late 1880s. Furthermore, al-Arabi’s success as a businessman might also have stemmed from Morocco’s relative prosperity in the 1880s and the protege question which resulted in the availability of large quantities of paper imported from France and England, via the protege agents.

Just as the prevailing environment helped al-Arabi al-Azraq become Morocco’s leading businessmen in printing and publishing, some of these same factors also led to the break-up of the Azraq family’s monopoly over printing. Such a factor was the government’s need to popularize religious leaders and religious ideas (the case of Ma al-Aynayn) for political and propaganda reasons. As a result, new printers and publishers emerged such as Ahmad al-Yamahi, who became a one-man institution combining both economics and scholarship in a successful printing business. He also paved the way for the emergence of specialized and committed printers and publishers like Abd al-Salam al-Dhuwaybi who not only copied, edited, printed, published, and distributed the products, but also served the political and religious ideologies they believed in. Furthermore, the wide proliferation of printing in Morocco brought in yet another new dimension to the country, which is the involvement of foreign Muslim countries like the Ottoman Empire to influence Morocco’s internal policies and tilt the country towards them with the assistance of the local Kattaniyah Sufi order. Morocco’s use of printing on a Pan-Islamic level was not new, neither was the attempt of foreign powers to influence Moroccan politics. What was new (with Ahmad Yumni presumably an Ottoman agent in Fez) was the fact that a local leading Sufi order became the recipient of an advanced printing machine, instead of the government.

Finally, aside from the professional printers and publishers in Morocco, there were about twenty other individuals who published books either as side businesses to secure extra income for themselves, or to serve social causes in the communities they lived in. This widening involvement in printing and publishing, along with the public as being the ultimate target to serve economic, social, and political gains, paved the way for the emergence of new modes of expression and the development of new ideologies in Morocco, a point which I will take up in the final chapter.
CHAPTER IX
REVIEW OF INTELLECTUAL WRITINGS AND PRINTING

In this final chapter I will present and discuss several categories of literature which were offered to the public in Morocco via the agency of printing between 1865 and the 1920s. These categories include, first, the traditional themes of Sufism and Jurisprudence. Here I will outline the major modes of expression of these themes and how they were affected by the utilization of printing technology. The second category is political literature which was also one of the most visible and emerging themes of the period. Here I will present and discuss three works in which three different but interrelated political views were expressed. I have used a) M.J. al-Kattani's book Nasihat abl al-Islam (Fez, 1908) (henceforth Nasihat) as representative of the reactionist ideology with regard to Western interests; b) Ahmad al-Subayhi's Asbab unsil al-qiyi al-haqiqi (Fez, 1917) (henceforth Asbab) in which its author advocated a moderate or accommodating view regarding the European style of reform to remedy Morocco's problems; c) Qissat al-Qadi wa al-sarig (Fez, 1920s?) (henceforth Qissat) by an anonymous author who describes France, the new master of the country after 1912, as a thief (sarig) who is very intelligent, well armed and articulate in Islamic sciences to the point of humiliating the judge (Qadi), who is described as the "judge of all Muslims."

The categories and examples cited above are vivid reflections of four different stages in Moroccan history between 1865 and the 1920s, during which different sets of scholars and intellectuals not only expressed their views via the agency of printing, but also influenced their surroundings by it.

1. Sufism and Jurisprudence.

   A. Sufism.

   In 1922 the French Orientalist, E. Levi-Provençal, and the Algerian scholar, M. Bencheneb, compiled and published a significant bibliography of the Fez imprints documenting some 403 titles and presenting them in accordance with their chronological sequence and subject matter. A revised and expanded version of the bibliography by this author clearly shows that the field of Sufism made up a little more than one-quarter of the titles produced between 1865 and 1920.

   The Sufi literature which was produced at this period was of five different but interrelated kinds: first the scholarly literature which focussed primarily on reviving classical texts. Examples are texts such as al-Bass' al-kubra, by Ibn Abbad, (Fes, 1902) and al-Hikam by Ibn 'Ata' (Fes, n.d.). It appears that this kind of classical literature attracted some scholarly and educational interest during the 19th century as we find several commentaries about such classical literature by 'Ulama like Ma' al-Aynayn (d. 1910) who wrote a book about Ibn 'Ata' s Hikam in poetry (nasim) format.

   However, one interesting point to be made here is that the size of the scholarly Sufi texts seems to be very small (about 10 out of 128

1. E. Levi-Provençal and M. Ben Cheneb, Bassel de répertoire chronologique, pp. 4-80.
titles. In comparison with the other categories, the significance of this is that Moroccans in general had very little intellectual appetite for books which were written for purely scholarly purposes; only the applied books were popular. In this regard it is understandable to find the text of al-Nikah much more popular than ibn Abbad’s al-Rasa’il (for example) in generating commentaries or rendering them in poetry form to facilitate memorization and thus wider usage in the country.

The second and most popular kind of Sufi literature was the devotional literature. Among this kind, both Qudat al-Khayrat (The Guide to Good Deeds) by al-Januzzi and al-Burda by al-Busiri were universally popular and used by members of all the Sufi orders in the country. Moroccans read these texts in their feasts and celebrations throughout the country. These texts were produced and reproduced in several editions.

What is most significant about the devotional literature is that it continued its functional services to its users in the same lines as in the era of manuscripts (see Chapter III). As a matter of fact, the utilization of printing helped to expand this kind of literature, not only because publishers and book producers were capitalizing on its enormous economic potential, but also because the need for such literature had increased during the second part of the 19th and the early 20th century. At this period in time, the European threats on Morocco were gradually heightened. In response, Moroccans sought comfort in their spiritual literature like Dala’il and al-Burda which were often recited in masses or among small groups.

The third kind of Sufi literature was the Hizb literature (for a definition and a discussion of this literature see Chapter VII). Although both the Hizb and devotional literature were very common, they differed from each other in length and universality of usage. The Hizb literature was shorter and, unlike the devotional literature, each Sufi order utilized its own Hizb. For example, the 'Issawi used the Hizb which was composed by its 16th century founder, Muhammad 'Issa, and the Wazzaniyyah utilized the Hizb which is entitled Salat (Fes, n.d.) by Abd al-Salam ibn Musayyib. This was also true about other orders like al-Ma'anyiyyah, al-Kattaniyyah, al-Zarrugiyah, etc. Moreover, serious efforts were made to unify all the Hizb literatures during the reign of Sultan Abd al-Aziz (between 1894 and 1908) and under the direction of the Grand Vizier Ahmad ibn Musa (d. 1900). (For more details see chapter VII).

What is significant about the Hizb literature is that it reflected the long standing competition between the various Moroccan orders to win new followers. This competing factor was highlighted as the result of using printing technology. When the diversity among the Sufi orders became too visible in the printed media, the technology was also utilized to unify them by combining all the Hizb literature in one. What

5. This text was printed repeatedly in 1872, 1892 and once without a date.
7. For a general study of Morocco's relations with Europe, see J.L. Moore, La Maroc et l'Europe, Paris, 1963.
8. Idris al-Toris, Dala'il al-mathbuh, p. 65.
is interesting to point out here is that the bulk of Sufi literature, especially the Ḥijāb literature, was produced between 1892 and 1910 when the most colorful and popular Sufi leaders, Maʿṣūm al-Kāntānī and Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Kabīr al-Kāntānī, joined hands in uniting all the Sufi orders with the encouragement of the State to mobilize the country to face its challenges against the Western powers (see Chapter VII). The Ḥijāb literature by itself did not provide any political ideology. Instead, its spiritual significance to the public and the State prompted a sudden surge in producing such literature at this period.

The fourth kind of Sufi literature was the apologists. This body of literature included such works as Ḍammūn’s Ṭūṣ al-nafṣūn (Fez, 1905) in which he condemned the unorthodox pretenses of dancing and singing by various Sufi orders. ʿAbd al-Kabīr al-Kāntānī’s Ṣuṣūm (Fez, 1913) in which he described the praying rituals and dances of the Kāntānīyah order; Muḥammad al-Shāqīṭī’s Siyarīyat al-ḥarām (Fez, 1901) in which he defended the head of the Ṭījāniyah order, ʿAlī Ṣukhayrīj’s various writings which were also in defense of his Ṭījāniyah order. What is interesting about this kind of literature is that, unlike the realistic or symbolic Ḥijāb literature, it provided details and reasons why the Sufi orders were in constant competition. One such reason is the self-portrayal of each order as the most orthodox or spiritual in order to attract the largest possible number of followers.

The fifth kind of Sufi literature was in the field of biography. Texts like Ṭuḥfat al-ikhwān (Fez, 1906) by Ṣaḥūn al-Ṭahīrī and

9. For a list of Ṣukhayrīj’s works, see Aḥmad Rāzī, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

Maṣūm al-ṣuṣūm (Fez, 1887) by M. ʿAbd al-Muʾṭṭī al-Qādirī are among the best examples. The former text covered the biographical details and activities of the Moẓārāt Sufi leaders and their distinguished students or followers while the latter took up the activities of al-Ḳazīlī, the author of Ṣulṭan al-ḥayrat, and his numerous followers in Morocco.

