of printing into the Moroccan economy as another craft. In fact, the Azzaq brothers succeeded in maintaining their firm control over printing in Morocco until early 1899 when the government’s increasing need for printers forced them to open up the business to other interested individuals.\(^\text{43}\)

Also, even after the breakdown of the Azzaq monopoly, they continued to have a share of the book business because al-Tayyib’s son, Ahmed, continued his family craft until 1908 when the Moroccan government finally decided to bring all printers and printing machines in the country under its direct management.

The other major reason for al-Arabi’s success was his own appetite and curiosity for learning. al-Arabi’s talent and experimentation with lithographic printing helped him do something which no other Moroccan printer had been able to do; produce his own ink and prepare his own transfer paper. The recipe for al-Arabi’s ink which still survives does not seem any different than the recipes recorded in manuals for lithographic printing (see Chapter III). al-Arabi’s transfer paper, appears to have been imported cheap, thin paper which he covered with starch to allow writing and the transmission of ink to the surface of the printing stone easily and efficiently.\(^\text{45}\)

The famous editor Ahmad al-Bu’azzawi, who assisted al-Arabi and recorded his recipes for ink and transfer paper, did not indicate exactly when al-Arabi succeeded in becoming self-sufficient in lithographic ink and paper. Also, he did not indicate whether or not al-Arabi

\(^{39}\) Catalogue of Islamic Collections, no. 510. E.J. Brill. In this catalogue al-Arabi’s product was rightly described as the peak of Moroccan craft in printing.

\(^{40}\) It has been said that Pust was obliged to break the secret of his trade to the French who became very suspicious of Pust’s product which seemed identical and thus beyond the limits of human capacity. Accordingly, Pust was accused of being involved in magic which deserved the death penalty at the time. See P. Negga, *The Graphic Design* p.76.

\(^{41}\) See Note 36 above.

\(^{42}\) Andre Faccard, *Traditional Islamic Craft in Moroccan Architecture*, vol. 1, p. 361.

\(^{43}\) These individuals were Ahmad al-Ya’mlahi and Abd al-Salam al-Dhawwab whose careers are discussed in detail in this chapter.

\(^{44}\) Abdullahak, op. cit., pp. 125-126. There are fourteen titles to this printer’s credit. The colophon of his products show that he first entered the business in 1899/1 as assistant to his father, al-Tayyib, and by 1913 he began to describe himself as Mullaam Dar al-Tiba’ah (i.e., the Master of the Printing House).

\(^{45}\) For al-Arabi’s recipe for ink and preparation of transfer paper see al-Mamuni, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 314-315.

\(^{46}\) See Chapter VII of this study.
supplied other printers with such material for profit. Nevertheless, what is significant here is that because of the necessity to run an efficient business and because he had good skills, al-Arabi advanced the cause of printing in Morocco by manufacturing his own supplies which not only relieved him from the high costs of imports, but also made other printers rely on his knowledge and supplies. It might be useful to recall here that one of the factors which made printing common in Europe was the fact that supplies were produced locally and manufactured in large quantities for commercial use. Moroccan printers were by no means comparable in scale and magnitude to European printers; however, in the person of al-Arabi, succeeded in becoming self-sufficient to insure profitability within two decades after the private sector came to manage printing directly.

Aside from al-Arabi’s personal skills, other factors played an important role in his success story. Among such factors was the government’s support in awarding him contracts. It was the government’s contract to print Euclid’s *Elements* that launched al-Arabi’s career as a successful printer. In addition, when the government wanted to publish *Tafsir al-miqnah* by al-subayyl, for propaganda, it was al-Arabi who received the printing job. When the Chamberlain, Ahmad ibn Musa, wanted to publicize Ma’ al-‘Aynayn’s writings in Morocco in 1891, al-

Arabi al-Arqaq also had a good share of the contract. It is interesting to note that because of the Government’s continued reliance on al-Arabi to print the books it needed, he was encouraged in 1898 to request from the Minister, al-Mukhtar ibn Abdallah al-Bukhari, the resumption of the custom of gift giving to printers like himself, his brother and his nephew, which Sultan Muhammad IV had started in 1865 with the Egyptian printer, his workers and students.

