

THE FIRST THIRTY YEARS OF ARABIC PRINTING IN EGYPT, 1238-1267 (1822-1851):

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STUDY WITH A CHECKLIST BY TITLE OF ARABIC PRINTED WORKS

PRESENTED BY

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To those who sacrificed the most during the period of my study:

my Parents, my Wife, and my Daughter

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A B S T R A C T

The study of the cultural history of Egypt during the first half of the nineteenth century has, up to now, been hampered by a lack of a complete list of publications printed in Arabic-character. The most complete bibliography for the period covering Muḥammad ^cAlī's reign (1805-1848) lists some 304 publications. The aim of this thesis is to produce as complete a list of works printed in the first three decades of indigenous Arabic printing in Egypt (1822-1851), as is possible, in the hope that it will serve as the basis for a definitive catalogue of Arabic-character printed works for the period. To this end 570 separate works/editions have been established and annotated with reference to the sources in which they are cited.

The thesis is divided into three parts, the first offering a brief account of printing and publishing activities of the period under study, while the second part consists of the bibliography of the 570 works which are known to have appeared in this period. The third part of the thesis contains various tables of statistical information showing the general trends in publication by various criteria, laid out according to language (Arabic, Turkish or Persian), subject matter (philosophy, religion, social sciences, language, pure and applied sciences, literature, or history/geography), and the nature of the work (contemporary writing, translation or classical). Information as to the editions, contents of the works, volumes/parts, pages, price, print-runs (including copies printed and copies sold and/or distributed) are given in as complete a form as possible.

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION

In this study, the titles or descriptions of works are given as found in the source, so that various Latin transcription systems are used depending on the language of the source. However, when the title is given in the Arabic script, it is transliterated according to the system adopted by the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Edinburgh, as described in Dr. M. V. McDonald's Transliteration from Arabic, Encyclopedia of Islam System, Modified and Expanded (Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Edinburgh, 1981), in which Turkish and Persian works are in general transliterated as if they were Arabic, in a way that will allow the reader with a rudimentary knowledge of Turkish and Persian morphology to reconstruct the Arabic characters from the transliteration. However, certain commonly-used Turkish names and institutions are rendered in modern Turkish. There are in addition several rules which differ slightly from the system, which are:

- (1) The Arabic article is to be transliterated as "al-" in all cases, and only to be capitalized as "Al-" at the beginning of a title, e.g. "al-Sharīḥa", "Abū al-Qāsim", "wa-al-Kitāb", "bi-al-Dār", but "li-l-" in the case of assimilation.
- (2) The Arabic words for "son" (ابن and بن) when occurring in names are transliterated as "B." and "Ibn" accordingly, e.g. "Aḥmad B. Muḥammad" and "Ibrāhīm Ibn Adham".
- (3) The following (English) forms are specifically adopted for certain words which are usually found in various forms of transliteration, they are: "Ef." (for afandī), "Pasha" (for Bāshā or Pāshā), "sheikh" (for shaykh), and "Bey" (for Bak or Bag) which may appear only in square-brackets after the transliterated form "Bag" in the title of works, such as "Risālat Salīm Bag [Bey]".

The Arabic scripts and their equivalents in Latin characters are as follows:

Transliterations for Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian			
Arabic Script	Transliterated Arabic	Transliterated Ottoman Turkish	Transliterated Persian
ا	- ¹	- ¹	- ¹
ب	b	b	b
پ	p	p	p
ت	t	t	t
ث	<u>th</u>	<u>th</u>	<u>th</u>
ج	j	j	j
چ	<u>ch</u>	<u>ch</u>	<u>ch</u>
ح	h	h	h
خ	<u>kh</u>	<u>kh</u>	<u>kh</u>
ع	-	<u>kh</u> ^{w2}	<u>kh</u> ^{w2}
د	d	d	d
ذ	<u>dh</u>	<u>dh</u>	<u>dh</u>
ر	r	r	r
ز	z	z	z
ز	<u>zh</u>	<u>zh</u>	<u>zh</u>
س	s	s	s
س	<u>sh</u>	<u>sh</u>	<u>sh</u>
ش	ş	ş	ş
ط	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ
ظ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ
ع	z	z	z
ع	c ₋	c ₋	c ₋
ف	<u>gh</u>	<u>gh</u>	<u>gh</u>
ف	f	f	f
ق	q	q	q
ك	k	k	k
گ	-	g, (y) ³	g
گ	-	g ⁴	g ⁴
گ	-	ñ ⁵	-
ل	l	l	l
م	m	m	m
ن	n	n	n
ه	h	h ⁶	h ⁷
و	w	w	w
ی	y	y	y
ء	, ₋ ⁸	, ₋ ⁸	, ₋ ⁸

- Note 1. An appropriate vowel is given accordingly, e.g. "afandī", "ism", and "ithāf".
- Note 2. Mostly for Persian words, such as "khWaja".
- Note 3. In some Turkish words, it is transliterated as "g" in spite of being pronounced as "y", such as "dagul" and "bag" instead of "dayil" and "bay" respectively.
- Note 4. In Turkish and Persian, e.g. "gāh", "piyādigān", and "gulistān".
- Note 5. In some Turkish words and endings, e.g. "Caskaruñ" and "Kitāblaruñ" etc.
- Note 6. In some Turkish constructions the "h" is not transliterated when acting as a final vowel but rendered as "a", e.g. "maḥrūsa", "kutubkhāna", and "qānūn-nāma" etc., as well as when acting as medial vowel "h" where sometimes also rendered as "a-" with a hyphen, e.g. "kutubkhāna-da".
- Note 7. Not to be transliterated when acting as a silent "h", e.g. "khāna" and "nāma" etc.
- Note 8. Except the initial "hamza" which is transliterated without the sign ",", e.g. "Aḥmad".
- [N.B.] Short and long vowels are generally rendered as "a, u, i", and "ā, ū, ī" respectively, without regard to their different values in Arabic, Turkish or Persian, with diphthongs being rendered as "ay" and "aw" respectively.

NOTES ON TERMS, ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED

Devices and symbols have been specifically adopted in this study in order to facilitate a number of surveys conducted according to various criteria. Many of them will be explained in the text, but some will need explanation at the outset.

The expression "contemporary writing", "translation work", and "classical literature" are used here to denote the nature of publications, and are intended here to translate the Arabic terms "maṭbū^cāt al-ta'līf", "maṭbū^cāt al-tarjama", and "maṭbū^cāt al-turāth" respectively. This kind of classification is termed in this study "work-classification". The terms "Arabic-press" and "Arabic-printing" (i.e. with a hyphen, "-") are used here to denote the Arabic-character press which produced Arabic, Turkish and Persian works. The terms "Arabic press" and "Arabic printing" (without the hyphen) denote printing in Arabic language as distinct from Turkish and Persian.

A system of code-number has been adopted in this study to represent each work listed in the Checklist (Section B, Part II). The code-number, which consists of a basic number and three elements of abbreviations to denote the order of appearance of the work in the Checklist as well as the nature of the work with regard to its language, work-classification and subject (classified according to the Dewey Decimal Classification = DDC), will precede the entry-title of each work. For example, the work Inshā' al-^cAṭṭār is preceded in the

Checklist by the code-number "No.144(A-CW.8)". This indicates that it figures as the 144th work to appear in the Checklist, is written in "Arabic" (A), and is considered a work of "contemporary writing" (CW), and is regarded as a work on the subject of literature which is classified in the DDC under the notation "800" (abbreviated to "8" in the code-number). The abbreviations used in the code-numbers are as follows:

- (1) in respect of language-- "A" = Arabic,
"T" = Turkish,
"P" = Persian, and
"U" = Unknown;
- (2) in respect of work-classification-- "CW" = contemporary writing,
"TW" = translation work, and
"CL" = classical literature;
- (3) in respect of subject-- "0" = "000" (for "Generalities"),
"1" = "100" (for "Philosophy"),
"2" = "200" (for "Religion"),
"3" = "300" (for "Social Sciences"),
"4" = "400" (for "Language"),
"5" = "500" (for "Pure Sciences"),
"6" = "600" (for "Technology"),
"7" = "700" (for "the Arts"),
"8" = "800" (for "Literature"), and
"9" = "900" (for "History" including
geography etc.)

In addition, some symbols have been used in various tables of Part III (not in the Checklist of Part II), they include:

- "*" (asterisk) to indicate works previously published in Istanbul;
- "✱" (asterisk) to indicate works printed/published by the minor official presses other than Būlāq;
- "‡" (dagger) to indicate works which were printed/published at the official presses but at the expense of private individuals, i.e. "maṭbūcāt al-multazimīn" (privately-contracted works);
- "‡" (daggers) to indicate probably privately-contracted works, and
- "‡" (daggers) to indicate works regarded as works printed/published on non-official presses or privately-owned printing-presses.

A B B R E V I A T I O N S O F S O U R C E R E F E R E N C E S

The following list gives the abbreviated forms of the sources used in the study and especially in the Checklist for the citation of source-references. The abbreviations are given in the left-hand column and the corresponding source(s) on the right, where there are also given full bibliographical data of the various volumes/parts, sections etc., together with Roman numerals and lower-case letters which will be used when quoting these sources, thus:

Alex^{MB} = Alexandria, al-Maktaba al-Baladiyya, Fahāris:-

- I. Fihris al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya al-Sharīfa
(1343/1925)
- II. Fihris al-Tārīkh wa-Mulḥaqātuhu (1343/1925).
- III. Fihris al-Jughrāfiyā wa-Mulḥaqātuhu
(1343/1925)
- IV. Fihris al-Adab (1343/1925)
- V. Fihris al-^CUlūm al-^CArabiyya (1344/1926):
 - a. ^CIlm al-Taṣrīf (n.d.)
 - b. Fihris ^CIlm al-Naḥw (n.d.)
 - c. Fihris ^CUlūm al-Balāgha (n.d.)
 - d. Fihris ^CUlūm al-Waḍ^C (1344/1926).
 - e. Fihris Fann al-Rasm wa-al-Imlā' (n.d.)
 - f. Fihris ^CIlm al-Lughā (1344/1926).
 - g. Fihris ^CIlmay al-^CArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī (n.d.)

- VI. Fihris al-Tārīkh al-Ṭabī^cī (1344/1926).
- VII. Fihris al-Muṣannafāt al-Ijtimā^cīyya
wa-al-Iqtisādiyya wa-al-Siyāsiyya
(wa-Naḥwiha) (1344/1926).
- VIII. Fihris Kutub Uṣūl al-Sharī^ca al-Islāmiyya:
- a. Al-Qur'ān al-Sharīf (n.d.)
- b. Fihris ^cIlm al-Qirā'āt wa-al-Tajwīd
wa-Rasm al-Muṣḥaf al-Sharīf (1344/1926).
- c. Fihris ^cIlm Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Sharīf
wa-Mulḥaqātuhu (n.d.)
- d. Fihris ^cIlm Muṣṭalaḥ al-Ḥadīth (1344/1926).
- e. Fihris al-Ḥadīth al-Nabawī al-Sharīf
(1344/1926).
- f. Fihris Kutub Furū^c al-Sharī^ca al-Islāmiyya
(wa-yataḍammanu) ^cIlm Uṣūl al-Fiqh --
al-Madhāhib al-Arba^ca-- ^cIlm al-Farā'id
(1345/1926).
- g. Fihris Fiqh al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa (1345/1926).
- h. Fihris Madhhab al-Imām Mālik (1345/1926).
- i. Fihris Fiqh al-Imām al-Shāfi^cī (1345/1926).
- j. Fihris Fiqh al-Imām Aḥmad B. Ḥanbal
(1345/1926)
- k. Fihris ^cIlm Farā'id al-Madhāhib al-Arba^ca
(1345/1926).
- IX. Fihris al-Qiṣaṣ wa-al-Riwāyāt (1345/1926).

- X. Fihris al-Ālihiyya:-
- a. Fihris ^CIlm al-Tawhīd (1345/1927).
 - b. Fihris ^CIlm al-Taṣawwuf (1345/1927).
 - c. Fihris al-Fawā'id wa-al-Ad^Ciya (1346/1928).
 - d. Fihris al-Ḥurūf wa-al-Asmā' (1346/1928).
 - e. Fihris Kutub al-Firaq al-Islāmiyya
(1346/1928).
 - f. Fihris (al-Adyān wa-al-Mu^Ctaqadāt)
(1346/1928).
 - g. Fihris al-Falsafiyya wa-mā yajrī Majrāhā:-
 - i. Fihris ^CIlm al-Mantiq (1346/1927).
 - ii. Fihris al-Ḥikma wa-al-Falsafa
(1345/1927).
 - iii. Fihris ^CIlm al-Mawā^Ciz wa-al-Akhlāq
(1345/1927).
 - iv. Fihris ^CIlm Ādāb al-Baḥṭh
wa-al-Munāzara (1346/1927).
 - v. Fihris al-Tarbiya wa-al-Ta^Clīm
(1346/1927).
- XI. Fihris ^CIlm al-Ṭibb al-Insānī wa-al-Bayṭarī
wa-al-Tashrīḥ wa-al-Fīsiyūlūjiyā
(1346/1927).
- XII. Fihris ^CIlm al-Kīmiyā' wa-al-Ṭabī^Ca (1346/1928).
- XIII. Fihris ^CIlm al-Zirā^Ca (1346/1928).

XIV. Fihris al-^CUlūm al-Riyāḍiyya: wa-yashtamilu

^Calā ^CIlm "al-Ḥisāb bi-Furū^Cihi", wa "al-Jabr
wa-al-Muqābala", wa "al-Handasa bi-Furū^Cihā"
wa "al-Hay'a wa-al-Falak", wa "al-Mīqāt
wa-al-Taqwīm", wa "al-Mūsīqā", wa "al-Funūn
wa-al-Ṣinā^Cāt wa-ma^Cahā Fann al-Taṣwīr", wa
"al-Funūn al-Ḥarbiyya wa-al-Istiḥkāmāt
wa-A^Cmāl al-Furūsiyya, wa-ma^Cahā al-Al^Cāb
al-Riyāḍiyya", wa-fī Ākhirihā Mulḥaq
bi-Fihris "al-Jiyūlūjiyā wa-al-Ṭībūghrafiyā"

(1346/1928):-

- a. Fihris ^CIlm al-Ḥisāb bi-Furū^Cihi.
- b. Fihris ^CIlm al-Jabr wa-al-Muqābala.
- c. Fihris ^CIlm al-Handasa bi-Furū^Cihā.
- d. Fihris ^CIlm al-Hay'a wa-al-Falak
wa-Mulḥaqātuhumā.
- e. Fihris ^CIlm al-Mīqāt wa-al-Taqwīm.
- f. Fihris ^CIlm al-Mūsīqā wa-al-Alḥān.
- g. Fihris al-Funūn wa-al-Ṣinā^Cāt wa-ma^Cahā
(Fann al-Taṣwīr wa-al-Mīkānīkā).
- h. Fihris al-Funūn al-Ḥarbiyya wa-al-
Istiḥkāmāt wa-A^Cmāl al-Furūsiyya
wa-ma^Cahā (al-Al^Cāb al-Riyāḍiyya).
- i. Mulḥaq bi-Fihris (al-Riyāḍiyyāt).

XV. Fihris al-Qawānīn wa-al-Sharā'i^C (1346/1928).

XVI. Fihris A^Cmāl al-Ḥukūma al-Miṣriyya wa-mā
yata^Callaqu bi-hā (1346/1928).

XVII. Fihris "al-Funūn al-Munawwa^Ca" (1347/1928).

- Bianchi^{CG} = Bianchi, "Catalogue General des livres arabes ... etc."
- BM = British Museum
- BM(^{CAB}) = British Museum, Catalogue of Arabic Books:-
- I. Catalogue of Arabic Books ... etc.
(London, 1894).
- II. Catalogue of Arabic Books (London, 1901).
- s.I. Supplementary Catalogue of Arabic Books
(London, 1926).
- s.II. Second Supplementary Catalogue of Arabic Books
(London, 1959).
- BM(^{CPB}) = British Museum, A Catalogue of Persian Printed Books.
- BN = Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Catalogue Général.
- Bowring^{RE} = Bowring, Report on Egypt and Candia.
- Browne^{HTB} = Browne, A Hand-list, ..., of the Turkish ... Books.
- Būlāq^{IF} = Būlāq, Ishbū Fihrist Maḥrūsa-i Miṣrda.
- Būlāq^{MK} = Būlāq, Maḥrūsada Kā'in Kitābkhāna-i ^CĀmirada.
- Cairo^{DKM} = Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Fihris al-Kutub al-^CArabiyya:-
- II. Fihris al-Kutub al-^CArabiyya al-Mawjūda
bi-al-Dār li-Gḥāyat Shahr Sibtamir (Sept.)
1925 wa-Mulḥaq bi-al-Kutub al-^CArabiyya
al-Wārīda li-al-Dār li-Gḥāyat Māyū (May)
Sanat 1926, 1st edn. (Cairo, 1345/1926).
- III. Fihris al-Kutub al-^CArabiyya al-Mawjūda
bi-al-Dār li-Gḥāyat Ākḥir Shahr Māyū. (May)
Sanat 1926, 1st edn. (Cairo, 1345/1927).

- IV. Fihris al-Kutub al-^cArabiyya al-Mawjūda
bi-al-Dār li-Ghāyat Shahr Dīsambir (Dec.)
Sanat 1928, 1st edn. (Cairo, 1348/1929).
- V. Fihris al-Kutub al-^cArabiyya al-Mawjūda
bi-al-Dār li-Ghāyat Shahr Dīsambir (Dec.)
Sanat 1928, 1st edn. (Cairo, 1348/1930).
- VI. Fihris al-Kutub al-^cArabiyya al-Mawjūda
bi-al-Dār li-Ghāyat Sanat 1932, 1st edn.
(Cairo, 1350/1933).

CairoFKA = Cairo, al-Kutubkhāna al-Khidīwiyya al-Miṣriyya:-

- I. Fihrist al-Kutub al-^cArabiyya al-Mahfūza
bi-al-Kutubkhāna al-Khidīwiyya, 1st edn.
(Cairo, 1301/1883-84).
- I. -----, 2nd edn. (Cairo, 1311/1893).
- II. Fihrist al-Kutub al-^cArabiyya al-Mahfūza ...
etc., 1st edn. (Cairo, 1305/1887-88).
- III. -----, 1st edn. (Cairo, 1306/1889).
- IV. -----, 1st edn. (Cairo, 1307/1890).
- V. -----, 1st edn. (Cairo, 1308/1890).
- VI. -----, 1st edn. (Cairo, 1308/1891).
- VII. -----, 1st edn. (Cairo, 1309/1891).

CairoFKT = Cairo, al-Kutubkhāna al-Khidīwiyya al-Miṣriyya,
Fihris al-Kutub al-Turkiyya.

DornCO = Dorn, "Catalogue des ouvrages arabes".

EdinDC = Edinburgh University Library, A Descriptive Catalogue.

EI₁ = Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st ed.

EI₂ = -----, New ed.

- Emin, Modern Turkey = A. Emin, The Development of Modern Turkey.
- GAL = Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur:-
- I. 1 Band (Weimar, 1898)
 - II. 2 Band (Berlin, 1902)
 - s.I. 1 Supplementband (Leiden, 1937)
 - s.II. 2 Supplementband (Leiden, 1938)
 - s.III. 3 Supplementband (Leiden, 1942)
 - z.I. Zweite den Supplementbanden angepasste Auflage
Erster Band (Leiden, 1943)
 - z.II. -----, Zweiter Band (Leiden, 1949)
- Geiss, "Imprimerie de Boulac" = Geiss, "Histoire de l'imprimerie en Égypte, 2 ième partie".
- GibbHOP = Gibb, History of Ottoman Poetry.
- HammerGOR = Hammer-Purgstall, Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches.
- Heyworth-Dunne, Education = J. Heyworth-Dunne, An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt.
- Heyworth-Dunne, "Printing and Translations" = J. Heyworth-Dunne, "Printing and Translations under Muḥammad ^cAlī of Egypt
- IA = İslâm Ansiklopedisi.
- IbrahimLES = Ibrahim-Hilmy, The Literature of Egypt and the Sudan.
- Iskārūs, "Tārīkh al-Ṭibā^ca" = T. Iskārūs, "Tārīkh al-Ṭibā^ca fī Wādī al-Nīl".
- IstBK = İstanbul, Belediye Kütüphanesi, Alfabetik Kataloğu.
- IstUKA = İstanbul, Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Arapça Basmalar.
- IstUKF = İstanbul, Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Farsça Basmalar.
- IstUKT = İstanbul, Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Türkçe Basmalar.

- KZ = Hājjī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn.
- KZ₂ = Ismā^cīl B. M. A. al-Baghdadi, Īdāh al-Maknūn fī al-Dhayl ^calā Kashf al-Zunūn.
- Lewis, Emergence = B. Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey.
- Lewis, Muslim Discovery = B. Lewis, The Muslim Discovery of Europe.
- LondIO = London, Indian Office, Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts.
- MédemNL = Médem, "Notes des livres".
- ÖzegeTEK = Özege, Eski Harflerle Basılmış Türkçe Eserler Kataloğu.
- ReinaudNO = Reinaud, "Notice des ouvrages arabes".
- RiḍwānQMB = Riḍwān, "Qā'ima bi-Maṭbū^cāt Būlāq".
- RiḍwānTMB = Riḍwān, Tārīkh Maṭba^cat Būlāq.
- RieuCTM = Rieu, Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts.
- St. John, Egypt = J. A. St. John, Egypt, and Mohammed Ali.
- ŞābātTṬ = Şābāt, Tārīkh al-Ṭibā^ca.
- SāmīTN = Sāmī, Taqwīm al-Nīl.
- SarkīsMMA = Sarkīs, Mu^cjam al-Maṭbū^cāt al-^cArabiyya.
- ShaṭṭīFAMT = al-Shaṭṭī, "Fihris bi-Asmā' al-Maṭbū^cāt al-Ṭibbiyya".
- Shaw, Ottoman Empire = S. Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire.
- ShayyālQK = al-Shayyāl, "Qā'ima bi-al-Kutub ... etc."
- ShayyālTT = al-Shayyāl, Tārīkh al-Tarjama.
- ShukrīBDM = Shukrī, Binā' Dawlat Mişr.
- ShurbajīQAM = al-Shurbajī, Qā'ima bi-Awā'il al-Maṭbū^cāt.
- ṬāhirOM = Ṭāhir, ^cOşmanlı Mü'ellifleri.
- TājirḤT = Tājir, Ḥarakat al-Tarjama.
- TDEA = Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi.

ṬūsūnBI = Ṭūsūn, Al-Ba^cthāt al-^cIlmiyya.

VanDyckIQ = Van Dyck, Kitāb Iktifā' al-Qunū^c.

VéfykCBV = Véfyk, Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Feu Ahmed Véfyk.

WingateCMB = Wingate, Catalogue of Maps and Books.

Zaydān, Tārīkh Adāb = J. Zaydān, Tārīkh Adāb al-Lugha al-^cArabiyya.

ZenkerBO = Zenker, Bibliotheca Orientalis.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

It was under the rule of Muḥammad ^cAlī (1805-1848) that Egypt entered upon a programme of reforms which affected the military, educational, industrial, and economic life of the country and eventually transformed it from a tributary province of the Ottoman state to a Mediterranean power which was able to challenge the authority of Istanbul. The printing press was one of the key instruments in the implementation of the reforming programmes, and was actively fostered and promoted for the publication of many books on military, scientific and technical subjects, as well as many others on subjects which might be described as useful to the development and modernization of the country. The printing and publishing enterprise promoted by him attracted interest among his contemporaries and later scholars, who have produced some works of merit. Amongst these works the most noteworthy are several lists of publications given by some contemporaries, such as J. T. Reinaud (1831), Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1832), Count Médem (c. 1837), John Bowring (c. 1837), and T. X. Bianchi (1842), and some studies which deal with various aspects of the printing/publishing activities of the time.¹

1) See Richard N. Verdery, "The Publications of the Būlāq Press under Muḥammad ^cAlī of Egypt", Journal of American Oriental Society, 91 (1971), pp. 129-32. Cf. below, p. xxvi; also various works in the Bibliography.

Despite these useful works and several reference works on Arabic printed books, there has, so far, been no attempt at a complete and systematic review of the publications produced in the reign of Muḥammad ^CAlī, let alone the whole of the 19th century. We still have no comprehensive understanding of the range of activities in the field of book-production during this period, and our knowledge of early Egyptian publications still remains very much the same as it was in 1842 when Bianchi made the greatest contribution with his list of 243 publications produced in Egypt between 1822 and 1842. It is on this list that most later studies and works are based, often with very little addition. What is worse is that many bibliographical inaccuracies seem to have been introduced into not a few of the works and bibliographies written since Bianchi's time.

At present there is no national bibliography of 19th-century Egyptian publications which can offer a complete or a nearly-complete list of publications. Thus the present state of research into Egyptian bibliography of this period cannot compare, in wealth of detail or in accuracy of information, with several recently-compiled bibliographies of modern works produced by bibliographers for the Egyptian publications of this century.¹ However, the existence of

1) Works such as ^CĀyida Ibrāhīm Nuṣayr, Al-Kutub al-^CArabiyya allatī nushirat fī al-Jumhuriyya al-^CArabiyya al-Muttaḥida (Miṣr) bayna ^CĀmay 1926/1940 (Cairo, 1969) and Aḥmad M. Manṣūr, Dalīl al-Maṭbū^Cāt al-Miṣriyya, 1940-1956 (Cairo, 1975), both were intended to supplement Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkīs's Mu^Cjam al-Maṭbū^Cāt al-^CArabiyya wa-al-Mu^Carraba ... etc., 2 vols. (Cairo, 1928).

many contemporary and later bibliographical lists, studies of various kinds in specific fields and published catalogues of printed books have made the possibility of a bibliography of early Egyptian publications more realistic. With the availability of several previously unexploited lists of publications, issued by the Egyptian government between 1260/1844-45 and 1266/1849-50, it has been possible to discover much more detailed information on the activities of book-production as regards prices and in particular the number of copies printed/consumed (i.e. distributed and/or sold) of many works which are given in these officially-issued lists of publications.¹

The aim of this thesis is to compile, from every kind of available source and material, a preliminary list of early Egyptian publications produced from 1822 to the mid-19th century, or more precisely during the period 1238-1267 (1822-1851), a span of thirty years of Arabic-printing in Egypt, of which all but the last two or three years were carried out during the reign of Muḥammad ^cAlī. As a result of this research, a bibliography of 570 works, or more precisely 472 works in 570 editions, has been established from a number of the more important and reliable sources. The need for such a bibliography can be particularly perceived from the following comparative table showing the works/editions mentioned in some more important sources and studies.

1) There are three lists which are known to have been published (see works Nos.151, 224, and 098 listed below). However, only two of them were available; they have been abbreviated as "Būlāq^{IF}" and "Būlāq^{MK}" respectively.

Source of Origin	Arabic	Turkish	Persian	Unknown	Total ^a
<u>Literary Sources:-</u>					
1. Reinaud <u>NO</u> (1831) ..	19	27	2	-	48 (55)
2. Hammer <u>GOR</u> (1832) ...	18	33	1	-	54 (56)
3. Médem <u>NL</u> (1837)	21	38	2	1	62 (76)
4. Bowring <u>RE</u> (1837) ...	32	50	2	1	85 (95)
5. Bianchi <u>CG</u> (1842) ...	103	124	6	-	233 (243)
6. Būlāq <u>IF</u> (1845)	73	54	2	2	131 (142)
7. Būlāq <u>MK</u> (1846)	123	124	4	27	278 (289)
8. Zenker <u>BO</u> (1862)	103	125	6	-	234
9. VanDyck <u>IQ</u> (1869) ...	85	6	-	-	91
10. Sarkis <u>MMA</u> (1928) ...	170	6	-	-	176
11. <u>GAL</u> (1949)	80	13	-	-	93
12. <u>ShayyālQK</u> (1951) ...	101	64	-	-	165 (191)
13. <u>RiḍwānQMB/TMB</u> (1953)	109	130	6	14	259
14. Özege <u>TEK</u> (1982)	4	122	1	-	127
<u>Bibliog. Sources:-</u>					
15. Alex <u>MB</u>	64	41	2	-	107
16. <u>BM</u>	117	54	7	-	178
17. Cairo (Dār al-Kutub)	134	162	8	-	304 ^b
18. Dorn <u>CO</u>	66	66	5	1	138 (147)
19. Ist <u>BK</u>	7	19	7	-	33
20. Ist <u>UK</u>	38	16	1	-	55
<u>TOTAL</u> (in this study)	255	259	14	42	570

a) Owing to the principles and methods adopted in this study,

These 570 works, as compared with a maximum 304 works in any previous individual source of importance, will undoubtedly provide us with a better basis for the understanding of various aspects of early printing and publishing activities which took place under Muḥammad ^cAlī. Based on this bibliography, a study of the printing/publishing activities of the period under discussion is given in the first part of the thesis. This part of the thesis consists of five chapters, of which chapter 1 is a brief resume of the history of Arabic-printing prior to its development under Muḥammad ^cAlī, chapter 2 deals with the printing/publishing activities of the official presses of Muḥammad ^cAlī, while chapter 3 deals with that of unofficial printing presses during his reign. Chapter 4 surveys,

the number of works listed here may differ from that given in the source of origin. The figure in each column represents that listed in this study. However, the original number of works mentioned in every source is given, if different, in brackets in the total (i.e. the sixth column).

- b) Apart from several catalogues of Dār al-Kutub (mainly CairoFKA, CairoFKT, and CairoDKM), there were also published two works on the collection of printed books which are preserved in that library, i.e. ShurbajīQAM and Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Qawmiyya, Fihris al-Maṭbū^cāt al-Turkiyya al-^cUṭhmāniyya allatī Iqtanathā Dār al-Kutub al-Qawmiyya mundhu Inshā'ihā ^cĀmm 1870 ḥattā Nihāyat ^cĀmm 1969, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1982), of which the latter was not made available until very recently and has not been used in this study. However, in the former there were mentioned 141 Arabic works and 9 Turkish with a total of 150 works/editions.

chronologically and categorically, the general trend in publishing of the period under study, and chapter 5 offers an assessment of Muḥammad ^CAlī's contribution to Arabic printing and publishing by way of conclusion.

The 570 works/editions produced in Egypt during the period under study is listed in part II (Section B) of this thesis, and particular care has been taken to identify correctly each work which appears in the listing, in which they are arranged according to the alphabetical order of titles. The listing of these works/editions is in particular compiled in a way to serve as a kind of checklist for the printed literature of the period, and this bibliography of 570 works will be hereafter referred to as "the Checklist" or sometimes simply only as "the List". Part II of the thesis also includes a section of "Notes on the compilation and uses of the Checklist" (i.e. in Section A), and a listing of works unidentified and not listed in the Checklist (i.e. Section C). Part III of the thesis contains various tables of statistical information laid out according to various criteria. It is hoped that these tables will offer the reader a more general and comprehensive overview of the trend in publishing at a glance.

PART I

THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT
OF ARABIC PRINTING UNDER
MUHAMMAD CALI OF EGYPT (1805-1848)

CHAPTER 1

A R A B I C P R I N T I N G P R I O R T O T H E
R E I G N O F M U Ḥ A M M A D C A L Ī

The presence of the French in Egypt with their printing establishments at the end of the eighteenth century has been regarded as the early dawn of Egyptian typography, especially with reference to the Arabic printing press. Because of the dramatic nature of Napoleon's invasion of the East, it is tempting to attribute to the foreigner the credit for the introduction of novelties such as printing.¹ As is often the case, the truth is not quite so simple, for, apart from block-printing which can be tentatively dated to as early as the tenth century, printing had been carried on long before the French appeared.² Although we do not know the identity of the first printer and his printing press, we do have evidence that books were produced sporadically in Egypt from the sixteenth century.³ The reason that

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- 1) P. M. Holt., Ann K. S. Lambton and B. Lewis eds., The Cambridge History of Islam (Cambridge, 1970), vol. II, p. 668.
 - 2) Thomas F. Carter, The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward, Rev. by L. C. Goodrich, 2nd ed. (New York, 1955), p. 176.
 - 3) S. H. Steinberg, Five Hundred Years of Printing, 3rd ed., rev. by James Moran (1974; Penguin Books, Reprinted 1977), p. 116.

there is little mention made of books published before the nineteenth century, or more precisely before the French expedition of 1798, is that they made little impact on Egyptian society. By way of introduction to the main concern of the study it would be useful to summarize the printing activities which took place before and had an important influence on the emergence of the Egyptian indigenous Arabic printing during the nineteenth century.

To the Islamic world printing was not new, for the printing press had spread to the Ottoman Empire shortly after its establishment in Europe during the fifteenth century.¹ Even before that, the use of block-printing in the Middle East preceded its use in the West as is attested by the printing of paper money with both Chinese and Arabic texts in 693/1294 at Tabrīz;² and by the discovery in al-Fayyūm (Egypt) of some Chinese-influenced Arabic block-prints which are tentatively dated to between the 10th- and 14th- century.³ This may suggest that block-printing was already in use in the area under Chinese influence probably before it reached the West during the fourteenth century.⁴ Also, the knowledge of book printing was made known to the Middle East at the beginning of the fourteenth century by the well-known Persian historian Rashīd al-Dīn (c. 1247-1318) in his book Jāmi^c al-Tawārīkh which makes mention of the advantages of producing books by the method of printing as practised by the Chinese.⁵

1) Carter, Printing, pp. x, 159.

2) Ibid., pp. 170-71; Lewis, Emergence, p. 50.

3) Carter, Ibid., p. 176.

4) Ibid., 205-7.

5) Ibid., 172-73.

Nevertheless, outside China, printing was applied, in the Middle East until the end of the fifteenth century and in Europe till the later part of the fourteenth century, for the purposes of reproducing religious charms, playing cards and textiles, and had not yet been applied to the printing of books.¹ But the use of block-printing in the making of books was adopted in Europe soon after its arrival, and eventually it gave birth in the 1440s to Gutenberg's (d. 1468) invention, that is, printing with movable type, which was better suited to alphabets, such as Latin, Greek, and Arabic.² Within a few decades of its commercial launching in the 1450s, the spread of typography throughout and beyond Europe, even to the fringes of the then-known world, was phenomenal;³ and towards the end of the century, it began to appear in the Middle East, introduced by non-Muslims who had entered the Ottoman Empire to escape political or religious persecution or merely to avoid monopolies and censorship which applied to printing in Europe.⁴ In the following two centuries, the printing press spread throughout the Empire: Istanbul (1488), Salonica (1513), Fez (1516 or 1521), Adrianople (1544), Belgrade (1552), Cairo (1557), Scutari (1563), Şafad (1577), Damascus (1605), Baghdād (1657) and Smyrna (1657).

However, in the Middle East these printing activities were in the main carried out by "dhimmīs", i.e. the non-Muslim minorities, such as the Jews, Greeks, Armenians, and other Christians. This

1) Carter, Printing, pp. 185-86, 196, 203.

2) Ibid., 202-6.

3) Steinberg, Five Hundred Years of Printing, pp. 42-45.