The importance of these biographical works was much more than their scholarly appeal. They basically served to demonstrate the popularity of this or that leader and to document the news of their karāmah (miracles). In general, however, the size of the biographical texts in Sufism was not very large considering the fact that there were many Sufi orders in the country. However, similar biographical information about the Sufi leaders and their miracles was also available in general biographies or historical texts such as Muḥammad al-Qādirī’s Maṣūm al-mubān (Fez, 1892).

Between 1865 and 1920 Moroccans produced more than 30,000 copies of books in this field making it the most visible literature in the country. The significance of this literature is that it was for the most part directed to the general public in order to increase membership in the Sufi orders or to tap the marketability of this literature by the publishers and printers. Whatever the case, the sheer size of books on Sufism was the clearest evidence of a shift in the direction of book production.

10. Ṣaḥūn al-Ṭahīrī, Ṭuḥfat al-ikhwān, pp. 39, 97, 106, 130, 141, 199.
11. This figure is based on 128 titles, the average being 300 copies per title. No added volumes or second or third editions are included in it.
In the era of manuscripts, books were written for the elite and the upper echelons of Moroccan society (see Chapter I), but in the era of printing, it was the larger circles of readers who became the main targets of book production. This phenomenon was also apparent in the field of jurisprudence and the other disciplines as well.

B. Jurisprudence.

The second largest share of printed books was in Malikiyyah jurisprudence. The principles of Malikiyyah, as we know it, have been well preserved in Malik's own book, al-Muwatta which is believed to have been handed down to us via his students, either orally or in written form.

al-Muwatta is a collection of religious principles presented in two parts: one takes up the field of Fadak (prayers and other forms of man-God duties or relationships). The second is in the field of Ma'analat which deals with all aspects of worldly affairs and business. Each of the main parts has been further divided into smaller chapters and sub-chapters according to their topics. The significance of emphasizing Malik's format is that almost every other text in jurisprudence in Morocco has been patterned after the format of Al-Muwatta. Another significant point to make here is that, although the Moroccan 'Ulama throughout their Malikiyyah history have maintained the text of al-Muwatta, their utilization of this basically theoretical text has always been second or third to al-Mudawwana and to al-Muktasab. The former text is believed to be a compilation of Malik ibn Anas's actual religious judgments in relation to events which took place during his lifetime. This text was compiled by Imam Sahnun during the 9th century and remained the backbone of judicial literature in North Africa possibly until the 14th century when Khalil ibn Ishaq's Mukhtasar replaced it in prominence (see Chapter III). Both al-Mudawwana and al-Muktasab follow the same format as Malik's text. The latter is in fact a summary of a summary of the former. What is important here is that the bulk of judicial texts printed in Morocco between 1865 and 1920 were almost exclusively commentaries about these three books, especially the text of al-Muktasab, which was the main educational text in Morocco at this time. In addition, all the published commentaries were in traditional formats.

The forefathers of the Malikiyyah Tradition, as the medieval historian Ibn Khaldun observed, laid down the foundation of three basic forms of expression in order to maintain and transmit the tradition from one generation to another. Such forms were the Shuruh, the Majma', and the Mukhtasar. In regard to Shuruh or commentaries, there were two types: one comprehensive, the other, partial. In the former, one often finds two or more texts. For example, al-Kharaishi's Shuruh about Khalil's Mukhtasar (published in six folios in Fes between 1865 and 1871) includes the text of Mukhtasar plus the systematic sentence-by-sentence commentary by al-Kharaishi. The book also includes

15. For a list of the commentaries about Mukhtasar, see Abdulrazak, OP. CIT., pp. 142-143.

occasional marginal comments by the editor, al-Runda, who was the second judge of Fez at the time. An important point of interest here is that before the era of printing such voluminous works were not easy to come by, especially for less affluent cultural centers or remote areas of the country. However, with the utilization of printing, single copies of such books, at least, became available in most major centers in Morocco. No one knows the effect of the availability of such texts on the quality of scholarship in Morocco, but the potential was there as a result of the new technology. This technology also made it easier for those unable to journey to Fez to have access to texts of the Malikiyah tradition in their own regions or nearby centers.

As for the partial commentaries, the bulk (3 out of 4) of the printed books in jurisprudence fell into this category. For the most part this literature was produced in small pamphlets or medium-sized books. Some of the common examples of this literature are Ali al-Qusaidi’s essay, Irshad al-mutallim (Fez, 1876) about inheritance laws; Ibn Abi Bakr Ibn Kiran’s al-Nihayah (Fez, 1888) in regards to pilgrimages, and Muhammad al-Marghiti’s Tuhfa (Fez, n.d.) about the laws concerning the slaughter of animals and birds for consumption.

Such small-sized books and pamphlets were made available by publishers because there was wide interest among the public in such topics. What is significant here is that such instruction was often spread orally or on a case by case basis during the era of manuscripts.

18. Abd al-Salam al-Runda, Hadith, p. 1. 19. One tenth of the book production was given to the government, namely the Qarawiyn Mosque College. These copies were distributed to the grand mosques around the country. al-Manuni, Nasahir, vol. 1, p. 300.

Scribes were mainly engaged in producing more significant texts for their richer clients. However, with the aid of printing technology there was a substantial effort made by the publishers, editors and authors to provide these partial commentaries. They addressed issues in direct and legible discourse for the general users. Thus, just as was the case in the field of Sufism (specifically the devotional literature), the Moroccan publishers, editors and authors who were leading ‘Ulama were adjusting to a transition from the old ways to new ways such as giving the public needed knowledge through the agency of printing. Such a transition was opposed by a few ‘Ulama like Ahmad al-Siba’i, but for the most part the ‘Ulama continued reaching the public through printing and this is why the small-sized and issue-oriented books and pamphlets enjoyed the second widest popularity after Sufi literature.

The second mode of traditional expression in jurisprudence was in the Majami’ format. Here the aim of the author was to bring together a basic source in which all the major and formal decisions or principles of the Malikiyah could be found for consultation and conformity with the tradition. This type of Majami’ literature, which was voluminous, is best exemplified by al-Mi’yar al-ma’rib by Ahmad al-Wanharisi which was published in 12 volumes by a group of ‘Ulama in Fez in 1896. This book consists of all the major religious opinions (Fatwas) by North African and Andalusian ‘Ulama up to the 16th century. The other best example is al-Mi’yar al-jadid (Fez, 1910) by al-Mahdi al-Muzzani which is in a sense a continuation of the former as it includes all the

20. For more details about al-Siba’i’s opposition to printing, see the chapter on the ‘Ulama and printing.
the most part persisted during the era of printing.

These abridgments were unlike the partial commentaries or the smaller Mājālī' where authors addressed a series of single or multiple theoretical or applied matters in relatively simple and direct language or style. Instead, the abridgments (like the Muhātasār by Khalil Ibn Ishaq, or the Alfiyyah by Ibn Malik, or even al-Sulām by al-Khuddārī) were condensed knowledge and filled with specialized terms in jurisprudence, grammar, and logic etc. which only the 'Ulama could comprehend and comment upon in classes or through their writings. Most of these abridgments had various commentaries about them in print. For example, in addition to al-Kharashi's Sharḥ about Khalil's Muhātasār there were over twenty other commentaries about Muhātasār covering all of its themes. This is also true about the Alfiyyah. There were over ten different commentaries about it including al-Darūnī's famous and widely used book Irshād al-maḥlī lil faqīr Alfiyyat Ibn Malik.

What is most interesting about the abridgments in general is that during the era of manuscripts they provided the less affluent members of the educated community with some access to knowledge without affecting the privileges of the 'Ulama who remained as educators, scholars and keepers of the source material. But with the utilization of printing and the availability of both partial and comprehensive commentaries about the many aspects of Malikiyyah jurisprudence there was bound to be a change in such dependency on the 'Ulama.


22. Ibid., pp. 122, 142-143.
II. The Political Literature

Unlike the fields of Sufism and jurisprudence which accounted for about half of the books in print in Morocco between 1865 and 1920, there were a small number (about 20 titles) of very significant books in which Moroccan 'Ulama treated a variety of current issues of great political importance to the country at this period.

Among such issues were the question of Jihad (declaring holy war) against European forces, especially France, which was gradually absorbing the country into its political and economic sphere; the question of cooperation between Muslims and their invading enemies; the question of freedom in both the European and Islamic concepts; the consumption of European goods such as tea, sugar, wax, etc.; taxation; and finally, Westernizing the armed forces.

Here I will present and discuss the text of Nadhab by M.J. al-Kattani (d. 1927) giving a few points about the author and why his book was one of the most significant works of political literature in print at the time. According to the Moroccan biographer, Abd al-Hafiz al-Fasi, who was one of al-Kattani's students, al-Kattani "was one of the last models of the traditional men of knowledge and religion."

To consolidate his achievements further, he joined a larger network of Eastern 'Ulama through personal contacts during the Hajj season, receiving diplomas and correspondence. Among the 'Ulama whom he contacted were Yusuf al-Habbani of Beirut, Muhammad Anis al-Bitar of

Morocco where genealogical origin was one of the major factors of social mobility and recognition, al-Kattani and his family were regarded as one of the oldest and purest shari'ah Idrisid families in the country, and supposedly blood relatives of the royal family. al-Kattani's father, Ja'far, his uncle, Abd al-Kahir, were the leading 'Ulama of the period as both heads of the Kattaniyyah Sufi order and as authors. The number of books in print which were credited to the members of this family was about fifty titles (out of 463 known titles produced between 1865 and 1920).