To pay back the government for its support and encouragement, al-Arabi twice published propaganda literature at his own expense; once he financed Ibn al-Mawaz’s book *al-lulul al-ans* which characterizes SultanHasan as a great statesman and defender of Islam. The second time he financed one of Ma’ al-‘Aynayn’s books apparently to please the Minister, Ahmad ibn Musa, and continue receiving his support.

The other major factor which helped al-Arabi and printing to become a common phenomenon in Morocco between 1876 and 1914 was the "protégé question". 'Protégés' were Moroccan expatriots who had given up their citizenship to acquire European passports. The question of protégés started in 1857 when Sultan Abd al-Rahman allowed the British to recruit Moroccan merchants as agents, in order to facilitate commercial transactions with the natives. In the 1860s, after the Tetuan War with Spain, other European countries like France and Spain, and even the United States, had their agents in various port cities and other parts of the country.

47. See Section III of this chapter.
49. al-Mawazi, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 305-309. The text of the contract between al-Arabi al-Arqaq and the Moroccan government is included in these pages.
52. See Chapter VII of this study.
The number of protégés increased gradually from the 1860s, in reaction to the government's new systematic methods of collecting taxes. The result was that by the 1870s and 1880s a sizeable number of notable merchants and farmers had become "protégés". Many of these protégés were also engaged in importing goods and supplies from European countries. Among them was the merchant, al-Mahdi al-Nulu, who apparently, with a partner by the name of Ben Saaoum, was importing paper from England and possibly France. Many of the Pez lithographic imprints bear the dry mark of these two merchants. The dry marks of other European merchants like Gibby Alperi appeared in the Pez imprints.

What this means is that the growth of the "protégés" phenomenon in Morocco seems to have paved the way for imports of large quantities of paper. This helped al-Arabi's rapid growth. In fact, the growth in paper supplies also coincided with Sultan Hassan's attempt to control the collection of tax revenues by requiring that all tax collectors use notebooks (i.e., Da'itir) to record their transactions.

al-Arabi al-Arzaq and the printing industry in general benefited greatly from Morocco's improved economy and prosperity between the 1880s and 1894. At this period, Sultan Hassan succeeded in paying Morocco's foreign debts which were the direct result of the 1860 Tetuan War. The details and signs of Morocco's prosperity at this time have been recorded by the historian of the period, Ahmad al-Nasiri, who observed that Moroccan merchants were becoming increasingly wealthy, imitating European consumption habits in many of Morocco's coastal cities and towns since the 1870s. This same observation has been supported by Umar Afa in his recent thesis, Mar' alat al-maqd fi al-Maghrib. Afa pointed out that most of Morocco's money at this time was located in its large cities and in the hands of its wealthy merchants.

The economic prosperity and the availability of paper in abundance explains why al-Arabi became Morocco's largest and most prominent printer and publisher and why the printing industry in general exploded to the point that the Azraq brothers' monopoly had to be broken. This opened the way for other printers like al-Yamali, al-Dhawy and al-Badisi to establish their own businesses. From 1876 to 1914, al-Arabi produced over one hundred different titles and possibly a few hundred more for contemporary authors who chose not to render the name of the printer, or publisher of their books. What this means is that al-Arabi produced the bulk of Moroccan books during this time, since the entire book production until 1914 did not exceed seven hundred titles.

56. Le Tourneau, op. cit.
57. Such marks appear in al-Abbas's al-Wihish (Pez, N.D.) and M. Bardalliah's hawzil (Pez, 1915/6). Other marks with the names of Gibby Marz, and Karabany also appear in many Pez lithographs.
58. The Times of Morocco, no. 73 (March 31, 1887). Among the imported goods listed were marble slates, paper, stationery, books, and ammunition, etc.
In short, just as al-Tayyib al-Azraq succeeded in establishing himself as Morocco's pioneer master printer, al-Arabì succeeded in becoming Morocco's largest printer and publisher during an era when Moroccan students, scholars and the reading public in general, witnessed more printed books surrounding them than manuscripts.