4) Ibid., pp. 260-72.

restriction of the press to the minorities arose from the objection of certain 'ulamā', i.e. the Muslim scholars, to the use of printing for Arabic-character works, especially of those dealing with Islamic subjects.¹ Therefore, the use of Arabic-typography seems to have remained for some time within Europe, where it began to emerge after the publication in 1514 at Fano (Italy) of Kitāb Ṣalāt al-Sawā'ī, which is regarded as the first book printed with movable type in Arabic letters.² Thereafter it quickly spread to Genoa (1516), London (1524?), Paris (1538), Rome (1556 or 1566), Heidelberg (1583), and proliferated throughout Europe in the following two centuries.³ The real beginning of Arabic-presses in the Ottoman Empire only came when the official ban on the operation of Arabic-presses by Muslims was lifted in 1727 in an attempt to encourage the spread of knowledge among the Ottomans themselves.⁴ But before the first Muslim-operated Arabic-press was set up in the Empire in 1727, there had previously been certain ventures for the printing of Arabic works either in Hebrew characters, or with Karshūnī type (i.e. Arabic written in Syriac characters), or even in Arabic type, which seems to have begun to appear from the beginning of the eighteenth century after the setting up of an Arabic press in 1706 at Aleppo by the Patriarch of Antioch Athanasios Dabbās (1685-1724).⁵

1) Lewis, Emergence, p.50.

2) M. Krek, A Gazetteer of Arabic Printing (Weston, MA, published by the author, 1977), pp. 30, 133.

3) Ibid., pp. 133-34.

4) Shaw, Ottoman Empire, vol. I, pp. 235-7.

5) RidwānTMB, pp. 9-12. This press may be regarded as the first

The change in the Ottoman attitude towards the use of printing coincided with the intellectual awakening in the era known as the "Lâle Devri", or the "Tulip Period" (1718-1730) which took place during the reign of Sultan Ahmet III (1703-1730). In this period, tentative reforms were undertaken by the Grand Vezir Nevşehirli Damat Ibrahim Pasha (1717-1730). During his vizierate, he began to send Ottoman ambassadors abroad for the first time to establish regular contact with the West in the belief that knowledge of Europe was important; he instructed them to inform him of European diplomacy, military power, conditions of society and their scientific advances, in reports which became known in Turkish as the "sefaretnâmes" (embassy-reports).¹ Among these reports, the most interesting is that of Yirmisekiz Çelebi-zâde Mehmet Efendi who went to Paris in 1720-21 as Ottoman Ambassador to the court of King Louis XV. After noting the wide use of printing there, he was said to be intent on establishing a press on his return to Istanbul. However, this task was taken up by his son Mehmet Sait who accompanied his father on the mission and shared with him the same enthusiasm for making use of printing.²

Arabic press to appear in the Middle East. However, Emin (Modern Turkey, p. 20) mentions that "during the reign of Murad III (1574-1595) permission was given to a foreigner to import a press to Turkey and to print Turkish books", by quoting the reference made by Muştafâ Pasha (Natâ'ij al-Wuqū'ât, 2nd ed., Istanbul, 1911, pt. III, p. 110).

- 1) Shaw, Ottoman Empire, vol. I, p. 233; Lewis, Muslim Discovery, pp. 113-16.
- 2) N. Berkes, The Development of Secularism in Turkey (Montreal, 1964), pp. 33-34; Lewis, Emergence, p. 50.

Under Mehmet Sait's efforts, a Hungarian renegade, Ibrahim Müteferrika (1674-1754), with kindred interests and certain printing experience, was encouraged by the former to submit, in 1726, to the Sublime Porte, a plan for setting up an Arabic-press.¹ In a treatise on the usefulness of printing, Wasīlat al-Ṭibāʿa, written in 1726 and submitted together with the afore-mentioned plan, Ibrahim Müteferrika emphasized the particular benefit of printing to Islam in facilitating the revival of learning among Muslims with cheap printed books, and further urged that printing should not only be allowed but should even have the support of the Ottoman state.² Through the good offices of the Grand Vezir, Damat Ibrahim Pasha, the Shaykh al-Islām Abdullah Efendi was persuaded to issue in 1727 a fatwā allowing the printing of works in Arabic scripts, but on condition that neither the Qur'ān nor the religious literature of Islam would be printed. On 5th July 1727, Sultan Ahmet III also issued a firman to the same effect.³

As a result, Ibrahim Müteferrika set up a press in his house first by availing himself of the printing facilities of the local printers, and later on by importing material from Europe.⁴ This press under the personal direction of Müteferrika published its first book, the Van Kulu dictionary, in February 1729, and produced a total of seventeen works (in 23 volumes) in the two separate periods of operation, 1729-1734 and 1740-1742 in which thirteen and four works

1) Berkes, Development, p. 39; Lewis, Emergence, pp. 50-51.

2) William J. Watson, "İbrāhīm Müteferrika and Turkish Incunabula", JAOS, 88 (1968), p. 436; Berkes, Development, pp. 39-40.

3) Berkes, Ibid., p. 40; Lewis, Emergence, p. 51.

4) Lewis, Ibid., p. 51; Shaw, Ottoman Empire, vol. I, p. 236.

were produced respectively.¹ These publications include eleven works on the subject of history and geography, three on useful sciences, and two on language. The main aim of publishing these works was, in fact, reflected in Müteferrika's own work, Uşûl al-Ḥikam fî Niẓām al-Umam, published in January 1732 and dedicated to the new Sultan Mehmet I (1730-54), in which he argued that the Ottomans could survive only if they borrowed not only the military sciences but also the geographic knowledge and governmental techniques developed in the modern world.²

Under the influence of Müteferrika's advocacy of reforms, the new Sultan Mehmet I continued to support various literary activities and the Müteferrika press, after the Tulip Period had ended in the Patrona Revolt (28th September 1730).³ His reign also witnessed the establishment of the first Ottoman paper factory at Yalova to meet the needs of the intellectual awakening of the time,⁴ and the introduction of a European adviser Claude-Alexandre Comte de Bonneval (1675-1747), the first of many technical experts to come in the next two centuries.⁵ A military engineering school known as the "Hendesehane", the first of its kind, was also established at Scutari in 1734 by Bonneval.⁶ However, owing to the strong opposition from

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- 1) In 1756, the press reprinted the first publication; see J. K. Birge, "The Printing of Books in Turkey in the Eighteenth Century", MW 33 (1943), pp. 293-94. Watson, "Müteferrika", pp. 435-36.
 - 2) Berkes, Development, pp. 41-42.
 - 3) Ibid., pp. 42-45; Shaw, Ottoman Empire, vol. I, pp. 242, 240.
 - 4) Shaw, Ibid., vol. I, p. 242.
 - 5) Shaw, Ibid., vol. I, pp. 240-41; Berkes, Development, p. 48.
 - 6) Shaw, Ibid., vol. I, p. 241.

reactionaries, such as the conservative 'ulamā', scribes, and the Janissary corps, whose interests were threatened by innovation, the printing press ceased to publish from 1743 and after the death of its founder Ibrahim Müteferrika in 1745, it fell into disuse for almost four decades (1743-1782);¹ similarly, the "Hendesehane" was also forced to close down in 1750.² Thus the first wave of Ottoman modernization was short-lived.

Because of its impact, Müteferrika's press is still regarded by many as the first Muslim printing-press set up in the Middle East, and more justifiably as the most outstanding legacy of the Tulip Period.³ This period also witnessed an increased patronage of traditional literature, such as that of the court-poets and the translation of both the great Arabic and Persian works, and, most importantly, a new and tentative interest in Western writings on history, geography, astronomy etc.⁴ Although the movement of awakening suffered a setback in the ensuing decades, the reforming spirit was kept alive by certain groups so that it might be rekindled at any possible opportunity. This opportunity was to present itself when the Ottoman Empire was defeated in the war with Russia which culminated in the disastrous Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (21st July 1774). The need for reform was strongly felt once more under the new Sultan Abdulhamit I (1774-1789).⁵

1) Lewis, Emergence, p. 50.

2) Lewis, Emergence, p. 48.

3) Ibid., pp. 50-51; Shaw, Ottoman Empire, vol. I, p. 238.

4) Berkes, Development, pp. 26-27; Lewis, Ibid., p. 48.

5) Shaw, Ottoman Empire, vol. I, pp. 250-51.

As soon as Abdulhamit came to the throne, a new mathematical school (Hendesehane) was established in 1774 by Baron Francois de Tott (1730-1793) at Kâğıthane and developed by Gazi Hasan Pasha (d. 1790), Grand Admiral and Grand Vezir, into the "Mühendishane-i Bahri-yi Hümayun" (Naval Engineering School).¹ In addition, large numbers of foreign military advisers began to be brought in to inaugurate a new style of reform that was to dominate the nineteenth century. Later in 1783, Mütferrika's press was recommissioned and funded by the state for publications, such as the official chronicles, Tārīkh-i Sāmī wa Shākir wa Subhī (1198/1784),² and Tārīkh-i 'Izzī (1199/1785).³ Despite Abdulhamit's sudden death, the programme of reforms was not only continued but also expanded by the succeeding sultan, Selim III (1792-1807), with the setting up of other technical schools, such as the "Mühendishane-i Berri-yi Hümayun" (Land Engineering School, 1795),⁴ and especially by inaugurating, from 1792 onwards, new military forces known as the "Nizam-i Cedit" or "New Order".⁵

The new army was trained and commanded by foreign officers on European lines, in order to supplement the traditional forces, the janissary and the sipahis, and its officers were taught in the military institutes and technical schools newly established for the

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- 1) Berkes, Development, p. 58; Shaw, Ottoman Empire, vol. I, p. 252.
 - 2) ZenkerBO, vol. I, pp. 113-4.
 - 3) Ibid., vol. I, p. 114.
 - 4) Berkes, Development, pp. 59-60, 75.
 - 5) Ibid., p. 72; Lewis, Emergence, p. 58.

instruction of the sciences and techniques of the West. In these schools, emphasis was placed inevitably on making Turkish translations of western works on subjects, such as military sciences, mathematics, and medicine.¹ These translations were used thereafter as classroom text-books, such as "Ussul-ul maarif fi terkibil ordu we tahsinihi" (1201/1786),² "Ussul-ul maarif fi wedschih tassfifi sefaini donanma we fenni tedbiri herekiatiha" (1787),³ Majmū^cat al-Muhandisīn (1217/1802),⁴ and Uşūl-i Handasa (1801).⁵

Apart from these translations which were intended to serve the Ottoman state on its path to modernization, there were also published some Arabic and Turkish linguistic and even religious works of traditional literature, such as I^crāb al-Kāfiyya li-Zaynī-zāda (1786),⁶ Tuḥfa-i Wahbī (1213/1798),⁷ Risāla-i Birkawī (1218/1802),⁸ and Jawhariyya-i Bahiyya-i Aḥmadiyya fī Sharḥ al-Waṣiyya al-Muḥammadiyya (1219/1803).⁹ These works of linguistics and religion were aimed at

1) Shaw, Ottoman Empire, vol. I, pp. 263-4.

2) Zenker^{BO}, vol. I, p. 135.

3) Ibid.

4) Ibid., vol. I, p. 136.

5) Ibid.

6) Ibid., vol. I, p. 18.

7) Ibid., vol. I, p. 7.

8) Ibid., vol. I, p. 180.

9) Ibid. Some of these translations and linguistic and religious works were later reprinted by the Būlāq press set up by Muḥammad ^cAlī in 1822; cf. Zenker, op. cit.; also below the asterisked "*" works in Tables 1-31 (pp.560-612).

serving the Muslim community in order to revive learning amongst Muslims. In the ensuing decades following the resumption of printing in the mid-1780s, printed works of various kinds poured forth, and gradually increased in a steady stream from the beginning of the nineteenth century as Arabic-presses were set up inside and outside Istanbul: Scutari (1803), Bülāq (1822), Baghdād (1830), Algiers (1832), Beirut (1834), and Fez (1845). This can be in particular perceived in the number of Turkish works printed/published in the Empire by the mid-19th century which is given as follows:

- (1) 1728-56: 18 works;
- (2) 1784-99: 15 works;
- (3) 1800-09: 37 works;
- (4) 1810-19: 28 works;
- (5) 1820-29: 86 works;
- (6) 1830-39: 252 works;
- (7) 1840-49: 406 works.¹

Thus, the resumption of Müteferrika's press in 1784/1198-1199, on the eve of the thirteenth Muslim century, in fact inaugurated the history of the Muslim-operated Arabic-presses as a continuous phenomenon in the Middle East. This can be seen not only as a turning point in the history of Muslim printing presses in the area, but also as the beginning of publishing books, under the auspices of the government, for the benefit of the state. As a result, important works and translations of significance began to appear from the beginning of the nineteenth century, such as the medical textbooks of

1) Jale Baysal, Müteferrika'dan Birinci Meşrutiyete Kadar, Osmanlı Türklerinin Bastıkları Kitaplar (Istanbul, 1968), pp. 27-42.

Muḥammad Ef. °Atā° Allāh known as Shānī-zāda (1769-1826), and al-Ḥājj Ishāq Ef. Ḥāfiẓ's (d. 1834) Majmū°a-i °Ulūm-i Riyāḍiyya, a four-volume work of mathematical and physical sciences.¹

However, at the beginning of Mahmut II's reign (1808-39), there was a period of reaction in Istanbul after Sultan Selim III and his programme of reforms had both perished in the reactionary revolts of 1807-8, which held the reforming progress in check until 1826 when Mahmut II was able to eliminate the Janissaries and to reactivate the programme of reforms.² During this period of reaction, the momentum behind printing left Istanbul and devolved especially to Egypt where the press was exploited extensively by Muḥammad °Alī (1769-1849), the Sultan's viceroy in Egypt from 1805-1848. Though the Arabic-press set up by him in 1822 at Būlāq was regarded as the first Muslim press operated in Egypt and outside Turkey, the press and even the Arabic press had already been introduced into that country before him, such as under the occupation of the French expeditionary army (1798-1801), there were several Arabic-presses set up by them in Alexandria and Cairo.

But in Egypt, the earliest known press seems to have been operated by Gershom B. Eliezer Soncino who, belonging to the fourth generation of the famous family of Hebrew printers, printed in 1557, in Cairo, two Jewish works, Refu'ot Ha-talmud and Pitron Halomot, on a press which he had brought from Istanbul, and seems to have been

1) Berkes, Development, pp. 81-82.

2) Lewis, Emergence, pp. 74-80.

engaged in printing in that city between 1557 and 1562.¹ Although there are several references to various works published in Egypt,² we have no further evidence of printing until 1740 when Abraham B. Moses Yatom, also a Jewish printer from Istanbul, founded a printing press in Cairo and printed the first edition of Hok Le-Yisrael.³ Indications that printing was carried out in Egypt before the French may also be deduced from sources which suggest that either Egypt or Cairo was the place of publication of several works, such as Tazyīn al-Aswāq (Egypt, 1179/1765-66),⁴ Confessions, Avec L'Histoire de Ses Voyages ... , et Dans Les Pyramides [sic] D'Égypte (Cairo, 1787),⁵ an Arabic

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- 1) Ency. Judaica, 1972 ed., s.v. "Cairo-- Hebrew Printing in Cairo", vol. V, p. 31; also s.v. "Printing, Hebrew-- Turkey, Egypt, and Palestine", vol. VIII, p. 114, and "Soncino", vol. XV, pp.141-42.
 - 2) In view of some works being given in VéfykCB the wrong date of publication, two works, Nukhba-i Sharḥī and Hāshiyat Sharḥ al-Ṣaghīr mentioned by him (VéfykCB, pp. 7 and 70 respectively) as having been published in Egypt in "1046/1636-37" and "1048/1638-39" respectively should be treated with caution.
 - 3) Ency. Judaica, s.v. "Cairo-- Hebrew Printing in Cairo", vol. V, p. 31.
 - 4) VéfykCB, p. 10; however, owing to many mistakes occurring in that source, the date of publication of this work should be considered suspect, cf. above, p. 13, n. 3.
 - 5) IbrahimLES, vol. I, p. 51.

grammatical compilation Majmūʿa (Būlāq, 1207/1792-93),¹ and Neueste Nachrichten Aus Ägypten, Wien Vom 5th Dec. 1798 (Cairo?, 1798).²

In view of the reference, especially those to the above Arabic works, there seems to be evidence to argue the existence of the Arabic press before the arrival of the French. However, such a possibility should be treated with suspicion, owing to the lack of extant supporting evidence and of the knowledge of any venture in Arabic printing. If we are to entertain the possibility of Arabic books being printed in Egypt at this time, we must also accept that they were probably printed by non-Muslims, especially when we bear in mind that in Egypt as in other parts of the Ottoman Empire, printing before the 19th century is most frequently associated with the non-Muslim minorities. However persuasive the circumstantial evidence for the existence of an Arabic press in Egypt may be, it is generally regarded that the first Arabic press to exploit modern

1) GAL, vol. s.II, p. 657, cited in the following entry:

"... 25. Im ʿān al-anzār fī šarḥ al-Maqṣūd (fi 't-taṣrīf, einem anon. zuweilen dem a. Ḥanīf zugeschriebenen Schulbuch, s. ḤḤ. VI, No. 12803, Kairo, Qawala II, 50/2. gedr. in Mağmūʿa, Būlāq 1207, 1226, 1244, 1260, 1268, 1278, K. 1298/9 ...)". The first two

editions of 1207/1792-93 and of 1226/1811-12 mentioned here

should be treated with extreme caution as no other references to them are given by Brockelmann which would enable us to verify their existence.

2) This work is a proclamation announcing defeats suffered by the French. The British Museum gives the place of publication, with reservation (i.e. a question mark), as Cairo, in spite of Vienna being given on the title. Cf. also IbrahimLES, vol. II, p. 405.

Arabic typography was landed on the soil of the Nile with the French Expedition to Egypt on 1st July 1798.¹

The French invasion has been seen by many as a critical event in the history of Egypt in that it brought about the close of the medieval period and opened the modern era which was to witness many innovations, among them the introduction of the Arabic printing press. In the short span of their three-year occupation (1798-1801), the French left the Egyptians an unprecedented amount of printed literature produced in the country by their three printing presses, which were set up mainly for military and administrative purposes, and came to be known as:

(1) *Imprimerie Orientale et Française*: Within three days of the French arrival in Egypt, the press, under the supervision of Jean Joseph Marcel, was in operation (3rd July 1798) at Alexandria and had begun to print the first Arabic proclamation. This press was known as the "Imprimerie Orientale et Française" and was accommodated in the house of the Venetian Consul. After operating for nearly four months, the press was transferred, by the order of Napoleon, to Cairo at the end of October, but a part of it was still kept in Alexandria and continued to operate until January 1799. This press, equipped with Latin, Greek, and Arabic types, is considered to be the first Arabic press to have operated in Egypt.²

1) *Ṣābāt*TT, p. 19; *Riḍwān*TMB, p. 17.

2) *Riḍwān*TMB, pp. 18-19; S. Boustany, The Press during the French Expedition in Egypt, 1798-1801, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1954), pp. 8-10.

(2) Imprimerie de Marc Aurel: From the middle of August 1798, another press was operating under the French and had produced the first journalistic publication in Egypt, the "Courier de l'Égypte", an official newspaper, on 29th August, 1798.¹ This second press was run by Joseph Marc Emmanuel Aurel, who having been appointed "Imprimeur de l'Armée" on 25th April 1798, had brought with him his own printing plant which he set up in Cairo and began operating on 15th August of that year. His press, known as the "Imprimerie de Marc Aurel" was placed at the disposal of the French Headquarters at al-Azbakiyya. Although he was credited with the printing of the afore-mentioned "Courier de l'Égypte" and "La Décade Égyptienne", a scientific and literary magazine launched on 1st October, he in fact only printed the first thirty issues of the former and the first three issues of the latter, and was forced to abandon their printing because of the negligent manner in which he was performing his duty. Though he continued other printing tasks, the final cessation of his printing activities probably occurred in September 1799 when he eventually sold off his press to the French Expedition and went back to France.²

(3) Imprimerie Nationale au Caire: Soon after Jean J. Marcel had transferred the press from Alexandria to Cairo in October 1798, he took over the printing of the two journals the "Courier de l'Égypte" and "La Décade Égyptienne" in November. His press in

1) Boustany, Press in Egypt, pp. 4-5.

2) Ibid., pp. 3-6; I. ^cAbduh, Tārīkh al-Ṭibā^ca wa-al-Ṣiḥāfa fī Miṣr Khilāl al-Ḥamla al-Faransiyya, 1798-1801, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1949), pp. 36-38.

Cairo, thereafter known as the "Imprimerie Nationale au Caire", was the third to operate under the French. The press was once moved to Giza during the Second Revolt of Cairo (March 1800), in which the printing plant was attacked; and was brought back to Cairo at the end of the following month when the revolt was over. Once again it was moved to the Citadel in March 1801, when the French army was challenged by the joint English and Turkish force, and stayed there until it was evacuated along with the French Expedition to France in September 1801. During its evacuation, it printed in Alexandria the last publication, Grammaire Arabe vulgaire à l'usage des Français et des Arabes.¹ After the French left, as there is no trace of any activities on the part of the French presses, we may assume that the Arabic press was brought back to France and then annexed to the "Imprimerie Nationale de Paris", as indicated in an order issued on 14th October 1801 by the Minister of War in France, A. Berthier,² despite Ṭarrāzī's doubtful statement to the effect that the Būlāq press was formed in 1822 by Muḥammad ^cAlī with the purchase of the press which the French Expedition had left, and to which he made improvements.³

1) Boustany, Press in Egypt, pp. 10-11.

2) Ibid., p. 13.

3) P. de Ṭarrāzī, Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa al-^cArabiyya, vol. I (Beirut, 1913), p. 149; cf. also ṢābātṬī, p. 141; ^cAbduh, Tārīkh al-Ṭibā^ca, pp. 57-58.

Thus, the failure of the French Expedition seemed to have also ended the first era of Arabic printing in Egypt. However, throughout the period of their occupation (1798-1801), they were able to publish a great number of documentary papers, no less than twenty books and two journalistic publications,¹ in addition to the plan of publishing an Arabic newspaper "al-Tanbīh" (L'Avertissement).² For Egyptians, those publications had less significance than the very existence of an Arabic press in the operation of which some of their countrymen and certain ʿulamāʾ had taken part, acting as workers, compositors, or editors; among whom the most noticeable was Ismāʿīl al-Khāshshāb.³ Whether the Egyptians would have profited by a more prolonged French presence is difficult to say. Nevertheless, their printing activities did arouse interest in the minds of some intellectuals who had already noticed and even witnessed the developments in printing in Istanbul, and helped to create a certain expectation for an indigenous printing enterprise.⁴

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- 1) Some of the French Expedition's publications have been listed by Heyworth-Dunne (Education, p. 99), by Riḍwān (TMB, pp. 19-24), and by ʿAbduh (Tārīkh al-Ṭibāʿa, pp. 49-56).
 - 2) Aḥmad Ḥusayn al-Ṣawī, Fajr al-Ṣiḥāfa fī Miṣr, Dirāsa fī Iʿlām al-Ḥamla al-Faransiyya (Cairo, 1975), pp. 78-86.
 - 3) He compiled an Arabic report called "al-Ḥawādith al-Yawmiyya" for the Dīwān, i.e. Administrative Council, set up by the French and consisting of sheikhs, notables and ʿulamāʾ, Ibid.
Cf. also Boustany, Press in Egypt, pp. 27-28.
 - 4) ʿAbduh, Tārīkh al-Ṭibāʿa, pp. 47-49; also ṢābātTṬ, pp. 141-43.

However keenly the need for printing may have been felt by the intellectuals of Egypt, it was not until 1821, when the Būlāq press was set up by Muḥammad ʿAlī, that Egypt was to have its own press. The delay in the development of an indigenous Arabic press may be attributed to the social and cultural stagnation resulting from the political disorder after the French evacuation, during which, the Mamelukes and Turks were engaged in a contest for supreme power in the country.¹ The chaos ended in May 1805 with the rise to power of Muḥammad ʿAlī, who was able to take advantage of the local rivalries to establish himself as de facto ruler, a position which he was able to have legitimized by the Sultan in July of that year. But his position as wālī of Egypt was not expected to be of long duration, especially by the Sultan and the Mamelukes, who were constantly attempting to regain the viceroyship for themselves. It is not until 1811 when he was able to massacre the Mamelukes to remove the main threat to his viceroyship, that he could seriously begin to reorganize the fiscal, agrarian, and administrative systems of the country.² With the help of some foreigners, he was able to launch from 1815 onwards certain reforms, such as the introduction of the "Niẓām-i Jadīd" into his army as modelled on that of Selīm III, the founding of new factories and industries, and the setting up of new schools, in an attempt to introduce Egypt to contemporary European developments.³

1) Ṣābāt, pp. 145-6.

2) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, pp. 102-3.

3) Ibid., pp. 104-6.

To meet the need for his reforms, he relied on the expertise of many foreigners and the Ottoman Turks, many of them were technical personnel who sought employment in Egypt after the Napoleonic wars (1796-1812) and during the period of reaction in Istanbul (1808-1826).¹ Apart from recruiting the Europeans and the Ottoman Turks from Istanbul, he also sent people to Europe to acquire special knowledge and learning. Among them, several went to Italy in 1815 to study the art of printing, and returned in 1821 with three printing machines which were installed at Būlāq and became known as the "Būlāq Printing Press".² This press is regarded by many not only as Muḥammad ^ḶAlī's first Arabic printing press, but also the first Arabic press after the French withdrawal in 1801. Although the Būlāq press was established almost a century after that of the counterpart in Istanbul, within a decade of its founding it began to rival the presses of Istanbul and had won the approval of many contemporaries who visited Muḥammad ^ḶAlī's various establishments of modernization. The importance of the press lies in several aspects, namely that it was: (1) the first indigenous Muslim Arabic press in Egypt as well as in the Arab World, and (2) the longest surviving Arabic press in the world which continuously contributes significantly towards the publication of Arabic works up to the present day. Its setting up therefore inaugurated the publication of Arabic books under the patronage of Muslims in Egypt as well as in the Arab world.

1) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, pp. 106-7, 110-11, and 115.

2) Heyworth-Dunne, "Printing and Translations", pp. 326-27;
Ibid., Education, pp. 105-6; Zaydān, Tārīkh Ādāb, p. 20.

CHAPTER 2

THE OFFICIAL PRINTING
PRESSES OF MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ

In Egypt, the emergence of an Arabic press with a continuous history of publication traces its birth to the period of Muḥammad ʿAlī when, in 1821, he set up an Arabic typographical press at Būlāq, which is better known as "the Būlāq press" and began to publish books from the following year to the present time without interruption. Although it is commonly held that there was no Arabic press between 1801 and 1821, there are indications, however, that printing was still carried out by the non-Muslims who published, in 1809 in Alexandria, a masonic work, i.e. Précis des Travaux de la R. :. des Amis de Napoléon de Grand À l'O :. d'Alexandrie Relatifs à une Fête à la Paix, Célébrée le 19 J :. du 9.m. de l'An de la V :. L :. 5809 (A l'O :. d'Alexandrie; 46 pp.),¹ and probably in Cairo two gazettes "Le Courrier du Mont Mokatam" (or

1) See J. Landau, "Prolegomena to a Study of Secret Societies in Modern Egypt", in Middle Eastern Themes, ed. by J. M. Landau (London, 1973), p. 38, and especially p. 6, n. 2, where Landau identifies the masonic date as "1809". Dodwell (The Founder of Modern Egypt, Cambridge, 1931, p. 31) also mentions that a certain monk had published around 1817, in Alexandria, the reported excommunication of Napoleon.

"Il Corriere del Mokattam", 1818) and "L'Aristarque Français" (The French Aristarch, 1819).¹ In particular, printing facilities for Arabic are also said to have existed, before the setting up of the Būlāq press. For instance, Amīn Bahjat Bey, a former mudīr of the Būlāq press (1926-38), claims that printing facilities were first set up in Abū Za^cbal, al-Khānqah and the Citadel, and then were assembled in Būlāq in 1820.² In addition, it was mentioned by Jurjī Zaydān that the press "al-Maṭba^ca al-Ahliyya" was set up in 1821 and was then known as "Maṭba^cat Būlāq" because it eventually became sited in Būlāq,³ and also by Vatikiotis that " ... Nicola Masabki returned to set up the first Arabic Press Sahib al-saada in the Alexandria Arsenal. This was later moved to Bulaq."⁴

However, owing to the lack of documentary and extant materials, the existence of any Arabic press before the setting up of the Būlāq press in 1821 can only be presumptive, and may be a case of confusion arising from suggestions for other possible sites to accommodate the three printing machines which were newly imported by

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- 1) See Philip C. Sadgrove, The Development of the Arabic Periodical Press and Its Role in the Literary Life of Egypt, 1798-1882 (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1984), pp. 48-49.
 - 2) Riḍwān^{TMB}, pp. 68-71.
 - 3) Zaydān, Tārīkh Adāb, vol. IV, pp. 46-47.
 - 4) P. J. Vatikiotis, The Modern History of Egypt (London, 1968; reprinted 1976), p. 99.

Muḥammad ʿAlī from Italy in 1821.¹ Therefore, the Būlāq press is generally regarded as Muḥammad ʿAlī's first Arabic press as well as the first Muslim press in that country, and in view of the cessation of Arabic-printing after the evacuation of the French Arabic presses in 1801, the first batch of books printed/published in 1238/1822-23 by the press is seen as a milestone in the history of Egyptian printing presses and to have inaugurated a period in which the publication of Arabic books was continuously sustained.

Though it is not the aim of this study to focus on the history of the Arabic presses operating during this time, a study such as this will inevitably make more than passing reference to them in order to arrive at a better understanding of printing and publishing activities which took place during Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign, but also to complement our knowledge of Egyptian printing presses which is still far from being complete despite the contributions of several works on this subject. These printing presses are, for convenience, divided into the official presses which were run under the auspices of the Egyptian government, and the non-official presses or privately-owned presses which printed books independently of the government directives. The former, including the Būlāq press and other minor official presses, will be first dealt with in this chapter in order of their importance or chronological appearance, with the aim of observing the extent of printing presses as exploited by Muḥammad ʿAlī with the emphasis being placed upon their printing and publishing activities in respect of book-production rather than their history.

1) RiḍwānTMB, pp. 68-73.

2.1 The Būlāq Printing Press: Maṭbaʿat Būlāq

Owing to the various stages of development, different dates, such as 1820, 1821, 1822 and 1823, have been given for the founding of the Būlāq press,¹ which, however, can be traced back as early as 1235/1819-20 from the foundation stone, which still stands in the front of the press and bears the Muslim calendar year "1235 A.H." at the bottom of the three Turkish couplets composed specifically to commemorate the occasion of erecting the printing plant known as "Dār al-Ṭibāʿa".² In this printing house, the three newly-imported printing machines were installed, between September 1821 and January 1822, by Nīqūlā al-Musābikī, one of the four people sent by Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1815 to Italy to study the art of printing.³ Soon after, the press started printing trials and began to operate fully in August.⁴ By the end of the year, the press had published several books and was known in the colophons of its publications as the "Maṭbaʿat Ṣāhib al-Saʿāda" or "Dār al-Ṭibāʿa al-ʿAmīra" at Būlāq, but more frequently referred to as the "Maṭbaʿat Būlāq" (i.e. the Būlāq Printing-press).⁵ Therefore, the Muslim year "1237 A.H." (=28th September 1821-17th September 1822) can be regarded as the year which witnessed the setting up of the press and the commencement of printing trials, while

1) RiḍwānTMB, pp. 43-45; ṢābātTṬ, pp. 146-8.

2) RiḍwānTMB, pp. 43-50; cf. also ṢābātTṬ, pp. 146-48;
Verdery, "The Publications of the Būlāq Press", p. 129.

3) RiḍwānTMB, pp. 47-48.

4) Ibid., pp. 49-50.

5) Ibid., pp. 66-68.

that of "1238 A.H." (=18th September 1822-6th September 1823) as the year in which books were published, as we have no Būlāq publications dated prior to this date. But in general, the Christian year "1822" (=7th Rabī^c II, 1237- 17th Rabī^c II, 1238) is accepted as the date of setting up of the press, as it corresponds, in the broad sense, to both the Muslim years of 1237 and 1238.

The Būlāq press, as one of the new industries, was located with many factories in the Būlāq dockyard known as the "Dār al-Şinā^ca al-Amīriyya (al-Tarsāna)",¹ and was moved in July 1829, owing to the need for expansion, to a new site, not far from its original place by the banks of the Nile, to accommodate five new machines bought from France.² On this site, the press stands to this present day and remained much the same until the end of Muḥammad ^cAlī's reign, despite having once more expanded in 1833 by annexing the neighbouring building up to then used as a customs house.³ Although from the beginning, Muḥammad ^cAlī seems to have been in control of the printing and publishing matters, the press was placed under the charge of the director of the Madrasat al-Handasa of Būlāq, ^cUthmān Nūr al-Dīn (d. 1834), with his appointment as "mufattish" (inspector or director) of the press on 8th Şafar 1237 (4th November 1821) to take care of its administration,⁴ and he seems to have remained at this post until July

1) Riḍwān^{TMB}, p. 67.

2) Geiss, "Imprimerie de Boulac", p. 199; cf. also Şābāt^{TT}, p. 158; Riḍwān^{TMB}, pp. 73-75, 86-87; Heyworth-Dunne, "Printing and Translations", p. 329.

3) Riḍwān^{TMB}, pp. 79-81.

4) Ibid., p. 56.

1824.¹ Thereafter, the people who were in charge of the press until the end of Muḥammad ^ḶAlī's reign are said to be: (1) Qāsim Ef. al-Kīlānī (ma'mūr), from 26th January 1824 to 22nd June 1832; (2) ^ḶAbd al-Karīm Ef. (mufattish), from 18th June 1830 to 26th April 1835; (3) Sa ^Ḷīd Ef. (nāẓir), from 25th June 1832 to 15th April 1833; (4) Fātiḥ Ef. (nāẓir), from 7th June 1833 to October/November 1836; (5) Ḥusayn Bey (mudīr of the press and its auxiliaries), from 11th September 1835 to April/May 1839; (6) Ḥasan Ef. (nāẓir of the Būlāq press and al-Waqā'iḶ [al-Miṣriyya]), from 3rd March 1838 to December 1844; (7) Ḥusayn Ef. Rātib (nāẓir), from the first month of the Coptic year (Tūt) 1260 to 5th January 1848; and (8) ^ḶAlī Bey Jawdat (nāẓir), from 12th December 1848 to 15th August 1860.²

Although the above-mentioned Nīqūlā al-Musābikī is not given as one of the people who were in charge of the press, however, he was retained as the technical director after the installment of the press, and he had, in fact, acted as its "ra'īs" (foreman) until he died on 24th May 1830.³ After his death, the directorship seemed to have been occupied by the following people: (1) ^ḶAbd al-Karīm Ef., from 19th June 1830 to July 1833, (2) Abū Qāsim Shāhid al-Kīlānī, from July 1833 to September 1835, (3) Fātiḥ Taghistān (?), from 1835 to 1840, (4) Ḥusayn Rātib, from 1840 to 27th August 1848, who was then succeeded, according to the official records, after an interval of almost a year, by ^ḶAlī Jawdat as the director of the Būlāq press from 9th September 1849 to 3rd March 1861.⁴ Therefore, the press seems to

1) Iskārūs, "Tārīkh al-Ṭibā^Ḷa", p. 431.

2) Ibid.; Heyworth-Dunne, "Printing and Translations", p. 331.