M.J. al-Kattani was educated by his father first, and by some of the noted scholars like al-Madani Jallan Hamid Bannani and al-Yaqubi ibn Abi Bakr ibn Kiran who were all associated with the royal court as judges, educators, etc. Following the same path as the 'Ulama before him, al-Kattani studied jurisprudence, Hadith literature and a set of related topics until he distinguished himself as a specialist in Hadith (the sayings and conduct of the Prophet). He also had acquired a great deal of knowledge in Sufism mainly through obtaining numerous diplomas from the heads of the Sufi orders like the Sarrujyah, Barqawiyyah, Kattaniyyah, Ma'uniyyah, al-Nasiriyah, al-Fasiyyah, etc.

For a complete list of the publications by members of the Kattaniyyah family, see Abdurrazak, op. cit., pp. 165-169. See also Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani's al-Basarir al-saniyyah.

23. The most representative literature in which these issues were discussed were M. al-Madani Gannun's Arba' un hadithan fi radd al-Jihad (Fes, 1908); Hashim al-Sa'dani's Qasidat sahab al-najar (Fes, 1908). Both deal with the issue of Jihad or the holy war against Europeans. Muhammad al-Korddud writes about renewing the Moroccan army in Khair al-shimah (Fes, 1885). In Mawhar sadir min 'Ulama Fes (Fes, 1907) a group of 'Ulama discuss Abd al-Hafiz and his uprisings against his brother, Sultan Abd al-Aziz. Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani's Mushahh abadi al-muh. (Fes, 1908) talks about this transition of power from Abd al-Aziz to his brother Abd al-Hafiz.


25. Ibid., p. 81.
Damascus, Ahmad al-Rifa‘i of Cairo, and both Ahmad al-Barzanji of Medina and Bana al-Ba‘a‘awi of Mecca. Most, if not all, of these ‘Ulama were active members of various Sufi orders like the Rifa‘iyah, Naghashbandiyah, Alawiyyah, etc., which were also proponents of a panislamic ideology which was promoted by the Ottoman authorities.

The central themes of this panislamic ideology was to unite all the Muslims to stand up to the gradual annexation by the Western powers of the Muslim world. As a member of a powerful Kattaniyah Sufi order in Morocco with all its attendant privileges, al-Kattani was attracted to panislamism since Morocco was also threatened by the Western powers which if successful threatened the end of the Shari‘ah laws, the traditional guardian of the country. This panislamic ideology later on became the backbone of al-Kattani’s book Nasihah al-Shi al-Islam.

Among all the books which M.J. al-Kattani wrote in Sufism, biograpy, Hadith and jurisprudence, his book, Nasihah is most remembered and celebrated. This is possibly because all his other texts were along traditional lines while the text of Nasihah addressed a timely subject, and more significantly it articulated the fears and the demands of Moroccans at this (1908) period. Also, it is possible that the reason why Nasihah became popular is because of its courage and direct and simple discourse addressed to the Moroccan authority to remedy the declining fortunes of the country.

The specific advice put forth by al-Kattani to his government was to restore unity, revive the duties of Jihad, adhere strictly to Shari‘ah laws, and abandon the adopted European man-made laws, including any form of cooperation with the Western powers. This is so because “there was no good to be expected for Islam from Europeans who desired nothing but to control the Muslim lands.”

Considering the fact that the text of Nasihah was published and circulated in Morocco in 1908, one should consider the fact that its publication was encouraged by the opposition forces to Sultan Abd al-Aziz to facilitate the transformation of power to the Sultan’s half-brother, Abd al-Hafiz. The opposition to Abd al-Aziz not only included his half-brother, Abd al-Hafiz, who became the new Sultan in 1908, but also the Kattaniyah Sufi order which supported Abd al-Hafiz, and was the main force in providing the religious basis for the dethroning process.

Also, it is useful to recall here that the Kattaniyah order had access to two printing operations at this period to publish and circulate its own literature (see chapter VIII). However, what is significant here is not the circumstances in which the text of Nasihah was published or the elements behind its publication, but rather the fact that it represented a transformation in the nature and style of political literature in the country. The printing technology moved from being used to produce liturgical or devotional literature which served to unite Moroccans through symbolism and rituals, towards the production of an emerging new form of political literature in which the vital issues of the time were addressed in simple and direct language.

28. Ibid., p. 80.
30. Ibid., p. 376.
31. Ibid., p. 379.
fact, such a transformation had been in the making since the 1990s when
the number of printing operations increased from one institution under
the management of the Azareq brothers to six or seven operations. A
increasing competition emerged between the publishers to carve out their
share of the market as popular and issue-oriented books were being
produced including works like Path of al-Shahabah by al-Karadawli about
Jihad, and Al-Muqadhib (Fez, n.d.) by al-Mansur which is a reply to a
question put to the author by the Algerian leader al-Gadir al-Jaza'iri
about Algerian Muslims assisting the French occupiers against their own
country. So in a way, works like Nasibah by al-Kattani were an exten-
sion of such literature, even though it was more courageous in criticiz-
ing the authorities of his own country.

III. The Reform Literature.

Aside from the traditional themes and the rather rigid ideological
literature discussed above, there were other significant works like
Ashaab ussul al-rugay by al-Subayhi, al-Ismay (Fez, 1915) by M. Bajandar,
and al-Da' wa al-dawla' (Fez, 1919) by Abd al-Hafiz al-Fasi, in which
their authors opened new lines of thinking to reform Morocco.

Here I will limit my discussion to al-Subayhi's essay, Ashab, to
point out further the role played by intellectuals in influencing their
readers via the agency of printing. In general, much if not all such
reform literature appeared during the French protectorate and was
heavily influenced by it. At the same time all of such literature was
written by the Ulama who were born and matured during the 1880s and
1890s when printing was issue-oriented books began to proliferate.

33. See note number 23.

Also, most of such literature, especially al-Subayhi's essay, was pro-
duced and published shortly after the French administration was
established in Morocco. Accordingly, this literature is, in a sense,
an extension of the traditional literature, especially since the lines
of reform which they promoted were identical to those which were pro-
duced by earlier Muslim reformers like Rabia Celebi, Ibrahim Mutefer-
rika during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Subayhi was born in 1882 in the city of Sale
near Rabat which the French administration chose as the new political
capital of the country instead of the more traditional and religious
cities of Fez or Marrakesh. Like most of his contemporaries al-Subayhi
was educated in Islamic schools and just like most members of the
notable families he was expected to develop himself into a scholar, a
jurist or a businessman. In fact, by 1917 al-Subayhi was already the
Muhasib (market inspector) of Fes, a position which is
normally held by a leading judge or jurist or even a businessman in the
country.

In December, 1917 al-Subayhi wrote his small (32 pages) but very
significant essay which he called: Ashab al-rugay, (The Elements of True
progress). In this essay al-Subayhi directed his intellectual energies
to providing his audience with what he envisioned as a national agenda
for progress, based not on the traditional themes or an anti-Western
ideology (as was the case with the leaders of the Kattaniyah order) but
on learning and borrowing new ideas and methods from the Europeans,
namely the French in all scientific and applied fields. Realizing the

value of his own fresh ideas and to protect them, al-Subayhi did something which was never done previously in his country. He copyrighted his work against misuse. To appreciate al-Subayhi's "vision of progress" I will cite below several paragraphs from his essay and follow up with a close look at the essay's intellectual value, its style of expression and significance in relation to the utilization of printing to promote his ideas.

In the preface to his essay, Ashab, al-Subayhi cited some of the reasons why he wrote it.

The first of the reasons [which made me consider writing this essay] is to reveal our shortcomings in many topics. One such topic is in the field of Tafris (i.e., Konsic commentaries) which is the interpretation of God's words and the sayings of Muhammad, the Prophet upon whom Islam itself has been founded.

Second, to unveil our shortcomings in many other scientific topics such as medicine which is the knowledge of the human body, a knowledge which is needed at all times. This is also true about mathematics and physics despite the fact that the earlier Ulama of Islam showed interest in them and composed many books about them which are by themselves important. I said "by themselves" because of the periods during which these books were written and the fact that some of these sciences like physics, mathematics and the science of exploiting the land (i.e., al-isti'marriyah) were advanced by the Europeans who excelled in them through revisions and diversifications to a point that they rendered the findings of our forefathers [the "Ulma"] negligible. But the blame falls on us and not on our forefathers whom the Europeans [themselves] acknowledged and benefited from. This is because we did not do so like the Europeans.

Accordingly, we the people of Morocco should come forward to learn all types of science and reach a distinguished status in every field. And let us complement our religious studies with scientific disciplines in order to erode our past shortcomings and drink from the basin of science...all the knowledge which made [other] nations rise to prominence and true civilization...and let us not turn much attention to the attacks of the slanderers [who oppose change and progress].