III. Ahmad al-Yamalì, the One-man Institution

The third significant printer in Morocco after the Azraq brothers, was Ahmad Abì al-Hawla al-Yamalì. What made al-Yamalì so significant was not the size or quality of his products. Instead, it was due to the fact that he broke the Azraq's monopoly in the printing business and built himself into a one-man institution.

al-Yamalì, who was known as both Fagih (i.e., jurist) and Adî (i.e., notary public) showed interest in printing during 1888 when he financed the publication of al-Shifa by Qadi 'Iyad (d. 1149) which was printed at al-Arabì's printing establishment. In 1892 al-Yamalì's name surfaced as the owner of al-Mutba'ah al-Jadidah (i.e. the new printing press) until July 1900. After this, al-Yamalì's name appeared only twice, once in September, 1902 as Musahhir al-Kutub (director of printing) and a second time in December, 1910 as Magrin (praise writer). This latter description appeared in the colophon of al-Mahdi al-Wazzani's book, al-Nawazıl.

What all this data about al-Yamalì suggests is that he was very likely one of al-Arabì's students and benefactors in the sense that it was al-Arabì who encouraged al-Yamalì to enter the business because of the changing times and the increased demand for books. In 1895 and 1896, al-Arabì seems to have shared with al-Yamalì the jobs he contracted with the Moroccan government. What is most interesting here is that on both occasions the contracts involved the writings by Ma' al-Aynayn which Ahmad Ibn Musa (Chamberlain to 1894 and Grand Vazir to 1900) wanted to see in circulation. The first book which al-Yamalì printed in his own printing establishment was Mufid al-rawi by Ma' al-Aynayn, at the request of the Chamberlain. Thus, despite the favorable economic conditions and the abundance of paper in the country, it was the government's need which facilitated the expansion of printing.

The second reason which brought al-Yamalì to be a prominent printer in Morocco was undoubtedly his zeal to become a one-man institution. For about two decades he contributed thirteen different titles or 4-5 thousand volumes to the book market. al-Yamalì involved himself in almost all aspects of production including printing, financing the 70 publications, editing, writing Magris and very likely

64. According to Muhammad al-Manuni in his article "Marakiz al-makhthutat wa adillatih bi al-Maghrib" al-Murid vol. 14, no. 2 (1985), pp. 157-161, there are about forty-two-thousand surviving manuscripts in Morocco (of which 1719 are on microfilm). These manuscripts reflect the country's heritage throughout its Islamic history. In comparison, al-Arabì al-Azraq alone produced about sixty to one hundred thousand volumes within four decades.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. See the colophon of Ma' al-Aynayn's two books, Nubaisir al-mutashawwuf and Sahi al-murrana.
copying most of them and selling them to the public directly, as well. The new technology made it possible for individuals like al-Yamlahi not only to establish independent careers for themselves but also to obtain the prestige and fame which often are associated with being involved in publishing.

IV. al-Dhuwayb, the Committed Printer

The fourth significant printer who distinguished himself from the Azraq brothers and al-Yamlahi was Abd al-Salam al-Dhuwayb. In so many ways, al-Dhuwayb was like al-Yamlahi. He was a one-man institution, and his entry into the world of printing in 1895/6 was very likely part of Ahmad ibn Musa's drive to popularize al-kunya in Morocco. However, unlike al-Yamlahi and the rest of the Moroccan printers, al-Dhuwayb was a man of conviction and distinct political ideology. He was an obedient follower of the Kattaniyah Sufi leaders and their servant as he himself described his connection to the Kattaniyah order.

al-Dhuwayb's devotion to his leaders has been expressed on two levels. First, he seems to have written poetry to immortalize the good and enduring qualities of his Kattani leaders. In one of his surviving poems, al-Dhuwayb described his leaders as "the great pole of Sufism and the guiding star in a dark night." On the second level, al-Dhuwayb spent until 1909 printing and publishing the writings by the

three Kattaniyah leaders, Abd al-Kabir and his two sons, Muhammad and
Abd al-Hayy. In fact, even the seven titles which al-Dhuwayb produced
for Ma' al-kunya could be considered self-serving. Both these writings
and the works by the Kattaniyah leaders, especially Muhammad, who is
known as the Martyr, symbolized a very deep commitment to defending
Islam and its institutions against Europe. They also urged a total
reliance on Islamic means and experts, namely the Ottomans, to achieve
their goals.