3) RiḍwānTMB, pp. 56-60; ṢābātTT, pp. 150-51; cf. below, p. 70.

4) RiḍwānTMB, pp. 141-2, where he gives the names and duration of

have been administered at different levels by these people who probably held different posts at times to supervise various sections and departments of the Būlāq press,¹ which can be perceived to some extent from its pay-list of 1260/1844-45 in which the following assignments and the number of their employees/workers are given as follows:²

- (1) nāẓir (director)1
- (2) mu^cāwin (assistant director)1
- (3) mulāḥiẓ (supervisor)1
- (4) baṣḥkātib (head-clerk)1
- (5) kuttāb (scribes)5
- (6) muṣaḥḥihīn turkī (Turkish correcteurs
or proof-readers)2

these directorships which he has drawn from various documents.

- 1) Heyworth-Dunne, "Printing and Translations", p. 331.
- 2) The pay-list is quoted by Riḍwān (TMB, pp. 147-49), as "Jarīdat Istihqāqāt Maṭba^cat Būlāq ^can Sanat 1260 H. (1844 M)", in which a number of rather obscure technical terms are given, they were used probably at that time for specific occupations, such as: "Jammī^c" (جميع), "ṭabbī^c" (طبیب), "rassīm" (رسم), "muwaḍḍabīn" (موضحین), "barrādīn" (برادین), "ḥakkākīn" (حکاکین), "jadwaljī" (جدولی), "farīz aḥruf" (فریز احرف), "barbarī" (بربرس), and "anfār" (انفار).

Question marks have been placed in brackets after the rendering of some of these terms where there is doubt. Cf. Socrates Spiro, An Arabic-English Dictionary of the Colloquial Arabic of Egypt (Cairo, 1895; New Impression, Beirut, 1973). In addition, the word "correcteur" has been used instead of "text-corrector".

(7) muṣaḥḥihīn ʿarabī (Arabic correcteurs, including the "baṣḥmuṣaḥḥih", the chief-correcteur)	2
(8) jammīʿ ḥurūf fārisī (Persian-type compositor)	3
(9) ṭabbīʿ fārisī (Persian-type printer)	3
(10) jammīʿ ḥurūf ʿarabī (Arabic-type compositor)	5
(11) ṭabbaʿīn (printers)	24
(12) barrādīn wa-ḥakkākīn (fitters of machinery?, and engravers)	3
(13) rassīm (layout artist)	3
(14) maḥzanjī (storehouseman)	3
(15) khaṭṭāt (calligrapher)	1
(16) ra'īs maṭbaʿat al-muṣḥaf (headman of the Qur'ānic printing press)	1
(17) muwaḍḍabīn (machine-men?)	4
(18) sabbākīn (type-founders)	7
(19) mujallidīn (bookbinders)	37
(20) jadwaljī (tabulator?)	1
(21) farīz aḥruf (person in charge of matter?)	1
(22) muwaẓẓafī maṭbaʿat al-ḥajar (employees of the lithographical press)	4
(23) jihādiyya, [sic] khafar (or, ghafar, guardsman)	1
(24) barbarī (i.e. Nubians, who were probably employed for domestic services)	5
(25) anfār (labourers?)	7
(26) najjār (carpenter)	1
(27) saqqā mā' (water-carrier)	1
(28) employee without specific assignment	1

Although from the listing, one finds a total of 136 personnel employed in the operation of the press, however, the exact number of people employed from the beginning is not known. But according to an Italian, G. B. Brocchi, who visited the press in December 1822, there were sixteen people including the director al-Musābikī, an assistant, twelve compositors for Arabic types, one for Italian, and two for Greek.¹ Amongst them, four of the staff were also known by their name and assignments, they are: sheikh ʿAbd al-Bāqī (head of the foundry), sheikh Muḥammad Abū ʿAbd Allāh (chief printer), sheikh Yūsuf al-Ṣanfī and sheikh Muḥammad Shahātah (both chief compositors).² In 1825, the number of employees was said to be around forty, and had increased to two hundred during the heyday of the press, i.e. in the 1830s and 1840s. However, the number had decreased to 169 in 1848, and further to 103 by the end of ʿAbbās I's reign (1849-1854).³

Therefore, by the mid-19th century, the development of the press seems to have gone through three distinct stages, which is, in particular, reflected in the three periods in which the fluctuation of its publications can be observed, in consideration of the average number of annual output, as:

- (1) First period (1238-47/1822-32): about ten books or less were produced each year, with a total of 85 works being produced in this period.

1) Ṣābāt, p. 152.

2) Geiss, "Imprimerie de Boulac", p. 199; Ridwān, p. 61; Heyworth-Dunne, "Printing and Translations", p. 331.

3) Ṣābāt, pp. 159, 177, and 180-81.

- (2) Second period (1248-57/1832-42): between twenty and thirty-five works were published annually, and with a total of 243 works.
- (3) Third period (1258-67/1842-51): annual output of between ten and twenty works, with a total of 161 works.¹

In these thirty years, 1238-1267 (1822-1851), a total of 526 works (including 37 undated works), amounting to 92.3% of the 570 publications which are known to have appeared in Egypt at that time, was produced by the Būlāq press alone.² Therefore, the importance of this press in early Egyptian publications cannot be overestimated, and will be studied more fully later in the chapter Four of the study which deals with the trends in publishing and printing/publishing enterprises of the time especially. While the setting up of other printing presses by Muḥammad ^cAlī will be discussed below.

2.2 The Minor Official Printing Establishments

Appreciating the effectiveness of printing for disseminating information quickly and widely, Muḥammad ^cAlī not only published, apart from books, many orders, regulations and laws, bulletins, instructions, and gazettes to convey his policies to every level of his administration and to every corner of the country, but he also installed printing facilities in many of his administrative, military, educational and other establishments to meet their own needs in the process of reform. By the beginning of the 1830s, a number of

1) See below, Table 34 (p. 642).

2) Ibid.

printing presses were functioning along with the Būlāq within and without Egypt, under his rule. Among them, some were exploited in the printing of books. However, in many cases, we have little knowledge of the printing and publishing activities of these minor official presses which are often known to us from sporadic information existing in documentary and secondary sources without the names of the presses being mentioned. Owing to these difficulties, the discussion of these minor official printing establishments will be made, in most cases, in the chronological order of the earliest reference to the activities of the press in question, with the emphasis being placed upon book-production.

2.2.1 The Printing Establishments in the Citadel

The Citadel, or al-Qal^ca, the seat of Egyptian central government for centuries, is the first place mentioned to have witnessed the operations of a printing press, especially in its connection with the printing of an extracted report known as the "jurnāl", an administrative paper distributed among the Ottoman administration. Although the compilation of the jurnāl became more important after Muḥammad ^cAlī launched his reforms from the 1813 onwards, it remained in manuscript form until it was said to have been lithographed in the Citadel from around 1821 or 1822.¹ However, we have no reference to any precise site or name of the press in question, so we are unable to compare this early reference with later

1) ^cAbd al-Laṭīf Ḥamza, Qiṣṣat al-Ṣiḥāfa al-^cArabiyya fī Miṣr (mundhu Nash'atihā ilā Muntaṣaf al-Qarn al-^cIshrīn) (Baghdād, 1967), pp.43-44.

documents containing much more detailed information on the printing establishment in the Citadel. This is particularly frustrating as early information on the printing activities which took place within the compound of the Citadel would allow us to establish more accurately the date of the first official press operating under Muḥammad ʿAlī. In view of this and the wide span of printing activities in the Citadel covering a period of four decades from at least 1822 to 1859, the discussion of the topic is divided into two phases:

2.2.1.1 First Phase: Printing prior to 1830

The first reference to the publication of the "jurnāl" was made in 1822 by the traveller Brocchi to the effect that the reports were printed daily with one hundred copies or less in Arabic and Turkish, and that apart from administrative materials, they contained some stories extracted from The Arabian Nights. As these printed reports became more regular they evolved into a periodical publication known as "al-Jurnāl al-Khidīwī" (The Khedivial Journal), which was intended for the consultation of Muḥammad ʿAlī and his high ranking officials, to serve as a kind of governmental bulletin in reviewing all matters of finance, agriculture, education and industry etc.¹ Although it is not known at which point the publication of this

1) I. ʿAbduh, Tārīkh al-Waqāʿiʿ al-Miṣriyya, 1828-1942 (Cairo, 1942), pp. 9-11; ShukrīBDM, p. 125.

Khedivial Journal started,¹ it probably came to an end after the publication of the Turkish-Arabic "Waqā' i^c-i Mişriyya" (or al-Waqā' i^c al-Mişriyya", The Egyptian Events), which was published, as an official gazette in editions of several thousand copies, from the beginning of December in 1828 and was intended to supplant the former with the aim of circulating more widely among all the government employees as well as certain categories of the general public in order to inform them of the progress of the reforms.²

Thus, the existence of a printing press in the Citadel between 1822 and 1828 seems to be in no doubt. The exact date of the introduction of the press into the Citadel and the start of its operation, however, are not known; we therefore cannot categorically determine whether this press was founded and operating before the more famous press at Būlāq. In addition, it was claimed, by several people who visited the press in the Citadel at the beginning of the 1830s, such as E. de Cadalvene and J. de Breuvery (both in 1830), that the press in the Citadel was printing some books of history and

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- 1) Most authorities do not give a definite date for the appearance of the Journal, however, J. A. Haywood (Modern Arabic Literature, 1800-1970: An Introduction, London: Lund Humphries, 1971, p. 33) claims that it was founded one year earlier (i.e. 1827) than the al-Waqā' i^c al-Mişriyya. The date of its first appearance should be treated with reservation and it seems unlikely to have been printed as early as 1813 as is claimed by ^cAbd al-Laṭīf Ḥamza (Qişşat al-Şihāfa, pp. 43-44).
 - 2) ^cAbduh, Al-Waqā' i^c al-Mişriyya, pp. 29-30.

poetry,¹ and by others, such as La Contemporaine (in 1831) and James A St. John (1832), that the afore-mentioned al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya was printed there.² However, owing to the lack of information, the press on which the jurnāl was printed during the 1820s cannot be positively identified with that on which books and al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya were printed in the 1830s and 1840s. The appellation "Maṭba^cat al-Qal^ca", i.e. the Printing-press of the Citadel, is, therefore, specifically used here to denote the press in the Citadel which printed, before 1830, administrative publications. The press seen by visitors in the 1830s will be further discussed below in view of more detailed and precise information on the printing activities in the Citadel given to us in some documentary materials.

2.2.1.2 Second phase: Printing after 1830

A document was issued on 18th Dhū al-Qa^cda 1247 (19th April 1832) to the effect that a printing stone, four hand-spans long and three in width, should be sent from the Būlāq press to the Dīwān Jurnāl al-Khidīw to make up for the deficiency of two printing stones already there.³ This Dīwān was responsible for the compilation of the Jurnāl al-Khidīw,⁴ however, owing to the lack of corroborative evidence, it is uncertain whether the Dīwān was also responsible for

1) Şābāt^T, p. 170.

2) Heyworth-Dunne, "Printing and Translations", p. 332.

3) ^cAbduh, Al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya, pp. 11-12.

4) Ibid., pp. 9-11.

its printing, if indeed there was a press in the Dīwān. Therefore, the purpose of these printing stones is not clear, but we may assume that they were either to be installed in the Dīwān Jurnāl al-Khidīw itself for its own use, or to be transferred to other departments, such as al-Dīwān al-Khidīwi and Dīwān al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya, where printing facilities are known to have been set up, and came to be known from documentary sources as "Maṭba^cat al-Dīwān al-Khidīwī" and "Maṭba^cat Dīwān al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya" respectively.

2.2.1.2.1 Maṭba^cat al-Dīwān al-Khidīwī

In Jumādā I, 1248 (October 1832), the ra'īs (foreman) of the Maṭba^cat al-Dīwān al-Khidīwī, ^cAbd al-Raḥmān, proposed to the Dīwān itself that as the work involved in printing materials assigned to the press had increased in 1248/1832-33 over the previous year, it was in the interests of the establishment that further equipment should be made available in addition to a further three workers to be supplied by the Būlāq press.¹ Therefore, during the period of 1831-32, the existence of a press in the Citadel is not in doubt. It came to be known as the "Maṭba^cat al-Dīwān al-Khidīwī".

The exact date of setting up the press within this Dīwān is not known, neither do we know much about its activities or its publications. However, it has been suggested by Ṣābāt that it was the same press which had previously printed the above-mentioned Jurnāl al-Khidīw before 1828 and later on printed the official gazette al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya from 1833 to 1845.² This suggestion should be

1) RidwānTMB, p. 364; ṢābātTṬ, pp. 169-70.

2) ṢābātTṬ, pp. 170-171.

accepted with considerable reservation, as there are no extant documentary materials, such as official records or copies of the two printed gazettes which bear this press-name to testify to its involvement in these activities. On the contrary, copies of al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya bearing the press-name of Maṭba^cat Dīwān al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya, but not that of the press in question, are found.

2.2.1.2.2 Maṭba^cat Dīwān al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya

With the launching of Muḥammad ^cAlī's first journalistic work, al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya, the Būlāq press was entrusted with its printing from the beginning when its first issue was published on 25th Jumādā I, 1244 (3rd December 1828).¹ Although its publication was to be supervised by the Qalam al-Waqā'i^c established on 15th Rajab 1244 (21st January 1829) for this purpose,² its printing seemed to have been continuously executed by the Būlāq press until issue No.535 which was published on 26th Ṣafar 1249 (15th June 1833) and bore the press-name of "Maṭba^cat Qalam al-Waqā'i^c bi-al-Qal^ca".³ Since then, the press-name "Maṭba^cat Dīwān al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya" was subsequently found in various issues of al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya published between 15th June 1833 and the mid-1840s.

1) RiḍwānTMB, p. 36; ^cAbduh, Al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya, p. 36.

The above-mentioned Jurnāl al-Khidīw should be regarded as a government bulletin rather than a newspaper.

2) ^cAbduh, Ibid., p. 14.

3) Ibid., p. 36; RiḍwānTMB, pp. 268, 359; ṢābātTṬ, pp. 170-71.

4) See the reproduction of several issues of the official gazette given by ^cAbduh (Ibid., pp. 47 and 50).

Although the date of the establishment of a press in the Dīwān al-Waqā'i^c is not known, the earliest reference to its printing activities comes in issue No.372 of al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya, which appeared on 15th Dhū al-Qa^cda 1247 (16th April 1832), in which a certain sheikh ^cAlī was reported to have presented to the Majlis al-Jihādiyya a petition (ḥard) to the effect that he had worked in the Dār al-Ṭibā^ca at Būlāq, and thereafter in the press of the Dīwān al-Waqā'i^c.¹ Therefore, the press in the Dīwān al-Waqā'i^c may have already been at least fourteen months old when we come across the first documentary evidence of its involvement in printing the official gazette. This press may have been known at first as the Maṭba^cat Qalam al-Waqā'i^c and later as the Maṭba^cat Dīwān al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya.

But owing to the lack of a complete surviving run of the al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya, we cannot verify with certainty the exact duration of its printing in the Citadel which is in particular said by some contemporaries to have begun as early as 1831 or 1832. For instance, Heyworth-Dunne cites the reference in La Contemporaine en Égypte (Paris, 1831, vol. II, pp. 276, 293-4): "... La Contemporaine also paid a visit the same year [i.e. 1831] ... She reports on another printing press in the Citadel where the Waqā'i^c Miṣriyah was published this press occupied a number of rooms in which there was a great activity."² In addition, James A. St. John, who paid a visit to the

1) RiḍwānTMB, p. 359.

2) Heyworth-Dunne, "Printing and Translations", p. 332.

press there in 1832, says that " ... We next proceeded to the printing-office, [i.e. in the Citadel], where the Cairo Gazette, in Arabic, is printed,— a small insignificant establishment, ... " ¹

Under these circumstances, we may sum up the printing activities of the Citadel from 1822 to the mid-1840s as follows: Firstly, printing facilities may have been introduced there in or before 1822. Though the continuous existence of a press at that time was not in much doubt, what is not clear is the history of the press and whether the references are all to the same press. If so, the press was probably employed first in the *Dīwān al-Khidīw*, and then in the *Dīwān al-Waqā'ī^c al-Miṣriyya*. Otherwise, there must be at least two presses in existence in the Citadel especially during the 1830s. Secondly, the undertaking of the printing of the official gazette, *al-Waqā'ī^c al-Miṣriyya*, in the Citadel may have begun as early as 1831, as mentioned by contemporaries, or only from June 1832, as documented, to 26th Jumādā II, 1261 (3rd July 1845). ²

1) St. John, *Egypt*, vol. I, pp. 129-30.

2) According to ^cAbduh (*Al-Waqā'ī^c al-Miṣriyya*, p. 52), the gazette was printed again at the Būlāq press from this date, as he gives a reproduction (plate facing page 52) of issue No.6 came out on that date and printed with the legend: "ṭubi^cat fī Dār al-Ṭibā^ca al-^cAmira bi-Būlāq". However, an alternative version is given by Riḍwān (*TMB*, pp. 268-69); who claims that the gazette was printed in the Citadel from 15th June 1833 until issue No.16, which came out on 14th Jumādā II, 1262 (8th June 1846).

Because of the lack of corroborative evidence, the latter statement must be treated with caution.

Although the press in the Citadel was said to have been involved in printing some works of history and poetry, no publication from that date survives to verify such an involvement, except for the alleged publication of an administrative work known as Qānūn-nāma (1251/1835-36).¹ Thus, the main aim of setting up press(es) in the Citadel may be that of administration rather than book-production. After the printing of al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya was transferred around the mid-1840s from the Citadel to the Būlāq press, continuous activity of a printing press is not mentioned in any documentary source. The printing establishment might have been, as said by Ṣābāt, neglected after 1846 for some twelve years, until a work Jāmi^c al-Mabādi' wa-al-Ghāyāt fī Fann Akhdh al-Misāḥāt was lithographed under the press-name of Maṭba^cat al-Qal^ca in 1275/1858-59.²

2.2.2 The School of Medicine and its Press:

Maṭba^cat Madrasat al-Ṭibb bi-Abī Za^cbal

The first book known to have been published in Egypt by a press other than the Būlāq press is Al-^cUjāla al-Ṭibbiyya fī-mā lā budda minhu li-Ḥukamā' al-Jihādiyya, which was published on 23rd Ṣafar 1248 (22nd July 1832) under the press-name of "Maṭba^cat Madrasat al-Ṭibb bi-Abī Za^cbal".³ Although the exact date for the setting up of a press in the School of Medicine is not known, it was probably

1) Ṣābāt^{TT}, pp. 190-91.

2) Ibid.; also work No.156 listed below (p. 303).

3) See work No.537 listed below (p. 544).

sometime after the School was opened in February 1827.¹ The press then received, in 1247/1831-32 from the Būlāq press, eight workmen to work in its lithographical printing-office,² which was visited by some contemporaries, such as Ed. de Cadalvene and J. de Breuvery (both in 1831),³ and by James A. St. John (in 1832) who described it thus:

"The school of medicine at Abou Zabel is without doubt one of the most extraordinary of all the Pasha's establishments ... [it] is occupied by a lithographic printing-office; where, by means of four presses, the young Arabs are constantly employed in printing Arabic translations of the best European works on medicine, with anatomical drawings, which they certainly copy with great accuracy ... At the head of each department of the medical science is an European professor, who draws up his daily lesson in French, which is then translated into Arabic by able interpreters ... The translations, when completed, are submitted to three learned Sheikhs, who correct grammatical errors, and clothe them with the beauties of the Arabic language; after which they are printed, and delivered to the students."⁴

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- 1) The setting up of a press within the School of Medicine is, however, suggested by Ṣābāt (TT, pp. 165-66) that it was the first official press set up after the Būlāq press, but he gives no exact or approximate date of its foundation; while Riḍwān (TMB, pp. 354-55) believes that it was probably set up at the beginning of 1832.
 - 2) See ṢābātTT, p. 166. Cf. also RiḍwānTMB, p. 355.
 - 3) ṢābātTT, pp. 165-66.
 - 4) St. John, Egypt, vol. I, pp. 401-2.

Thus, the School of Medicine at Abū Za^cbal maintained a body of translators, correcteurs, printers, engravers and medical artists who were engaged in the printing and publishing of medical works to be used as text-books. Although it is said by Jurjī Zaydān that there are ten books printed by the press in question,¹ there is only one book which bears the press-name of the printing establishment attached to the school, i.e. the above-mentioned Al-^cUjāla al-Ṭibbiyya ... etc., which is in fact published one month earlier than the work, Al-Qawl al-Ṣarīḥ fī ^cIlm al-Tashrīḥ, which is regarded by Jurjī Zaydān as the first of the ten books printed by the press in question.² The publication of this latter work was, however, noted by al-Shurbajī in the following terms "Būlāq, al-Qāhira, jumī^ca wa-ruttiba fī al-Madrasa al-Ṭibbiyya bi-Abī Za^cbal".³ Therefore, the publication of this work was probably only prepared by the School of Medicine, with its type being set at the press attached to the school; it was eventually printed/published by the Būlāq press on 1st Rabī^c II, 1248 (28th August 1832) as indicated by its printers' imprints.⁴

It may therefore be assumed that the press in the School of Medicine of Abū Za^cbal participated in the preparation of other works in the same way as it contributed to the afore-mentioned Al-Qawl al-Ṣarīḥ fī ^cIlm al-Tashrīḥ, but did not actually print the entire work except for setting their types and probably printing some of its

1) Zaydān, Tārīkh Adāb, p. 32.

2) Ibid.

3) ShurbajīQAM, p. 49.

4) See work No.378 listed below (p. 439).

plates, drawings and sketches. In this case, it is no surprise to find that nine of the ten works, mentioned by Zaydān as having been printed/published by the press in question, bear only the press-name of Būlāq.¹ Among these ten works, most of them are identified by Riḍwān, who confirms that the work Al-Arbiṭa al-Jirāḥiyya was in fact printed/published by the Būlāq press in March 1839,² two years after the School was moved from the above-mentioned place to Qaṣr al-ʿAynī between October 1836 and February 1837, but it was not as suggested by Zaydān the last work printed/published by the press attached to the School, i.e. Maṭbaʿat al-Ṭibb.³ Thus, the press was probably closed down at that time of its transferring. If so, the other three works identified by Riḍwān as having been among those printed by the press in question, i.e. Dustūr al-Aʿmāl al-Aqrabādhīniya li-Ḥukamāʾ al-Diyār al-Miṣriyya (April 1837), Nubdha Laṭīf fī Taṭʿīn al-Judarī (April 1837), and Mukhtaṣar Yashtamilu ʿalā Nubdha fī Uṣūl al-Falsafa al-Ṭabīʿiyya ... etc. (October 1837),⁴ were probably only prepared at the press, but were unlikely to have been printed there, unless the press had remained functioning for some time until October 1837 after the School of Medicine was moved in or before February of that year from Abū Zaʿbal to Qaṣr al-ʿAynī.⁵

1) See Table 34 "note a" listed below (p. 642).

2) RiḍwānTMB, p.356.

3) Zaydān, Tārīkh Ādāb, p. 32; cf. also RiḍwānTMB, pp. 356-7.

4) See work Nos.086, 302, and 280 listed below.

5) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, pp. 118-9, 131.

2.2.3 Printing in Alexandria

It is claimed that Muḥammad ^ḶAlī's first Arabic press was established in the Alexandria Arsenal and was later moved to Cairo to become known as the Būlāq press.¹ However, we may entertain doubts as to the actual existence of this press. Also in June 1829, when Cérisy was entrusted with the task of building the Alexandria shipyard, he envisaged a press for typographical and lithographical printing in his plan.² Apart from these references, we possess no documentary evidence to suggest the existence of any official printing press in that city until 1833, when books were produced there by a press known as "Maṭba^Ḷat Sarāy Ra's al-Tīn".³ Although the exact date of the establishment of this press is not known to us, there are two documents concerning its printing activities which were issued on 15th March and 13th May 1833 respectively. The first was an order from Muḥammad ^ḶAlī to Ḥabīb Ef. to the effect that at the request of the Sar^Ḷaskar Pasha (i.e. Muḥammad ^ḶAlī's son, Ibrāhīm), some works of translation were to be printed under the supervision of ^ḶAzīz Ef. and new type was to be despatched to the press in Alexandria for this purpose.⁴ The second was also an order to the effect that as the printing of the History of Napoleon would be completed at the press within fifteen days, the History of Italy and Sūdī's commentary on

1) Cf. above, p. 23.

2) Ṣābāt^{ṬṬ}, p. 171.

3) See Table 34 "note b" listed below (p. 642).

4) Ridwān^{ṬṬ}, p. 366; cf. also Ṣābāt^{ṬṬ}, p. 172.

Ḥāfiẓ's Dīwān (or poetic works) were also to be printed there and new type was required for this purpose.¹

From extant publications, we find that four works were printed by the press set up in the Palace of Ra's al-Tīn. They are: Tārīkh-i Nāpūliyūn Būnāpārta, Tarjama-i Tārīkh-i Ītāliyā, Inshā' -i 'Azīz Afandī, and Sharḥ-i Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ-i Shīrāzī. The first three works appeared in June, August and October 1837 respectively;² while of the fourth, which is in three volumes, only the first volume and 120 pages of the second volume was printed by the press in question, the rest of its three volumes were afterwards printed by the Būlāq press and the whole work was eventually published in September 1834 under the press-name of Būlāq.³ We find no mention of the press and its activities after October 1833, nor indeed any indication as to why the press ceased book-production. However, a French gazette Le Moniteur Égyptien was published in August 1833 in Alexandria,⁴ and its printing was attributed by some people to the Maṭba'at Sarāy Ra's al-Tīn.⁵

1) RiḍwānTMB, p. 366.

2) See works No.505, 502, and 145 listed below.

3) See work No.428. This work figures as a Būlāq publication in the statistics of the study.

4) The date of its first appearance is unknown, but it is assumed to have appeared between August 1833 and March 1834 as stated by J. Bowring (RE, p. 144). Cf. also ShukrīBDM, p. 123.

5) Although the printing of this gazette is assumed to have been undertaken by the press in question, there are, however, no official records or positive evidence to suggest this. See

If it is true as said that the setting up of the press in question was for the purpose of publishing a French and Arabic gazette in that city,¹ the press was probably set up before March 1833, and it is quite understandable that the printing of books would have been displaced by the requirements of publishing a regular gazette. After printing several books, the weekly semi-official gazette Le Moniteur Égyptien, funded by the government and edited by Camille Turles, began to appear in August.² Its publication was intended to counteract the propaganda of Le Moniteur Ottoman, the official French-language gazette of the Sublime Porte, and to act as a vehicle for the broadcasting of Muḥammad ^CAlī's policies in Egypt and Syria amongst foreign communities.³ The gazette published many materials extracted from the Turkish-Arabic gazette al-Waqā'i^C al-Miṣriyya, and seemed to have only appeared for several months till March 1834. The suspension of its publication is probably due to the influence of Yūsuf Būghūs, Muḥammad ^CAlī's Minister of Trade at Alexandria, who was said to have disapproved of the journal.⁴

^CAbduh, al-Waqā'i^C al-Miṣriyya, p. 121; Riḍwān^{TMB}, pp. 365-67; Ṣābāt^{TT}, pp. 171-72; M. N. Abū al-Layl, Al-Ṣihāfa al-Faransiyya fī Miṣr mundhu Nash'atihā ḥattā Nihāyat al-Thawra al-^CUrābiyya (Cairo, 1953), pp. 131-35.

- 1) Riḍwān^{TMB}, p. 365; Ṣābāt^{TT}, pp. 171-2.
- 2) Shukrī^{BDM}, p. 123.
- 3) Ṣābāt^{TT}, pp. 171-2.
- 4) Rene Cattau Bey, Le Règne de Mohamed Aly d'Après les Archives Russes en Égypte; Tome II: La Mission du... Duhamel 1834-37, pt. I (Roma, 1933), p. 77; cf. also Shukrī^{BDM}, p. 125.

Apart from these above-mentioned four books and the French gazette, no extant printed materials are known to have been published by any official press in Alexandria till the end of Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign. Indeed no mention is made of printing in Alexandria for the next ten years between 1834 and 1844, when a reference to a press in that city is found again in two documents, issued on 2nd December 1844 and 24th February 1845, in which the Dīwān al-Madāris, at the request of the nāzīr of the Alexandria shipyard, asked the Būlāq press to send materials and equipment needed to the typographical press there.¹ Despite the fact that little information on the printing activities of official presses in Alexandria are available, the increasing importance of that city, especially during the 1830s and 1840s, would lead us to believe in the inevitable existence of a press which was probably required for the printing of administrative papers rather than being employed in the publication of books.

2.2.4 The Printing Establishments in Crete

The first printing press established by Muḥammad ʿAlī outside Egypt was in Crete. Although the exact date of foundation cannot be established, several documents give useful information, especially on the names of people who were sent to serve at the printing establishments in the cities of Ḥāniya (Khania) and Qandiya (Heraklion), where local councils were set up by Muḥammad ʿAlī for the administration of the island, after he had been officially entrusted by the Sultan with the government of Crete in 1830 as a result of his merit in subduing the Greek revolts against the Ottoman rule taking

1) RiḍwānTMB, p. 367.

place in this and other islands.¹ The main purpose of establishing a press was to print administrative papers, especially that of the official Turkish-Greek gazette known as "Waqā'i^c-i Kirītiyya (or Kirīdiyya)" (The Cretan Events).²

The publication of this gazette is, in particular, mentioned in documents, dated 23rd and 26th September 1830, to the effect that ^cAlī Ef. Jām was sent to Crete to work for the above-mentioned official gazette which was to be printed there, and that ^cAlī Ef. al-Fandarlī was travelling with him to offer his expertise in printing.³ In addition, on 18th October 1830, five workers from the Būlāq press arrived in Crete to work in the printing press at Ḥāniya (Khania). Their names and designation were given as: Ūsta Sulaymān (nāẓir of the press), Ūsta Ḥammād (ra'īs, or foreman, of the machinists), ^cUrwa Ḥasan (chief compositor), Sayyid ^cUmar and ^cAfīfī (both compositors).⁴ Before long, in the following April, another six men, Muḥammad Mu^cāwinī (ra'īs for the lithographical press at Qandiya), Ḥasan (ra'īs of the lithographical press at Khania), and four men for the printing and engraving services (^cAlī Abū Aḥmad, Yūsuf Sūdān, Ḥusnī ^cAṣī and Sulaymān Abū al-Khayr), had joined the workforce from Egypt.⁵

1) Dodwell, The Founder of Modern Egypt, pp. 242-43.

2) Riḍwān^{TMB}, pp. 368-69; Ṣābāt^{TT}, pp. 172-73.

3) Ibid.

4) Ibid.

5) Ibid.

This precise information allows us to determine that the presses were probably set up in 1830, and that recruitment was carried out in October 1830 and April 1831 for the two presses set up in Qandiya and Khania respectively. Although we do not have precise knowledge of what it printed, except the above-mentioned Turkish-Greek gazette, the emphasis was however placed upon the publication of administrative papers in both Turkish and Greek. The presses in Crete probably did not function for long, and would have ceased printing when Muḥammad ʿAlī's government came to an end there in 1840.¹

2.2.5 The School of Artillery at Ṭarra and its Press:

Maṭbaʿat Maktab al-Ṭūbjīyya

In November 1832, al-Waqāʿiʿ al-Miṣriyya mentioned payment for expenditure on certain printing apparatus and materials which had been paid by the Dīwān al-Jihādīyya to a Spanish Colonel, Don Antonio de Seguera, the nāẓir of the School of Artillery (Maktab al-Ṭūbjīyya) at Ṭarra.² Thus, there seems to have been a press which was set up in the school soon after it was opened in June. This press came to be

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- 1) Although the printing activities of this press had been referred to in several issues of al-Waqāʿiʿ al-Miṣriyya came out between Dhū al-Ḥijja 1247 (May 1832) and Rabīʿ II, 1248 (August/September 1832), it is claimed by Ṣābāt (TT, pp. 172-72) that it did not function for long.
 - 2) al-Waqāʿiʿ al-Miṣriyya, No.458, issued on 12th Jumādā II, 1248 (6th November 1832) cited by Ṣābāt (TT, p. 167).

known as the "Maṭbaʿat Maktab al-Ṭūbjiyya bi-Ṭarra" from two extant works: Al-Kanz al-Mukhtār fī Kashf al-Arādī wa-al-Bihār (1250/1834-35) and Kalīla wa-Dimna (1251/1835-36), which were printed under that press-name.¹ The former work was though printed under the instruction of the nāẓir of the School, de Seguera, to serve as a student text-book on the subject of geography.² The latter work was, however, a reprint of the popular Arabic classic previously published by the Būlāq press in 1249/1833-34.³

Therefore, the press was employed not only in the publication of text-books, but also in that of works of general interest. Especially in the light of the fact that two historical and two literary works were also printed by the press in the Palace of Ra's al-Tīn of Alexandria in 1250/1834-35,⁴ the printing of a literary work by the press in the School of Artillery would confirm the belief that the policy of printing works for the public other than for administrative and educational purposes had actually begun to be introduced into minor official presses around the mid-1830s. This was probably due to the increasing demand for such publications at that time, when printing and publishing activities began to flourish from the beginning of that decade.⁵ Nevertheless, the engagement of

1) See works No.172 and No.169 listed below.

2) See Ṣābāt, p. 168, where a reproduction of the colophon of the work No.172 is given.

3) See various editions of work No. 169 listed below (p. 313.).

4) See above, p. 45.

5) See below, p. 97.

these minor official presses in the publication of books seemed to have been limited, as many of their printing activities in book-production had been short-lived and had come to a sudden end in a few years.¹ The reason for this may be perceived in the development of Muḥammad ʿAlī's reforms in which new efforts were made from 1834 to bring about a further reorganization of various schools. As a result, the supervision of schools together with the presses and their printing and publishing activities were to be transferred from the Dīwān al-Jihādiyya to the Dīwān al-Madāris which was set up in 1837.² This ends the first phase of printing activities under the charge of the Dīwān al-Jihādiyya, whose role in the development of the early press will be examined here together with the press set up within it.

2.2.6 The Dīwān al-Jihādiyya and its Press:

Maṭbaʿat Dīwān al-Jihādiyya

The Dīwān al-Jihādiyya, loosely rendered as the Ministry of Military Affairs, was established in 1237/1821-22 in the course of re-launching the military reform "Niẓām-i Jadīd" when it was reintroduced around 1820.³ In 1826, when Muḥammad ʿAlī tried to systematize the military and educational establishments and organizations, a "Commission d'Instruction" was set up in January

1) See Table 34 listed below (p. 642).

2) RiḍwānTMB, pp. 64-65; A. Sāmī, Al-Taʿlīm fī Miṣr (Cairo, n.d.), p.9.

3) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, p. 113; SāmīTN, vol. II, p. 296.



within the Dīwān al-Jihādiyya to look into the matter.¹ Later in this year, the Dīwān was put in charge of various military and non-military schools whose number increased dramatically from three or four to almost thirty during the period of its supervision of the schools, i.e. from 1826 to 1837.² In many of these schools, printing facilities were also installed for their own needs. These printing establishments together with the Būlāq press were in the meantime placed under the charge of the Dīwān,³ and under its supervision of printing and publishing activities, one finds that the most productive printing establishment other than the Būlāq was attached to the Dīwān itself.⁴ This press came to be known, from its publications, as the "Maṭbaʿat Dīwān al-Jihādiyya" or "Maṭbaʿat al-Jihādiyya".