Third, to realize that education in Morocco [the way it was and is now] is the most important reason behind the state of backwardness in the sciences. This is so because [the system] of education is not [well] organized as it should be. For example, we find a beginning student who enters the Mosque in order to learn grammar. This student meets a teacher who uses [Ibn Malik's] Alfiyah [along with the commentary text] by al-Makkudi. [It is very likely that the student] will find the teacher at the least breath of his lecture, and else to listen without much understanding. Whereas [this student] is in much need [for another simpler text] like al-Kitrumiyah. Furthermore, because the student needs to fill his day with learning, he attends [the classes] of another teacher where he finds the teacher lecturing [about] Khallil's Muhtasar using the commentary texts by al-Kharashi, al-Tarqumi, or al-Bannani and al-Ramuni. [Here again the student might find the teacher lecturing about Ruya] (i.e., sales) or Ijaba (rants which are at the end of the text). With such disorganization and process of learning students [cannot learn] or produce even a single percent in one hundred. [This is not to mention] the [unnecessary] digressions by the teachers. [Once more] we the people of Morocco should make it easy for knowledge to be spread and be understood and open the door wide for sound methods of education.

Before commenting about al-Subayhi's citation above it is useful to point out that his central theme was to promote the use of sciences specifically industry, agriculture, economics, and commerce to be integrated into Morocco's educational system if Moroccans wanted to join the nations which had progressed economically and socially.

To further appreciate al-Subayhi's ideas and style of presentation, one can point out that at the beginning of his essay al-Subayhi made it clear to his predominantly traditional audience that it was his firm conviction that the religion of Islam was unmatched in its suitability for mankind at all times, therefore his promotion of Western and non-traditional sciences should not be conceived as abandoning Islam.

35. Ahmad al-Subayhi, Ashab, pp. 3-10.
instead his intention was to strengthen it. To support his confidence in Islam, al-Subayhi did not use citations from the Koran or Hadith as did the traditional Ulama to facilitate acceptance of foreign ideas or technology. Rather, he referred his readers to several non-Muslim thinkers or philosophers like Voltaire, Isaac Taylor and Shibly Shunay-yli who were known to have made positive comments about the enduring social qualities and values of Islam. This technique of building up a strong self-image among the Muslims was a common phenomenon in the Eastern world of Islam where publishers of Al-Manar, al-Mu'ayyad, and al-Milal continuously used the print media to capitalize on the emerging nationalistic or panislamic sentiment in reaction to the Muslim world’s relations and conflicts with the Western world. These periodicals, some of which al-Subayhi cited in his essay, were common in Morocco. In fact, the panislamic journal al-Manar had a permanent correspondent (no name given) in Fez. al-Subayhi was trying to capitalize on the ground work already laid out by the Eastern print media and to remind his audience that borrowing positive ideas and science for the sake of improving and reviving Islam was not a negative deviation because other Muslims had done so. What is significant here is not the originality of al-Subayhi’s ideas but his pioneering effort to bring unfamiliar ideas to an overwhelmingly traditional audience with the aid of printing technology.

Second, al-Subayhi presented his ideas in the form of dreams. Dreams were often utilized by Sufi orders to predict the future and influence events. One of the most common dreams among the Sufi leaders was an encounter with the Prophet, Muhammad. In fact, among the Fez imprints there is a small pamphlet by al-Tunani Gannun entitled, Hidayat al-muhrib (Fez, 1891) in which its author guides Sufis in spiritual training through dreams in which it was possible to see the Prophet. Knowing the immense value of dreams to his audience, al-Subayhi made clear on the title page of his essay that his message or agenda to the Moroccan people was based on a dream he had experienced on December 7, 1917. What we have here is an effective traditional tool utilized along with printing technology to facilitate change (i.e. reforming the traditional lines of thinking and education.) What is of additional interest about al-Subayhi’s style is that alongside his very traditional usage of dreams, he also provided bibliographic footnotes at the bottom of each page whenever possible. This was a new technique. In the traditional texts, authors normally added marginal notes on the sides of the text while citations were emphasized in the main texts. This new usage of footnotes might very well have been borrowed from the increased number of foreign printed materials in Morocco, but nevertheless al-Subayhi should be credited for being among the very first Moroccan intellectuals to introduce new writing techniques to the country via the agent of printing.

A third interesting aspect about al-Subayhi’s style is the apparent self-criticism which he exercised. This is clear from his reference to the Ulama of his time and the previous generations who failed to keep up with the scientific creativity of the earlier Ulama of Islam. According to al-Subayhi, such negligence resulted in stagnation while
the Europeans sought after new knowledge and with it built up a truly superior civilization with which they came to dominate the world of Islam. The Ulama of Islam, on the contrary, continued clinging to the old knowledge despite the fact it was unproductive. This criticism is reminiscent of the method used by earlier reformers in Islam to change the attitude among Muslims to accept Western-style reforms. This method was used by the Ottoman reformers like Katib Celebi (1657); Egyptians like Rifa’ah Rabi’ al-Tahtawi (d.1873); Tunisians like Muh-

mud Qabbadu (d.1871) and his famous student Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi (d.1890). In fact, Khayr al-Din’s book, *Awam al-masalik* in which such reform ideas were documented, was available in Morocco and some of the Ulama from Rabat (al-Tedilli) have summarized it.

al-Subayhi, then, was very much aware of the various reform approaches in the greater Muslim world and he was trying, via the agent of printing, to transmit these to the public. What is also interesting about al-Subayhi is his reference to *Tafsir* (interpretation of the Koran) and its neglect in Morocco despite the fact that the Koran is the main base of Islam. The record of book production in Morocco shows only four out of 463 titles which were in Koranic studies (mostly readings), but none in the field of *Tafsir*. The reason for such a gap was not the lack of interest in the Koran. In fact, most Moroccan Ulama were memorizers of the Koran. Instead, the reason was the principles upon which the tradition of Malikiyah was built.

According to the tradition, what matters most is to follow the religion of Islam the way the people of Madinah in Hijaz practiced it during the time of the Prophet and the generations which followed until the time of Imam Malik ibn Anas, who founded the tradition emphasizing practice over theory. This same principle was passed down through Imam Sahnun who collected *al-Mudawwanah* which included Imam Malik’s religious judgments in response to actual events. This is also true with Khalil’s *Mukhtasar*, which was a summary of *al-Mudawwanah*.

Thus, al-Subayhi’s call to give attention to *Tafsir* was totally alien to the Moroccan religious tradition and it signified the abandon-

ment of texts like *Mukhtasar* in which the true practical interpretation of Islam is presented. al-Subayhi was also calling for the end of *taglid* (imitation) and the revival of *ijtihad* (the use of opinion in formulating judgments) which is based on the Koran and Hadith directly. al-Subayhi’s call to reject *Taglid* is reminiscent of the Salafiyah ideology, the religious reformist movement started by the Eastern Ulama like al-Afghani, Abdu, and Rashid Rida the editor and publisher of *al-Manar*. al-Subayhi’s connection with the Salafiyah ideas must have come from Abu Shu’ayb al-Dukkali who was known in Morocco as Muhammad Abdu (a reference to the famous Egyptian Salafiyah leader).

---

38. al-Subayhi, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
40. Levi-Provençal and Ben Chened, *op. cit.*, p. 34, item 5, p. 45, item 239.
Although al-Dukkali was not as famous or as active as Abdu was in the Salafiyyah movement throughout the Muslim world, he was a visible religious and intellectual power in Morocco. After several years of studying in Mecca and Madinah, al-Dukkali returned to his country to join Sultan Abd al-Safir’s inner circle and emerge as a leading lecturer in the Sultan-sponsored annual Tahfizh celebrations. al-Dukkali tried to add the field of Tafsir to the curricula at al-Qarawiyin Mosque College. It is also believed that al-Dukkali’s speedy recognition in Morocco was part of Sultan Abd al-Safir’s goal to minimize the power of the traditional Sufi leaders like the Kattaniyah and al-Tijaniyah. In his essay, Asbab, al-Subayhi informs us that when he finished writing down his dream, he sent a copy to al-Dukkali whom he described as the Minister of Education. Also, in Asbab we find a brief encouraging statement by al-Dukkali to al-Subayhi, which the latter wanted to make public in his essay.

The final significant point to be made about al-Subayhi’s essay is his copyright statement. The term, "copyright" signifies a legal measure to protect inventions and creative works from use by those other than the author, except with his permission. The concept of copyright is by itself a major departure from the Islamic tradition. This is because the role of the traditional Ulama was limited to transmitting fixed knowledge and writing commentaries about it through approved and known formats. The Ulama, therefore, earned their recognition, prestige and benefits not from being creative but from acting as a link between the past and the future, as the knowledge which they

served belonged to divinity and the Prophet, and not themselves. For al-Subayhi, as well as those intellectuals who came after him, the copyright statement was one of the many signs of the changing times and the march towards modernity in which scholars identified less and less with the traditional themes and modes of expression.

In short, al-Subayhi as exemplified in his essay, Asbab, represented a small but significant example of the Ulama and intellectuals who distinguished themselves from the earlier traditional generation in embodying more open ideologies and trying to publicize them through the aid of printing technology.

IV. Creative Literature.

The fourth example, which represents yet another significant facet of the role of printing in intellectual activities, is a short tale entitled, Qisas al-qadi wa al-sariq (The Story of the Judge and the Thief). It is not clear who authored this tale which appears to be like the tales of the Arabian Nights, creative and with a great deal of social and political significance.