During his tenure as the owner of a printing establishment al-
Dhuwayb produced only two types of books, scholarly and devotional
literature. The former type was intended for distribution among the
public, something which he himself carried out from the location of
his establishment near the tomb of Ahmed al-Shawi in Fez. These
books provided dates and names of their editors, scribes, printers,
etc. The devotional literature by Abd al-Kabir and his son Muhammad
al-Kattani, did not bear any dates, or other information. What this
suggests is that first, the devotional literature was mainly intended
for internal use by members of the Kattaniyah order. Since the authors
were alive and known there was no need to document their imprints.
Second, it is possible that al-Dhuwayb alone, or with the cooperation
of his leaders was involved in propaganda for the order through
printing such literature.

71. Ibid., p. 144.
72. See the colophon of Muhammad al-Kattani's Lugat `alam
(Fez, 1896).
73. Muhammad Bujendar, al-Ightihan, p. 412.
74. Ibid.
75. For a list of these publications see Abdulrasak, op. cit.
76. al-Masumi, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 231.
77. Such books were Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani's al-bayan al-malib
(Fez, 1913); Muhammad al-Kattani's al-burhaniyah (Fez, 1902); and
Ma' al-kunya'uythri al-naziir (Fez, 1903).
78. For a list of these publications see Abdulrasak, op. cit.,
pp. 167-168.
At this point it is useful to recall that it was during this period of the late 1890s that Muhammad al-Kattani became subject to government inquiries about his possible aims to create his own theocratic state in Morocco. It was also during this same period that the government of the Grand Vizier, Ahmad ibn Musa, imposed the 1897 censorship laws requiring that all printers submit their material for inspection before publication. Because of this suspicion and fear among government circles, Sultan Abd al-Hafiz in 1909 confiscated al-Dhuwayb's printing establishment and arrested Muhammad al-Kattani, who died in prison during 1910.

To al-Dhuwayb, the confiscation of his establishment meant being forced to become a printer for the government. Other Kattaniyah leaders like Muhammad's younger brother, Abd al-Hayy, became clerks at the Sultan's court. Having government jobs for these Kattaniyah activists by no means meant compensation or reward. Instead it meant another kind of censorship in a rather innovative way.

In brief, just as printing technology aided individuals like the Azraq brothers and al-Ismalih to build up their businesses and becomes recognized in the eyes of the state and the scholarly public, it was also an aid to individuals like al-Dhuwayb who utilized his printing establishment to propagate his religious and ideological convictions as expressed and presented in the writings of Ma' al-Aynayn and al-Kattani which he printed and circulated in Morocco.

What al-Dhuwayb intended to achieve was to change the government's reliance on European experts for reform, and seek advice from Ottoman or other Muslim experts. However, because printing meant dissemination of knowledge which was perceived as a matter for the State to determine, the Sultan censored al-Dhuwayb's printing activities when it became clear to him that al-Dhuwayb's operation was serving the forces that opposed the government. The government brought a speedy end to al-Dhuwayb's establishment, but the nationalist ideas and strong Islamic sentiments which his publications represented remained alive in the minds of Moroccan intellectuals, as we shall see in the last chapter.

Ahmed Yumni, the Ottoman Agent in Fez

The fifth major and ironically still mysterious printer in Morocco was Ahmed Yumni. It appears that Yumni was not only a foreigner, but also the very first individual to set up a moveable-type printing machine in Fez, sometime between 1905 and 1906. Here I will examine Yumni's background and his motives for bringing into Morocco a
modern printing machine which had the capacity of four or five lithographic printing machines to produce books. What were the facts behind Yumni’s sudden appearance in Fez, and, more importantly, who was Ahmed Yumni? The answer to these questions are very important because they will reveal to us a new dimension in using printing by local activists connected to a foreign interest.