Although the date of founding a press in this Dīwān is not known, the first documentary reference to the press was made in issue

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- 1) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, pp. 121-2.
 - 2) See Amīn Sāmī's, Al-Taʿlīm fī Miṣr, Appendix pp. 34-55, where we find listed three schools which had been founded before 1826, twenty-nine set up during the period of 1826-36, and sixty schools opened in 1837 or later.
 - 3) Riḍwān TMB, pp. 63-64; Heyworth-Dunne, Education, p. 113; Helen A. Rivlin, The Agricultural Policy of Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 79, 83-84.
 - 4) See Table 34 (p. 642).

No.396 of al-Waqā'ic al-Miṣriyya, which came out on 25th Muḥarram 1248 (24th June 1832), and reported that workers for the press (i.e. Maṭba'at Dīwān al-Jihādiyya) would be chosen from the Būlāq press, and that they would be appointed and paid their former salary after a period of training.¹ It was also reported in the meantime that a certain al-Sayyid Maḥmūd who, having previously worked in the Būlāq press, was now serving in the Maṭba'at al-Jihādiyya and had asked the Majlis al-Jihādiyya for a clothing allowance, which was then currently given to the other workers in the press.² Three months later al-Waqā'ic al-Miṣriyya (No.433), issued on 29th Rabī' II, 1248 (15th September 1833), reported that some pages from a book, Ta'limnāma, had been satisfactorily reprinted by the Maṭba'at Dīwān al-Jihādiyya, after its printing had been badly executed at one of the governmental lithographical presses.³

But, as far as we know, it was not until 1249/1833-34 that a book, entitled Ta'lim al-Nafar wa-al-Buluk, was published under the press-name of Maṭba'at al-Jihādiyya.⁴ However, it is uncertain whether this work is the same as that mentioned by al-Waqā'ic al-Miṣriyya (No.433) as having being excellently printed by the press in the Dīwān in question. It was probably due to the high standard of printing of the press, that then ten works, of which five were in

1) Ṣābāt, p. 169.

2) Riḍwān, p. 363.

3) Ṣābāt, p. 169.

4) See work No.468 listed below (p. 500).

medical sciences, four in military sciences and one on pyrotechnics, were produced by the press in the following year, i.e. 1250/1834-35.¹ Though the press published another three works (two military and one medical) in 1251/1835-36, it then seems to have ceased publishing books, as there are no printed works found to bear this press-name after that date.² The press' failure to publish any further works might be explained by an order issued in December 1835 to the effect that in view of the high costs of running the Maṭbaʿat al-Jihādiyya with little benefit to the government, its operation would be transferred and annexed to the Būlāq press.³ This explanation may well apply to the other afore-mentioned minor official presses which ceased to produce books after that time.

Despite the lack of positive information on its printing/publishing activities, we may assume that the press in the Dīwān al-Jihādiyya was probably set up, in the first place, for the purpose of administration, to print orders, instructions, and gazettes etc.,⁴ as did other presses which were established for the purpose of either administration, or education. Later on, some of these minor printing presses were employed in the publication of books when the printing and publishing activities began to flourish from the early

1) See Table 34 "note c" listed below (p. 642).

2) Ibid.

3) Ṣābāt, p. 169.

4) Apart from books, the press seems to have been responsible for the printing of "al-Jarīda al-ʿAskariyya" which was launched around the beginning of 1830s, see Ṣābāt, p. 169.

1830s. In a short span of four years (1248-51/1832-36), they produced twenty-four works in addition to several gazettes.¹ The policy of producing books at minor official presses was soon abandoned probably for financial reasons as mentioned above, as well as due to the reorganization of Muḥammad 'Alī's institutes of reform which was promulgated specifically in the Qānūn al-Siyāsat-nāma, issued in (June/July, 1837). In this, the Dīwān al-Madāris, the Ministry of Education and Public Work, was created early in 1837 to take charge of the Primary, Preparatory and Special Schools, the libraries, museums, the Būlāq printing-press, the official gazette al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya, and other institutes of public works.² Thus, the development of printing and publishing activities had entered upon a new phase, when the official presses and their activities were to be supervised by the Dīwān al-Madāris from 1837 till the Dīwān was closed down in 1854 by Sa'īd Pasha, viceroy of Egypt from 1854 to 1863.³

2.2.7 Dīwān al-Madāris and its Press:

Maṭba'at Dīwān al-Madāris

Under the supervision of the Dīwān al-Madāris, the first book found to have been published in this period bearing a press-name other than Būlāq was produced in 1256/1840-41 by the press set up in the Dīwān al-Madāris itself. This work, entitled Dalā'il al-Khayrāt wa-Shawāriq al-Anwār fī Dhikr al-Ṣalāt 'alā al-Nabī al-Mukhtār, was

1) See Table 34 listed below (p. 642).

2) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, pp. 181-208; Rivlin, Agricultural Policy, pp. 84-85.

3) RīdwanTMB, pp. 64-65; cf. Heyworth-Dunne, Education, p. 317.

lithographed under the press-name of "Maṭbaʿat Dīwān al-Madāris" (at al-Azbakiyya), and is said to have been published for the Dār al-Kutub al-Ma'nūsa (Cairo) which was probably one of the royal libraries.¹

Despite the fact that no further information on the press is available, it was probably set up sometime between 1837 and 1840 for administrative purposes, for it seems unlikely that the press functioned for only one year to print only one book.²

In addition, there was also a religious work, Al-Shajara al-Sharīfa, a Genealogy of the Prophet Muḥammad, which was published in 1840 in Cairo without a press-name,³ but owing to the lack of information, it is difficult to say that this press was responsible for its printing. However, this work was published as the continuation to another work on the Prophet's genealogy previously published in 1249/1833-34 by the Būlāq press.⁴ Thus, this second work of genealogy may well have also been published, if not by this press in question and the Būlāq, by one of the official presses which was employed at this time, along with the press in the Dīwān al-Madāris, in the publication of books, such as the Maṭbaʿat (Madrasat) al-Muhandiskhāna which was specifically engaged in printing/publishing mathematical works.

1) See work No.036 listed below (p. 223).

2) See Table 34 "note f" (p. 642).

3) See work No.423 listed below (pp. 466-67).

4) Work No.422 under the same title of Al-Shajara al-Sharīfa, see below, p. 466.

2.2.8 The School of Engineering and its Press:

Maṭba^cat al-Muhandiskhāna

As early as 1822, an American traveller, G. B. English, noted that a lithographical press had recently been set up in the École Polytechnique of Būlāq, and that it was printing a "weekly newspaper in Arabic and Italian".¹ However, little information on this press and its activities is known. Although this engineering school, i.e. Madrasat al-Handasa (May 1821), was later transferred to Qaṣr al-^cAynī in July 1825 to become the Madrasat al-Jihādiyya, the engineering school was still kept in some form until it was reorganized in 1834 to become the Madrasat al-Muhandiskhāna in which there was a press known as the Maṭba^cat al-Muhandiskhāna.² Owing to the lack of information, it is difficult to say whether the afore-mentioned early press is the same as that which existed in the reorganized Madrasat al-Muhandiskhāna. This latter press was specifically mentioned by the committee (lajna) for educational reorganization in their report, made on 3rd January 1842 (20th Dhū al-Qa^cda 1257), to the effect that the translation of mathematical works and their prompt printing on the lithographical press attached to the School of Engineering was being carried out.³

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- 1) An American in the Service of the Viceroy (G. B. English), A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar (London, 1822), p. viii.
 - 2) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, pp. 142-4.
 - 3) ShayyālTT, pp. 111-2.

Although seven mathematical works are mentioned by Bianchi to have been published at the press in question in 1257/1841-42,¹ unfortunately none of them is known to have survived, except an extant copy of Mukhtaṣar fī ʿIlm al-Mīkānīkā, mentioned to have been published in 1260/1844-45 by the press.² This press seems to have been employed in the publication of many mathematical and scientific works from the beginning of the 1840s, as it is stated by Heyworth-Dunne that "[before 1849] ... about two dozen technical works had been translated by members of the School [i.e. the Polytechnic] and had been lithographed in the School press."³ Among them we only know of the afore-mentioned eight works during Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign.⁴

However, a further fifteen mathematical works are known to have been produced under the press-name of Maṭbaʿat al-Muhandiskhāna between 1267/1850-51 and 1271/1854-55, when the School of Engineering

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- 1) Bianchi^{CG}, p. 59; see also works Nos.122, 131, 138, 291, 549, 262, and 507 listed below, and Table 34 "note g" (p. 642).
 - 2) See work No.278 listed below; also Riḍwān^{TMB}, pp. 360-62.
 - 3) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, p. 239.
 - 4) Another work, Al-Lāzim min al-Handasa al-Waṣfiyya (No.213), previously published in 1252/1836-37 by the Būlāq press, was subsequently appeared in 1263/1846-47 without a press-name. One may assume that this latter edition was probably published by this press, if not by Būlāq, as we know that during the 1840s most mathematical works were produced by these two presses.
 - 5) See Table 34 "note g" listed below (p. 642).

was under the nāzirship of ʿAlī Mubārak, who claims that nearly 60,000 copies of various kinds of works were printed for military schools and regiments at the press of lithography and typography when he was entrusted with the supervision of educational matters by ʿAbbās I, viceroy of Egypt (1849-1854).¹ After the closure of the School of Engineering in August/September 1854, a work, Al-Nukhba al-ʿIzziyya fī Tahdhīb al-Uṣūl al-Handasiyya, was published in 1274/1857-58 under the press-name of Maṭbaʿat al-Muhandiskhāna.² It is unknown whether this work was printed/published by the same press as above or by a different press. If the former is the case, the press was probably still kept functioning after the school was closed down by Saʿīd Pasha in 1854. Otherwise, the press was probably newly set up in one of the engineering schools opened by Saʿīd Pasha. If so, it was probably that opened at the Barrage in December 1858.³ In this case, the end of the press was probably coincidental with the sale of the possessions of the school, such as the instruments, equipments and publications (some of them having been printed by ʿAlī Mubārak), when the school was closed down in August 1861,⁴ as no books are found to have been published under this press-name after that date.

1) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, p. 299; RiḍwānTMB, p. 361.

2) See work No.305 listed below (p. 396).

3) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, p. 320.

4) Ibid.; RiḍwānTMB, p. 362.

During the Dīwān al-Madāris's supervision of printing and publishing activities, there are only two presses, i.e. the Maṭbaʿat Dīwān al-Madāris and Maṭbaʿat al-Muhandiskhāna, which are known to have been employed in the publication of books. However, there are also several presses which were functioning in this period and were engaged in some kind of printing. For instance, a press was established in the primary school at Nāṣiriyya which is mentioned in a document, dated 9th Dhū al-Qaʿda 1261 (9th November 1845), forwarded from the Dīwān al-Madāris to the nāzīr of al-Kīmiyyat-khāna, to the effect that six sticks of phosphorus (fuṣfūrīk) were required for the primary school of al-Sayyida [Zaynab] (or, Madrasat al-Muḥtadiyān bi-al-Sayyida) for its printing-press which had been newly set up at al-Nāṣiriyya.¹ In another document, dated 27th Shawwāl 1262 (18th October 1846), we find references to an increase in salary for the workers employed at the lithographical press in the mudīriyyat al-Manūfiyya,² which was set up in 1248/1832-33 as one of the eight new administrative units, known as "mudīriyya", and created by Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt between 1245/1829-30 and 1249/1833-34.³

There seem therefore to have been many presses which functioned, along with the Būlāq press, during the period under study, i.e. 1238-1267/1822-1851. These minor official presses produced in this period some thirty publications, while there are some 526 works

1) RiḍwānTMB, p. 364.

2) Ibid.

3) Rivlin, Agricultural Policy, pp. 88-89.

produced by the Būlāq press alone. Apart from these 556 works, the official presses were probably responsible for the printing of some of the nine publications which, appearing in this period and bearing no press-name, are tentatively regarded, together with another three works, bearing a press-name other than the official printing establishments, as privately-printed works.¹ Before a further study on the book-production of the period can be made we will discuss in the following chapter these twelve works, which are regarded in this study as having been produced by non-official printing presses in order to complement the study on the operation of presses during the reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī.

1) See Table 34 listed below (p. 642); also pp. 62-69 below.

CHAPTER 3

NON-OFFICIAL PRINTING PRESSES
DURING MUḤAMMAD ^CALĪ'S REIGN

During the reign of MuḤammad ^CAlī, some Arabic works were printed either with a press-name differing from that normally used by official printing establishments, or without any press-name. In the case of the former, owing to the difficulty of examining extant copies of the works in question, we can obtain little more than the suggestion of the existence of privately-owned Arabic press and their publications. When no press-name is given it often happens that only the place of publication Cairo (al-Qāhira or Miṣr) is given; in which case, we are sometimes able to determine that they were works probably printed/published by official presses, either from the subject-matter and content, or from the colophon of the work in question, examples of these being Al-Lāzim min al-Handasa al-Waṣfiya, and the 1261 A.H. edition of the Gulistān.¹ But in many cases, there remain works bearing no press-name which are problematic in that the execution of the printing cannot be determined as being on an official or on a private press. These works which are uncertain will be considered here, like those bearing a press-name other than an official press, as a potential privately-printed work. The examination of these

1) See works No.213 and No.104 listed below; also above, p. 58, and below, p. 150 respectively.

works will, on the whole, provide us with a more complete view of the range of printing activities in Egypt. As a starting-point for the discussion, we will give in chronological order, as follows, those works which are classed in this study categorically as unofficial publications and may be regarded as possibly having been printed and published by privately-owned presses.

3.1 Arabic Publications of the Non-official Printing Presses

- (1) No.545(T-CL.8)-- Le Vaisseau des Pöetes (Cairo, 1243/1827-28).
- (2) No.003(A-CL.2)-- Aḥkām al-Dalāla ^Calā Taḥrīr al-Risāla
[al-Qushayriyya] (Cairo, 1248/1832-33).
- (3) No.109(A-CW.4)-- Hāshiyat Ḥasan al-^CAttār (d. 1250/1834-35) ^Calā
Sharḥ Khālid al-Azhari (d.905/1499) ^Calā
al-Muqaddima al-Azhariyya (Cairo: Maṭba^Cat
al-Afandī, 1251/1835-36).
- (4) No.211(A-CL.9)-- Laṭā'if Akhbār al-Uwal fī-man Taṣarrafa fī Miṣr
min Arbāb al-Duwal (Cairo, 1251/1835-36).
- (5) No.456(A-CL.6)-- Tadhkirat Ulī al-Albāb wa-al-Jāmi^C li-l-^CAjab
al-^CUjāb (Miṣr: Maṭba^Cat ^CAbd al-Rāziq,
1254/1838-39).
- (6) No.113(A-CW.8)-- Hāshiyat Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Arzanjānī Muftī-zāda
(d. 1808) ^Calā Sharḥ ^CIṣām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm
al-Isfarā'īnī (d. 1537) ^Calā al-Risāla
al-Samarqandiyya ... etc. (Cairo, 1254/1838-39).
- (7) No.182(A-CL.8)-- Kitāb fī Fann al-Kitāb wa-al-Inshā' (Miṣr?,
1259/1843-44).

- (8) No.170(A-CL.8)-- Kanz al-Asrār wa-Qam^c al-Ashrār fī-mā Ḥaṣala li-al-Muqaddam Ibrāhīm Ḥawrānī fī Rūmā al-Madā'in wa-Jisr al-Injibār (Miṣr, 1260/1844-45).
- (9) No.434(A-CL.2)-- Sharḥ^c Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī (d. 1413) alā al-Mawāqif fī Ilm al-Kalām (Cairo, 1261/1845).
- (10) No.204(A-CW.0)-- Lā'ihat Jam^ciyat al-Ma^carif al-Miṣriyya (Cairo: Maṭba^cat Jam^ciyat al-Ma^carif al-Miṣriyya, 1262/1845-46).
- (11) No.380(A-CW.2)-- Radd al-Muhtār alā al-Durr al-Mukhtār Sharḥ Tanwīr al-Abṣār (Cairo, 1263/1846-47).
- (12) No.263(A-CL.2)-- Al-Milal wa-al-Niḥal (Miṣr: Inaniye M., 1263/1846-47).
- (13) No.438(A-CL.2)-- Sharḥ^c Alī B. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī (d. 1605) alā al-Shifā' bi-Ta^crīf Ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā li-l-Qādī Iyād (d. 1149) (Cairo, 1264/1847-48).

Among these above-listed publications, there are six works, i.e. (2), (4), (6), (9), (11), and (13), mentioned by Brockelmann, who only gives the name of the press in the case of Būlāq publications and tends to treat all printed books as published in Cairo, if the work bears either a press-name other than Būlāq, or no press-name at all even when printed by Būlāq.¹ In view of this, we

1) See works No.003, 211, 113, 434, 380, and 438 listed below, and in particular work No.425, edition 1262 A.H. listed below, p.468.

should treat with caution those works mentioned by him as being published in Cairo, for some of them may well be officially-printed but cannot be determined as such here. Similarly, several works, such as (1), (7) and (8), mentioned by other sources only with the place of publication and without supporting evidence to suggest that they were privately-printed, should also be treated with caution. Therefore, these nine publications, provisionally classified here as privately printed, offer no information of any kind on private Arabic presses.

However, we have several works bearing the printer's imprints indicating a press-name other than official printing establishments, which could possibly be assumed to have been printed by privately-owned presses. But it has been impossible to identify the exact nature of these presses, due not only to the lack of information on them, but also to a number of difficulties in examining extant copies to substantiate the existence of the publications in question. The following discussion on them, drawn, mostly from literary and indirect information, is therefore intended to be suggestive rather than definitive.

Maṭba^cat al-Afandī (Cairo): The first work mentioned with a press-name is the above-listed work (3), which is given by al-Shurbajī as bearing the following printer's imprints "al-Qāhira, ṭab^c ḥajar bi-maṭba^cat al-Afandī, 1251/1835".¹ The true identity of this press cannot however be determined without examining an extant copy of the book. If this "Maṭba^cat al-Afandī" is not in fact

1) See work No.109 listed below (p. 273).

identical with the Būlāq press, the colophons of whose publications are worded in a manner very similar to the above, this would certainly be the first book to be printed by a privately-owned press during the reign of Muḥammad ^ḶAlī according to the extant evidence.

Maṭba^Ḷat ^ḶAbd al-Rāziq: According to Ṣābāt, the work (5) was printed in Egypt by an Egyptian-owned press known as "Maṭba^Ḷat ^ḶAbd al-Rāziq" as early as "1254 (1837)".¹ It is uncertain whether he based his statement on Sarkīs, who mentions the printer's imprints of the work in question as "Maṭba^Ḷat ^ḶAbd al-Rāziq, 1254 [A.H.]".² However, the identity of the press and the accuracy of the reference to the work is still to be confirmed, as the work is also mentioned by al-Shaṭṭī as bearing the following printer's imprints "Maṭba^Ḷat ^ḶAbd al-Rāziq, Būlāq, 1282 [A.H.]".³ If both sources are correct, it seems unlikely that this press would have published this work twice over with an interval of twenty-seven years without any other of its publications being known to us. Therefore, this early edition may be a misreading, if wrongly dated, for one of the two editions published in Cairo in 1281 (1865) and 1294 (1877) by al-Maṭba^Ḷa al-Wahbiyya respectively. In particular, in the latter edition the work is mentioned in the colophon as having been printed/published for the second time by the press, and at the expense of the press's director, sheikh ^ḶUṭhmān ^ḶAbd al-Rāziq.⁴ Under such circumstances, this early

1) Ṣābāt^{TT}, p. 175; see also work No.456 listed below (p. 493).

2) Sarkīs^{MMA}, vol. I, p. 491.

3) Shaṭṭī^{FAMT}, p. 64.

4) Apart from these two editions, there is also another edition in

edition of 1254 A.H. is regarded here as a mistake and does not figure as a printed edition in the statistics of this study.

Maṭbaʿat Jamʿiyyat al-Maʿārif al-Miṣriyya (Cairo): al-Shurbajī mentions the work (10) as being published in "1262/1846" under the press-name of "al-Qāhira, Maṭbaʿat Jamʿiyyat al-Maʿārif al-Miṣriyya".¹ If he was not mistaken in giving the date of this publication, then we must assume that either the literary society Jamʿiyyat al-Maʿārif al-Miṣriyya and its press founded in 1285 (1868) by Muḥammad ʿĀrif Pasha (d.1936?) and Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī (d. 1930), had already existed in 1262 A.H., or that a different literary society existed during the 1840s with a press under the same name as the former.² However, the latter case seems more plausible. If so, the press in question was probably that attached to one of the two then existing literary societies "the Egyptian Society" (founded in 1835) and "L'Association Littéraire d'Égypte" (founded in 1842), which will be dealt with further later in the chapter.³ However, this information may be simply a mistake.

Īnaniye Maṭbaʿasi (Miṣr): The printer's imprints of the work (12) is given in a catalogue as "Miṣr, Īnaniye M.", which, if not a mistake, seems to indicate a press under the name of "Īnaniye".⁴

the British Museum which was published by the Būlāq press in Dhū al-Qaʿda 1282 (March/April 1866).

- 1) See work No.204 listed below.
- 2) Ṣābātī, p. 203; Zaydān, Tārīkh Adāb, vol. IV, pp. 80-81.
- 3) See below, p. 76.
- 4) See work No.263 listed below.

Other sources give the place of publication of the work in question as "Miṣr", with the exception of Brockelmann who gives it as "Būlāq" instead. However, this latter press-name is given to its Turkish translation by some sources which mention it as being published in the same year as the Arabic original, i.e. work (12), but make no reference to the latter version.¹ It is not clear whether these two versions of the work were printed/published separately, or in one volume, in the same year i.e. 1263 A.H. If the latter is the case, there seems to have been confusion in the references to the publication of the work with regard to its place of publication. Otherwise, there are two versions: one is the Arabic published probably in Cairo by a certain press, the other is Turkish published by Būlāq.

Owing to the general uncertainty surrounding the identity of the presses in question and various other problems, we cannot discuss the activities of non-official Arabic presses any further. Nevertheless, most of these works regarded here categorically as publications of private presses appeared after the mid-1830s, when works printed/published at the official presses for non-official parties began to emerge increasingly, after the policy of undertaking "job-work" for private individuals and organizations was adopted by Muḥammad ^cAlī from the beginning of that decade.² The publication of these works seems to have been stimulated by the general demand for printed books. It was probably this public need that encouraged the private printing and publishing enterprises, especially that of

1) See work No.264 listed below.

2) See p. 98 below.

non-Arabic presses or European presses which developed rapidly during Muḥammad ^cAlī's reign as a result of his open attitude towards foreigners. Although the study of non-Arabic presses and their publications could form the subject of a separate work, it is of interest to our own study to discuss here certain aspects in connection with the non-Arabic printing of the official presses, and especially the contribution of the non-official presses towards Arabic-printing.

3.2 Non-Arabic Printing in Egypt

The need for publishing non-Arabic or European-language works seems to have been felt from the very beginning when the Būlāq press was also equipped with non-Arabic types which consisted mainly of Latin and Greek letters. Therefore, not only do we see that one of the first books published in 1238/1822-23 was printed with a bilingual text in Italian and Arabic, i.e. Dizionario Italiano e Arabo, but also several European-language gazettes were published afterwards under the auspices of the government.¹ But owing to the fact that no extant non-Arabic work is found bearing the press-name of any official printing establishment apart from Don Raphael's Italian-Arabic dictionary (1822) and an alleged work Rawdat ^cUmrān which was said to have been published in Arabic and French in 1253/1837-38,² we must assume that the publication of non-Arabic works at official presses was confined to producing administrative papers, such as proclamations, ordinances and several gazettes in Italian,

1) See below, p. 81.

2) Sāmī, Al-Ta^clīm fī Miṣr, p. 12.

Greek and French. Therefore, as far as the engagement of official presses in non-Arabic publication is concerned, the statement by Ṣābāt to the effect that after the publication of the Italian-Arabic dictionary in 1823, the first book to be printed by the Būlāq press in a European language appeared in 1868, may be true to some extent.¹

One of the main reasons for the restriction of non-Arabic printing on official presses to the field of administration may result from the publication of Le Religione De'Popoli Orientali, an Italian poem on the proselytism of all religions, by D. Carlo Bilotti, a mathematics teacher in the School of Engineering at Būlāq, who had privately asked Nīqūlā al-Musābikī, probably in or before July 1822, to print this work for him at the newly set-up Būlāq press. When Henry Salt, the British Consul General in Egypt, who disliked Bilotti, found out about the printing of this book, he acquired a copy and informed Muḥammad ʿAlī of the nature of the work. The Pasha was so furious that he had the work burned at once, and had not the supervisor of the press, ʿUṭhmān Nūr al-Dīn, interfered, Nīqūlā al-Musābikī would have been severely punished. As a result of this incident, an order was issued by Muḥammad ʿAlī on 13th July 1822 to the effect that anyone, especially a foreigner, who wanted to have books printed at the Būlāq press should obtain his personal approval to do so.²

1) ṢābātTT, p. 188.

2) See work No.390 listed below (p. 447). All references to the incident are derived from G. B. Brocchi (Giornale Delle Osservazioni Fatte Ne'viaggi in Egitto, Nella Siria e Nella Nubia da G.B. Brocchi, vol. I, Bassano, 1841, p. 370); cf. ṢābātTT, p. 151, and RidwānTMB, pp. 60, 87-88.

Although during the remaining years of Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign, the official press may still have undertaken some job-work for non-Arabic publications; for instance in a French work, by Ernest Linant de Bellefonds, Mémoire sur le Lac de Moeris, Présenté et Lu à la Société Égyptienne le 5 Juillet 1842 (published in 1843 by Imprimerie de A. E. Ozanne in Alexandria), there is a plate which was printed with the following legend: "(Esquisse D'une Carte De la Province du Fayoum) Lith. De L'École Polytechnique. Boulac. Habib Sabbaq Sculp. 1843", to indicate that it was lithographed by the Maḥbaʿat (Madrasat) al-Muhandiskhāna operating during that time.¹ Although Muḥammad ʿAlī did not completely prohibit the publication of non-Arabic works at the official presses, most of the non-Arabic publications appeared in his reign either under European press-names or under the place-name only; the latter seem to have also been printed/published by the non-official presses set up by Europeans to meet their needs. The engagement of the official presses in printing and publishing non-Arabic works for private individuals seems to have been discouraged by the Pasha.

Though the European press was known to have operated from time to time in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, it is not until 1824 that we know of specific details and the identity of a press which is mentioned in the title-page of Henry Salt's Egypt: a Descriptive Poem with Notes, printed with the following legend and imprints: "Dedicated by the author to his friends. Alexandria, July 10th 1824. Alexandria: Printed for the author, by Alexander Dragha, at the European Press, MDCCCXXIV". Furthermore, at the beginning of

1) See the plate in the end of the work by Linant de Bellefonds, op. cit. Cf. p. 74 below.

the poem the author makes the following observation: "The Poem was printed with a view to divert the Author's attention whilst suffering under severe affection, as well as to give encouragement to a worthy man, the Printer. It is the first English work carried through the press in Alexandria...."¹ Therefore, the press owned by Alexander Dragha was probably set up around that time, and seems to have published by July 1824 some works in languages other than English. If the owner of the press in question was the same person mentioned as "D. Dragha" in the imprints of the work Projecto de reglamento organico de los Consulados d'España [sic] en Levante y Berberia (1837), i.e. "Alejandria. Imprenta dal Comercio de D. Dragha",² his press had become known later on under the appellation of "Imprenta dal Comercio", and seemed to have functioned during the 1830s and 1840s under that press-name as referred to in other publications, such as Law and Regulations of the Egyptian Society (c. 1840),³ and Miscellanea Aegyptiaca (1842).⁴ In this latter work, a literary magazine published by l'Association Littéraire d'Égypte, it was mentioned that:

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- 1) J. J. Hall, The Life and Correspondence of Henry Salt, Esq. F. R. S. & c.; His Britannic Majesty's Late Consul General in Egypt (London, 1834), vol. II, pp. 387-420.
 - 2) Published in eighty-five pages. See HammerGOR, vol. IX, p. 690.
 - 3) A copy in British Museum (BM. A.c.12) is in eight pages, but a copy in fifteen pages is mentioned in Bibliothèque Khediviale, Catalogue de la Section Européenne, vol. I. (Cairo, 1892), p. 159.
 - 4) See the copy in British Museum (BM. AC.13.1) which is printed in 20 + 125 pages

"Nous sommes déjà entrés en pourparler avec l'Imprimerie du commerce à Alexandrie pour la publication de notre recueil. Nous avons également écrit à ce sujet à Bombay et à Malte. La presse lithographique que possède l'Association est occupée de l'impression de la première livraison des MISCELLANEA HIEROGLYPHICA ou Études sur l'histoire, la religion et la langue des anciens Égyptiens, par E. Prisse. Notre dessinateur lithographe est occupé à reproduire les planches qui doivent faire partie du premier volume de notre recueil périodique ..."¹

and also that:

"Dès la première réunion générale, la comté de publication était centré en pourparlers avec l'Imprimerie de commerce à Alexandrie pour la publication des Miscellanea Aegyptiaca; mais la méfiance du directeur de cet établissement a retardé toute l'année l'impression de ce recueil, que l'Association désespérait de publier en Égypte, quand la fondation d'une nouvelle imprimerie est venue lui en fournir les moyens ..."²

Thus, the printing of this Miscellanea Aegyptiaca was in the end executed with the imprints of "Alexandria, Ex Typographia P. R. Wilkinson, Scumptibus [sic] Consociationis"³ after transferring its printing from the Press of Commerce to a new press set up in Alexandria as a result of the former delaying the task of printing. The operating of these two presses and others, such as the Imprimerie de A. E. Ozanne, in Alexandria indicates the importance of the city, where most Europeans resided conducting trade and official duties. It is therefore no surprise to find that non-Arabic presses first flourished in the port of Alexandria, and even the Egyptian government found it convenient to publish there in 1833 the semi-official French gazette Le Moniteur Égyptien to explain its policies to the foreign communities.⁴

1) Op. cit., p. vii.

2) Ibid., p. x.

3) Ibid., title-page

4) See above, pp. 45-46.

The setting up of these European presses was in the main primarily for the purpose of commerce, to undertake job-work for various parties and organizations in the printing of works with or without literary interests, such as books, studies, reports and other miscellaneous publications.¹ Among them, we find many works published under the auspices of two literary societies; they are the Egyptian Society, founded in Cairo by some Europeans in 1835, and l'Association Littéraire d'Égypte formed in 1842 by Dr. H. Abbott, the general secretary of the former organization, as a result of his disagreements with its chairman Linant de Bellefonds.² The aim of setting up these two societies can be perceived in Law and Regulations of the Egyptian Society as: " (1) To form a rendezvous for Travellers, with the view of Associating literary and scientific men, who may from time to time visit Egypt. (2) To collect and record information relative to Egypt, and to those parts of Africa and Asia which are connected with, or tributary to, this country. (3) To facilitate research, by enabling Travellers to avail themselves of such information as it may be in the power of the Society to obtain, and by offering them the advantage of a library of Reference containing the most valuable works on the East."³

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- 1) There are some printed reports of the Egyptian Society which can be found in the British Museum.
 - 2) See Shayyālī, pp. 64-65.
 - 3) Egyptian Society, Law and Regulations, p.1.

It was probably owing to the increasing European activities in Cairo that European-owned printing presses also began to flourish there from the 1840s. A certain press of "Imbelloni" is said to have printed in Cairo, around 1842, some French books to be used in the School of Languages (i.e. Madrasat al-Alsun),¹ which was set up by Muḥammad ^CAlī in 1836 for training translators of foreign languages. In addition, many works published in Cairo began to appear in that decade, such as Egyptian Society, A Catalogue of the Library (1845),² Miscellanea Aegyptiaca (Anno 1845),³ Catalogue of a Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, the Property of H. Abbott, Esq. M. D. (1846),⁴ Tippe-soi, nome copte de Ghisch (1846),⁵ Le Nouveau Secretaire Epistolaire (1847),⁶ and Sul Cholera-Morbus Nell' 1848 (Teoremi e Pensieri) (1848).⁷ In particular, from these publications we may perceive that the two literary societies mentioned above seem to have their works printed in Cairo from the mid-1840s instead of Alexandria.

1) Ṣābāt, p. 196.

2) See IbrahimLES, vol. II, p. 405; also Bibliothèque Khediviale, op. cit., vol. I, p. 159.

3) Cited in Bibliothèque Khediviale (op. cit., vol. I, p. 160) with the following printer's imprints: "Magni Cairi, ex typographia aegyptiaca, sumptibus consociationis".

4) See IbrahimLES, vol. I, p. 2.

5) Ibid., vol. II, p.3.

6) Ibid., vol. II, p. 226.

7) See Bibliothèque Khediviale, op. cit., vol. I, p. 143, published in sixty-seven pages.

To meet their own needs, a lithographic press was also set up in l'Association Littéraire d'Égypte to print and publish works, such as the reports and studies of its members.¹ However, owing to lack of information, this press cannot be definitely identified with the Maṭbaʿat Jamʿiyyat al-Maʿārif al-Miṣriyya which lithographed in Cairo in 1262/1845-46 an Arabic work Lā'ihāt Jamʿiyyat al-Maʿārif al-Miṣriyya.² If the work was in fact printed by the press attached to the literary society in question, it would indicate not only the participation of Arabs in the literary activities organized by the Europeans, but also the European need to establish an Arabic press for various interests. For instance, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions decided to transfer the Arabic press from Malta to Beirut in May 1834, owing to the tolerant and open condition of the country under Muḥammad ʿAlī's rule.³

Though it is not clear to what extent the European presses in Egypt contributed towards the publication of Arabic works during Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign, it was not long after his death that a press was set up, probably around 1852, in Cairo by an Italian Jew, Mose Castelli (1816-1884) and began to publish Arabic works from

1) See above, p. 73.

2) See above, p. 67.

3) A. L. Tibawi, "The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College", in Arabic and Islamic Themes ... etc., by A. L. Tibawi (London, 1974), p. 259.

1270/1853-54.¹ In the ensuing decades, his press known as "Maṭbaʿat Kastillī, or (al-)Kāstillī", produced many hundreds of Arabic works and established itself as a distinguished press by publishing many famous Arabic classics.² The setting up of this press and many other private Arabic presses from the 1850s signifies the end of the official dominance in the publication of Arabic works, which began to decline in the second half of the 1840s. A further study on the printing and publishing activities of Arabic presses based mainly on the printed literature will be carried out in the following chapters.

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- 1) Although an Arabic work, Al-Khutab al-Saniyya li-l-Jumaʿ al-Ḥusayniyya, is said to have been printed by the press in 1261/1845 by Sarkīs (MMA, vol. I, p. 607); cf. also Ṣābāt, pp. 196-97; and GAL, vol. s.II, p. 747. However, the first extant work found to have been published under this press-name is a reprint of Inshāʾ al-ʿAṭṭār (1270 A.H.) previously printed by the Būlāq press. The publication of the former work seems doubtful, as not only is no publication found published by this press between 1262/1845 and 1270/1853-54, but Olga Pinto ("Mose Castelli, Tipografa Italiano al Cairo", in Francesco Gabrieli's Studi Orientalista offerti nel sessantesimo compleanno dai suoi colleghi o discepoli, Roma, 1964, p. 218) also states that the press started to publish from 1852.
 - 2) Several hundred works printed/published by this press are mentioned in "La Stamperia del Castelli al Cairo" in Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia, No.111 (issued on 22nd April 1870).