The text of this tale which is printed in a single fascicle of eight pages bears no date of publication and no other references about its printer, publisher, editor or even its illustrator who succeeded in expressing the thrust of the tale on the title page. The reason why the identities of those who were involved in producing the tale were not given can be attributed to the nature of the tale. It portrays the Ulama or judge, as ignorant and feeble, while it portrays the thief (i.e. the French) as powerful, armed with a large weapon and knowledge
of the Koran, Hadith and old Arabic proverbs.

At first glance because of the illustration it appears that the audience for this tale were the Moroccan children or teenagers of the time. In fact, this cover illustration was the only illustration on any Moroccan printed book between 1865 and 1920 which was utilized to highlight the theme of the work. When we take a close look at the content of the tale and its numerous citations from the Koran, etc., plus its satiric nature, it becomes clear that it was intended to entertain and influence the general public through a rather clever and creative approach. This is not to mention the fact that the tale stood alone against a rather overwhelming number of pedantic and religious works. It was a fresh and unusual departure from the norm.

The Tale of the Judge and the Thief is based on two scenarios. The first begins with a judge reading in a medieval text (no title is given). In this text the judge reads that if a person is in a depressed or sad mood, he should take a ride in the countryside as a remedy. So, when the judge embarked on his ride, he was confronted with a giant thief whose spear, as the illustration emphasizes, is larger than the thief himself, while the thief is bigger than both the judge and his horse combined. Another interesting point which the illustrator emphasizes is the thief's grip over his weapon and over the reins of the Judge's horse.) In this tense situation the judge tries to persuade the thief not to rob him by reminding the thief that he is "the judge of all the Muslims". The thief replies that he is "the thief of all the Muslims." Then the judge cites several quotes from the Koran, Hadith

44. Qissat al-qadi, p. 3.
Another interesting point about the tale is that such literature would never have been allowed publication prior to the French protectorate, not only because the 'Ulama, their relatives and associates were the main power behind the printing operation, but also because no entertainment or creative literature was encouraged. Books and knowledge were not meant to entertain. Instead, they were meant to transmit and maintain the traditional divine literature and its supporting secondary books whether in literature, science or jurisprudence. But with the changing times, Moroccan intellectuals were able to grasp the opportunities available to them to express their views and creative expressions openly or in conspicuous ways with the aid of printing technology.

In summary, between 1865 and 1920, Moroccan scholars and intellectuals produced over 460 different titles, a good portion of which were in several editions. This body of literature covered a wide variety of disciplines such as Sufism, Jurisprudence, history, Hadith literature, science, and travel books among others.

In this chapter, several categories of Moroccan literature were discussed among them the traditional themes of Sufism and jurisprudence and three different types of political literature. In regard to Sufism and Jurisprudence, it was observed that both disciplines, their themes and forms of expression continued to be the same as in the previous era of manuscripts. However, there were significant changes. Printing became an effective aid in transforming the thrust of book production from serving the richer elements of Moroccan society towards reaching the largest number of readers possible.

The books produced at this time provide us with evidence that more and more issue oriented books were produced, and from such an orientation emerged a small but significant number of books in which vital political issues were addressed. Among such books was the text of Nashab by M.J. al-Kattani. In this text a fresh and courageous approach to Morocco's internal policies, was presented, and advice was provided to the State on how to restore the country's strength in the face of Europe's encroachment.

Although this text was different in its courage to criticize the state and its political agenda, for the most part it represented the traditional political vision especially in its rejection of non-Islamic approaches to solve Morocco's problems.

With respect to the two remaining types of political literature; al-Subayhi's 'Uul and Qiasat al-qadi, they were more common to the French era in Morocco. al-Subayhi, in his 'Uul tried to influence his audience by providing a new vision of reform for his country, combining Islamic principles and Western sciences and methods. In Qiasat al-qadi there is an absence of any overt political agenda. Instead it is rich with satire and criticism of the country's leadership. What is significant about the various themes and categories of literature discussed above is that they represented the bulk of the literature produced in the country. This literature was visibly presented and documented and preserved by the agency of printing.
SUMMARY

When we look back at the history of printing in the Muslim world, and especially Morocco, we can point out several major changes or modifications which were either directly or indirectly related to the utilization of printing. The first of such changes, which is perhaps the biggest and the most important, was the gradual modification of the Islamic attitude towards the technology and what it stood for.

By the turn of the sixteenth century, printing was a common phenomenon in the Western world. The Ottoman Turks, while allowing their Jewish and Christian minorities to establish printing shops in Istanbul or elsewhere, deprived themselves and their fellow Muslims from following suit. According to many historians of printing (Carter and Sabat, etc.) the Ottoman objection to printing was mainly due to the Sultans' fear that their fellow Muslims would be "awakened" as a result of using printing technology. However, their real objections to printing were two basic and interrelated factors: 1) the traditional conviction of Islam's superiority over other religions because of the Koran which was (and still is to many Muslims) God's eternal words and everlasting miracle; 2) the fact that by the sixteenth century Islamic education, scholarship and artistry in penmanship and calligraphy were centered around the Koran and the Hadith. Therefore, the utilization of printing at this time was unthinkable because it signified the substitution of machine-made letters for such superior script. Also, it meant the subjugation of Islam's sacred books to a tool made in Christendom at a time when the Ottoman Empire, as a representative of Islam, was at the zenith of its power and supremacy.

However, by the early eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was drastically different from previous periods, in particular in the nature of its relations with the Western World. As a result of the Renaissance movement, including the scientific revival and geographic explorations, Europe had developed into a major power and a threat to the Ottoman Empire. In the 1650s, Ottoman reformers like Katib Celebi observed and documented the growing signs of imbalance between the Ottomans and their European rivals, but it was not until the 1720's that the Ottomans found it necessary to send envoys to France on diplomatic missions to observe the basis upon which Europeans had built their strength. It was through such observations and the recommendations which followed that the Ottoman government managed to become the first Muslim state to import and operate a printing machine under the directions of a Christian convert to Islam, Ibrahim Mateferrika.

Although Mateferrika made an earnest effort to defend the use of printing, and lobbied with the Ulama in Istanbul to implement the machine on a universal basis, the use of the technology was limited to non-religious, scientific or secular materials. Only a century later did Mateferrika's ideas about the benefits of printing become evident to the Ulama and Sufi figures like Muhammad Saggii who saw that it could be of great use to Islam, if all Islamic books were printed and circulated as part of Islam's holy war against its enemies. With such a shift in attitude, other Muslim states like Egypt and its 'Ulama moved to install movable type and lithographic printing machines from the
early 19th century onwards.

In Morocco where the utilization of printing by the Ottomans and Egyptians was probably known right from the start, the changes in Islamic attitudes towards printing made it possible for local statesmen like al-Amrâwi to call upon the Sultan to import printing technology in order to revive the country's strength as did the Ottomans and the Egyptians. What is significant about al-Amrâwi's call is that it also came after a diplomatic and exploratory visit to France just as with the Ottoman reforms. In fact, just as the Ottomans were threatened by the Western powers, Morocco, also, was suffering from the French occupation of Algeria in 1830. This isolated Morocco from the rest of the Muslim World. The French and the Spaniards had also defeated the Moroccan troops at Jâzy in 1844 and in Tetuan in 1860.

By 1865 Morocco owned and operated its very first printing machine, but the introduction of the tool was neither due to al-Amrâwi's call nor to al-Saffar's earlier detailed report about the French civilization. Instead the machine was brought to the country by Muhammad al-Tayyib al-Rudâni who was one of the local 'Ulama from the South Sous region.

The reason why Moroccans waited so long to adopt printing technology was due not only to the fact that the 'Ulama in Morocco adhered to the strict Malikîyyah Tradition, but also to the fact that printing was not needed. (In addition, Imam Malik ibn Anas, the founder of the Tradition made it clear to his students and followers that he disapproved of the fact that non-Muslims had to touch Islamic coins on which God's names or Koranic words were ascribed.) Also, the traditio-
authors to secure added income and publishers to emerge as small capitalists. Among all the changes on the economic level was the introduction of the concept of copyright which put a tangible value on ideas. This was a dramatic departure from the tradition which had emphasized imitation more than creativity and innovation. This change symbolized the upcoming new era during which authors were valued more as creative writers than as a link between the past and the future in transmitting divine knowledge.

On the political level, the Sultans, the Ulama and the Sufi orders found printing technology a formidable agent of propaganda for local and international consumption. Some of the vivid examples were Sultan Hasan’s endeavors to publish the text of _Ithaf_ and distribute it free of charge to the Ulama in Cairo, Mecca, Madinah and Istanbul to improve his image locally and abroad. What is more impressive than the Sultan’s attempt to use printing for propaganda was the endeavor by the Chamberlain and Grand Vizier, Ahmed ibn Musa, to utilize printing technology to consolidate his own position in Morocco by popularizing the writings of Ha’ al-Aynayn. From 1891 until his death in 1906, Ibn Musa succeeded in rallying scores of Moroccan Ulama, notables, and the common people around his leadership using the hopes and ideas which Ha’ al-Aynayn represented for the country. Such hopes and ideas included internal unity against Europeans, solidarity with the rest of the Muslim world, protection from sickness and evil, and the prospect of prosperity.