No clear evidence has yet surfaced to indicate exactly who Yumni was. However, from several fragments of information it appears that Yumni was from Syria, which was at this period part of the Ottoman Empire. Among the evidence which leads to such an assumption is that in 1906, when Yumni printed his first product in Fez, he chose the Damascus-based periodical al-Muhatab to publicize his effort. At a time when he could have benefited more by sending it to the Cairo-based newspaper al-Mu‘awid or the journal al-Manar, which were very popular in the Arab and Muslim world, including Morocco. Also the typeface with which Yumni printed his products was similar to the German origin typeface common in Greater Syria (Damascus and Beirut). The Ottomans and Germans were political allies during this period, and most of the printing machines were imported from Germany instead of France, for example, which exported such machines to other Muslim states like Algeria and Tunisia. Another significant observation is that Yumni’s typeface was in the Eastern style as evidenced by the format of the letters ṣa‘a and ṣaf, indicating that the machine came directly from Syria rather than from Germany where it would have been modified to meet

Moroccan standards and adherence to the traditional script, before being sent abroad. In addition, to support the same assumption, it seems that a Damascus-based anonymous reviewer knew Yumni, whom he described as being a doctor. If Yumni were indeed Syrian and thus an Ottoman citizen, what was he doing in Fez with a printing machine?

The answer to this question could be found in one of two possibilities: First, Yumni was not different than the numerous Syrian intellectuals who were the products of Westernized missionary schools in greater Syria and immigrated to various parts of the world (i.e., Egypt, North Africa, Europe, and the Americas) seeking better opportunities for themselves. In Egypt, Syrians like Jurji Zaydan succeeded through their journalistic and publishing activities to become leading figures in the country. The same was true about the Hammad brothers who set up their business in Tunis as journalists and then moved on to Tangiers to become editors of Lisan al-Mushriq, the newspaper in which they presented Moroccan views as opposed to the other Arabic newspapers like al-Sa‘idah edited by the Syrian Yusuf Karam for the French.

The second most likely possibility is that Yumni was an Ottoman agent who came to Fez to influence local policies and tilt public opinion towards PanIslamic goals. Among the evidence which could support such a possibility were: al-Yumni’s activities which were identical to that of al-Chuwaybi. He, too, devoted most of his

86. See vol. 1, no. 10 (November, 1907), p. 547a.
87. ibid.
89. ibid., vol. 2, pp. 266-267.
90. ibid.
publications (five out of nine) to the writings of Ma’ al-Aynayn and the
Kattaniyah leaders. Also, just as Sultan Abd al-Gafir censured al-
Dhuwayy, he also censored Yumni’s activities by purchasing his machine
in 1909. Among Yumni’s and al-Dhuwayy’s publications are a few
Maghribi works which indicate the existence of a strong relationship
between the Kattaniyah leaders (namely Abd al-Kabir and his two sons,
Muhammad and Abd al-Hayy, as well as his nephew, Muhammad Ja’far) and
Yunuf al-Nabhan, who was an ex-editor of the official Ottoman Journal,
al-Java’ib and the head of the penal court in Beirut by the turn of the
20th century. As a matter of fact, when al-Nabhan’s publications in
Sufian are reviewed, one finds repeated references to the Kattaniyah
leaders, and we can observe the German-made type-face which is very
close to the type face utilized by Yumni in Fez. However, before
drawing any conclusions, one should also consider the circumstantial
evidence such as the timing of Yumni’s appearance in Fez between 1905
and 1906.

During these years it was a foregone conclusion that France
would become Morocco’s new master, especially since France had suc-
cceeded in solving its differences with England in regard to their
respective spheres of influence in Africa. With fear of this domina-
tion hanging in the air, the Moroccan Sultan Abd al-Aziz moved to
strengthen his position with the ‘Ulama of his kingdom, especially the
pro-Ottoman Kattaniyah leaders who were at the forefront of the oppo-
sition to the Europeans in the country.

According to the unpublished memoirs of Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani,
the Sultan showed his respect and generosity to him and his older
brother, Muhammad al-Kattani, by sending them at his own expense on a
pilgrimage to Mecca in 1905. During this pilgrimage, the Kattani
leaders were received as statemen in both the holy cities of Hijaz
as well as in Egypt by the Khidive. Although the memoir does not
mention Yumni and his printing machine, it is very likely that it was
in this political openness towards the pro-Ottoman elements that Yumni
found his way to Fez in order to advance the principles of panislamism
with the aid of printing technology.