CHAPTER 4

TRENDS IN PUBLISHING :

1238 - 1267 (1822 - 1851)

During the thirty-year period 1238-1267 (1822-1851) some 570 works were published in Egypt, of which the vast majority were printed on government presses, and of these the Būlāq press played the most prominent part, with a total of 526 works (or 92.3% of the total) to its credit. Among these 570 works, probably only 12 works (or 2.1% of the total) were privately-printed. The works printed on government presses, here referred to as "officially-printed" works, can be divided into two groups: (1) works published under the patronage of the government, here termed "maṭbūcāt al-ḥukūma" (or official publications), and (2) those works printed/published for private individuals who were known as "al-multazimīn" (contractors); the works in this group are here referred to as "maṭbūcāt al-multazimīn" (or privately-contracted works)¹, and sometimes referred to, together with the privately-printed works, as "non-official publications", in contrast to the first group of works. The annual output of works fluctuated, so that in the first ten-year period of printing (1238-1247/1822-1832) the annual average was around ten works or less with a total of 86 works (or 15.1% of the total output of the thirty-year period in question) produced in this period, in the second

1) RidwānTMB, p. 109.

ten-year period (1248-1257/1832-1842) the average was 20-40 works with a total of 277 works (or 48.6%), and in the third ten-year period (1258-1267/1842-1851) the average was 10-20 with a total of 170 works (or 29.8%).¹ The study of the trends in publishing of these thirty years will therefore be made in chronological order in three periods.

4.1 Chronological Survey

4.1.1 The First Ten Years: 1238-1247 (1822-1832)

In the first ten years of publishing a total of 86 works were published. The following table shows the number of works produced in each year of this 10-year period:

1st year--	1238 (1822-23):	6	works published;
2nd year--	1239 (1823-24):	6	" ;
3rd year--	1240 (1824-25):	6	" ;
4th year--	1241 (1825-26):	8	" ;
5th year--	1242 (1826-27):	18	" ;
6th year--	1243 (1827-28):	11	" ;
7th year--	1244 (1828-29):	5	" ;
8th year--	1245 (1829-30):	9	" ;
9th year--	1246 (1830-31):	9	" ;
10th year--	1247 (1831-32):	8	" .

It is clear from the above annual totals that a major expansion occurred in the 5th year. The discussion of the trends in publishing will be made in the following two periods, 1238-41 (1822-26) and 1242-47 (1826-32) respectively.

1) In addition, there are 37 works (or 6.5% of the total) which were published without date of publication; see below, Table 34 (p. 642).

4.1.1.1 First Stage (1238-1241/1822-1826):

The Beginning of Book-production

Before discussing the trends in publishing, we will first examine the contentious question of the identity of the first book(s) printed/published by Muḥammad ^ḤAlī's first typographical Arabic press, the Būlāq. The exact date and name of the first work produced by the press in question is still obscure and some regard Don Raphael's Dizionario Italiano e Arabo as the first Būlāq publication because it bears the Christian year "1822" and the Muslim year "1238" on its Italian and Arabic title-pages respectively.¹ This would suggest that it was published between 18th September and 31st December 1822 (or 1st Muḥarram-16th Rabī^Ḥ II, 1238). However, there are several dated works which could also possibly have been printed/published within this period, if we are to rely on the accuracy of the dates on the title pages or in the colophon or as given by various sources. Because of the lack of corroborative evidence, such as a precise date of publication or an official record, the Italian-Arabic dictionary in question cannot be accepted categorically as the first book printed/published. In addition, an Italian, G. B. Brocchi, who called at the Būlāq press in December 1822, gives us the most contemporary account of the first books printed, or in the process of being printed, at the time of his visit:

1) RiḍwānTMB, p. 49; ; Verdery, "The Publications of the Būlāq Press", p. 129.

"... Oltre a parecchie carte spettanti al Governo, il primo libro stampato fu un'Istruzione militare pei soldati che sono nell'alto Egitto che si vogliono addestrare all'evoluzioni Europee. Essa e scritta in turco ad uso degli uffiziali Ottomani. Indi si stampo una grammatica in lingua Araba letterale, composta da alcuni dotti del Cairo. Si pubblica ora un trattato di arte militare tradotto dal Francese in Turco da certo Scianisada, e sono pronti per la stampa un libro di Tintoria tradotto dell'Italiano, un vocabolario Italiano-Arabo composto da D. Raffaele professore a Bulac di lingua Araba"¹

According to Brocchi, three works are mentioned here as having been already printed while Don Raphael's Italian-Arabic dictionary was still waiting to be printed.² Notwithstanding the lack of reliable and accurate sources, the first two years output have been set out below in chronological order, with exact or possible date of publication, in order to throw light on various conflicting statements.

First, two works dated "1822 (1238)" which suggests that they were probably printed/published between 18th September and 31st December 1822 (1st Muḥarram-16th Rabī^c II, 1238):-

- (1) No.076(A-CW.4)-- Dizionario Italiano e Arabo, by Don Raphael.
- (2) No.548(T-TW.3)-- Waṣāyā-nāma-i Safariyya, a Turkish work of translation on campaigns tr. by Shānī-Zāda.

Second, two works dated "1238 A.H." which suggest that they might have been produced between 18th September 1822 and 6th September 1823:-

- (3) No.375(T-TW.3)-- Tarjamat Qawānīn al-^cAsākīr-i al-Jihādiyya, a Turkish military work, tr. by Shānī-Zāda.

1) Brocchi, Giornale Delle Osservazioni, vol. II, p. 173.

2) Cf. Heyworth-Dunne, "Printing and Translations", p. 333.

- (4) No.090(T-CW.3)-- Fann al-Ḥarb, a Turkish military work composed by "Niẓārat al-Ḥarbiyya al-Miṣriyya".

Third, one work dated "Rajab 1238" (March/April 1823):-

- (5) No.352(T-TW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma-i ^CAsākir-i Piyādagān-i Jihādiyya, a Turkish military work tr. by Aḥmad Khalīl.

Fourth, one work dated "26th Dhū al-Qa^Cda 1238" (4th August 1823):-

- (6) No.185(A-TW.6)-- Kitāb fī Ṣinā^Cat Ṣibāghat al-Ḥarīr, an Arabic translation on dyeing by Don Raphael.

Fifth, one work dated "Rabī^C II, 1239" (December 1823-January 1824):-

- (7) No.180(T-CW.6)-- Khumbara Jadwalī, a Turkish work on military engineering, the author is unknown.

Sixth, one work dated "1st Jumādā II, 1239" (2nd February 1824):-

- (8) No.134(T-CL.2)-- Kitāb ^Cilm al-Ḥāl, a Turkish religious pamphlet on the faith of Islam.

Seventh, one work dated "30th Rajab 1239" (31st March 1824):-

- (9) No.341(A-TW.3)-- Al-Qānūn al-Thānī fī Dars al-^CAskarī, a work of military translation in Arabic.

Eighth, two works dated "Ramaḍān 1239" (April/May 1824):-

- (10) No.005(A-CL.4)-- Al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya, an Arabic work on grammar by Ibn Ājurrūm.
- (11) No.487(T-CW.6)-- Talkhīṣ al-Ashkāl, a Turkish work on military engineering by Ḥusayn Ef. Rifqī al-Ṭamānī.

Ninth, one work dated "Dhū al-Qa^Cda 1239" (June/July 1824):-

- (12) No.478(T-TW.3)-- Ta^Clīm-nāma-i Piyādagān, a Turkish military work, the translator is not known.

In judging the sequence of the above-listed publications, we must bear in mind that the date(s) given in the colophon of a

printed work might represent the time when its printing was executed or was accomplished.¹ Therefore, some works might have been in the press or in the process of being printed long before being published at the time approximating to the date(s) given.² In view of this fact, it is not surprising to find that the Arabic grammar mentioned by Brocchi as having been printed in or before December 1822, did not appear until April/May 1824 (if that indeed is the one referred to in the above listing numbered "10"). Otherwise, there could be another work of Arabic grammar which is said by Brocchi to have been composed by certain learned men in Cairo, neither the authors nor its title being given.³

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- 1) The colophon, which was usually in Arabic (even in Turkish books) generally gave the name of the press, and sometimes the people responsible for the printing, such as the press' director, text-editor, correcteur etc., in addition to the date of publication, which consists of the year, the month, and even the day. These information is usually preceded by the terms, such as:
"ṭubi^c al-kitāb ... " (i.e. "The book was printed ..."), or
"tamma ṭab^c hādihā al-kitāb" (The printing of this book was completed ...)
 - 2) See works No.173, No.253, No.152, and No.282, which are mentioned in the 1262 A.H. list of publications as being under print at that time; however, they seem not to have appeared until 1266/1849-50, while work No.149 did not appear until 1267/1850-51.
 - 3) If the work mentioned by Brocchi is not that numerated as "(10)" in the above listing, it is uncertain then whether it is the

This work of Arabic grammar together with the two military works, are mentioned, without any title-name, by Brocchi, as probably having been printed or being in the process of being printed at the time of his visit. Of the two military works he mentioned, one is a translation made by Shānī-Zāda; the other a work to be used by soldiers in Upper Egypt.¹ However, owing to the lack of information, the first military work mentioned by him could be either (2) or (3), and the second either (4) or (5) in the above listing. Among these four military works, three of them, i.e. (2), (3), and (4), are not precisely-dated, and could have been possibly printed/published at any time before 31st December 1822, like the Italian-Arabic dictionary, and thus all have some claim to the title of the first book produced by the Būlāq press.

Apart from these twelve works, there were produced 14 works in the remaining two years of this early stage; they include:
4 military works (including one on military engineering):-

No.332(T-TW.3)-- Qānūn-i Rābi^c Ūrṭa Ta^clīmī Bayānindadur (1240 A.H.)

No.481(T-TW.3)-- Ta^clīm-nāma-i. Piyādagāndan (Qānūn-i Khāmis) (do.)

No.007(T-TW.3)-- Ālāy Ta^clīmīna Dā'ir Ashkālūñ Sharḥ wa Tafsīrī
(1241 A.H.),

No.214(T-CW.6)-- Lughm Risālasī (do.);

grammatical compilation containing various works/texts on "ṣarf" (i.e. work No.238) or on "naḥw" (No.237), each of them is known to have been published several times during the reign of Muḥammad ^cAlī from 1240/1824-25 and 1241/1825-26 onwards respectively, or indeed another work so far unidentified.

1) Cf. Heyworth-Dunne, "Printing and Translations", p. 333.

3 works on mathematics:-

No.235(T-CW.5)-- Majmū^cat al-Muhandisīn (1240 A.H.),

No.107(T-CW.5)-- Handasa wa Misāḥa Risālasī (1241 A.H.),

No.216(A-CL.5)-- Al-Luma^c fī al-Ḥisāb (do.);

2 works of Arabic grammar (one on "ṣarf" and the other on "naḥw"):-

No.238(A-CL.4)-- Majmū^cat Mutūn al-Ṣarf (1240 A.H.),

No.237(A-CL.4)-- Majmū^cat al-Muqaddimāt fī al-Naḥw (1241 A.H.);

2 religious works:-

No.160(T-CL.2)-- Al-Jawhara al-Bahiyya al-Aḥmadiyya fī Sharḥ
al-Waṣiyya al-Muḥammadiyya (1240 A.H.),

No.161(A-CL.2)-- Jawharat al-Tawḥīd (1241 A.H.);

2 almanacs (or calendars):-

No.154(A-CW.5)-- Jadāwil Mawqi^c Aqrab al-Sā^ca alā al-Shuhūr
al-Qibṭiyya (1240 A.H.),

No.290(A-CW.5)-- Mu^cribat Sana Shamsiyya (1241 A.H.);

1 work on logic:-

No.454(A-CL.1)-- Al-Sullam al-Murawnaq (1241 A.H.)

As there were twelve military works (including nine on military sciences and three on military engineering) produced among the total of 26 works which appeared in the four years of this first stage, the emphasis was clearly placed upon the needs of various military establishments and schools set up for the training of the army of the "Niẓām-i Jadīd" (New Order) at Isnā (October 1820), Farshūt (February 1822), Jihād Abād (May 1823), Aswān (August 1823), Ikhmīm (1823), Abū Tīg (1823), Madrasat al-Jihādiyya al-Ḥarbiyya (July 1825), and Madrasat Arkān (al-)Ḥarb (October 1825).¹ Most of these

1) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, pp. 111-14, 117.

military works were in Turkish, although one was published in Arabic for the use of the Arabic-speaking Egyptians who were recruited in great numbers from the beginning of the 1820s to form the rank and file of the new army which had achieved an established strength of 24,000 men.¹ However, the Egyptians were more extensively exploited by Muḥammad ^CAlī in many of his non-military institutes of reform especially connected with industry and economics, such as cotton-factories and the engineering school, Madrasat al-Handasa, set up at Būlāq (May 1821) for the training of land-surveyers.² It is therefore no surprise to find that an Arabic translation on dyeing was specifically published in the first year to meet their needs. In both the military and non-military establishments, the Arabic language was one of the main subjects to be studied, along with others such as mathematics, and for this purpose there were produced three works each in these two subjects.³ As to the publication of the Italian-Arabic dictionary, it was probably also for the study of the Italian language which was on the curriculum of these military and engineering schools.⁴

1) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, p. 114.

2) Ibid.; Bowring (RE, p. 34) makes mentioning of a cotton-factory being set up in 1819 at Būlāq for the manufacture of cloth; the number of cotton-mills increased after the success in introducing around 1820 to Egypt the long-fibre cotton which emerged as a cash crops for Muḥammad ^CAlī; cf. E. R. J. Owen, Cotton and the Egyptian Economy, 1820-1914, A Study in Trade and Development (Oxford, 1969), pp. 23, 28-30.

3) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, pp. 108-9, 119-20.

4) Ibid.

Thus, it seems that the primary aim of Muḥammad ḲAlī's establishment of an Arabic-press of typography was to facilitate his reforming programmes, as most of the works produced at this stage were intended for use in the institutes of reform. Despite the limitations of the scope and purpose of these early publications, there were certain works which had a wider benefit for the general public, and space and time were also given to the publication of certain works for which there must have been an obvious demand. For instance, we see the publication of some almanacs which fulfilled general social, economic, and religious needs,¹ while some of the religious and linguistic publications would serve as text-books of traditional education, as many of them (including a work on logic) were the texts/works read at Al-Azhar.² Though it is not known to what extent Muḥammad ḲAlī's printing-press was used for private purposes, the Ḳulamā' and their students seem to have gained certain benefits from the press. It was because of the universal utility of the printing press that this new enterprise was soon to expand especially from 1826, when Muḥammad ḲAlī launched a new wave of reforms in which many new schools were opened.

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- 1) See Edward W. Lane, An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians (New York, 1973), pp. 220-21, on the production of almanacs and calendars. Cf. also p. 141 below.
 - 2) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, pp. 44, 61.

4.1.1.2 Second Stage (1242-1247/1826-1832):

The Expansion of Printing/Publishing Activities

The importance of the fifth year (1242/1826-27) as the first turning point of Muḥammad ^cAlī's printing/publishing activities lies mainly in the development of his reforming programmes which began to intensify from 1826, and in the following years the press was to play a significant role in the process of reform. Although signs of the coming expansion could be seen as early as in late 1824 with the arrival, in November of that year, of a French military mission led by General Boyer to advise on military matters,¹ and in the establishment of two military schools for the training of officers, namely the Madrasat al-Jihādiyya (al-Ḥarbiyya) at Qaṣr al-^cAynī (July 1825) and the Madrasat Arkān (al-)Ḥarb (October 1825),² it was not until the beginning of 1826 that these tentative steps found a more permanent basis with the setting up of a "Commission d'Instruction" within the Dīwān al-Jihādiyya to be entrusted with the task of launching a systematic educational system.³ Later in that year the Dīwān

1) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, p. 115.

2) The former school was formed by transferring the Madrasat al-Handasa of Būlāq to Qaṣr al-^cAynī, the madrasat Arkān (al-)Ḥarb, also called Maktab al-Rijāl, was set up for the training of high-ranking officers, and was the first school on French lines, in which the French language was, for the first time, taught, in addition to history and geography which were also on the curriculum. The school later recruited some Egyptians and arithmetic was taught in Arabic; Ibid. pp. 117-20.

3) Ibid., p. 121.

al-Jihādiyya was put in charge of various educational establishments, both military and non-military. At the same time, the Dīwān was also placed in charge of the Būlāq press which had been under the personal supervision of Muḥammad ^CAlī since its founding in 1822.¹

As a result of this programme of reform of 1826, a contingent of 44 people was sent in July that year to France to study. This initiated a new era in which large educational missions were sent abroad in the ensuing decades: 108 people were sent between 1828 and 1832, and 70 in 1844, with a total of 349 people being sent to Europe to study during his reign.² More important was the establishment of a number of schools from the following year onwards: Madrasat al-Ṭibb (the School of Medicine at Abū Za^Cbal, February 1827), Madrasat al-Nawātiya (the Naval School, c. 1827, Alexandria), the Veterinary School at Rosetta (c. 1827), the School of Music at Khānqa (August 1827), the School of Applied Chemistry (or, École de chimie appliquée à l'industrie, 1829), al-Darskhāna al-Mulkiya (the École civil, October 1829), the School of Pharmaceutics (one in the Citadel and the other at Abū Za^Cbal, both being opened in November 1829), the School of Signals (February 1830), Madrasat al-Sawārī (the Cavalry School at Giza, April 1831), Madrasat al-Ṭūbjiyya (the School of Artillery at Ṭarra, June 1831), Madrasat al-Ṣinā^Ca (the School of Arts and Crafts, May 1831), the School of Irrigation (September 1831), the School of Chemistry at Old Cairo (November 1831), and Madrasat al-Wilāda (the School for midwives [or Maternity], opened between 1831 and 1832).³

1) Riḍwān TMB, p. 62.

2) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, pp. 157-80, 221-23, 243-64. Especially, ^CUmar Ṭūsūn, Al-Ba^Cthāt al-^CIlmiyya fī ^CAhd Muḥammad ^CAlī wa-^CAbbās al-Awwal wa-Sa^Cid (Alexandria, 1934).

3) Heyworth-Dunne, Ibid., pp. 122-52.

Apart from this educational programme, there were also administrative reforms implemented at this time, by which Egypt was divided, in 1826, into twenty-four "qisms" (departments), of which some were then grouped into "iqlīms" (provinces, also referred to as "ma' mūriyya"); the latter were further grouped, from 1245/1829-30 onwards, into new administrative units called "mudīriyyas" in the hope of creating provincial governments which would satisfy the increased demands for military recruitment and the close supervision of agricultural cultivation and tax-collection.¹ Owing to this expansion, the publication of an administrative gazette which would be widely circulated was felt necessary to facilitate communications between the central and provincial governments. As a result, not only were several gazettes (including the first Turkish-Arabic gazette ever published in the Ottoman Empire, "al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya") produced, but printing facilities were also installed in many of the administrative, military, educational and industrial establishments during this period 1826-1832.²

Under such circumstances, a plan for furthering printing and publishing enterprises seems to have been under consideration from this time, as several of the members of the large educational mission

1) Rivlin, Agricultural Policy, pp. 86-88.

2) Cf. pp. 156-58 below.

of 1826 they were sent to study not only the art of printing (such as Ḥasan al-Wardānī Ef. and Muḥammad Ef. As^Cad), but also paper-making (such as Yūsuf Ef. al-^CAyyādī).¹ In order to meet the increasing demands of printing, the proposal to purchase five new machines for the Būlāq press was raised in or before October 1828.² The increase of printing and publishing activities is in particular reflected in the sharp rise of the annual output in the 5th year (1242/1826-27), when 18 works were produced. Although the general trend in publishing in the second stage 1242-1247 (1826-1832) was one of expansion, it was not until the 11th year (1248/1832-33) that the newly-expanded Būlāq press was able to function to full capacity.³ Therefore, despite the dramatic increase of the annual output in the fifth year, the annual output of the period 1243-1247 (1827-1832), i.e., from the sixth year to the tenth year, was around ten works, and only five works were produced in the seventh year (1244/1828-29), the year in which the Būlāq press was transferred in July 1829 from its original place to a new site to accommodate the new machines.⁴

The 60 works produced in the six-year period of this stage can be tabulated according to categories as follows:

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- 1) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, p. 161; also RiḍwānTMB, p. 134.
 - 2) RiḍwānTMB, p. 85.
 - 3) RiḍwānTMB, p. 86.
 - 4) Basing on Bianchi's list of publications, Riḍwān (TMB, p. 77) states that only one work was produced in this year.

18 military works:-

- No.017(T-CW.3)-- Asakiri Piadegiani Chafifenun Seferde Olan Chidmetlerini Mubin Risale (1242 A.H.),
- No.341(A-TW.3)-- Al-Qānūn al-Thānī fī Dars al-^cAskarī (do.),
- No.356(T-TW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma-i Bahriyya-i Jihādiyya (do.),
- No.357(T-TW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma-i Bahriyya-i Jihādiyya (do.),
- No.450(T-CW.3)-- Siyāsat-nāma-i Jihādiyya-i Bahriyya (do.),
- No.483(T-TW.3)-- Ta^clīm-nāma-i Jihādiyya-i Bahriyya (do.),
- No.544(T-TW.3)-- Uṣūl al-Ma^cārif fī Wajh Taṣfīf Safā' in Dūnanmā wa-Fann Tadbīr Ḥarakātiḥā (do.),
- No.374(T-TW.3)-- Qawā^cid-nāma-i ^cAsākīr-i Bahriyya (1243 A.H.),
- No.177(A-CW.3)-- Khidmat al-Chāwīsh (or al-Jāwīsh) (1244 A.H.),
- No.352(T-TW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma-i ^cAsākīr-i Piyādagān-i Jihādiyya (1245 A.H.),
- No.354(T-TW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma-i ^cAsākīr-i Suwāriyān-i Jihādiyya (do.),
- No.472(T-TW.3)-- Ta^clīm-nāma-i ^cAsākīr-i Piyādagān (do.),
- No.178(A-CW.3)-- Khidmat al-Ūnbāshīyya (1246 A.H.),
- No.367(T-CW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma-i Safariyya-i ^cAsākīr al-Jihādiyya (do.),
- No.475(T-TW.3)-- Ta^clīm-nāma-i ^cAsākīr-i Suwāriyān-i Jihādiyya (do.),
- No.484(T-TW.3)-- Ta^clīm-nāma-i Ṭūpchīyān-i Jihādiyya-i Barriyya (do.),
- No.366(T-TW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma-i Safariyya-i ^cAsākīr al-Biyāda al-Khafīfa (1247 A.H.),
- No.369(T-CW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma-i Safariyya-i ^cAsākīr al-Suwāriyya al-Khafīfa (do.);

7 administrative works (including 2 agricultural regulations):-

- No.245(U-CW.3)-- Manshūr li-l-Tashwīq al-Zirā^ca [sic] wa-Man^c
Hurūb al-Fallāhīn (1242 A.H.),
- No.398(T-TW.3)-- Risāla fī Qawānīn al-Milāḥa ^cAmalan (do.),
- No.242(U-CW.3)-- Manshūr li-Mashāyikh wa-Ḥukkām al-Akḥṭāṭ
bi-al-I^ctinā' fī Jam^c al-Quṭn wa-Wiqāyat Maḥsūlihi
min al-Talaf (1243 A.H.),
- No.243(U-CW.3)-- Manshūr li-Mashāyikh wa-Ḥukkām al-Akḥṭāṭ bi-Ittibā^c
al-^cAdāla fī Faṣl al-Khuṣūmāt Bayna al-Muzārī^cīn
(do.),
- No.511(T-CW.3)-- Al-Tartīb al-Mun^caqib bi-al-Ja^cfariyya fī Sanat
1243 fī Bayān ^cAqd al-Majālīs fī Ru'yat Tadbīr
Umūr al-Mamlaka al-Miṣriyya (do.),
- No.209(T-CW.6)-- Lā'ihāt Siyāsāt al-Filāḥa (1245 A.H.),
- No.210(A-CW.6)-- Lā'ihāt Zirā^cat al-Fallāḥ wa-Tadbīr Aḥkām
al-Siyāsa bi-Qaṣd al-Najāḥ (do.);

7 Arabic grammatical works (4 on ṣarf and 3 on naḥw):-

- No.440(A-CL.4)-- Sharḥ Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā Surūrī (d. 969/1561)
^calā al-Amṭhila al-Mukḥtalifa (1242 A.H.),
- No.435(A-CW.4)-- Sharḥ Ḥasan B. ^cAlī al-Kafrāwī (d. 1202/1788) ^calā
al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya (do.),
- No.531(A-CL.4)-- Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān (1243 A.H.),
- No.230(A-CL.4)-- Majmū^ca fī al-Ṣarf (1244 A.H.),
- No.234(A-CL.4)-- Majmū^ca Ṣarfiyya (1246 A.H.),
- No.226(A-CL.4)-- Majmū^c fī ^cIlm al-Taṣrīf (1247 A.H.),
- No.233(A-CL.4)-- Majmū^ca Muqaddima Mashhūr fī al-Naḥw (do.);

5 religious works:-

- No.254(A-CL.2)-- Mashāriq al-Ashwāq (1242 A.H.),
No.524(T-CL.2)-- Traité de la Religion Musulmane (1243 A.H.),
No.120(A-CW.2)-- Hāshiyat ^cAbd Allāh B. Ḥasan al-Uskudārī (fl.19th)
Calā al-^cAqā'id al-Nasafiyya (1244 A.H.),
No.083(T-CW.2)-- Durr-i Yaktā (1245 A.H.),
No.448(T-CL.2)-- Siyār-i Waysī (do.);

3 historical works (in 5 editions):-

- No.223(T-CW.9)-- Maḥāsin al-Āthār wa-Ḥaqā'iq al-Akḥbār (1243 A.H.,
and 1246 A.H.),
No.371(T-TW.9)-- Qatarīna Tārīkhī (1244 A.H. and 1246 A.H.),
No.500(T-TW.9)-- Tārīkh-i Būnāpārta (1247 A.H.);

3 Turkish (-Arabic and/or -Persian) vocabularies:-

- No.528(T-CW.4)-- Tuḥfa-i Khayrat (1242 A.H.),
No.530(T-CW.4)-- Tuḥfa-i Wahbī (1245 A.H.),
No.306(T-CW.4)-- Nukḥba-i Wahbī (1246 A.H.);

3 works on epistolography:-

- No.024(A-CL.8)-- Badī^c al-Inshā' wa-al-Ṣifāt fī al-Mukātabāt
wa-al-Murāsālāt (1242 A.H.),
No.408(T-CW.8)-- Riyāḍ al-Kutabā' wa-Ḥiyāḍ al-Udabā' (do.),
No.144(A-CW.8)-- Inshā' al-^cAṭṭār (1243 A.H.);

3 poetic works:-

- No.143(A-CL.8)-- Iltiqāṭ al-Azhār fī Maḥāsin al-Ash^cār (1242 A.H.),
No.546(T-CW.8)-- Vers Turcs Adressés au Pacha Actuel d'Égypte,
Mohammed Ali (do.),
No.545(T-CL.8)-- Le Vaisseau des Pöetes (1243 A.H.);

2 mathematical works:-

- No.541(T-TW.5)-- Uṣūl al-Handasa (1246 A.H.),
No.235(T-CW.5)-- Majmū^cat al-Muhandisīn (1247 A.H.);

2 almanacs/calendars:-

No.494(T-CW.5)-- Taqwīm Sanat 1245 Hijriyya- 1830 Milādiyya
(1245 A.H.),

No.167(U-CW.5)-- Kalender für des Jahr 1831 (1247 A.H.);

2 medical works:-

No.184(A-TW.6)-- Kitāb fī Qawā'id al-Uṣūl al-Ṭibbiyya (1242 A.H.),

No.321(T-CW.6)-- Qānūn al-Jarrāhīn (1244 A.H.);

2 Persian prose-works:-

No.104(P-CL.8)-- Gulistān (1243 A.H.),

No.312(P-CL.8)-- Pand-nāma (do.);

1 geographical work:-

No.221(T-CW.9)-- Al-Madkhal fī al-Jughrāfiyā (1247 A.H.).

From the above listing, we see a continuous demand for military, mathematical, religious works, calendars and Arabic grammars, with 34 out of the total 60 works being published in these categories. Of the remaining 26 works, there were, apart from 7 administrative works, some 16 works which were produced to serve as text-books of various kinds, e.g. medical, linguistic, geographical and historical studies. For the study of Turkish and Persian languages, there were not only Turkish vocabularies, works of epistolography and Persian prose-works but also the Ottoman chronicles.¹ In view of some 18 military and 17 linguistic works being produced in this stage, the emphasis of publishing seems to have been placed upon the need for these two kinds of works from the very beginning of publication.

1) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, p. 148.

Apart from the pedagogical nature of these publications, some of them could also certainly be classed as entertainment for the reading-public, for instance we find that the Turkish translation of a history of Russia under the Empress Catherine II, Qatarīna Tārīkhī, seems to have attracted the reader's attention, as it was soon reprinted within a period of two years, and a similar work, Tārīkh-i Būnāpārta, was also published at the end of the period (i.e. in 1247 A.H.). In addition, there are two poetic works, Iltiqāṭ al-Azhār fī Maḥāsin al-Ash^cār and Le Vaisseau des Pöetes, and two Persian literary works, Gulistān and Pand-nāma, of which the latter two works were among the favourite books of al-Azhar at that time.¹ Although it is uncertain whether the afore-mentioned two poetic works were printed/published under private patronage, as the first one was originally compiled by a Frenchman, Jean Humbert, and was previously published in Paris in 1819,² while the latter is regarded here as a privately-printed works owing to the lack of a press-name (apart from "Cairo").³ However, it was probably owing to the demand for printed books that all the publications began to be priced for sale from around 1246/1830-31, and works printed by the official presses at private expense are known to have begun to appear from the eleventh year (1248/1832-33) and increased rapidly during the next ten years.⁴

1) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, pp. 76-77.

2) See work No.143 listed below; also BMCAB, vol. I, p. 656.

3) See work No.545 listed below; also ZenkerB0, vol. I, p. 74.

4) See Bianchi's list of publications where prices were only given to those works which were published after that date. The information on works printed/published at private expense is drawn mainly from the 1262 A.H. list of publications. The

It seems, therefore, that the policy of commercializing the official printing establishments for the benefit of the public had been introduced at this time to meet the demands of the reading-public.¹

4.1.2 The Second Ten Years: 1248-1257 (1832-1842)

After a decade of development, the Būlāq press and other minor official presses, set up in various establishments during the 1820s and the 1830s, seem to have begun to function more actively from the 11th year (1248/1832-33) onwards, as we observe that in this ten-year period there were 24 works which were published under press-names other than the Būlāq,² and the annual output of this period was to double, treble and even quadruple the average output of the previous ten-year period:

11th year--	1248 (1832-33):	17 works;
12th year--	1249 (1833-34):	21 works;
13th year--	1250 (1834-35):	30 works;
14th year--	1251 (1835-36):	29 works;
15th year--	1252 (1836-37):	30 works;
16th year--	1253 (1837-38):	21 works;
17th year--	1254 (1838-39):	32 works;
18th year--	1255 (1839-40):	29 works;
19th year--	1256 (1840-41):	28 works;
20th year--	1257 (1841-42):	40 works, with a total of 127 works.

sponsors of those privately-financed works were occasionally mentioned in the colophon of the work, which provides useful information on this matter.

1) *Riḍwān*TMB, p. 212.

2) Cf. above, pp. 54-55 above; Table 34 (p. 642).

As the supervision of the Būlāq press was transferred in 1837 from the Dīwān al-Jihādiyya to the newly-established Dīwān al-Madāris in a further attempt to reorganize the educational system, the general trend in publishing will also be surveyed in the following two five-year periods, 1248-1252 (1832-1837) and 1253-1257 (1837-1842).

4.1.2.1 Third Stage (1248-1252/1832-1837):

The Accelerated Growth in Publishing

The most significant development of Muḥammad ^CAlī's printing/publishing enterprises was the undertaking of jobbing work for private individuals on commercial lines which began at this time. Although at first only one publication of this kind is known to have appeared in the 11th year (1248/1832-33, Tarjama-i Siyar al-Ḥalabī), in the 12th year (1249 A.H., Al-Shajara al-Sharīfa), and in the 13th year (1250 A.H., Nahjat al-Manāzil) respectively,¹ the number of privately-contracted works began increased to seven in the 14th year (1251/1835-36), they are:-

No.252(T-CL.0)-- Ma^Crifat-nāma (encyclopaedic work),

No.121(A-CW.2)-- Ḥilyat al-Nājī (Islamic jurisprudence),

No.447(T-TW.2)-- Tarjama-i Siyar al-Ḥalabī (Islamic history),

No.523(T-TW.4)-- Tibyān-i Nāfi^C Dar Tarjama-i Burhān-i Qāṭi^C
(lexicon),

No.042(A-CL.8)-- Dīwān Amīr al-Mu'minīn ^CAlī B. Abī Ṭālib (poetry)

No.008(A-CL.8)-- Alf Layla wa-Layla (prose-work),

No.126(T-CL.8)-- Humāyūn-nāma (do.),

1) See works No.447(T-TW.2), No.422(A-CL.2), and No.296(T-CW.2) listed below (pp. 487, 466, 390-91, respectively).

and to eight in the 15th year (1252/1836-37):-

- No.091(T-CL.2)-- Faraḥ al-Rūḥ (Islamic theology),
No.296(T-CW.2)-- Nahjat al-Manāzil (Islamic jurisprudence),
No.455(T-CL.2)-- Tadhkirat al-Ḥikam fī Ṭabaqāt al-Umam (Islamic history),
No.459(T-CL.2)-- Tajalliyāt ^ʿArā'is al-Nuṣūṣ fī Minaṣṣat Ḥikam al-Fuṣūṣ (Islamic mysticism),
No.047(T-CW.8)-- Dīwān-i Ghālib (poetic works),
No.059(T-CL.8)-- Dīwān-i Naf^ʿī (do.),
No.061(T-CW.8)-- Dīwān-i Nash'at Afandī (do.),
No.181(T-CL.8)-- Kh^wābnāma-i Waysī (prose-work).

These 18 privately-contracted works (14 in Turkish and 3 in Arabic), together with three Arabic works which are regarded here as probably privately-printed works,¹ are categorized here as non-official publications, and mainly consist of 10 religious and 8 literary works, in addition to two works on linguistics and one on history.

The remaining 106 works, the majority of which were printed/published under the auspices of the government, include:

1) They are: No.003(A-CL.2)-- Aḥkām al-Dalāl ^ʿalā Taḥrīr al-Risāla [al-Qushayriyya] (1248 A.H.), No.109(A-CL.4)-- Ḥāshiyat Ḥasan al-^ʿAttār (d. 1835) ^ʿalā Sharḥ Khālīd al-Azharī(d. 1499) ^ʿalā al-Muqaddima al-Azhariyya (1251 A.H.), No.211(A-CL.9)-- Laṭā'if Akhbār al-Uwal fī-man Taṣarraf fī Miṣr min Arbāb al-Duwal (do.)