Aside from the Sultan and the Grand Vizier, printing technology was also of great use to popularize the writings of many Sufi leaders, in particular, the leading members of the Kattaniyah order. Between 1896 and 1909 the printing establishments of Abd al-Salam al-Dhawayb and the Ottoman agent, Ahmad Yumi, helped to produce and circulate tens of thousands of volumes representing the political ideas and visions of the Kattaniyah, like Muhammad, Abd al-Rayy, and their cousin, Muhammad al-Far.

By 1909 Moroccans were exposed to two brands of reform through the printed media; one in the die-hard traditional line which saw in reviving Islamic literature escape from Morocco’s inability to deal with the changing times, and another one like the Kattaniyah line which offered a hybrid system of reform through which both a modern means of education and maintenance of Islamic principles and character were possible. The Kattaniyah line was also firstly anti-Western, and it saw no good in relying on European experts to solve Morocco’s problems. From this second line of reform and ideology which was popularized in the printed media between the 1890s and 1909, it was possible for the new generation of intellectuals and reformers like Ahmed al-Sabih to emerge. This generation was the product of a highly politicized era. They believed that if Morocco ever wanted to take its rightful place among other nations as both a civilized and progressive state, it had to realize its traditional shortcomings and work through a systematic national agenda to educate the public in agriculture, industry, commerce, economics, among other scientific and modern disciplines.

The other major political innovation which was introduced to Morocco in association with the utilization of printing was the evil of censorship. In reality, censorship did exist in Morocco before
the advent of printing. (But it was mainly connected to ethics or the moral conduct of the public rather than its political motives.) In the era of printing when the documentation of knowledge and information had serious political implications for the traditional role of the Sultan and his court 'Ulama, it became evident to the State that legislating new laws in regard to censorship was necessary to maintain the status quo. This is why, or how, the 1897 censorship laws in Morocco were initiated.

On educational and scholarly levels printing helped to bring about several additional changes in Morocco. As early as the 1880s, the 'Ulama like Ahmad al-Siba'i became increasingly aware of the effects which printing had on traditional education in which memorization and journeying for knowledge from distant lands (especially from the less populated villages or towns) was necessary. Also, with the abundance of printed books the students not only began to rely more and more on written forms rather than memory, but also they began to consult printed books for their own use or in response to inquiries. It was very likely that the 'Ulama misinterpreted their written records as al-Siba'i pointed out, but this was only at the beginning. The emerging trend of the new modern era was to demonstrate not only how much one knew, but also where to look for the needed information and references, something which was closely associated with the era of printing.

In regard to scholarship, printing technology was a great aid in improving the quality of books which were offered to the scholarly public. During the era of manuscripts any individual who earned, or had the qualifications to become a scribe, could duplicate books regardless of his educational background. During the era of printing, this was changed. As a result, only qualified editors examined and corrected texts before publication. In addition, the accumulation of printed texts made it possible for scholars to compare notes and produce better edited texts. Occasionally the 'Ulama edited the same text twice because the first work required more revisions. Correcting erroneous texts or bringing attention to such problems is by no means new in Morocco's longstanding scholarly tradition, but to observe and do the corrections in a short period of time was simply not possible without the aid of printing.

On the intellectual level, it is impossible to document the existence of any clear link between intellectuality and printing if one compares the effects of reading a printed book over reading a manuscript. However, during the era of printing in Morocco, especially from the 1880s onwards, the combination of economic and political incentives by publishers and political leaders helped to create a new and simplified style of writing to target not only the pocketbooks of new readers, but also their minds and hearts in support of the proposed lines of reforms. Such a style of writing, and the political visions, succeeded in attracting more intellectuals and became a common mode of expression replacing the styles of commentaries, abridgements, etc. This was the impact which printing had on the direction of thinking in Morocco.

Finally, in addition to the social, economic, political, educational, scholarly and intellectual changes which the introduction and utilization of printing brought into Morocco, the technology also
helped to enrich the Arabic language in Morocco with new terms to define and express the various roles which were played by printers, publishers, authors, scribes, etc. These very definitions which were carefully rendered in the colophons of the Fez lithographs were also a great source of information from which we were able to glean answers to many previously unanswered questions such as why and how a religious figure like Ma' al-'Aynayn was suddenly elevated to prominence in Morocco between the 1890s and 1912. Also, these same changes helped us to reverse the common impressions about the pre-1912 period in Morocco as being stagnant and unproductive. In reality the period was a dynamic one in which the 'Ulama, the notables and their leaders succeeded in instilling a deep nationalist spirit among the Moroccan public, before the French takeover. Therefore, printing was not only an agent to preserve knowledge, but also an agent of change which contributed to the shaping of Moroccan history during the 19th and early 20th centuries.
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration #1........Maghribi script in the Eastern style.

Illustration #2........Maghribi script in the mujawhar style.

Illustration #3........Maghribi script in the makhat style.

Illustration #4........Maghribi script in the zimani style.

Illustration #5........al-Runda document.

Illustration #6........The cover of the story about the judge and the thief.
магribi script in the sijjarat style

Illustration #3

Maghribi script in the sijjarat style
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة. إذا كنت بحاجة إلى مساعدة في شيء آخر، فلا تتردد في طرحه لي.
Illustration #6

The cover of the story about the judge and the thief.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Note: Books which are marked with (*) were used in a limited way in regard to their colophon information.

  On Islamic jurisprudence in the Malikiyyah Tradition.

  Annotated bibliography of the Fez imprints, 1865-1940s.

Abdurarhman, A. Abdurarhman. Les Maghrebins en Egypt à l'Epoque Otto-
  mane, 1517-1798. Tunis: Publications de la Revue d'Histoire Mag-
  hribine, 1982.

  A commentary text about Ibn Zarqal's Nasibah on Sufism.

Abu Zarah, Muhammad. Malik hayatuh wa 'aseruh, ara'uh wa fighuh.
  Cairo: al-Ahdal al-Musliyah, [1950].
  An excellent biography of Malik ibn Anas, the founder of the
  Malikiyyah Tradition.

Abu-Khader, Jalal. The Salafiyya Movement in Morocco: The Religious

Actes du Colloque Reformiste et Societeen Marocaine du XlVe Siècle:
  Text in Arabic and French. Includes an essay on reform in Greater
  Syria, Egypt and Tunisia during the 18th and 19th centuries.

Adler, Elkan, ed. Jewish Travellers. 2nd ed. New York: Hermon

  On logic and theology in the Malikiyyah Tradition.

* Akinsu, al-Jayyab al-arqam al-khamasi fi dawlat awlad Maulana

On Islamic jurisprudence in the Malikiyyah Tradition.


A journalistic and hasty account of Sultan Hasan I of Morocco with some interesting references about Ahmad ibn Husayn, the Chamberlain of the Sultan, to 1894, and the Grand Vazir, to 1900.


On the religious and scholarly element which united the Malikiyyah followers in Morocco.


Commentary text on Arabic language and grammar.


An important commentary about Islamic scholarship in general with special reference to the 19th century Morocco and the Malikiyyah Tradition.


On Sufism with special reference to the binding factors among the various Sufi orders.


On the duties of Muhtessib in Fez during the second half of the 19th century. Based on correspondence between Sultan Hassan and al-Mahdi Bannani, the Muhtessib of Fez, 1881-1299.


On Islamic jurisprudence in the Malikiyyah Tradition.


...An essay about the leaders of the Salafiyyah movement in Morocco, namely Abu Shu'ayb al-Dukkali.


...A catalogue of the Ottoman imprints in the National Library in Egypt, 1870-1969.


...An essay about the history of printing in the Middle East.


Courrier de l'Egypte. Cairo, 1799.


Catalogue of Ottoman imprints in the Khedive Library, Egypt up to 1889.


Catalogue of manuscripts in the public library in Tetuan, Morocco.


Bio-bibliographical dictionary of Moroccan ‘Ulama from Rabat.


History of Tetuan, Morocco.


Bibliographical work about the ‘Ulama of Sale and Rabat.


On ijihah and taglid in Islamic law.


Euclid. Elements. Interpreted by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi. This edition is available at Houghton Library, Harvard University.


Bio-bibliography of chiefly Moroccan ‘Ulama during the 19th and 20th centuries who taught the author or granted him a diploma (ijazah).


Commentary book on Islamic jurisprudence in the Malikiyyah tradition.


An essay about various visits by Moroccan ‘Ulama' or diplomats to Europe (mostly) during the 19th century.


Catalogue of manuscripts at the Qarawiyyin Mosque College Library in Fez.


On the founder of the Jazuliyyah Sufi order and his followers in Morocco.
Fi al-nahhah wa-al-tarakan, dirasat fi tarikh al-Maghrib wa-al-nahdah
Al-Arabiyah nuhdat III-bistah Muhammad al-Hanuni. Camhaher:

Collection of essays about reform movements in the Arab World with
special reference to Morocco during the 19th century.


A collection of miscellaneous essays including some correspondence
between Sultan Muhammad IV of Morocco and Khedivi Ismail of Egypt
in 1867, pp. 55-56.