By 1905, Europeans had made several inroads into the heart of
Moroccan society. In the large cities and towns, Europeans had suc-
cceeded in shifting the loyalties of hundreds of notable merchants (i.e.
the proteges) away from their traditional leaders towards Europe, des-
pite the fact such an act was considered by Islamic codes as ‘Kifr’ which
deserved death as a punishment. Missionaries had contributed through
their medical services and their program of vaccinations against cholera

91. See note 84 above.
93. See the collection of Ma’ al-Aynayn’s book, al-Murafiq ‘ala
al-nuhafi which was interestingly financed (i.e., Bischwate) by Idels
1879, Ya’ish, who was the regent of Sultan Abd al-Aziz.
94. Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani, Fihrist al-faharis, vol. 2, pp. 427-
428; Zakir Najyadi, Al-A’la’, vol. 3, pp. 122-123.
96. Ibid., Also compare the same typeface with the publications
produced by al-Mahtsa’ al-Handumiyah in Damascus.

97. Burke, Prelude to Protectorate, pp. 68-75.
98. See al-Mazahir al-Saniyyah, vol. 1, pp. 337-338. Here al-
Kattani also informs us that Sultan Abd al-Aziz provided the al-Jami’
palace in Fez to be as a residence for Muhammad al-Kattani.
and other killing diseases. Their successes undermined the effectiveness of the traditional medicine and the spiritual curing powers of the Sufi leaders.

Against such inroads and increasing power, Moroccan traditional leaders, namely the Kattaniyah, sought to preserve Islam and its various institutions by adopting reforms such as: a) establishing schools which taught Islamic principles blended with modern subjects; b) the creation of an Islamic constitution, and a council of notables to debate national matters before formal action was taken by the Sultan; c) reliance on Muslim experts to revive and reform Morocco. Given this situation, it is not surprising to find Yumui in Fez not only as a printer managing a modern moveable-type printing machine, but also as an expert on modern medicine.

During his stay in Fez between 1905 and 1909 Ahmed Yumui produced a total of nine titles. The size is by no means great but they mark the very beginning of Morocco’s gradual but certain shift from script to identical printed letters, a move which was further consolidated by Sultan Abd al-Hafiz who confiscated Yumui’s printing machine to produce his own writings in the new typeface.

In short, despite the little we know about Yumui and his background and his presence in Fez, it is possible to suggest that he


102. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 405-406.

103. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 537-541.

104. See Chapter VI of this study.

came to Morocco in order to influence Morocco’s political directions with the aid of pro-Ottoman elements in the country, namely the Kattaniyah Sufi order. What is significant about Yumui is the fact that he was the first individual to introduce a moveable-type printing machine into Fez, the capital of the traditionalists in Morocco. His efforts represent a new dimension in Morocco which was a local element other than the State becoming involved in international politics via the aid of printing technology.

V. The Individual Publishers

Aside from all other publishers, (the government, authors and professional printers) there were numerous individuals in Morocco who found, in printing, a means to generate income and to achieve social and other gains. From 1879 until the 1920s there were about twenty individual publishers whose names appeared on at least one or several colophons of the Fez imprints. Below I will provide a detailed check list of the individual publishers; then I will follow it up with a discussion of their activities and background to see how printing touched or changed their lives.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Publication</th>
<th>Name of Publisher</th>
<th>Number of Books Published</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Bannunah, al-Tayyib</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Bannani, Muhammad</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889, 1900, 1914</td>
<td>al-Iraqi, Ahmad</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>al-Iraqi, Idris</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891, 1903, 1905, 1906</td>
<td>Gannun, Ahmed</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>al-Sijilmani, Muhammad</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896, 1897, 1901, 1916, 1926</td>
<td>Ibn al-Khayyat, 'Umar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>al-Titwani, Afifal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897, 1917</td>
<td>Barardeh, al-Khidr</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898, 1900, 1901</td>
<td>Ibn Massa, al-Thani</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898, 1900, 1901</td>
<td>al-Madawi Jawwittin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

108. Published: Makhtan by Khalil Ibn Tahaq, and Iqad al-Maktab, Ibn al-Khayyat al-hadith, al-Jazir wa al-Jama, and Sahr Gannun 'ala al-Qiyas. The first three were authored by al-Madawi Gianun, while the fourth one was written by al-Humai Gianun.
110. Published: Khitam al-Maktabah by al-Massani.
112. Published: Sunan al-muhaditan, by Ibn al-Mawaqit.
115. See note 114 above.