23 military works (including 19 on military sciences and 4 on military engineering):-

No.353(T-CW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma-i ^CAsākir-i Piyādagān-i Jihādiyya
(1248 A.H.),

No.360(T-CW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma-i Dākhiliyya-i ^CAsākir al-Suwāriyān
(do.),

No.473(T-TW.3)-- Ta^Clīm-nāma-i ^CAsākir-i Piyādagān (do.),

No.482(T-TW.3)-- Ta^Clīm-nāma-i Sūngī (do.),

No.468(A-TW.3)-- Ta^Clīm al-Nafar wa-Buluk (1249 A.H.),

No.477(T-TW.3)-- Ta^Clīm-nāma (li-Ta^Clīm al-Nafar wa-al-Buluk) (do.)

No.158(T-TW.6)-- Kitāb Jarr al-Athqāl (do.),

No.315(T-TW.3)-- Qānūn-i Awwal-i Ta^Clīm-nāma-i Ālāy (1250 A.H.),

No.331(T-TW.3)-- Qānūn-i Rābi^C Ūrṭa Ta^Clīmī Bayānindadur (do.),

No.376(A-TW.3)-- Qawānīn al-Dākhiliyya al-Muta^Calliqa bi-Mushāt
^CAsākir al-Jihādiyya (do.),

No.397(T-CW.3)-- Risāla fī Nidā'āt al-^CAsākir al-Suwāriyya
al-Jadīda (do.),

No.317(T-TW.6)-- Qānūn al-Bārūd (do.),

No.018(T-TW.3)-- Ashkāl-i Suwārī (1251 A.H.),

No.316(T-TW.3)-- Qānūn-i Awwal wa Thānī-yi Suwārī (do.),

No.329(T-TW.3)-- Qānūn-i Piyāda-i Dākhiliyya (do.),

No.339(T-TW.3)-- Qānūn-i Thāliṭh-i Suwārī (do.),

No.373(T-TW.3)-- Qawā^Cid-i Ḥarbiyya (do.),

No.526(T-TW.3)-- Tuḥfa-i Dābiṭān (do.),

No.535(T-TW.6)-- Ṭūpkhāna wa Jabkhāna (do.),

No.330(T-TW.3)-- Qānūn-i Rābi^C Ālāy Ta^Clīmīnī Bayān Īdar (1252 A.H.)

No.333(T-TW.3)-- Qānūn-i Rābi^C wa Khāmis-i Suwārī (do.),

No.479(T-TW.3)-- Ta^Clīm-nāma-i Piyādagān (do.),

No.011(A-TW.6)-- Kitāb ^CAmal al-Bārūd (do.);

21 medical works:-

- No.378(A-TW.6)-- Al-Qawl al-Şarīh fī ʿIlm al-Tashrīh (1248 A.H.),
- No.404(T-CW.6)-- Risāla Mustakhraja min Kutub Qawānīn
al-Uṣbitāliyāt fī Bayān al-Khadāmāt al-Mutaʿalliq
bi-Nāẓir al-Uṣbitāliya wa-Sāʿir Khuddāmihā (do.),
- No.537(A-TW.6)-- Al-ʿUjāla al-Ṭibbiyya fī-mā lā budda minhu
li-Ḥukamāʾ al-Jihādiyya (do.),
- No.265(A-TW.6)-- Al-Minḥa fī Siyāsat Ḥifẓ al-Şihḥa (1249 A.H.),
- No.401(A-TW.6)-- Risāla min Klūt Bayg [i.e. Clot Bey] Kashf ʿUmūm
al-Khidma al-Şihḥiyya ilā Dubbāt al-Şihḥa Awlād
al-ʿArab bi-al-Urduwī [sic] al-Mansūr bi-Barr
al-Shām fī Khušūş al-Ḥummā al-Mutaqaṭṭiʿa (do.),
- No.029(A-TW.6)-- Batūlūjiyya (yaʿnī [i.e.] Risāla fī al-Ṭibb
al-Baṣharī (1250 A.H.),
- No.284(A-TW.6)-- Muntahā al-Aghrād fī ʿIlm Şhifāʾ al-Amrād (do.),
- No.377(T-CW.6)-- Qawānīn al-Şihḥa (do.),
- No.393(A-TW.6)-- Risāla fī ʿIlāj al-Ṭāʿūn (do.),
- No.395(A-TW.6)-- Risāla fī ʿIlm al-Jirāḥ al-Baṣhariyya (do.),
- No.399(A-TW.6)-- Risāla fī Taṭʿīm al-Jadarī (do.),
- No.489(A-TW.6)-- Tanbīh fī-mā Yakhuṣṣu al-Ṭāʿūn (do.),
- No.518(T-CW.6)-- Tertib-i Ecza (do.),
- No.220(A-TW.6)-- Mablagh al-Barāḥ fī ʿIlm al-Jarrāḥ (1251 A.H.),
- No.392(A-TW.6)-- Risāla fī ʿIlāj al-Jarab (do.),
- No.002(T-CW.6)-- Aḥkām al-Amrād (1252 A.H.),
- No.086(A-TW.6)-- Dustūr al-Aʿmāl al-Aqrabādḥīniyya li-Ḥukamāʾ
al-Diyār al-Miṣriyya (do.),
- No.150(A-TW.6)-- Is ʿāf al-Marḍā min ʿIlm Manāfiʿ al-Aʿḍāʾ (do.),
- No.302(A-TW.6)-- Nubḍha Laṭīfa fī Taṭʿīm al-Jadarī (do.),

No.490(A-CW.6)-- Tanbīhāt Takhuṣṣu al-Rawātib min Ḥukamā'
al-Makātib (do.),

No.518(T-CW.6)-- Tertib-i Ecza (do.);

13 works of Arabic grammar:-

No.251(A-CL.4)-- Marāḥ al-Arwāḥ (1249 A.H.),

No.153(A-CL.4)-- Izhār al-Asrār (do.),

No.435(A-CW.4)-- Sharḥ Ḥasan B. ^cAlī al-Kafrāwī (d. 1202/1788)
^calā al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya (do.),

No.112(A-CL.4)-- Ḥāshiyat ^cAbd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī (d. 912/1506)
^calā al-Fawā'id al-Ḍiyā'iyya ... etc. (1250 A.H.),

No.236(A-CL.4)-- Majmū^cat al-Muqaddimāt (1251 A.H.),

No.009(A-CL.4)-- Al-Khulāṣa al-Alfiyya (do.),

No.425(A-CL.4)-- Sharḥ Khālīd al-Azharī(d. 905/1499) ^calā
al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya (do.),

No.431(A-CL.4)-- Sharḥ Ibn ^cAqīl (d. 769/1367) ^calā Alfiyyat Ibn
Mālik (do.),

No.005(A-CL.4)-- Al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya (fī al-Naḥw) (1252 A.H.),

No.426(A-CL.4)-- Sharḥ Khālīd al-Azharī (d. 1499) ^calā al-Muqaddima
al-Azhariyya fī ^cIlm al-^cArabiyya (do.),

No.431(A-CL.4)-- Sharḥ Ibn ^cAqīl (d. 769/1367) ^calā Alfiyyat Ibn
Mālik (do.),

No.435(A-CW.4)-- Sharḥ Ḥasan B. ^cAlī al-Kafrāwī (d. 1202/1788)
^calā al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya (do.),

No.488(A-CL.4)-- Tamrīn al-Ṭullāb fī Ṣinā^cat al-I^crāb (do.);

9 veterinary works:-

No.303(A-TW.6)-- Al-Nukhba al-Bayṭariyya fī Awsāf Khayl al-Jihādiyya
(1249 A.H.),

No.394(A-TW.6)-- Risāla fī ^cIlm al-Bayṭariyya (do.),

- No.517(A-TW.6)-- Al-Tawḍīḥ li-Alfāẓ al-Tashrīḥ (do.),
No.147(A-TW.6)-- ᶜIqd al-Jumān fī Adwiyat al-Ḥayawān (1250 A.H.),
No.358(A-TW.6)-- Qānūn-nāma-i Bayṭārī (do.),
No.359(T-TW.6)-- Qānūn-nāma-i Bayṭārī (do.),
No.391(T-CW.6)-- Risāla fī Bayān Khadāmāt al-Bayṭariyya (do.),
No.396(A-TW.6)-- Risāla fī ᶜIlm al-Ṭibb al-Bayṭārī (do.),
No.527(A-TW.6)-- Al-Tuḥfa al-Fākhira fī Hay'at al-Aᶜḍā' al-Zāhira
(1251 A.H.)

9 historical works (including two on geography, one travel work, one on anthropology, and one biography):-

- No.386(T-CL.9)-- Rawḍat al-Abrār (1248 A.H.),
No.453(T-CL.9)-- Sulaymān-nāma (do.),
No.314(A-TW.9)-- Qalā'id al-Mafākhir fī Gharīb ᶜAwā'id al-Awā'il
wa-al-Awākhir (1249 A.H.),
No.502(T-TW.9)-- Tarjama-i Tārīkh Itāliyā (do.),
No.505(T-TW.9)-- Tārīkh-i Nāpuliyyūn Būnāpārta (do.),
No.172(A-CW.9)-- Al-Kanz al-Mukhtār fī Kashf al-Arādī wa-al-Biḥār
(1250 A.H.),
No.497(A-TW.9)-- Al-Taᶜrifāt (or al-Taᶜrībāt) al-Shāfiya li-Murīd
al-Jughrāfiyya (or al-Jughrāfiyā) (do.),
No.461(A-CW.9)-- Takhliṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz (do.),
No.279(A-TW.9)-- Mukhtaṣar Tarjamat Mashāhīr Qudamā' al-Falāsifa
(1252 A.H.);

5 literary works (in 6 editions):-

- No.104(P-CL.8)-- Gulistān (1249 A.H.),
No.169(A-CL.8)-- Kalīla wa-Dimna (1249 A.H. and 1251 A.H.),
No.428(T-CL.8)-- Sharḥ-i Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ-i Shīrāzī (1250 A.H.),
No.095(T-CL.8)-- Fātiḥ al-Abyāt (1251 A.H.),
No.539(A-CL.8)-- ᶜUnwān al-Bayān wa-Bustān al-Adhhān (do.),

5 administrative works:-

No.244(U-CW.3)-- Manshūr li-Mudīr al-Aqālīm Khaṣṣ bi-Man^c al-Shubbān al-Mujannadīn min Tashwīh Anfusiḥim ... etc.

(1248 A.H.),

No.398(T-TW.3)-- Risāla fī Qawānīn al-Milāḥa ^cAmalan (do.),

No.323(T-CW.3)-- Qānūn Khaṣṣ bi-Tartībāt Majlis Aḥkām Mulkiyya

(1249 A.H.),

No.350(U-CW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma (1251 A.H.),

No.509(A-CW.3)-- Tartīb al-Dawāwīn (1252 A.H.);

5 mathematical works:-

No.215(A-CW.5)-- Lughāritma (1250 A.H.),

No.213(A-TW.5)-- Al-Lāzim min al-Handasa al-Waṣfiyya (1252 A.H.),

No.246(A-TW.5)-- Al-Maqāla al-Ūlā fī al-Handasa (do.),

No.247(T-TW.5)-- Maqālāt al-Handasa (do.),

No.542(T-TW.5)-- Kitāb Uṣūl al-Handasa (do.);

4 religious works:-

No.038(T-CL.2)-- Dhayl-i Siyar-i Nabawī (1248 A.H.),

No.538(A-CL.2)-- Umm al-Barāhīn (fī al-^cAqā'id) (1250 A.H.),

No.089(T-CL.2)-- Faḍā'il al-Jihād (1251 A.H.),

No.160(T-CL.2)-- Al-Jawhara al-Bahiyya al-Aḥmadiyya fī Sharḥ al-Waṣiyya al-Muḥammadiyya (do.);

3 almanacs/calendars:-

No.168(U-CW.5)-- Kalender für das Jahr 1832 (1248 A.H.),

No.288(A-CW.5)-- Mu^criba li-Sana Shamsiyya (1249 A.H.),

No.289(A-CW.5)-- Mu^criba li-Sana Shamsiyya (1250 A.H.);

2 works of epistolography:-

No.145(T-CW.8)-- Inshā'-i ^cAzīz Afandī (1249 A.H.),

No.144(A-CW.8)-- Inshā' al-^cAṭṭār (1250 A.H.);

1 work on ethics:-

No.006(T-CL.1)-- Akh̄lāq-i 'Alā'ī (1248 A.H.);

2 Turkish (-Arabic) lexicography:-

No.452(T-CW.4)-- Subḥa-i Şibyān (1249 A.H.),

No.540(T-TW.4)-- Al-Ūqiyānūs al-Basīṭ fī Tarjamāt al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ
(1250 A.H.);

1 work on mineralogy:-

No.183(A-TW.5)-- Ta'arīb Kitāb [al-Mu'allim Firārd] fī al-Ma'ādīn
al-Nāfi'a li-Tadbīr Ma'āyish al-Khalā'iq
(1248 A.H.);

1 work on chemical technology:-

No.185(A-TW.6)-- Kitāb fī Şinā'at Şibāghat al-Ḥarīr (1252 A.H.);

1 school text-book:-

No.010(A-CW.3)-- Alif, Bā', Tā', ... etc. (1250 A.H.).

Among these 106 officially-sponsored works, the appearance of many translations on scientific and technical subjects bear witness to the tremendous effort on the part of the government to introduce to Egypt western works of science. The publication of these works together with many other translations dealing with the military sciences, geography and history, amounting to a total of 59 works (or 45.1% of the total 127 works produced in this period) indicates a great activities of translation undertaken at this time.¹ These activities were in particular aided by the return, from this time onwards, of the students of the educational missions.² To further

1) Cf. below, Table A (p. 132).

2) Shayyālī, p. 33; Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, Arab Rediscovery of Europe; A Study in Cultural Encounters (Princeton, 1963), pp.39-40.

promote the work of translation, a special school, the Madrasat al-Alsun (the School of Languages) was set up in June 1836 for the training of translators.¹ This School was soon put under the charge of Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭaḥṭāwī (1800-1873), an al-Azharī graduate, who, having been sent to Paris with the 1826 mission in the role of the mission's imām, made a study of the art of translation during his residence in France (1826-1831).² Due to his efforts, many Arabic translations of works on the western sciences were published, as well as translations of western history.³ The publication of these Arabic historical works, in contrast to those historical translations which were previously published only in Turkish, seems to indicate the increasing importance of Arabic publications.⁴ It is therefore no surprise to find that among the 106 officially sponsored works, the 59 Arabic works outnumbered the 44 Turkish works produced in this stage.

However, apart from the works produced for the purposes of administration, education and the military training, there are some works which seem to have been printed and indeed reprinted by the government to meet the demands of the book-market, works such as:

-
- 1) ShayyālTT, pp. 39-40; Heyworth-Dunne, Education, pp. 150, 264-71.
 - 2) Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, 1801-1873 (Dār al-Maʿārif bi-Miṣr, 1958), pp. 26-27.
 - 3) See various works of his listed in SarkīsMMA, vol. I, pp. 934-47.
 - 4) There are 6 Turkish historical works (including 3 translations) which were published in the period 1242-1247 (1826-1832); while in the period 1248-1252 (1832-1837), 4 Turkish works (including 2 translations) of this kind were published, and there were 4 Arabic translation of western historical and geographical works.

Akhlāq-i 'Alā'ī (1248 A.H.), Kalīla wa-Dimna (1249 A.H., and 1251 A.H.), Sharḥ-i Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ-i Shīrāzī (1250 A.H.), Fātiḥ al-Abyāt (1250 A.H.), and Al-Ūqiyānūs al-Basīṭ fī Tarjamat al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ (1250 A.H.).¹ It was precisely in order to meet the increasing demand for printed books, that the minor official presses were also employed in the printing/publishing of some of the literary works, and a book-shop was opened by the government around 1837 to promote the book-trade.² The strength of the growing book-market for publications can be seen particularly in the next five years (1253-1257/1837-1842) when some 65 works (or 43.3%) of the total 150 works produced in that period are known to have been published under private patronage.³

4.1.2.2 Fourth Stage (1253-1257/1837-1842):

The Zenith of Publishing

This five-year period is marked by the significant proportion of privately-financed works published in each year:

10	(out of the total 21)	works produced in	1253/1837-38;
13	"	32	" 1254/1838-39;
13	"	29	" 1255/1839-40;
13	"	28	" 1256/1840-41;
16	"	40	" 1257/1841-42.

These 65 privately-sponsored works consisted, apart from a book of Persian poetry (Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ, 1256 A.H.), of:

-
- 1) See works No.006, No.169, No.428, No.095, and No.540.
 - 2) RiḍwānTMB, pp. 302-3.
 - 3) See those works marked with dagger(s) (i.e. "‡", or "‡‡", or "‡‡‡") in Tables 16-20 (pp. 581-91).

(1) forty-nine Turkish works, which included:

19 dīwāns (in 21 editions):-

- No.060(T-CL.8)-- Dīwān-i Nā'ili (1253 A.H. and 1255 A.H.),
No.066(T-CW.8)-- Dīwān-i Partaw (do.),
No.067(T-CL.8)-- Dīwān-i Rāghib (do.),
No.069(T-CL.8)-- Dīwān-i Sāmī (do.),
No.073(T-CL.8)-- Dīwān-i Wahbī (do.),
No.046(T-CL.8)-- Dīwān-i Fuḍūlī (1254 A.H. and 1256 A.H.),
No.065(T-CL.8)-- Dīwān-i Niyāzī (do.),
No.054(T-CW.8)-- Dīwān-i 'Izzat (1255 A.H.),
No.058(T-CL.8)-- Dīwān-i Nadīm (do.),
No.072(T-CW.8)-- Dīwān-i Surūrī (do.),
No.070(T-CL.8)-- Dīwān-i Sazā'ī-yi Gulshani (1256 A.H.),
No.299(T-CL.8)-- Nawādir al-Āthār (do.),
No.052(T-CL.8)-- Dīwān-i Hishmat (1257 A.H.),
No.053(T-CL.8)-- Dīwān-i Ismā'īl Ḥaqqī (do.)
No.056(T-CL.8)-- Le Diwan de Mohammed Emin (do.),
No.057(T-CL.8)-- Dīwān-i Nābī Afandī (do.),
No.062(T-CL.8)-- Le Diwan de Nasim (do.),
No.064(T-CL.8)-- Le Diwan de Nichani (do.),
No.074(T-CW.8)-- Dīwān-i Wāṣif (do.);

10 religious works (in 11 editions):-

- No.105(T-CL.2)-- Ḥadīqa al-Su'adā' (1253 A.H.),
No.259(T-CL.2)-- Al-Mawqūfātī (1254 A.H. and 1256 A.H.),
No.430(T-CW.2)-- Sharḥ Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Naqshbandī (d. 1282/1865)
ʿalā al-Shamā'il al-Sharīfa li-l-Imām al-Tirmidhī
(1254 A.H.),

- No.091(T-CL.2)-- Faraḥ al-Rūḥ (1255 A.H.),
No.270(T-CL.2)-- Minhāj al-Fuqarā' (1256 A.H.),
No.296(T-CW.2)-- Nahjat al-Manāzil (do.),
No.529(T-CL.2)-- Tuḥfa-i Salīmiyya Dar 'Aqā'id (do.),
No.381(T-CL.2)-- Tarjamat Rashahāt 'Ayn al-Ḥayāt (do.),
No.094(T-CL.2)-- Fatāwī 'Alī al-Jatāljawī (1257 A.H.),
No.179(T-CW.2)-- Khulāṣat al-Wafā' (do.);

7 literary works (in 11 editions):-

- No.536(T-CL.8)-- Tuṭī-nāma (1253 A.H., 1254 A.H., and 1255 A.H.),
No.212(T-CL.8)-- Laṭā'if-i Khwāja Naṣr al-Dīn Afandī (1254 A.H.,
and 1257 A.H.),
No.101(T-CL.8)-- Ganjīna-i Ḥikmat (fī al-Ḥikāyāt wa-Manāqib Abī
'Alī Ibn Sīnā wa-Akhīhi Abī al-Ḥārith) (1254 A.H.),
No.126(T-CL.8)-- Humāyūn-nāma (do.),
No.252(T-CL.0)-- Ma 'rifat-nāma (1255 A.H., and 1257 A.H.),
No.176(T-CL.8)-- Khamsa-i Nargisī (1255 A.H.),
No.439(T-CL.8)-- Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Burda (1256 A.H.);

3 vocabularies:-

- No.506(T-CW.4)-- Kitāb Tarjumān Turkī wa-'Arabī (1253 A.H.),
No.441(T-CW.4)-- Sharḥ-i Tuḥfa-i Wahbī (1254 A.H.),
No.525(T-CW.4)-- Tuḥfa-i 'Āsim (Manzūma) (do.);

1 work of epistolography:-

- No.283(T-CW.8)-- Munsha'āt-i Rif'at Afandī (1254 A.H.);

1 work on ethics:-

- No.295(T-CL.1)-- Tarjamat Nahj al-Sulūk fī Siyāsat al-Mulūk
(1257 A.H.);

1 historical work:-

- No.272(T-CL.9)-- Mir'āt al-Kā'ināt (1257 A.H.).

(2) fifteen Arabic works, of which there are:

7 religious works:-

No.418(A-CL.2)-- Al-Sawād al-A^Czam (1253 A.H.),

No.119(A-CW.2)-- Hāshiyat Aḥmad B. Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥṭāwī (d. 1818)

ʿalā al-Durr al-Mukhtār fī Sharḥ Tanwīr

al-Absār (1254 A.H.),

No.410(A-CL.2)-- Rūḥ al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān (1255 A.H.),

No.423(A-CL.2)-- Al-Shajara al-Sharīfa (1256 A.H.),

No.027(A-CL.2)-- Al-Barīqa al-Maḥmūdiyya fī Sharḥ al-Ṭarīqa

al-Muḥammadiyya (1257 A.H.),

No.438(A-CL.2)-- Sharḥ ^CAlī B. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī (d.1605)

ʿalā al-Shifā' bi-Ta^Crīf Huqūq al-Muṣṭafā

li-l-Qādī ^CIyād (do.),

No.486(A-CL.2)-- Ta^Clīqāt al-Kangharī (fl. ?) ʿalā ... al-Mawāqif

fī ^Cilm al-Kalām (do.);

3 grammatical works:-

No.115(A-CL.4)-- Hāshiyat Kamāl al-Dīn Qara Dada (d. 975/1567)

ʿalā al-Taṣrīf al-^CIzzī (1255 A.H.),

No.114(A-CW.4)-- Hāshiyat Muḥarram Afandī (fl. 13th/19th) ʿalā

al-Fawā'id al-Diyā'iyya (1256 A.H.),

No.117(A-CL.4)-- Hāshiyat ^CAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1656)

ʿalā al-Fawā'id al-Diyā'iyya (do.);

2 literary works (including one prose-work and one on rhetoric):-

No.113(A-CW.8)-- Hāshiyat Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Arzanjānī Muftī-Zāda

(d. 1808) ʿalā ... al-Risāla al-Samarqandiyya

(1254 A.H.),

No.416(A-CL.8)-- Safīnat al-Rāghib wa-Dafīnat al-Ṭālib (1255 A.H.)

1 work of lexicography (in 2 editions):-

No.191(A-CL.4)-- Kulliyāt Abī al-Baqā' (1253 A.H., and 1255 A.H.)

1 almanac/calendar:-

No.155(A-CW.5)-- Jadāwil Mawqī^c ʿAqrab al-Sāʿāt ʿalā Qadr Ḥiṣāṣ
al-Awqāt fī al-Shuhūr al-Qibṭiyya al-Shamsiyya
(1255 A.H).

This indicates the predominance of Turkish works in the privately-sponsored publications, and that much of the demand of the reading public was for works of literature, religion, and linguistics, with 62 (out of the total 65) works being produced in these fields. While the remaining 85 works, mostly under the patronage of the government, include 52 works in Arabic, 24 in Turkish, 4 in Persian and 4 works of which the language is unknown, in the following categories:

15 military works (including one on military engineering):-

No.338(A-CW.3)-- Qānūn Taʿlīm al-ʿAskar al-Jihādiyya al-Mushāt
(1253 A.H.),

No.228(T-TW.3)-- Majmūʿa-i Fann al-Baḥriyya (1254),

No.292(T-TW.3)-- Nafar wa Bulūk (do.),

No.315(T-TW.3)-- Qānūn-i Awwal-i Taʿlīm-nāma-i (do.),

No.498(T-TW.3)-- Taʿrīf-nāma (yaʿnī [i.e.] Kitāb fī Tartīb
al-ʿAsākir (do.),

No.463(T-TW.3)-- Taʿlīm-i Ālāy (1255 A.H.),

No.469(T-TW.3)-- Taʿlīm-i Ūrṭa (do.),

No.470(A-TW.3)-- Taʿlīm al-Ūrṭa (do.),

No.206(T-TW.6)-- Lāʾiḥat Mawāʿid al-Muhimmāt fī Qawāʿid Muhimmāt
al-Jihādiyya (do.),

No.293(A-TW.3)-- Nafar wa Bulūk (1256 A.H.),

No.474(T-TW.3)-- Taʿlīm-nāma-i ʿAsākir-i Piyādagān (do.),

No.480(T-TW.3)-- Taʿlīm-nāma-i Piyādagān (do.),

- No.035(A-CW.3)-- Dākhiliyya (1257 A.H.),
No.342(T-CW.3)-- Qānūn al-Ṭūbjiyya al-Jadīd (do.),
No.464(A-TW.3)-- Ta^clīm Ālāy (do.);

8 Arabic grammatical works:-

- No.009(A-CL.4)-- Al-Khulāṣa al-Alfiyya (1253 A.H.),
No.431(A-CL.4)-- Sharḥ Ibn ^cAqīl (d. 769/1367) Ḥalā Alfiyyat Ibn
Mālik (1253 A.H.),
No.432(A-CL.4)-- Sharḥ ^cAbd Allāh Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1360) Ḥalā
Qaṭr al-Nadā wa-Ball al-Ṣadā (do.),
No.443(A-CL.4)-- Shudhūr al-Dhahab fī Ma^crifat Kalām al-^cArab (do.),
No.229(A-CL.4)-- Majmū^ca (fī al-Naḥw) (1255 A.H.),
No.239(A-CL.4)-- Majmū^cat Rasā'il fī al-Ṣarf (1257 A.H.),
No.435(A-CW.4)-- Sharḥ Ḥasan B. ^cAlī al-Kafrāwī (d. 1202/1788)
Ḥalā al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya (do.),
No.442(A-CL.4)-- Al-Shaykh Khālid fī ^cIlm al-Naḥw (do.);

7 religious works:-

- No.083(T-CW.2)-- Durr-i Yaktā (1253 A.H.),
No.120(A-CW.2)-- Ḥashiyat ^cAbd Allāh B. Ḥasan al-Uskudārī (fl.19th)
Ḥalā al-^cAqā'id al-Nasafiyya (1254 A.H.),
No.135(T-CL.2)-- ^cIlm-i Ḥāl (1255 A.H.),
No.036(A-CL.2)-- Dalā'il al-Khayrāt wa-Shawāriq al-Anwār fī Dhikr
al-Ṣalāt Ḥalā al-Nabī al-Mukhtār (1256 A.H.),
No.160(T-CL.2)-- Al-Jawhara al-Bahiyya al-Aḥmadiyya fī Sharḥ
al-Waṣiyya al-Muḥammadiyya (do.),
No.424(A-CL.2)-- Sharḥ ^cAlī B. ^cAbd al-Salām al-Tasūlī al-Sabrārī
(fl. ?) Ḥalā Tuḥfat al-Ḥukkām fī Nukat al-^cUhūd
wa-al-Aḥkām (do.),
No.521(T-CL.2)-- Tarjama-i Tibyān (1257 A.H.);

7 veterinary works:-

- No.275(A-TW.6)-- Mishkāt al-Lā'idhīn fī 'Ilm al-Aqrabādhīn
(1254 A.H.),
- No.102(A-TW.6)-- Ghāyat al-Marām fī Adwiyat al-Asqām (1255 A.H.),
- No.308(A-TW.6)-- Nuzhat al-Anām fī al-Tashrīh al-^cĀmm (do.),
- No.533(A-TW.6)-- Tuḥfat al-Riyād fī Kulliyāt al-Amrād (do.),
- No.285(A-TW.6)-- Muntahā al-Barāh fī 'Ilm al-Jarrāh (1256 A.H.),
- No.387(A-TW.6)-- Rawdat al-Adhkiyā' fī 'Ilm al-Fisiyūlūjiyā (do.),
- No.310(A-TW.6)-- Nuzhat al-Mahāfil fī Ma^crifat al-Mafāsil
(1257 A.H.);

6 medical works:-

- No.280(A-TW.6)-- Mukhtaṣar Yashtamilu ^calā Nubdha fī Uṣūl
al-Falsafa al-Ṭabī^ciyya ... etc. (1253 A.H.),
- No.016(A-TW.6)-- Al-Arbiṭa al-Jirāhiyya (1254 A.H.),
- No.075(A-TW.6)-- Diya' al-Nayyirayn fī Mudāwāt al-^cAynayn
(1256 A.H.),
- No.325(A-CW.6)-- Qānūn li-l-Usbitāliyā (ma^ca Ashkāl) (do.),
- No.518(T-CW.6)-- Tertib-i Ecza (do.),
- No.537(A-TW.6)-- Al-^cUjāla al-Ṭibbiyya fī-mā lā budda minhu
li-Ḥukamā' al-Jihādiyya (do.);

6 mathematical works:-

- No.543(A-TW.5)-- Uṣūl al-Handasa (1255 A.H.),
- No.186(A-TW.5)-- Kitāb al-Jabr wa-al-Muqābala al-Mukammala
(1256 A.H.),
- No.460(A-TW.5)-- Tajrīb Muqarrab fī al-Ḥisāb (do.),
- No.122(A-TW.5)-- Ḥisāb al-Tamām wa-al-Tafāḍul (1257 A.H.),
- No.138(A-CW.5)-- Kitāb 'Ilm al-Ḥisāb (do.),
- No.291(A-CW.5)-- Muthallathāt Mustawiya wa-Kurawiyā (do.);

5 administrative works:-

- No.208(T-CW.3)-- Lā'iḥat Niẓām al-Maṣāliḥ fī Bayān Mujāzāt al-Mustakhdimīn fī al-Ḥukūma al-Shāhāniyya (1253 A.H.),
- No.449(U-CW.3)-- Siyāsāt-nāma (Ibāra an Qānūn Jinā'ī) (do.),
- No.195(U-CW.3)-- Lā'iḥa an Tadāwul al-Umla al-Miṣriyya ... etc. (1255 A.H.),
- No.201(U-CW.3)-- Lā'iḥa Khāṣṣa bi-Qayd al-Mawālīd wa-al-Wafayāt (1256 A.H.),
- No.199(U-CW.3)-- Lā'iḥa Khāṣṣa bi-Adam Ta'khīr al-ʿAmāl fī al-Dawāwīn (1257 A.H.);

4 historical works:-

- No.031(A-TW.9)-- Bidāyat al-Qudamā' wa-Hidāyat al-Ḥukamā' (1254 A.H.),
- No.501(T-TW.9)-- Tārīkh-i Iskandar Ibn-i Fīlipūs (do.),
- No.255(A-TW.9)-- Maṭāli' Shumūs al-Siyar fī Waqā'i' Karlūs [sic] al-Thānī ʿAshar (1257 A.H.),
- No.300(A-TW.9)-- Naẓm al-La'ālī' fī al-Sulūk fī-man Ḥakama Faransā wa-man Qābalahum ʿalā Miṣr min al-Mulūk (do.);

4 geographical works (including one travel):-

- No.039(A-TW.9)-- Al-Dirāsa al-Awwaliyya fī al-Jughrāfiyā al-Ṭabīʿiyya (1254 A.H.),
- No.162(A-TW.9)-- Al-Jughrāfiyya al-Umūmiyya (do.),
- No.497(A-TW.9)-- Al-Taʿrīfāt (or al-Taʿrībāt) al-Shāfiya li-Murīd al-Jughrāfiyya (or al-Jughrāfiyā) (do.),
- No.414(T-TW.9)-- Sifārat-nāma-i Rifāʿa Bag [Bey] (1255 A.H.);

4 Persian literary works (3 prose-works and a work of poetry):-

- No.312(P-CL.8)-- Pand-nāma (1253 A.H., and 1257 A.H.),
- No.436(P-CL.8)-- Sharḥ al-Mathnawī al-Sharīf (1254 A.H.),

No.104(P-CL.8)-- Gulistān (1257 A.H.);

3 Turkish vocabularies:-

No.306(T-CW.4)-- Nukhba-i Wahbī (1254 A.H.),

No.530(T-CW.4)-- Tuḥfa-i Wahbī (do.),

No.528(T-CW.4)-- Tuḥfa-i Khayrat (1255 A.H.);

3 agricultural works:-

No.171(A-TW.6)-- Kanz al-Barā^ca fī Mabādi' Fann al-Zirā^ca
(1254 A.H.)

No.347(T-CW.6)-- Qānūn al-Zirā^ca (do.),

No.348(A-CW.6)-- Qānūn al-Zirā^ca (Ūrūppa) [sic] (1255 A.H.);

2 literary works:-

No.427(T-CW.8)-- Sharḥ Dīwān Sayyidinā ^cAlī B. Abī Ṭālib
(1255 A.H.),

No.417(T-CL.8)-- Tarjamat Sharḥ al-^cUyūn fī Sharḥ Risālat Ibn
Zaydān (1257 A.H.);

2 works on physics:-

No.022(A-TW.5)-- Al-Azhār al-Badī^ca fī ^cIlm al-Ṭabī^ca (1254 A.H.),

No.131(A-TW.5)-- Īdrūlīk, ay [i.e.] ^cIlm Ḥarakat wa-Muwāzanat
al-Miyāh (1257 A.H.);

2 works on engineering:-

No.262(A-TW.6)-- Mīkānīqā, anna [i.e.] ^cIlm Jarr al-Aḥqāl
(1257 A.H.),

No.507(A-TW.6)-- Tarkīb al-Ālāt (do.);

1 almanac:-

No.413(U-CW.5)-- Rūz-nāma (1253 A.H.);

1 work on logic:-

No.493(A-TW.1)-- Tanwīr al-Mushriq bi-^cIlm al-Mantiq (1254 A.H.);

1 school text-book:-

No.466(A-CW.3)-- Ta^clīm al-Aṭfāl (1255 A.H.);

1 work on geodesy:-

No.549(A-TW.5)-- Ziyūdiziyya, ay [i.e.] Fann A^cmāl al-Khurūṭ al-^cAzīma (1257 A.H.);

1 work on geology:-

No.015(A-TW.5)-- Al-Aqwāl al-Murḍiya fī ^cIlm Bunyat al-Kura al-Arḍiyya (1257 A.H.);

1 work on botany:-

No.079(A-TW.9)-- Al-Durr al-Lāmi^c fī al-Nabāt wa-mā fīhi min al-Khawāṣṣ wa-al-Manāfi^c (1257 A.H.)