Public Library, 1946.

* Gunun, Muhammad al-Muhallami. Sharh... 'ala al-Baghti. Faz: Ahmad
ibn Gunun, 1894.

On prayers in Islam with special reference to Jalal al-Din al-Baghti,
a medieval author from Egypt.

* Ridawat al-bihih al-mushtaq al-mustahsin al-Khalil fi al-

On prayers and means to experience seeing the Prophet in dreams.

* Gunun, Muhammad ibn al-Mudani. Ajwibah. Faz: al-Tayyib al-
Atrak, 1894.

On Islamic jurisprudence in the Malikiyyah tradition.


A selection of sayings by the Prophet Muhammad in regard to the
duties of ihsan.


On the Sharifian origin of the author.

* Faz al-masun al-mushur mimma muhadathu 'awqubahu yasun

On conduct of life in Islam.

* al-Taqwid aladnu hawa bi nasihat ah al-ilm karij fi al-mur
allan bta alaqah fi al-Farou wa-al-ahadah. Faz: Ahmad Gannun,
1906.

On providing legal opinions by the 'Ulama' to the public.

Gannun, Muhammad ibn al-Mudani. al-Saq wa al-igna' bi-zawajir al-
sa'ah al-sani'a, li-man kana ya'tim Biladhu wa-yawm al-kitama. 'an
alat al-ahu wa-al-sana. Faz: Ahmad Gannun, 1891.

pp. 1141-1150.

Ghazzal, Wahid. Le debat de l'imprimier arabe à Istanbul et en Égypte:
évolution de l'environnement culturel (1706-1787). Tunis:
Institut supérieur de documentation, 1985.

Charfed, Muhammad. Fawani al-Jumana fi anba' yusnara' wa-kuttah

An important biographical dictionary of leading Moroccan statesmen
and 'Ulama' during the 19th and early 20th centuries.


Gokyay, Orhan Saik. Katib Celebi: yasani Ilisligi ve yapitlarindan

A compilation of Katib Celebi (Baj Khalisahf) writings with biog-
raphical information about him. Text is in modern Turkish.


A comprehensive compilation of the traditional devotional literature
in Sufism covering all the major Islamic Sufi orders.

Hajji, Muhammad. Fikriyyah al-Muhajibah al-Tihliyyah al-Sabihyyah

Catalogue of manuscripts at the Sabihyyah Library in Sala (Morocco).

* al-Marakah al-Fikriyyah bi-al-Maghrib fi 'amal al-Sa'diyin.

On the intellectual and cultural activities in Morocco during the
Sa’di period.

* al-Zawiyah al-Dila’iyyah. Rabat: al-Matbaha al-
Wadiyyah, 1964.
About al-Dila’iyah religious sanctuary in Morocco and its cultural and social activities.

Hamzaad, T.G. Typography: an historical sketch of the origin and progress of the art of printing. London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1825.


Commentaries on the Koran and hadith from the perspective of 19th century Sufism.


On the political, religious, and cultural trend in Morocco since the 17th century.


A religious address by Sultan Hassan (1873-1894) on the occasion of the new Hijra year, 1883.


Commentary on Khalil ibn Ishaq’s Mukhtasar in Islamic Jurisprudence.

Bay, John Drummond. A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Bay; sometime minister at the court of Morocco, based on his journals and correspondence. London: John Murray Albemarle Street, 1899.


A brief commentary on Khalil ibn Ishaq’s Mukhtasar in Islamic Jurisprudence.


A record of the author’s diploma (ijazah) in various Islamic disciplines in Morocco during the 19th and 20th centuries.


On contract laws according to the Malikiyyah tradition.


Classical text on Sufism.


On Islamic theology.


On divorce in Islam.


Biographical dictionary of Moroccan ‘Ulama’ from Marrakesh.


On inheritance laws according to Malikiyyah Jurisprudence.


Collection of wise and spiritual sayings.


On Islamic Jurisprudence in the Malikiyyah Tradition.


On Islamic Jurisprudence in the Malikiyyah tradition.


On the pilgrimage ritual to Mecca and Madinah according to the Malikiyah Tradition.


Sufi prayers.


An annotated bibliography of books on Morocco.


On the daily prayers in Islam.


Sufi prayers.


On the history of Moroccan Alawite Sultans, with special reference to the court 'Ulama'.


On the daily prayers in Islam.


On the revolt of the 20th century pretender in Morocco, Buhmarah (or Buhmarah), 1902-1909.


This is an enlarged version of the author’s 4‘imat al-mutab‘a‘t al-Maghribiyah by the author’s son.


A list of 1252 Moroccan imprints published between 1865-1970.


An essay on the emergence of the national press in Morocco during the French protectorate.


History of Egypt during the 18th and early 19th centuries.


Classical dictionary. Translation from Arabic into Ottoman. This is the first Ottoman printed book.


Classical devotional literature in Islam.


On the history of Malikiyah Tradition in North Africa.


Bio-bibliography of Moroccan 'Ulama' and authors between 1900 and 1972.


Dictionary of Arab and Muslim authors. See also his al-Mustashar, Beirut, 1985, which is an addendum to the dictionary above.


On Islamic theology. This book is possibly one of the earliest Islamic texts produced in Istanbul via the movable type printing. 277

On mobilization and preparedness of the armed forces in Morocco.


An essay about the needed reforms in the Ottoman Empire during the 17th century. Text in Ottoman Turkish.


Bibliography of Islamic texts and other sciences.


Bio-bibliography of the diploma obtained by the author, along with the chains of authorities in every field back to the time of the Prophet.


History of the Kattaniyah 'Ulama' and their religious sanctuaries mostly based on the personal accounts of the author.


A reply to an editorial which appeared in al-'sa'ada by the Lebanese journalist, Wadi Karam, who criticized the political position of the 'Ulama in Morocco.

Munyat al-qa' i fi ikhtasar al-qama'. Fes, n.d.

An abridgment of al-Tirmidhi's Al-qama' which is about Muhammad the Prophet and his enduring qualities.


On worship and dance according to the Kattaniyah Sufi order in Morocco.


Biography of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karib al-Kattani by his son.


Commentary on verses from the Koran in the Sufi style.


Sufi prayers.


Apologistic work in Sufism.


Bio-bibliography of 'Ulama' who died in Fez up to the 19th century.

Nasihat an al-Islam. Fez, 1908.

On Islam and the state in Morocco in 1908.


"About the tradition of Sahih by al-Bukhari in Morocco throughout its Islamic history."


History of Moroccan press. Should be used with caution.


A classical text in jurisprudence according to the Malikiyyah tradition.


Catalogue of manuscripts housed in the Royal Palace, Rabat.


Catalogue of manuscripts housed at the al-Khazana al-Azma Library in Rabat.


A commentary about Khaqani ibn Thahag's Mukhtasar in the Malikiyya jurisprudence. This book is the first folio printed in Fez.


The history of the Koran and its unusual spellings.


Known as Lane's lexicon.


Leriche, M.L. "List of books lithographed at Fez in Morocco." Manuscript, 1899.

55 titles in Arabic with French translations of the titles, available at Harvard College Library.


I have utilized the Arabic text of this book because it includes revised information by the translators not available in the French edition.


This is Ibn 'Abd Hikam rendered in poetry.


On Sufism.

Muhib al-mawafid 'ala anna nukhawi. Fez: Ahmad ibn al-Shahe, 1892.

On unity among the Sufi orders.

Muhhir al-nasir wa al-samir 'ala ta'allum al-'ilm al-nasiri. Fez: Ahmad ibn Muna, 1903.

On Sufism.


On the principles of jurisprudence.

Ma' al-mawafid wa-tawwuf al-nihayat. Fez, 1893.
Mumi 'al-nama' (Fes, 1887) by M. al-Mahdi al-iasi are among the best examples. The former text covered the biographical details and activities of the Wazzani Sufi leaders and their distinguished students or followers while the latter took up the activities of al-Jasuli, the author of Dala'il al-khayrat, and his numerous followers in Morocco.

The importance of these biographical works was much more than their scholarly appeal. They basically served to demonstrate the popularity of this or that leader and to document the news of their karamah (miracles). In general, however, the size of the biographical texts in Sufism was not very large considering the fact that there were many Sufi orders in the country. However, similar biographical information about the Sufi leaders and their miracles was also available in general biographies or historical texts such as Muhammad al-Qadiri's Nashr al-mathani (Fes, 1892).

Between 1865 and 1920 Moroccans produced more than 38,000 copies of books in this field making it the most visible literature in the country. The significance of this literature is that it was for the most part directed to the general public in order to increase membership in the Sufi orders or to tap the marketability of this literature by publishers and printers. Whatever the case, the sheer size of books on Sufism was the clearest evidence of a shift in the direction of book production.

11. This figure is based on 128 titles, the average being 300 copies per title. no added volumes or second or third editions are included in it.

On Sufism


On Sufism and conduct of life in Islam.


Collection of Fatwas (religious opinions) in regard to scores of social, economic, political, religious and other matters.

Hafl al-Ishtamal 'ala Sab' fada'il. Fes: 'Arabi al-Araaq and al-Dhawiyah, 1896-1897

A collection of poetry in praise of M. M. Ma' al-Aynayn.