To comment on the table above, one can observe two general points; first, the family background of almost every name on the list is either notable or Sharifian, and in many cases both. The Iraqis, Jawwittis, al-Nasiri, al-Wazzanis, al-Kattanis and Bannanis were from both Sharifian and notable families of Fez which produced numerous Ulama and religious leaders in the country. As for Gannun, Binnia, Baradeh, al-Sijilmani, al-Titwan, etc., they belonged to leading notable families which produced many Ulama and merchants in Fez and beyond.

What this is telling us is that book production in Morocco during the era of printing continued from the era of manuscripts to be dominated by the notable and Sharifian families of the country. This was predictable since these classes were the only ones capable of carrying such a financial responsibility. Therefore, in this instance there was lack of change.

117. Published: Ibn al-Khayyat's Tayyib naafis.
118. Published: Makhtan's al-Mi'ar al-muwrib.
119. Published: Muhammad al-Kattani's al-Khawal wa al-bayan.
120. Published: Ahmad Inayat's Jawahar al-Khithr.
121. Bin Mansur, Hashidat al-usur al-Maghribiyeh; also al-Fasi Musammal al-Nadiq. The former is an index to Moroccan notable families while the author of the latter work points out who were or were not Shirifs among his teachers in Fez, and Morocco in general.
122. See Chapters 7 and 11 of this study.
The second general observation is that the check list above clearly shows that publishing by individuals began slowly in 1879 and from 1889 to 1901 it became very active as each publisher financed an average of two books. The increase in publishing activities at this period is compatible with the economic upswing in Morocco in the early 1880s.

The other important observation which can be made about the table of individual publishers above is the existence of cooperation among them to finance books. In 1914, for example, the text Taqwil waqat al-salet (Calendar for Prayers) was published as a joint venture by both Ahmad al-Iraqi and his brother, Abd al-Qadir. Also in 1900, both Ibn Musa and al-Isawit published together Imam Malik’s al-
Mawatta, which is in four volumes. Furthermore, in 1907, a group of ‘Ulama whose names remain anonymous, joined hands in financing the publication of al-Mi’yar by al-Wansharisi, which was in twelve volumes. Printers utilized each other’s printing machines, and publishers gathered their resources to produce books, especially voluminous books like al-Mi’yar or al-Mawatta which otherwise would not have been published on an individual basis.

The final important observation about the above table is that not all the publishers seemed to be in the business for economic gain alone. For example, Ahmad Gannun did not publish anything except his father’s or uncle’s books. Both al-Tayyib al-Nasir and Muhammad al-

Gannun al-Nasiri,125 were famous religious leaders and had numerous followers or readers in Morocco, so there was an economic incentive for their children to publish their books. Also, one should not forget the fact that by publishing their fathers’ writing, the children were also serving themselves socially and religiously because they aspired to keep up their parents’ legacies and popularity.

In summary, it is possible to conclude that the most significant role the printers and publishers had on change in Morocco was when al-
Tayyib al-Arraq succeeded in integrating printing into the Moroccan economy. By doing so he shifted the direction of the product from serving the needs of the upper echelon of the society only, towards the general public. To succeed, al-Tayyib had to make printing a family business thereby safeguarding the secrets of the trade. He also had to reorganize his workplace away from the earlier principles of bringing together highly specialized experts towards the utilization of lesser skilled individuals as well as materials, in order to make a profit and insure the durability of his printing business.

Under the same principles which al-Tayyib perfected as Morocco’s pioneer printer and publisher, and with the assistance of the government, al-Tayyib’s younger brother, al-‘Arabi al-Arraq, emerged as Morocco’s largest businessman. al-‘Arabi’s development into a large scale capitalist could also be attributed to his skills and abilities not only in comprehending the modern technology and managing it well, but also in being able to produce his own lithographic ink and transfer paper which he possibly also distributed to printers who emerged in the

125. Ibid., pp. 171-172.