Therefore, in contrast to the private demand for printed works, the emphasis of official publications was still on the provision of text-books of various kinds for the institutes of reform. Following the reorganization of 1837, there was a further expansion of the educational system which saw, apart from the reorganization of the special schools, the establishment of some 50 primary schools throughout Egypt and two preparatory schools (one in Cairo and the other in Alexandria).¹ The recruitment of Egyptians in many of the non-military schools seems to have stimulated the demand for more Arabic works. This in turn led to the establishment in 1841 of a translation bureau within the Madrasat al-Alsun for the purpose of translating books not only on the western sciences but also books of a literary nature.² In spite of these efforts, this expansion in the publication of books seems to have been short-lived, for we see the annual output suddenly drop to 18 works in 1258/1842-43, i.e. the 21st year, and decline generally in the next ten years. The reason for this will be examined below.

1) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, pp. 208-18.

2) ShayyālTT, pp.42-43; Abu Lughod, Arab Rediscovery, p. 49.

4.1.3 The Third Ten Years: 1258-1267 (1842-1851)

Compared to the second ten-year period, the annual output of this third ten-year period is characterized by a decline, in which we see:

18		works produced in the 21st year (1258/1842-43);
21	"	22nd year (1259/1843-44);
25	"	23rd year (1260/1844-45);
18	"	24th year (1261/1845);
16	"	25th year (1262/1845-46);
12	"	26th year (1263/1846-47);
17	"	27th year (1264/1847-48);
15	"	28th year (1265/1848-49);
20	"	29th year (1266/1849-50);
8	"	30th year (1267/1850-51);

with a total of 170 works.

The decline of publishing may be to a lesser or greater extent a result of political setback of 1841 when Muḥammad ^cAlī was compelled to sign the Treaty of London, due to the intervention of the Great Powers.¹ This brought an end to the conflict between him and the Sultan which had continued since his accession to the viceroyship in 1805. The provision of this treaty granted him the inheritable right to the viceroyalty of Egypt, but he was, however, forced to withdraw from Syria and the Greek islands which were under his rule in the 1830s, and to reduce his army from an establishment of 200,000 men

1) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, p. 223.

to one of only 18,000.¹ Naturally, many reforming programmes connected with the military were soon rendered redundant. As a result, many schools were closed down for the rest of his reign, and the number of primary schools were reduced from fifty to two, and the other schools, if not closed, were deprived of any purpose so that few of them continued to function as actively as before. As we cease to have sources indicating which works were privately-contracted after the year 1262 A.H., it is convenient to discuss the following ten-year period in two stages, the five-year period 1258-1262 (1842-1846) for which we have direct information about the privately-contracted works and the five-year period 1263-1267 (1846-1851) for which there is no such information available.

4.1.3.1 Fifth Stage (1258-1262/1842-1846):

The Decline of Publication

From the 98 works produced in this five-year period, we only find 29 works (including 4 privately-printed works) which were under private patronage. These 29 works include:

10 works published in the 21st year (1258/1842-43):-

No.078(T-CL.2)-- Tarjamat Durar al-Ḥukkām fī Sharḥ Ghurar al-Aḥkām

(on jurisprudence),

No.111(A-CL.2)-- Ḥāshiyat Sulaymān al-Izmīrī (d. 1102/1690) ʿalā

Mir'āt al-Uṣūl ilā Mirqāt al-Wuṣūl (do.),

No.091(T-CL.2)-- Faraḥ al-Rūḥ (on theology),

No.419(T-TW.2)-- Tarjamat Kitāb al-Sawāb al-Aʿẓam (do.),

1) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, p. 223.

- No.040(T-CW.8)-- Le Diwan d'Aini (poetic works),
No.043(T-CW.8)-- Dīwān-i ʿArif (do.),
No.044(T-CW.8)-- Dīwān-i Fāḍil Bag [Bey] Andarūnī (do.),
No.050(T-CW.8)-- Le Diwan de Halet Effendi (do.),
No.051(T-CW.8)-- Dīwān-i Ḥalīmgirāy Sulṭān (do.),
No.071(T-CL.8)-- Le Diwan de Sekaki (do.);

4 in the 22nd year (1259/1843-44):-

- No.506(T-CW.4)-- Kitāb Tarjumān Turkī wa-ʿArabī (vocabularies),
No.182(A-CL.2)-- Kitāb fī Fann al-Kitāb wa-al-Inshāʾ
(epistolography),
No.048(T-CW.8)-- Dīwān-i Gulshan-i Afkār (poetic works),
No.065(T-CL.8)-- Dīwān-i Niyāzī (do.);

4 in the 23rd year (1260/1844-45):-

- No.019(A-CW.8)-- ʿAṣīdat al-Shahda (poetic works),
No.170(A-CL.8)-- Kanz al-Asrār wa-Qamʿ al-Ashrār fī-mā Ḥaṣala
li-al-Muqaddam Ibrāhīm Ḥawrānī fī Rūmā al-Madāʾin
wa-Jisr al-Injibār (prose work),
No.055(T-CW.8)-- Dīwān-i Layla Khānim (poetic works),
No.063(T-CL.8)-- Le Diwan de Nesimi (do.);

5 in the 24th year (1261/1845):-

- No.434(A-CL.2)-- Sharḥ ʿAlī Ibn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī (d.816/1413)
ʿalā al-Mawāqif fī ʿIlm al-Kalām (on theology),
No.105(T-CL.2)-- Ḥadīqa al-Suʿadāʾ (Islamic history),
No.370(P-CW.8)-- Qaṣīda-i Sanglākh Dar Madḥ-i Izmīr (poetry),
No.104(P-CL.8)-- Gulistān (prose work),
No.287(T-CL.8)-- Muntakhabāt-i Mīr Naẓīf (epistolography/poetry);

6 in the 25th year (1262/1845-46):-

- No.204(A-CW.0)-- Lā'ihat Jam^cdiyyat al-Ma^cārif al-Miṣriyya,
No.111(A-CL.2)-- Ḥāshiyat Sulaymān al-Izmīrī (d. 1102/1690) ʿalā
Mir'āt al-Uṣūl ilā Mirqāt al-Wuṣūl (jurisprudence),
No.092(T-CL.2)-- Farā'id al-Fawā'id fī Bayān al-ʿAqā'id (theology),
No.407(T-CL.2)-- Tarjamat Risālat al-Shaykh Khālīd (mysticism),
No.506(T-CW.4)-- Kitāb Tarjumān Turkī wa-ʿArabī (vocabularies),
No.282(T-CW.8)-- Munsha'āt-i ʿĀkif (epistolography).

These 29 works (20 in Turkish, 7 in Arabic and 2 in Persian) include: 10 Turkish dīwāns, 9 religious works (6 Turkish and 3 Arabic), 3 works of epistolography (2 Turkish and 1 Arabic), 2 Turkish vocabularies, 2 Arabic literary works (1 prose-work and 1 poetry), and 2 Persian literary works (also 1 prose-work and 1 poetry), in addition to an Arabic book of regulations for the Jam^cdiyyat al-Ma^cārif al-Miṣriyya (cf. pp. 67, 76 above). Although privately-contracted works decreased dramatically, from the remaining 69 works which were mostly produced under the auspices of the government, that we can still observe much activity in the field of government publications, which include:

14 medical works:-

- No.082(A-CW.6)-- Durr al-Thamīn fī Fann al-Aqrabādhīn (1258 A.H.),
No.462(A-TW.6)-- Ṭālī^c al-Sa^cāda wa-al-Iqbāl fī ʿIlm al-Wilāda
wa-Amrād al-Nisā' wa-al-Aṭfāl (do.)
No.004(A-TW.6)-- Aḥsan al-Aghrād fī al-Tashkhīṣ wa-Mu^cālajat
al-Amrād (1259 A.H.),
No.302(A-TW.6)-- Nubdha Latīfa fī Taṭ^cīm al-Judarī (do.),
No.388(A-TW.6)-- Rawḍat al-Najāḥ al-Kubrā fī al-ʿAmaliyyāt
al-Jirāḥiyya al-Ṣughrā (do.),

- No.405(A-TW.6)-- Risāla Nāfi^{ca} fī ^cIlāj Amrād al-Ḥummā (do.),
No.520(A-TW.6)-- Al-Ṭibb al-^cAmalī (do.),
No.026(A-TW.6)-- Bahjat al-Ru'asā' fī Amrād al-Nisā' (1260 A.H.),
No.077(A-TW.6)-- Al-Durar al-Ḡhawāl fī Mu^cālajat Amrād al-Aṭfāl
(do.),
No.495(T-TW.6)-- Tarjamat Tarbiyat al-Aṭfāl (do.),
No.193(A-TW.6)-- Kunūz al-Ṣiḥḥa wa-Yawāqīt al-Minḥa (do.),
No.192(T-TW.6)-- Tarjamat Kunūz al-Ṣiḥḥa (1261 A.H.),
No.309(A-TW.6)-- Nuzhat al-Iqbāl fī Mudāwāt al-Aṭfāl (do.),
No.513(A-TW.6)-- Kitāb al-Tashrīḥ al-^cĀmm (do.),

9 administrative works:-

- No.198(T-CW.3)-- Lā'iḥa fī Khuṣūṣ al-Awrāq al-Muta^calliqa bi-Ru'yat
al-Maṣāliḥ al-Khayriyya ... etc. (1259 A.H.),
No.030(A-CW.3)-- Bayān al-Mawādd allatī Ṣāyara Ḥanḥā al-Isti'dhān
bi-al-Dīwān al-Khidīwī mā ^cAdā al-Dawāwīn
(1260 A.H.),
No.197(T-CW.3)-- Lā'iḥa fī Bayān Waḍ^c Ṣayārifat al-Mustakḥdimīn fī
Maṣāliḥ al-Ḥukūma al-Miṣriyya ^calā Uṣūl Mustahsana
(do.),
No.203(T-CW.3)-- Al-Lā'iḥa al-Muta^calliq bi-Khadāmāt
al-Mustakḥdamīn wa-Muta^calliqātihā (do.),
No.322(U-CW.3)-- Qānūn-i Jinā'ī (do.),
No.324(A-CW.3)-- Qānūn (or Bayān) al-Kushūfāt al-Jārī Taqdīmuḥā ilā
al-Rikāb al-^cĀlī min al-Mudīriyyāt wa-al-Jawāb ^can
Kull Kashf (do.),
No.362(T-CW,3)-- Qānūn-nāma fī Bayān ^cAmaliyyat al-Ṭura^c
wa-al-Jusūr bi-al-Aqālīm al-Miṣriyya (do.),
No.364(T-CW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma fī Bayān Quṣāṣāt al-Kūrantina
wa-al-Nazāfa (do.),

No.202(A-CW.3)-- Lā'iḥa Mushtamila ^Calā ^CAmaliyya ^CUmūm
al-Muhandisīn al-Ma'mūrīn ... etc. (1261 A.H.),

8 mathematical works:-

No.218(A-TW.5)-- Mabādi' al-Handasa (1258 A.H.),

No.132(A-TW.5)-- Ifāḍat al-Adhhān fī Riyāḍat al-Ṣibyān (1259 A.H.),

No.133(T-TW.5)-- Tarjamat Ifāḍat al-Adhhān fī Riyāḍat al-Ṣibyān
(do.),

No.219(T-TW.5)-- Tarjamat Mabādi' al-Handasa (do.),

No.409(A-TW.5)-- Ruḍāb al-Ghāniyāt fī Ḥisāb al-Muthallathāt (do.),

No.194(A-TW.5)-- Al-La'ālī' al-Bahiyya fī al-Handasa al-Waṣfiyya
(1261 A.H.),

No.240(T-CW.5)-- Majmū^Cat al-^CUlūm al-Riyāḍiyya (do.),

No.174(A-TW.5)-- Kashf Rumūz al-Sirr al-Maṣūn fī Taṭbīq al-Handasa
^Calā al-Funūn (1262 A.H.);

7 religious works:-

No.521(T-CL.2)-- Tarjama-i Tibyān (1259 A.H.),

No.444(A-CL.2)-- Sīrat Rasūl Allāh (do.),

No.136(T-CL.2)-- ^Cilm-i Ḥāl (1260 A.H.),

No.160(T-CL.2)-- Al-Jawhara al-Bahiyya al-Aḥmadiyya fī Sharḥ
al-Waṣfiyya al-Muḥammadiyya (1261 A.H.),

No.263(A-CL.2)-- Al-Milal wa-al-Niḥal (do.),

No.437(T-CL.2)-- Sharḥ Ismā^Cil Niyāzī (fl. ?) ^Calā ... Matn Waṣfiyya
al-Birkāwī (do.),

No.241(T-CL.2)-- Manāqib-i Awliyā-yi Miṣr (1262 A.H.);

6 literary and historical works:-

No.104(P-CL.8)-- Gulistān (1259 A.H.),

No.504(T-TW.9)-- Tarjamat Tārīkh Nābūliyūn Būna-bārta (1260 A.H.),

No.522(A-CL.8)-- Al-Tibyān fī Sharḥ al-Dīwān al-Mutanabbī [sic]
(1261 A.H.),

- No.127(A-TW.8)-- Ḥusn al-Ikhtirā^c fī Shakhṣ Qadar al-Ṣubā^c (do.),
No.445(A-TW.9)-- Siyāḥa fī Amrīkā (1262 A.H.)
No.379(A-TW.9)-- Qurrat al-Nufūs wa-al-^cUyūn bi-Siyar mā Tawassaṭa
min al-Qurūn (do.);

5 military works:-

- No.361(T-CW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma-i Dākḥiliyya-i ^cAsākir al-Ṭūbjiyya
(1258 A.H.),
No.363(T-TW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma fī Bayān Khidāmāt al-Qal^ca
wa-al-Qishlāq (do.),
No.335(A-TW.3)-- Qānūn al-Safariyya (1259 A.H.),
No.351(T-CW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma-i ^cAsākir-i Piyādagān(do.),
No.476(T-CW.3)-- Ta^clīm-nāma-i Baṭarya (1261 A.H.),

5 veterinary works:-

- No.311(A-TW.6)-- Nuzhat al-Riyāḍ fī ^cIlm al-Amrāḍ (1258 A.H.),
No.532(A-TW.6)-- Tuḥfat al-Qalam fī Amrāḍ al-Qadam (do.),
No.025(A-TW.6)-- Al-Bahja al-Saniyya fī A^cmār al-Ḥayawānāt
al-Ahliyya (1260 A.H.),
No.275(A-TW.6)-- Mishkāt al-Lā'idhīn fī ^cIlm al-Aqrabādhīn (do.),
No.267(A-TW.6)-- Al-Minḥa li-Ṭālib Qānūn al-Ṣiḥḥa (1262 A.H.);

4 works on Arabic grammar:-

- No.425(A-CL.4)-- Sharḥ Khālid al-Azharī (d. 905/1499) Calā
al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya (1259 A.H.),
No.250(A-CL.4)-- Al-Maqṣūd fī Al-Taṣrīf (1260 A.H.),
No.231(A-CL.4)-- Majmū^ca fī al-Ṣarf (1262 A.H.),
No.164(A-CL.4)-- Kitāb Jumlat al-Naḥw (do.);

3 works on agriculture :-

- No.210(A-CW.6)-- Lā'iḥat Zirā^cat al-Fallāḥ wa-Tadbīr Aḥkām
al-Siyāsa bi-Qaṣd al-Najāḥ (1258 A.H.),
No.337(A-CW.6)-- Qānūn al-Shafālik (or al-Chiftlik) (1259 A.H.),

No.328(T-CW.6)-- Qānūn Muntakhabāt al-Filāḥa (1261 A.H.);

2 works on geodesy:-

No.334(A-TW.5)-- Al-Qānūn al-Riyādī fī Fann Takhtīṭ al-Arādī
(1260 A.H.),

No.458(A-TW.5)-- Tahdhīb al-^cIbārāt fī Fann Akhdh al-Misāḥāt (do.);

1 work on chemistry:-

No.159(A-TW.5)-- Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya fī al-^cmāl al-Kīmāwiyya
(1260 A.H.);

1 work on engineering:-

No.278(A-TW.6)-- Mukhtaṣar fī ^cIlm al-Mīkānikā (1260 A.H.)

In addition, there were also two lists of publications which were issued by the government around 1260 A.H. and 1262 A.H. respectively to be distributed to promote the sale of books.¹

The 69 official publications published in this five-year period are considerably less than the 106 comparable works produced in the previous five-year period. The decrease in the total number of books printed in this period is therefore mainly the result of the decline in the demand for privately-contracted publications. Under such circumstances, the output of Arabic books seems certainly to predominate, this is even more discernable during the next five-year period (1263-1267/1846-1851), when there were 45 published in Arabic as against 22 in Turkish.²

1) Ṣābāt (TT, pp. 179-80) mentions that a list of publications was issued in 1262 A.H., and was distributed with the official gazette, al-Waqā'ī^c al-Miṣriyya, for this purpose. This list is probably the same as the 1262 A.H. list of publications (i.e. BūlāqMK) which is being used in this study.

2) Cf. below, Table A (p. 132).

4.1.3.2 Sixth Stage (1263-1267/1846-1851):

Stagnation in Printing and Publishing

Owing to lack of information as to which works were privately-contracted, we can only assume that some of the religious, linguistic and literary works produced in this five-year period were published under private patronage, as these were the type of works which had previously been privately sponsored.¹ Works of this kind published in this period include:

16 religious works (9 Arabic, 6 Turkish and 1 Persian):-

- No.116(A-CL.2)-- Hāshiyat Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad B. Muṣṭafā Shaykh-Zāda (d. 950/1543) ʿalā Anwār al-Tanzīl wa-Asrār al-Ta'wīl (1263 A.H.),
- No.281(A-CL.2)-- Multaqā al-Abḥur (do.),
- No.380(A-CW.2)-- Radd al-Muḥtār ʿalā al-Durr al-Mukhtār Sharḥ Tanwīr al-Absār (do.),
- No.263(A-CL.2)-- Al-Milal wa-al-Niḥal (do.),
- No.410(A-CL.2)-- Rūḥ al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān (1264 A.H.),
- No.276(T-CL.2)-- Mu ʿāmalāt Risālasī (do.),
- No.534(T-CL.2)-- Tuḥfat al-Shāhān (do.),
- No.085(A-CW.2)-- Durrat al-Nāṣiḥīn (do.),
- No.137(T-CL.2)-- ʿilm-i Ḥāl (do.),

1) Certain works mentioned in the 1262 A.H. list of publications as being privately-contracted will also be regarded as such when they were published after that year.

- No.438(A-CL.2)-- Sharḥ ʿAlī B. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī (d. 1605)
ʿalā al-Shifā' bi-Taʿrīf Ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā
li-l-Qādī ʿIyād (do.),
- No.261(T-CL.2)-- Miftāḥ al-Janna (1265 A.H.),
- No.407(T-CL.2)-- Tarjamat Risālat al-Shaykh Khālīd (do.),
- No.434(A-CL.2)-- Sharḥ ʿAlī Ibn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī (d. 1413) ʿalā
al-Mawāqif fī ʿIlm al-Kalām (1266 A.H.),
- No.297(P-CL.2)-- Naṣā'ih al-Fārisiyya (do.),
- No.521(T-CL.2)-- Tarjama-i Tibyān (1267 A.H.),
- No.149(A-CL.2)-- Irshād al-Sārī li-Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī (do.),
- 14 linguistic works (9 Arabic and 5 Turkish):-
- No.227(A-CL.4)-- Majmūʿ fī ʿIlm al-Taṣrīf (1264 A.H.),
- No.432(A-CL.4)-- Sharḥ ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Hishām (1308-1360) ʿalā Qaṭr
al-Nadā wa-Ball al-Ṣadā (do.),
- No.425(A-CL.4)-- Sharḥ Khālīd al-Azharī(d. 905/1499) ʿalā
al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya (1265 A.H.),
- No.431(A-CL.4)-- Sharḥ Ibn ʿAqīl (d. 769/1367) ʿalā Alfiyyat Ibn
Mālik (do.),
- No.506(T-CW.4)-- Kitāb Tarjumān Turkī wa-ʿArabī (do.),
- No.093(T-CW.4)-- Fārisī Takallum Risālasī (1266 A.H.),
- No.467(T-CL.4)-- Taʿlīm al-Fārisī (do.),
- No.313(A-CW.4)-- Qalā'id al-Jumān fī Fawā'id al-Tarjumān (do.),
- No.166(A-CL.4)-- Al-Kāfiya (do.),
- No.298(A-CL.4)-- Natā'ij al-Afkār fī Sharḥ Izhār al-Asrār (do.),
- No.274(A-CL.4)-- Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Munīr fī Gharīb al-Sharḥ al-Kabīr
(1267 A.H.),
- No.232(A-CL.4)-- Majmūʿa fī al-Ṣarf (do.),
- No.530(T-CW.4)-- Tuḥfa-i Wahbī (do.),
- No.420(T-CL.4)-- Ṣerḥ ul-Aruz (do.);

7 literary works (4 Arabic, 2 Turkish and 2 Persian):-

- No.312(P-CL.8)-- Pand-nāma (1263 A.H.),
No.163(A-TW.8)-- Kitāb Tarjamat al-Julistān al-Fārisī (do.),
No.104(P-CL.8)-- Gulistān (1266 A.H.),
No.144(A-CW.8)-- Inshā' al-^CAṭṭār (do.),
No.249(A-CL.8)-- Al-Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīriyya (do.),
No.118(A-CL.8)-- Ḥāshiyat ^CAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (d.1067/1656)
Ḥalā al-Sharḥ al-Muṭawwal ... etc. (do.)
No.536(T-CL.8)-- Tūṭī-nāma (1267 A.H.);

Apart from these 37 works on religion, linguistics, and literature, there were another 34 works which were published under the auspices of the government and include:

6 administrative works:-

- No.124(T-CL.3)-- Ḥudūd-nāma (1265 A.H.),
No.319(A-CW.3)-- Qānūn Dīwān al-Īrādāt (do.),
No.326(T-CW.3)-- Qānūn al-Ma^Cāshāt al-Ṣādir Sanat 1265 fī Bayān
Tartīb Ma^Cāshāt al-Mustakhdamīn bi-al-Ḥukūma
al-Miṣriyya (do.),
No.343(U-CW.3)-- Qānūn ^CUqūbāt (do.),
No.344(U-CW.3)-- Qānūn-i ^CUṭhmān (do.),
No.365(T-CW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma fī Bayān Tartīb al-Mawādd al-Ṣā'ir
I^Crāḍuhā min Dīwān al-Īrādāt wa-Bayān al-Mawādd
allatī Kāna Ṣādir I^Crāḍuhā ^Can al-Maṣāliḥ al-
Mutahāla(sic) ilā al-Dīwān al-Madhkūr (do.);

5 works on medical sciences:-

- No.103(A-CW.6)-- Ghurar al-Najāḥ fī A^Cmāl al-Jarrāḥ (1263 A.H.),

- No.383(A-TW.6)-- Al-Rawḍa al-Bahiyya fī Mudāwāt al-Amrād al-Jildiyya
(1263 A.H.),
- No.492(A-CW.6)-- Al-Tanwīr fī Qawā'id al-Taḥdīr (1264 A.H.),
- No.082(A-CW.6)-- Durr al-Thamīn fī Fann al-Aqrabādhīn (1266 A.H.),
- No.491(A-TW.6)-- Al-Tanqīḥ al-Wahīd fī al-Tashrīḥ al-Khaṣṣ al-Jadīd,
(1266 A.H.);

5 historical works:-

- No.503(A-TW.9)-- Tārīkh Mulūk Faransā min Mabda' Mulkihim ilā
al-Malik Luwī Fīlīb (1264 A.H.),
- No.286(T-CL.9)-- Muntakhabāt-i Awliyā Chalabī (do.),
- No.253(A-TW.9)-- Al-Maṣābiḥ al-Munīra fī Tawārikh al-Qurūn al-Akhīra
(1266 A.H.)
- No.152(A-TW.9)-- Ithāf al-Mulūk al-Alibbā' bi-Taḡaddum al-Jam'īyyāt
fī Bilād Ūrūbbā ... etc. (do.),
- No.382(A-TW.9)-- Al-Rawḍ al-Azhar fī Tārīkh Buṭrūs al-Akbar (do.);

5 military works:-

- No.340(T-CW.3)-- Al-Qānūn al-Thānī fī Bayān Ta'limāt al-Ālayāt fī
al-Ṭābiya (1264 A.H.),
- No.471(T-TW.3)-- Ta'limāt al-Asākir al-Suwāriyya ḡalā al-Khayl (do.)
- No.361(T-CW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma-i Dākḥiliyya-i ḡAsākir al-Ṭūbjiyya (1265 A.H.)
- No.355(T-CW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma-i ḡAsākir-i Ṭūbjiyān (1266 A.H.)
- No.368(T-CW.3)-- Qānūn-nāma-i Safariyya-i ḡAsākir al-Jihādiyya (do.)

4 works on mathematics:-

- No.519(A-TW.5)-- Thamarat al-Iktisāb fī ḡIlm al-Ḥisāb (1263 A.H.),
- No.157(A-TW.5)-- Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya fī al-Aḡmāl al-Kīmāwiyya
(1264 A.H.),
- No.173(A-TW.5)-- Kashf al-Niqāb an ḡIlm al-Ḥisāb (1266 A.H.)
- No.268(A-TW.5)-- Al-Minḥa al-Zahriyya fī al-Aḡmāl al-Jabriyya
(1267 A.H.);

2 works on veterinary:-

No.102(A-TW.6)-- Ghāyat al-Marām fī Adwiyat al-Asqām (1263 A.H.),

No.225(A-TW.6)-- Majma^c al-Ghurar fī Siyāsat al-Baqar (1264 A.H.);

2 almanacs:-

No.087(A-CW.5)-- Dustūr [or Mubārak] Mu^crib ^can Sanat 1263 Hilāliyya Hijriyya ^cĀmm al-Naf^c fī al-Quṭr al-Miṣrī wa-Ghayrihi (1263 A.H.),

No.088(A-CW.5)-- Dustūr [Mubārak] Mu^crib ^can Sanat 1265 Hilāliyya Hijriyya ^cĀmm al-Naf^c fī al-Quṭr al-Miṣrī wa-Ghayrihi (1264 A.H.);

2 travel works:-

No.446(A-TW.9)-- Siyāḥat al-Hind (1265 A.H.),

No.461(A-CW.9)-- Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz (do.);

1 work on agriculture:-

No.196(T-CW.6)-- Lā'iḥa fī Bayān Siyāsat al-Filāḥa (1265 A.H.);

1 work on physics:-

No.142(A-TW.5)-- ʿIlm Taḥarruk al-Sawā'il (1264 A.H.);

1 school text-book:-

No.496(A-TW.3)-- Ta^crib al-Amthāl bi-Tahdhīb al-Aṭfāl (1263 A.H.).

The decrease in official publications in these latter categories is undoubtedly due to the slowing down in the programme of reforms following the political setback of 1841. However, the stagnation in publishing seems to have affected not only official but unofficial publications as well. In particular, we find that there were no Turkish dīwāns published in this five-year period. This may indicate the shift in the production of these works from Egypt to other places, especially Istanbul, where we find that Turkish literary

works, especially that of dīwāns were being produced continuously in a steadily increasing stream during the 1830s, 1840s and afterwards. For instance, the number of Turkish dīwāns mentioned as having appeared in the Ottoman Empire (including those produced in Egypt) during the period under study is as follows:¹

1243/1827-28: 2 (2) works;	1258/1842-43: 11 (6) works;
1249/1833-34: 2 " ;	1259/1843-44: 4 (2) " ;
1250/1834-35: 4 " ;	1260/1844-45: 7 (2) " ;
1251/1835-36: 5 " ;	1261/1845: 5 " ;
1252/1836-37: 10 (3) " ;	1262/1845-46: 5 " ;
1253/1837-38: 9 (5) " ;	1263/1846-47: 4 " ;
1254/1838-39: 2 (2) " ;	1264/1847-48: 6 " ;
1255/1839-40: 12 (4) " ;	1265/1848-49: 3 " ;
1256/1840-41: 6 (3) " ;	1266/1849-50: 7 " ;
1257/1841-42: 15 (7) " ;	1267/1850-51: 4 " ;

Indeed some dīwāns previously produced in Egypt in an incomplete form were now being published in Istanbul as a complete edition.² The halt in the publication of Turkish dīwāns in Egypt may

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- 1) The number of dīwāns produced in Egypt will be shown in brackets for comparison. Although there are two works, Qaṣīda-i Sanglākh Dar Madh-i Izmīr and Muntakhabāt-i Mīr Nazīf, which were published in Egypt in 1261 A.H., and might possibly be treated as poetic works; they are not regarded as dīwāns in this study.
 - 2) See work No.054 listed below (p. 235), the first part of it was published in Egypt in 1255 A.H., while the second part in 1257 A.H. in Istanbul; also Zenker^{BO}, vol. I, pp. 72-73.

also indicate the decline of the Egyptian-Turkish book-trade, and this is supported by the fact that there were at this time 23 Arabic and only 10 Turkish works among the publications dealing with the subjects of religion, linguistics and literature. Therefore, by the end of Muḥammad ^ḶAlī's reign, Egyptian printing and publishing activities had developed into an Arabic-dominated enterprise in terms of both officially- and unofficially- sponsored publications. This marks a change in the nature of the publishing industry in Egypt from an enterprise designed to meet the needs of the whole Ottoman Empire, in which Turkish was the language of the elite, to that of a national enterprise in which Arabic was quietly superseding Turkish as the language of administration. These 570 works produced in the thirty years under study will be tabulated in the following table, according to languages and subjects, in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the general trend in publishing. On the lines of modern bibliographies, the Dewey Decimal Classification (abbreviated to DDC) has been adopted in the classification of subjects (cf. pp. 613-38 below).

4.2 Categorical Survey

During the period 1238-1267 (1822-1851), besides some 288 works dealing with military, administrative, scientific and technical matters published under the patronage and with the encouragement of Muḥammad ^cAlī's government, there were also published some 282 religious, linguistic and literary (including geographical and historical) works. Among the latter group of publications, there were also a certain number of works which were printed/published at private expense. Although the exact number of privately-financed works is not known, we have a list of publications, issued by the Egyptian government in 1262/1845-46, which gives a description of 272 works, of which 78 works (with a total of 56,408 printed copies) are listed as "maṭbū^cāt al-multazimīn" (privately-contracted publications), the remaining 194 works (and with 338,967 printed copies) can be regarded, in most cases, as officially-sponsored works (or official publications).¹ In order to obtain a better understanding of the book-production of the time, the works produced during the period under study will be further surveyed here according to categories of subject-matters from the following three aspects.

4.2.1 Publications for Utilitarian Purposes

Works which were intended to serve a specific purpose connected with the programme of reforms are classed here as utilitarian publications, and are discussed below in several main categories, according to the number of works published in each category, from the largest to the smallest.

1) See below, Table 33 (p. 640).

4.2.1.1 Military Works

The publication of 86 military works (including 76 on military sciences and 10 on military engineering) represents the highest output proportion of any single subject (i.e. 15.1% of the total 570 works produced in the thirty-year period), and seems to indicate the priority placed on military reforms by Muḥammad ^cAlī's government. The great demand for these military works can also be seen in the large print-runs of some of these works, which were often produced in runs of several thousand copies, sometimes over ten thousand.¹ It is not surprising to find that, according to the 1262 A.H. list of publications, a quarter (i.e. 102,374 printed copies or 25.3%) of the total 395,375 copies produced up to that time (i.e. 1262/1845-46) were works dealing with military matters.² Although in the early years several works which had been previously published in Istanbul were reprinted in Egypt to meet the immediate needs of Muḥammad ^cAlī's military establishments,³ the majority of the military works were produced by the staff of the institutions of reform, men such as ^cUthmān Nūr al-Dīn, Aḥmad Ef. Khalīl and Kānī Bey.

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- 1) Works such as No.366 (3,000 printed copies), No.470 (5,616 copies No.035 (3,000 copies), No.477 (12,338 copies), No.329 (10,000 copies), No.333 (11,940 copies), No.464 (11,099 copies), and No.415 (12,993 copies).
 - 2) See below, Table 32, pp. 622-25.
 - 3) Works such as No.375(T-TW.3): 1238, No.548(T-TW.3): 1238, No.180(T-CW.6): 1239, No.487(T-CW.6): 1239, and No.544(T-TW.3): 1242.

Especially, as most of the works were in Turkish, there is no doubt that Turkish translators were most needed, and this was often done by recruiting them (mainly the Turks) from Istanbul.¹ The existence of these military works offers little literary interest, although, they certainly provide some useful information on the military reforms carried out at that time.

4.2.1.2 Administrative Works

The extent to which printing was exploited as a tool of government by Muḥammad ^CAlī can be perceived from the existence of some 48 administrative works, which represent the second highest output proportion (i.e. 8.4%) of the total 570 works produced in the period under discussion. These works serving various administrative, agricultural, economic and industrial functions will no doubt provide us with much useful information on the nature and aims of Muḥammad ^CAlī's administration, as, for instance, works such as:

No.165(U-CW.3)-- Jurnāl al-Jihādiyya.

No.508(U-CW.3)-- Tartīb al-Baḥriyya.

No.037(U-CW.3)-- Dhayl-i Qānūn-nāma.

No.187(U-CW.3)-- Kitāb al-Mushtarawat.

No.200(U-CW.3)-- Lā'iḥa Khāṣṣa bi-Madāris al-Mubtadi'a.

No.205(U-CW.3)-- Lā'iḥat al-Majlis.

No.207(U-CW.3)-- Lā'iḥat al-Mu^Cāwana.

No.318(U-CW.3)-- Qānūn al-Bīrūn.

1) Among the 86 military works, there are 70 in Turkish, 13 in Arabic, and 3 of which the identity of the language is unknown to us.

- No.320(U-CW.3)-- Qānūn Hikmat al-Makātib.
No.327(U-CW.3)-- Kitāb Qānūn al-Muhandisīn.
No.345(U-CW.3)-- Qānūn Waḏīfat al-Saqāṭ.
No.346(U-CW.3)-- Qānūn al-Wirash.
No.400(U-CW.3)-- Risāla fī Waṣā'if al-Ḥukamā'.
No.411(U-CW.3)-- Rukhṣat Dawāwīn al-^cUmūm.
No.412(U-CW.3)-- Rukhṣat-i Dīwān-i Khidīwī.
No.510(U-CW.3)-- Tartīb Khulāṣat al-Jihādiyya.
No.188(U-CW.7)-- Kitāb al-Mūzīka.

However, in many cases, we have only the description of these publications, such as those above-mentioned,¹ and we have little or no knowledge not only of the exact contents of these works but even of the language in which they were written. Among these administrative works, we know of five in Arabic and fifteen in Turkish, and we may assume that they were all published in one of these two languages. The identification of many of these works and the discovery of their whereabouts must be carried out before we can achieve a proper understanding of these works which are extremely important for the study of the history of this period.

1) These works are mentioned in the 1262 A.H. list of publications (=BūlāqMK) as having been printed in print-runs ranging from several thousand copies to, in some cases, runs of less than ten copies. The total printed copies for laws and regulations are given as 21,022 copies (or 5.2% of all copies printed). They are assumed to have all been distributed, as none of the titles is noted as having copies remaining in store at that time. See below, Tables 32 and 33.