Also utilized the 1863 Tunisian edition as well as the 1900 Fes edition.

On Islamic law by the founder of the Malikiyah Tradition.


* Manshur sadir min al-lama' Faz. Fes, 1907.

A political statement by the 'lama' of Fes in support of Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz against his brother, 'Abd al-Hafiz.


A short article about the appearance of the moveable-type printing in Morocco, with a checklist of Ahmad Yummi's products.


Guide to manuscripts at the al-Hasiriyah religious sanctuary in Tamikrut, Morocco.

A checklist of the private and public libraries in Morocco and the size of their holdings.


A checklist with brief comments about the historical writing in Morocco between 1790 and 1860.


Primary sources including over eighty original documents covering a wide range of topics in relation to Morocco's reform efforts between 1860 and 1912.


On the eternal reformation in Morocco towards reform during the 19th century.


On the pilgrimage tradition in Morocco throughout its Islamic history.


"History of the Koran as manuscript in Morocco."


On scripts and manuscript production in Morocco from the 1760s to the 1860s.


Bio-bibliographic dictionary of Moroccan scholars from Marrakech and Ashmat including those who visited both cities.


On contract law.


Typescripted catalogue of Ottoman imprints. The list is in modern Turkish.


A brief review of the book, Mi'yar al-ikhtiyar by Ibn al-Khatib. In this review there are notes about the printer, Ahmad Yuni.

* al-Miswari, Muhammad ibn Ahmad. Nawarul. Fez: 'Umar ibn al-Khayyat,
1926.

On Islamic jurisprudence in the Malikiyah Tradition.


Biographical dictionary of Muslim ‘Ulama’ in the Middle East and North Africa.


Historical chronology of the Muslim world. It should be used with care.


On the history of Arabic script and calligraphy.


On the utility and benefits of printing technology. This introduction is unnumbered.


On the miracle of saints and Sufis in Islamic history.


On Moroccan script and the rules of scriptwriting.


Includes references to North Africa.


On the history of Morocco by the 19th century Moroccan historian. Volume 9 covers the period between 1840 and 1890.

Zahrat al-‘afoun min hadith ibn al-Wahaan. Fez: 1895/6-

A collection of essays on Islamic studies, scholarship and religion.


On Islamic jurisprudence.


Travel book to Mecca and Madinah for the pilgrimage.


A study about the Ottoman’s first manager of printing, Ibrahim Muteferrika, along with the text of his essay, Risale-i Jelaliyye in which he criticized Christianity and the Pope.


Text of the essay is in Italian. An English summary is provided, along with sample pages from the copy of the Koran under study.


Catalogue of Turkish books in Ottoman script.


Pitcher, Donald E. An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire from the Earliest Times to the End of the Sixteenth Century; with Detailed Maps to Illustrate the Expansion of the Sultanate. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972.


Biography of Malikiyah 'Ulama' up to the 12th century.


On Moroccan history and biography of its leaders.

Qissat al-qadi wa al-sarig. Fez, [1920?]

A tale.


On inheritance laws according to the Malikiyah tradition.


On the art of scribeship and penmanship, with accounts of the author in Morocco as a scribe during the 19th century. In my possession is a microfilm of the original which is housed at al-Khizanah al-'Arabiyyah Library, Rabat.


This is the introductory portion of the author's book, "Miliyat kutub" listed above.


al-Rumo, Muhammad ibn Abd al-Salam. "Sadith ma'a al-Tayyib al-Azraq."

A one-page unpublished report about the early days of printing in Morocco, based on a conversation with al-Tayyib al-Azraq, Morocco's first native printer. In my possession is a copy of the original which is in the private library of the author's grandchildren in Rabat.


A very useful book about the history of printing in the Arab world, but it should be used with care and verification of sources.


An essay about printing illustrations and pictures in Egypt.

It should be used with care in regard to its technical information about lithographic printing.


A collection of Fatwas (religious opinions) in the Malikiyah Tradition. Compiled by the author i Bitsa Salih who was a student of Itham Malik, the founder of the Malikiyah Tradition.


Dictionary of Arabic imprints up to 1919.


Semefelder, Alois. A Complete Course of Lithography: containing clear and explicit instructions in all the different branches and manner of that art, accompanied by illustrative specimens of drawings. Translated from the original German by Adolf Heinrich Friedrich von. London: Printed for R. Ackermann, 101 Strand, 1819.


Commentary about Khalil ibn Ishaq's Mukhtasar in the Malikiyah Jurisprudence.

Cairo: al-Matba‘ah al-Janubiyyah, 1911.

Bio-bibliographical sketches of 'ulema' and learned from
Mauritania.

* al-Shanqiti, Muhammad. al-Jayyab al-kifil bi-akhbar al-thaqaf. Fez,
1901.

Sufi apologetic work.

al-Sijilmasi, Muhammad ibn Abil-Qasim. Sharh nam al-`amil al-Fasi.
Fez, 1874.

On jurisprudence in the Malikiyah tradition.

Stewart, C.C. *A new source on the book market in Morocco in 1830 and
Islamic scholarship in West Africa.* Hesperis Tamaris XI

al-Subayhi, Ahmad ibn Muhammad. Rasul ashab al-rugiyy al-haqiqi, wa-hiya
risalah ila ahil al-Muhaddib al-Maghtiyah mukhthara‘. al-siyar ra‘am al-

An essay on the origin and causes of progress in science
and education.

al-Sufi, Khalifa‘ ibn Hasan. Jawahir al-ilzili fi namu Mukhtasar

Khalil ibn Ishaq's Mukhtasar rendered into poetry.

fah al-Maghribiyah, no. 2 (1941), pp. 67-72.

An essay about the Maghrib script(s) with examples.


On the Tijaniyah Sufi order.

1960.

Biography of major Sufi figures in Islam.

al-Suni, Muhammad al-Mukhtar. al-Tahliyyat. 3 vols. Casablanca:

Bio-bibliographical dictionary of Moroccan 'Ulama' from the Souse
region in Morocco.
Commentary on Arabic grammar based on Ibn Malik’s Alfiyah.


Religious opinion in regard to Algeria’s cooperation with the French invading forces.


A letter from the Grand Vazir to Binnis the head of the financial department in Pez in regard to sending a student to Egypt to learn printing (dated July, 1866).

---

"Risalah...ila Amin al-Uman’s ‘ala mta’allimin wa-mutadabribin Majhbatah bi-Misr min baynimal tabba’ah." Al-Mathia’iq 2 (1976), pp. 432-433.

A letter from the Grand Vazir to the Head of the financial department in Pez in regard to the expenses of one of the students learning printing in Egypt (dated May, 1868).


"A general history of al-Qarawiyyin."

The Times of Morocco. Edited by B. Meakin. Tangiers, 1884-1893.

An important source of timely news coverage about Moroccan affairs in general. The editors, B. Meakin and his father exhibit a good deal of pro-Moroccan sympathy in regard to the country’s relationships with European countries.


On the enduring good qualities of the Prophet Muhammad. This edition is Morocco’s first printed book.


On the financial system and tax collectors in Morocco. Text in Arabic.


Commentary on Euclid’s Elements.

---


War in Islam.


About the first Hebrew book which is assumed to have been printed in Pez in 1514.


A collection of religious opinions according to the Malikiyyah tradition.


Memoirs and recollections about the nationalist activities of the author during the protectorate era as journalist and as a member of the national movement in Morocco. Included in the previously published essays by the author.

---


293
Memories of the author and a collection of his articles during the French protectorate.


Wustenfeld, F. Die übersetzungen Arabischer Werke in das Lateinische seit dem XI. Jahrhundert. Gottingen: Dietrichsche Verlagshandlung, 1897.

On Arabic texts in Latin translation.


On the Shawiyah revolt against the French and Europeans in and around Casablanca during 1907. Includes some of Muhammad al-Kattani's letters to Moroccans to fight their infidel enemies.


On Jews and the Jewish community and their activities in Istanbul with reference to their installation of a printing machine in the early year of the 16th century.


On Islamic theology, based on al-Ghazzali's Ihya' 'ulum al-Din.
Numerous articles and essays in Arabic on topics such as literature, poetry, criticism, reviews for Arabic newspapers and monthly periodicals like al-Nur, Baghdad, Iraq, 1969; al-AnM, Beirut, Lebanon, 1969; al-Majallah, Cairo, Egypt, 1969; and al-sha'ab, newspaper, Algeria, 1970-72.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Founder and Managing Editor, Mundus Arabicus, 1981 - present.
Contributed extensive bibliographies to each of the four volumes published.

Member, Middle East Librarian's Association, 1973 - present.
Served as vice-president and president.

Reviewer for NEH proposals in the field of Arabic and Islamic topics.

Lecturer on Arab-American literature and the history of printing in Morocco.

Interviewed by newspapers, periodicals and television stations in Argentina, Brazil, Algeria, Tunisia, England and the U.S. (The Arabic Hour in Boston).

Languages: English, Arabic, Ottoman and modern Turkish, some French, Persian and Kurdish.

PERSONAL

Place of Birth: Iraq
Citizenship: U.S.
Marital Status: Married (two children)