4.2.1.3 Scientific Works

One of the areas where Muḥammad ^CAlī's printing presses were most active was in the publication of works dealing with the subjects in scientific and technical fields. The total of 126 works of this type which were published in the period attests to the importance attached to these subjects. In the following survey they have been divided into several main categories.

4.2.1.3.1 On Medical Sciences

Although modern medical services had been introduced by Muḥammad ^CAlī with the military reforms of the "Nizām-i Jadīd" launched in early 1820s, it was not until February 1827 when a medical school (Madrasat al-Ṭibb) was set up in the military hospital at Abū Za^Cbal that medical studies on western lines began to be pursued, and medical works began to appear after the publication, in Rabī^C II, 1242 (November/December 1826), of Kitāb fī Qawā^Cid Uṣūl al-Ṭibb which was to serve as the basic text-book. The immediate need for medical works may have stimulated the reprint in 1244/1828-29 of the famous medical work, Qānūn al-Jarrāḥīn, which had been previously composed in Istanbul by a Turk Shānī-Zāda.¹ However, medical works composed and translated at the School of Medicine began to appear from 1248/1832-33 onwards. During the period under study, a total of 47 medical works (that is 8.2% of the total 570 publications) were printed/published in Egypt.²

1) Zenker^{BO}, vol. I, pp. 158-59; cf. also pp. 12-13 above.

2) According to F. Clot Bey (Ouvrages Traduits à l'École de Médecine du Caire, n.p., n.d.), a total of 54 works (in 90 volumes) was produced in the School of Medicine.

These medical works (38 in Arabic and 9 in Turkish) include (1) text-books, instructions and manuals on surgery, anatomy, pathology, plague, drugs, scabies, military medicine, hygienics, malaria, vaccination, pharmacology, physiology, surgical bandages, eye diseases, midwifery, fever, diseases of women and children, skin diseases etc., and (2) some regulations. Many of these works were translated at first by several non-Egyptian translators, such as Don Raphael, Yūḥanna ^CAnhūrī, M. Vidal and Augustine B. Jibrā'īl Sakākinī, and later on by some Egyptian translators and the graduates of the School of Medicine, amongst them the most famous being Rifā^C a Rāfi^C al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Ibrāhīm al-Nabarāwī, Muḥammad al-Shabāsī, Muṣṭafā al-Subkī, al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Raḥīdī, ^CĪsawī al-Nahrāwī, al-Sayyid Ḥasan Ghānim al-Raḥīdī, Muḥammad ^CAlī al-Baqlī and Muḥammad al-Shāfi^Cī. These works were mostly produced in runs of between 500 and 2,000 copies.¹ The advances in modern western medicine had been recognized by the Ottoman Turks for centuries. The publication of these medical works (including some for the instruction of the layman) seems to have brought a certain influence to bear on the attitude of the Egyptian people towards western medical sciences.

4.2.1.3.2 On Mathematics

The publication of some 30 mathematical works indicates the importance with which the science of mathematics was regarded by Muḥammad ^CAlī's government. These works were intended not only for military but also for non-military studies. However, in the first

1) See below, Table 32, pp. 628-29.

ten-year period, much attention was paid to the publication of Turkish mathematical works, as there were published in this period 5 works on mathematics, only 1 in Arabic.¹ Arabic translations of western works on mathematics did not make their appearance until the mid-1830s, after the return of some mission students who were employed in the translation of western mathematical works into Arabic, among whom people such as Muḥammad Ef. Bayyūmī, Aḥmad Daḡhala, Ibrāhīm Ef. Ramaḡān al-Miṣrī were most prominent. They were later joined by some graduates of the School of Languages, such as Ṣāliḡ Majdī, Muḥammad Ef. Muṣṭafā, Aḥmad Maḡmūd and Muḥammad Ṣhīmī, who had been trained as translators.² Apart from these Arabic translators, there were several people who were responsible for the Turkish translations, the most prominent being Ibrāhīm Adham Bey. Amongst these 30 works (20 in Arabic and 10 in Turkish), there were several works which were intended for children. Most of these works were produced in print-runs of 500 or 1,000 copies, although several of them were produced in runs of over a thousand, such as No.235 (5,490 printed copies), No.541 (2,000 copies), and No.215 (2,018 copies).

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- 1) The one Arabic mathematical work produced is a small pamphlet called Al-Luma^c fī al-Ḥisāb which was a classical text used in al-Azhar. See Heyworth-Dunne, Education, p. 62.
 - 2) Both mission students and graduates of the School of Languages also translated some 15 mathematical works which were published after the period under study; cf. above, pp. 58-59, and Table 34 (p. 642).

4.2.1.3.3 On Veterinary Sciences (including Agriculture)

The production of some 24 veterinary works indicates that there was a certain need for this kind of works; many of them were Arabic translations of western works on veterinary sciences. These works were published after western veterinary sciences were introduced to Egypt in 1827 with the establishment of the Veterinary School which was set up at Rossetta to cope with the outbreak of the epizootic epidemic in Lower Egypt in that year.¹ The School was under the direction of the Frenchman, P. N. Hamont, and was moved in 1829 to the School of Medicine (at Abū Za^Cbal) in order to avail its students of some courses taught in the latter school. In the Veterinary School, a Syrian, Yūsuf Fara^Cūn, was employed as the interpreter and translator of this school, and he was in the end responsible for thirteen of the twenty-four veterinary works published, while two students of the educational missions, Muḥammad Ef. ^CAbd al-Fattāḥ and ^CAṭiya Ef. were responsible for translating five and one of the twenty-four works respectively.

In 1837, P. N. Hamont was also put in charge of the Agricultural School (Madrasat al-Zirā^Ca) after the Veterinary School and the Agricultural School were both transferred in that year from Abū Za^Cbal and Nabarūh respectively to Shubrā.² Soon after, an Arabic translation of a western work on agriculture was also produced, i.e. Kanz al-Barā^Ca fī Mabādi' Fann al-Zirā^Ca (1254/1838-39). However, the Agricultural School was before long closed down in May 1839 (or

1) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, pp. 132-33.

2) Ibid., pp. 151-52.

October 1841). Although there were several agricultural instructions and regulations which attempted to introduce certain practices of modern agriculture,¹ the introduction of western works on agriculture seems to have been interrupted as a consequence. The production of veterinary works was mostly in print-runs of 1,000 copies or less, while that of the agricultural works ranged from runs of several hundred copies to twelve thousand copies.²

4.2.1.3.4 On Other Sciences

It was owing to the need for certain particular studies as well as for basic background courses for other studies in medical and veterinary sciences, that there were also published some fifteen Arabic translations of western works on various sciences, such as chemical technology (No.185), mineralogy (No.183), natural philosophy (No.022), geodesy (No.549), hydraulics (No.131 and No.142), geology (No.015), botany (No.079), mechanics (No.262, No.507, and No.278), chemistry (No.159), and topography (No.334, and No.458). These works were mostly translated by the students of educational missions, and were produced in print-runs of less than thousand copies in most cases. Apart from these military, administrative, and scientific works, there were some works, such as almanacs (or calendars),³ ‘Ilm al-Safā’in,

1) See works Nos. 347, 348, 337, 328, 349, and 196 listed below.

2) See below, Table 32, pp. 632-33.

3) In the period under study, there are only 12 almanacs/calendars (7 in Arabic, 2 in Turkish, and 3 of which the language is not known) which have been noted. However, Lane (Modern Egyptians, p. 256) claims that this kind of work was produced by the

Kitāb al-Mūzīka etc.,¹ which can also be regarded as works of an utilitarian nature. These utilitarian works were mostly published under the auspices of the government, and were intended to be used mainly in the institutes of reform for certain purposes. They therefore did not benefit the general public very much like some works which might have been useful not only to the government but also to the reading public. These latter works include a number of pedagogical works which will be dealt with in the following section.

4.2.2 Publications for Study and Learning

During the period under study, there were produced a number of works which could serve as text-books in both modern schools and traditional institutes of learning. These works consist of mainly linguistic, religious and literary (including geographical and historical) works which will be surveyed as follows.

4.2.2.1 Linguistic Works

For the study of language, several kinds of works were produced and were mainly in Arabic and Turkish, and they will be discussed in these two language groups:

government annually. Some of these works were probably also printed/published at private expense, such as work No.155.

- 1) This work was listed in the 1262 A.H. list of publications under the category of laws and regulations. The nature of this work is uncertain.

(1) Works in Arabic: From the very first stage of printing in Egypt, great attention was paid to the publication of Arabic linguistic works by Muḥammad ^CAlī's government. Among them, a number of major works/texts on Arabic morphology (ṣarf) and syntax (naḥw) together with many of their commentaries and supercommentaries were produced for the study of Arabic, as for instance, a collection of several works/texts on ṣarf which was printed/published at least nine times,¹ and a collection of several works/texts on naḥw which was published four times during the period under study.² In addition, various commentaries and supercommentaries on individual works/texts contained in these two grammatical collections were also produced, such as No.440, No.251, No.115, No.250, No.435, No.531, No.153 etc. The extent of the demand for these works can be perceived not only from the publication in this period of 13 works/editions on Arabic ṣarf and 35 works/editions on Arabic naḥw, but also from the print-runs of these works which ran to over five thousand copies.³ These works were mostly produced under the patronage of the government, and were compiled by some Azharis who were employed in Muḥammad ^CAlī's various establishments, such as the School of Languages where two works (No.432 and No.443) are known to have been produced for the study of the Arabic language.⁴ Apart from these

1) See works Nos.238, 230, 234, 226, 236, 239, 231, 237, and 232.

2) See works Nos.237, 233, 229, and 164.

3) As for instance, No.005 (6,438 printed copies), No.435 (5,530 copies), and the above-mentioned two grammatical collections were produced in runs of 9,576 copies and 5,530 copies respectively.

4) See the colophons of both works.

grammatical works, there were also published several works of epistolography, Arabic lexicons, and rhetoric for the purpose of linguistic study. The emphasis placed upon the study of that language is clearly indicated by the production of no less than fifty works/editions for this purpose.

(2) Works in Turkish: Among the Turkish linguistic works, there were some 14 vocabularies, 6 Turkish works of epistolography; half of them (including 7 vocabularies and 3 works of epistolography) were under the official auspices, while the other half was privately-supported.¹ The high proportion of lexical and epistolographical works is to be expected as the main thrust in the study of Turkish was the acquisition of a large vocabulary and the mastery of the arts of letter-writing. It should also be noted that a mastery of Arabic grammar and a good grounding in the Persian classics was adequate schooling to allow one to write good Turkish, and it is therefore not surprising to find that not only were there published many Arabic grammatical works and a considerable amount of Persian literature, but also of these Turkish lexical works which all deal with Turkish-Arabic and/or Persian vocabularies in addition to the publication of a Turkish translation of an Arabic lexicon (No.523) and a Turkish translation of a Persian lexicon (No.540). The publication of these works seems to have met the needs of the Turkish reading-public in pursuing learning and the study of the Arabic and Persian literary and cultural heritage. Under such circumstances, there were also produced two Turkish works on learning the Persian language

1) See below, Table 32, pp. 627-28 and 635 respectively.

(No.093 and No.467), while the Arabic books of grammar served a dual function, namely as the necessary background to the study of Islamic sciences and also for the study of language per se. In addition, the study of Turkish had a purely secular function. To this end, several works were published for the study of the Turkish language. Many of these Turkish linguistic works were produced in print-runs of several thousand copies, such as No.306 (5,022 printed copies), and No.506 (3,012 copies), in order to meet the demand.

4.2.2.2 Religious Works

The existence of some 79 religious works (47 in Turkish, 31 in Arabic and 1 in Persian) indicates that there was a considerable demand for religious works. Among these works, we know of some 41 privately-financed works, 16 officially-sponsored, and 22 with no clear status. In order to gain a better understanding of the publication of these religious works, we will discuss them under the following two main categories.

(1) Works produced under official auspices: The 16 officially sponsored religious works include 13 in Turkish and 3 in Arabic, with many of them on the faith and creed of the Islamic religion, as, for instance, ʿIlm al-Ḥāl (1239/1823-24, 1255/1839-40, 1260/1844-45, and 1264/1847-48), Al-Jawhara al-Bahiyya al-Aḥmadiyya fī Sharḥ al-Waṣiyya al-Muḥammadiyya (1240/1824-25, 1251/1835-36, 1256/1840-41, and 1261/1845), Jawharat al-Tawḥīd (1241/1825-26), and Umm al-Barāhīn (1250/1834-35). In addition, there are two works on holy war (jihād), a work on Ḥanafī law, a collection of sermons and two works on the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad.

(2) Works produced under private patronage: The 41 privately sponsored works (25 Turkish and 16 Arabic) include 11 works on the Prophet Muḥammad and other Muslim saints, 7 on Ḥanafī law, 6 on mysticism, 5 on the faith of Islam, 3 on pilgrimage, 3 Qur'ānic commentaries, and 6 on other matters. From the subject output of these privately-sponsored works, we may assume that many of the remaining 22 works which deal with such subject-matters and appeared after the mid-1830s, may also have been printed/published at private expense, as for instance works No.521 (on Qur'ān), No.149 (on ḥadīth), No.444 and No.241 (on biographies of Muslim saints) etc.¹

In particular, there were published, under both official and private patronage, some 25 works on Islamic jurisprudence (or fiqh and uṣūl), 18 works on theology (or kalām and ʿaqā'id) and 15 works on the biographies of the Prophet Muḥammad and other Muslim saints, with 58 works (or 73.4% of the total 79 religious works) being produced in these three categories. The particular need of the time can be perceived in the publication of many works on biographies, Ḥanafī law, Islamic faith and creed, mysticism (especially the Naqshbandī order), and the study of the Qur'ān. Although there is no complete publication of the Qur'ān, some parts of it may have been produced for study, for it was an important part of the curriculum in many of Muḥammad ʿAlī's new schools. In these circumstances, it is not surprising to find that in the Būlāq printing house there was a section specifically allocated to the printing and publishing of the

1) See below, Table 32, pp. 618-20.

Qur'ān.¹ These works under the auspices of the government include many which had been published previously in Istanbul,² and which were often produced in print-runs of several thousand copies to meet the extensive demand of various establishments. Those under private patronage were mostly produced in runs of between 200 and 1,000 copies, and seem to have been aimed at the general need for works on observances and study.

4.2.2.3 Other Pedagogical Works

Of the publications for educational purposes, there are some works and translations which were specifically produced to be used as text-books in the institutes of reform. Among them, the most significant was the publication of over 30 geographical and historical works/translations for the study of these two subjects. Apart from several Ottoman chronicles, there are 17 translations of western historical works. Amongst these historical translations, there are seven in Turkish and ten in Arabic. These Turkish works were mainly translated by administrative personnel, such as Jacovaki Argyropoulo, Ḥasan Ef., ^cAbd Allāh Ef. ^cAzīz, and Jināb Būghākī Ef. (known as Rāzī-zāda), and mainly dealt with the great reformers of the West. The publication of these works was probably at the suggestion of Muḥammad ^cAlī's European advisors in order to provide Muḥammad ^cAlī and his military and administrative personnel with knowledge of achievements made in the West.³

1) RiḍwānTMB, pp. 278-79; also above, p. 29.

2) See below Table 32, those works marked with an asterisk "*".

3) Gamal Eldin Elshayyal, The History of Egyptian Historiography in the Nineteenth Century (Alexandria, 1962), pp. 18-19.

The Arabic historical translations deal mainly with the history of the West from ancient times to the present, and seem to have been translated under the direction of Rifā^c Rāfi^c al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, the director of the School of Languages, for not only were they translated mostly by translators of the School in question, but many of these works had been studied by its director al-Ṭaḥṭāwī during his stay in Paris (1826-1831) as the imām of the 1826 educational mission.¹ The main reason for entrusting him with the translation of these historical works was probably his contribution towards the publication of many early geographical works/translations (No.314, No.172, No.497, and No.162), and in particular to his own work, Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz (1250/1834-35), which gives a vivid account of the western (i.e. French) society and had attracted the attention of Muḥammad ^cAlī who not only ordered this book to be translated into Turkish in order to have it read amongst Turkish-speaking officers,² but seemed to have also made him the director of the School of Languages soon after it was set up in June 1836. It was from then on that a series of Arabic translations of western historical works began to appear.

1) See R. R. al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz (Būlāq, 1250/1834-35), pp. 148-52; cf. also Elshayyal, Egyptian Historiography, pp. 26-27.

2) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, p. 266. See work No.414 listed below.

Apart from these geographical and historical works and translations, there were also published two translations of western travel books, Siyāḥa fī Amrikā (1262/1845-46) and Siyāḥat al-Hind (1265/1848-49), in addition to several literary works which were translated to serve also as text-books in the modern schools.¹ For the new school system, several works, such as Alif, Bā', Tā', ... etc. (c. 1834) and Ta^clīm al-Aṭfāl (1255/1839-40), were composed to contain new kinds of materials for the education of children; thus, for instance, in the afore-mentioned first Arabic primer, there are alphabet tables, Roman numerals, basic mathematics and some reading lessons on various topics, such as the steam engine. The publication of these works illustrated the extent of educational reform and the innovative introduction of reading-materials by Muḥammad ^cAlī into his new schools.

4.2.3 Publications of Literary Interest

Amongst the 80 works on belles-lettres, i.e. works of poetry and prose, produced in the period under study, there are as many as 59 works printed/published under private patronage. The survey of these literary works will be also made under the following two categories.

(1) Works produced under official auspices: Although several literary works were published under the auspices of Muḥammad ^cAlī's government, they were probably in the main for educational purposes,

1) See below, pp. 150-51.

as, for instance, the appearance of the first two literary works, Gulistān and Pand-nāma (both in 1242/1826-27), intended for the study of the Persian language. Not only were these two works reprinted during the period many times (i.e. six times for the former work and four times for the latter), but some of these editions, such as 1261 A.H. edition of Gulistān, were printed/published at the expense of private individuals.¹ The popularity of this work is apparent since it was reprinted, in 1266/1849-50 for the sixth time, after both the officially- and privately- sponsored editions ran out,² and it was even translated into Arabic by Jibrā'īl B. Yūsuf known as al-Mukhalla^c (or al-Maḥalla^c Bey) and published in 1263/1846-47.³ The publication, under official auspices, of these and other literary works, such as Sharḥ-i Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ-i Shīrāzī (1250/1834-35), Fātiḥ al-Abyāt (1251/1835-36) and Kalīla wa-Dimna (1249/1833-34; reprinted 1251/1835-36), seem to have been intended in the first place to enlighten the general public, for later on they certainly entertained and eventually encouraged their literary interests. Apart from these classics, there were also published several literary translations intended for educational purposes at an elementary level, as, for instance, Ḥusn al-Ikhtirā^c fī Shakḥ Qadar al-Ṣuba^c (1261/1845) and

1) See work No.104 listed below, pp. 268-70.

2) RiḍwānTMB, pp. 308-9.

3) The translator of this Persian work was amongst those Syrians who were recruited by Clot Bey to study in Muḥammad ^cAlī's medical school; many of them achieved certain prominence later on in the literary activities they took part in Syria; cf. below, p. 189, n.1.

Ta^crīb al-Amthāl bi-Tahdhīb al-Aṭfāl (1263/1846-47).¹ These early translations of western literary works for pedagogical purposes no doubt stimulated later attempts towards the end of this period to render into Arabic works of western belles-lettres, such as Al-Uyūn al-Yawāqiz fī al-Amthāl wa-al-Mawā^ciz (a translation of La Fontaine's Fables by Muḥammad ^cUthmān Jalāl) and Mawāqī^c al-Aflāk fī Waqā'i^c Tilīmāk (a translation of Fenelon's Les aventures de Télémaque by Rifā^c a Rāfi^c al-Taḥṭāwī).²

(2) Works produced under private patronage: Despite the official efforts to publish literary works, most of the works of belles-lettres were in fact printed/published under the patronage of private individuals. These privately-financed literary works include some 36 Turkish poetical works (mostly dīwāns), 11 Turkish prose-works, three Arabic works of poetry, two Arabic prose-works and several Persian works of poetry and prose. This clearly shows a Turkish dominated book-market for literary works, especially with the publication of many dīwāns by various poets, amongst them the great poets of Ottoman literature of past centuries, men such as Muḥammad Ef. Ibn Sulaymān known as Fuḍūlī al-Baghdādī (d. 963/1555-56), ^cUmar Naf^cī (d. 1044/1634-35), Muṣṭafā Nā'ilī (d. 1077/1666-67), sheikh Muḥammad Niyāzī (d. 1105/1694), Yūsuf Nābī (d. 1124/1712), Ismā^cīl Ḥaqqī (d. 1137/1724-25), Aḥmad Nadīm (d. 1143/1730), Muṣṭafā Sāmī Bey (d. 1146/1733 -34), Sazā'ī Ef. al-Gulshanī (d. 1151/1738-39), Muḥammad

1) See 1262 A.H. list of publications (= BūlāqMK), p. 8.

2) Abu-Lughod (Arab Rediscovery, p. 53) listed these two works as having been translated in 1850. The former work was printed/published in 1274/1857-58 by the translator himself on the press set up by him; see RidwānTMB, pp. 385-86.

Rāghib Pasha (d. 1176/1763), Hīshmat Ef. (d. 1182/1768-69), Fiṭnat Khānim (d. 1194/1780), and also many contemporary poets of less stature, such as sheikh Muḥammad Ef. As^Cad known as Ghālib-Dada (d. 1213/1800-01), Kh^Waja Sulaymān Nash'at Ef. (d. 1222/1807), al-Sayyid Muḥammad Ef. Wahbī known as Sunbul-Zāda (d. 1224/1809), Ḥusayn Bey Fādīl (d. 1225/1810), Sayyid ^CUthmān Surūrī (d. 1814), ^CUthmān Bey Wāṣif al-Andarūnī (d. 1240/1824-25), Ḥalim Girāy (d. 1239/1823-24), Kachajī-Zāda Muḥammad ^CIzzat (d. 1829), Muḥammad Sa^Cīd Partaw Pasha (d. 1253/1837-38), al-Ḥājī Abū Bakr Rif^Cat Ef. (d. 1830), Layla Khānim (d. 1264/1847-48), Muḥammad Pasha ^CĀkif (d. 1264/1848) and ^CĀrif Ra'īs al-Kuttāb (fl. 13th/19th). Apart from these dīwāns, several Turkish prose-works, such as Humāyūn-nāma (1251/1835-36 and 1254/1838-39), Tūṭī-nāma (1253/1837-38, 1254/1838-39, 1255/1838-39, and 1267/1850-51), Kh^Wābnāma-i Waysī (1252/1836-37), Laṭā'if-i Kh^Waja Naṣr al-Dīn Afandī (1254/1838-39), Ganjīna-i Ḥikmat (1254/1838-39), Khamsa-i Nargisī (1255/1839-40), and a Persian poetical work Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ (1256/1840-41), were produced to meet the need of Turkish readers.¹ In addition, several works were printed for the Arabic reading-public including three popular works of religious poetry, Dīwān Amīr al-Mu'minīn ^CAlī B. Abī Ṭālib (1251/1835-36), Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Burda (1256/1840-41), and ^CAṣīdat al-Shahda (1260/1844-45), and two prose-works, Alf Layla wa-Layla (1251/1835-36) and Safīnat al-Rāghib wa-Dafīnat al-Ṭālib (1255/1835-36). From these publications, the

1) There was also published a panegyrical poem, Qaṣīda-i Sanglākh Dar Madḥ-i Izmīr (1261/1845), under private patronage. It is not known whether another panegyrical poem (No.546), dedicated to Muḥammad ^CAlī, was published by the government or not.

literary tastes of the time can be perceived. Those privately-sponsored literary works were mostly produced in print-runs of several hundred copies, while those under official auspices were usually in runs of several thousand copies.

From the above survey, it seems clear that early Egyptian printing presses (mainly official presses of Muḥammad ^cAlī's) had engaged in the production of two main kinds of works: one is for the government, and the other for private individuals. Those works produced for various official establishments were often produced in print-runs of many thousand copies and were distributed free of charge to the people who needed them, except for well-salaried government employees who were usually required to purchase the works they needed.¹ At the beginning, Muḥammad ^cAlī seems to have availed himself of some works previously published in Istanbul to meet the immediate need of publications. However, efforts were sooner or later made to produce a steady stream of works specifically needed in his reforms. These include a number of translations of western works in the military, medical, mathematical, veterinary, and other sciences. Those people who were employed in the publication of these works consist of, in the first place, some Turks, Europeans and Christian Syrians. But soon the students of educational missions began to take over, from the early 1830s, the task of translating, and they were later joined by some graduates of the School of Languages who were specifically trained to become translators in order to meet the increasing need of translations of western works. To this end, a translation bureau was set up in 1841 within the School of languages, and it consisted of

1) Riḍwān TMB, p. 295.

four divisions: (1) Turkish translation (mainly for military works), (2) mathematical translation, (3) translation of books on medicine and physics, and (4) translation of literary (adabiyāt) works.

Amongst these who contributed to the programme of translation, there was a group of Azharis, who were learned in traditional studies and were recruited in particular for their linguistic and literary erudition to act as text-editors (muḥarrirīn) and correcteurs (muṣaḥḥihīn) of the translated works either in the main printing-house of Būlāq or in other establishments. In the School of Medicine, for example, sheikh Muḥammad ^CUmrān al-Hawārī, Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Raṣhīdī, Muḥammad Muḥarram, Ghānim al-Raṣhīdī, Sālīm ^CAwd al-Qanayātī, Muḥammad ^CUmar al-Tūnisī and Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī all worked as text-editors and correcteurs, while in the Veterinary School, the correcteurs were Muṣṭafā Ḥasan Kassāb and ^CAbd al-Mun^Cim, in the Agricultural School, Naṣr Abū al-Wafā' al-Huraynī, in the Engineering School, Ibrāhīm ^CAbd al-Ghaffār al-Dasūqī, and in the School of Languages, Muḥammad Qaṭṭa al-^CAdawī, Aḥmad ^CAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Muḥammad al-Farḡhālī, and Rifā^Ca Rāfi^C al-Ṭaḥṭāwī. These Azharis gave to many of the translations the elegance appropriate to good literary Arabic, and in the process of editing and correcting works, they drew on the Arabic language for technical terms to express the meaning of the western originals. Due to their efforts, there emerged some lexical works of terminologies for modern works.¹

1) Heyworth-Dunne, "Printing and Translations", pp. 342-45.

Nevertheless, these Azharis contributed more significantly to the publication of many religious, linguistic and literary works which were published to meet the need of both the government and private individuals. Those works produced under official auspices were often priced less than the privately-contracted works for sale, and sometimes works were even sold at reduced price if they were not much in demand, in addition to used copies which were usually sold at half price. On the other hand those under private patronage were priced higher for sale as a result of bearing expenses including the cost of materials and man-power which added as much as 50% to cost. Those people who financed the privately-contracted works were often book-dealers and sometimes scholars; among the former there were several people who were responsible for the sale of printed works, men such as Muṣṭafa, Aḥmad and Kāmil in the Khān Khalīlī, a district in Cairo where most Turks and book-dealers were concentrated.¹ It was owing to the direct encouragement of Muḥammad ^cAlī that the book-production, in terms of printed works, began to emerge in Egypt, and it eventually became the main centre of Arabic publication, a position it has maintained from the time of Muḥammad ^cAlī onwards.

1) The book-dealer Kāmil Ef. had financed some works, such as the 1261 A.H. edition of Gulistān, and he seemed to have also been entrusted with the printing of privately-contracted works; see BulāqMK, p. 1; cf. also RidwānTMB, pp. 301-2, and ṢābātTṬ, p. 163.

CHAPTER 5

A S S E S S M E N T O F M U Ḥ A M M A D Ḥ A L Ī ' S
C O N T R I B U T I O N T O A R A B I C P R I N T I N G
A N D P U B L I S H I N G

With the introduction in 1822 of an Arabic-press for typography by Muḥammad ḤAlī of Egypt, we see the beginning of the history of indigenous Egyptian printing with Arabic typography, and with his encouragement, a number of printing-presses were set up both inside and outside Egypt in the decades that followed the establishment of his first typographical press, the Būlāq; amongst them were MaṭbaḤat al-QalḤa (the printing-press of the Citadel, c. 1822), MaṭbaḤat Madrasat al-Ṭibb bi-Abī ZaḤbal (the printing-press of the School of Medicine at Abū ZaḤbal, founded after February 1827), MaṭbaḤat Sarāy Ra's al-Ṭīn bi-al-Iskandariyya (the printing-press of the Ra's al-Ṭīn Palace in Alexandria, c. March 1833), MaṭbaḤat Maktab al-Ṭūbjiyya bi-Ṭarra (the printing-press of the School of Artillery at Ṭarra, 1831), MaṭbaḤat Dīwān al-Jihādiyya (the printing-press of the Ministry of Military Affairs, c. 1831), MaṭbaḤat Dīwān al-Madāris (the printing-press of the Ministry of Education and Public Works, after 1837), MaṭbaḤat (Madrasat) al-MuhandiskḤāna (the printing-press of the Engineering School, after 1834), and many others which were set up in various administrative, military, educational and industrial

establishments.¹

As the primary function of these presses was mainly administrative and educational, we have seen the publication of a number of handbooks and manuals for the requirements of the government establishments, in addition to many administrative publications which include no less than ten official and semi-official bulletins and gazettes in Turkish, Arabic, Italian, Greek and French, such as: Jurnāl al-Khidīw (the Khedivial Journal, c. 1822), al-Waqā'ī^c al-Miṣriyya (the Egyptian Events, December 1828), Waqā'ī^c-i Kirīṭiyya (the Cretan Events, c. 1831), al-Jarīda al-^cAskariyya (the Military Gazette, c. 1833), Bulletin de l'Armée de Syrie (1833),² Le Moniteur

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- 1) The exact number of presses set up by Muḥammad ^cAlī cannot be determined. The figure of nine or thirteen given in some studies is rather conservative. Although only around a dozen of them are discussed in this study, there were some presses, such as Maṭba^cat Maktab al-Mūsīqā, Maṭba^ca bi-Madrasat al-Fursān at Giza, Maṭba^cat Dīwān al-Jāmi^ca, Maṭba^cat al-Madrasa al-Miṣriyya at Paris, and Maṭba^cat al-Ḥajar at Raṣhīd, which could not be discussed separately here as there is insufficient information on their activities. Cf. ṢābātTT, p. 172; ShukrīBDM, p. 121; and RidwānTMB, pp. 365 and 367-68.
 - 2) I am indebted for this reference to the French Military Bulletin to Dr. P. C. Sadgrove who has carried out a detailed study of journalistic publications in Egypt between 1798 and 1882 in his thesis on Egyptian journalism.

Égyptien (1833), and al-Ḥawādith al-Tijāriyya wa-al-I^clānāt al-Malakiyya (the Commercial News and Official or Royal Announcements, 1848).¹ With the appearance of these gazettes, Arabic journalism began to develop, especially with the publication of al-Waqā'i^c al-Miṣriyya which is generally regarded as the first Arabic newspaper.

However, the most important of the activities carried out by his presses was the production of books. In order to promote book-production, libraries were founded to house printed books imported from the West and from the East (mainly from Istanbul) and translation bureaus/offices were set up in which Egyptian and non-Egyptian translators as well as certain Azharis were employed to translate and edit works; new printing machines and equipment were also imported, as for instance, the "ta^clīq" type which was in particular used in the printing of poetic works for the book-trade.² A paper-mill was set up in 1834, and a government book-shop was opened in 1837 to promote the sale of printed books. Thus by the mid-19th century, 570 works are known to have been printed/published in Egypt during the thirty-year period 1238-1267 (1822-1851). As the majority of these (i.e. 558 works or 97.9% of the total 570 works) was produced by the official presses, it is possible to claim that the emergence of a printing industry in Egypt for the production of Arabic-type books was in the main achieved with the direct encouragement of Muḥammad ^cAlī.

1) Ibrāhīm ^cAbduh, Miḥnat al-Ṣiḥāfa wa-Waliy al-Ni^cam (Cairo: Sijill al-^cArab, 1978), p. 10.

2) Riḍwān TMB, pp. 91-93.

Among these 570 publications, many deal with military matters (i.e. 86 works or 15.1% of the total), administration (48 works or 8.4%), medical sciences (47 works or 8.2%), mathematics (30 works or 5.3%), veterinary sciences (23 works or 4%), agriculture (10 works or 1.8%) and other sciences (15 works or 2.6%). These 260 works (or 45.6%) and several others are of a utilitarian nature and were intended to facilitate the programmes of reforms. Some 40 translations of a literary nature (known as *adabiyyāt* and mainly dealing with geography and history) and as many as 264 (or 46.2%) religious, linguistical and literary works of traditional literature (of which at least a third were printed/published at private expense) were also produced with the aim of raising the general level of education and meeting the needs of the reading-public. These printing and publishing activities were noted by one of the contemporary literati, Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1819-1883):

"He [Muḥammad ^CAlī] adopted in this age an attitude to the books of the Franks similar to that adopted in his age by Charles the Great to the books of the Arabs. He ordered the translation into Arabic of the best of them, and had these translations, together with many old Arabic books, printed at the excellent press at Būlāq ... and thus there issued from it various books in Arabic on medicine, physics, history etc. In this way he provided the Arabic language with the entire range ... of Arabic and Turkish arts and sciences".¹

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- 1) A. L. Tibawi, "From Islam to Arab Nationalism, with special reference to Egypt and Syria", in Arabic and Islamic Themes, A. L. Tibawi (London, 1974), pp. 35-36.

Therefore, the publication of books was to serve several aims, and many of them were sent to places outside Egypt, such as Aleppo, Damascus, Latakia, Tripoli and Gaza, where "they were ordered not only by civil servants, physicians, chemists, and army officers, but also by religious functionaries, members of consultative councils, notables, teachers & private individuals of all communities, Christians, Muslims and others".¹ Especially, the public demand for printed books made the undertaking of jobbing-work viable for the presses, so that there began a trend whereby not only many official publications were reprinted but also private individuals underwrote the publication of certain titles in order to meet the need of the reading public. These privately-financed publications, known as "maṭbū^cāt al-multazimīn" (or privately-contracted works), consist of some 80 Turkish works (which include 36 dīwāns, 25 religious works on Islamic Jurisprudence, theology, mysticism and biography, 10 prose-works, 3 works of epistolography, and several linguistical works), 33 Arabic works (including 19 on religion, 8 on literature and 6 on linguistics), and several Persian works of literature. This would indicate that the book-market at the time of Muḥammad ^cAlī was dominated by Turkish works.

The role of the Egyptian presses in the production of Turkish books though should not be underestimated, although it should not also be overemphasized, for, throughout the period under study, of

1) A. L. Tibawi, "Some Misconceptions About the Nahḍa", op. cit., p. 305. Cf. also Ibid., American Interests in Syria, 1800-1901, A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work (Oxford, 1966), pp. 70-71.

the 766 Turkish works which are mentioned to have been produced in the Ottoman Empire no less than 259 were published in Egypt,¹ while the needs of the state (i.e. the Egyptian government) seem to have been met especially, from the early 1830s, by the production of more Arabic works of certain categories, such as scientific and technical works. This came about as more native Egyptians were recruited into the institutes of reform. It is not surprising therefore to note that in the period of this study there were produced, under the auspices of government, more than a hundred scientific works in Arabic and less than 30 in Turkish, together with more than 40 Arabic works of a linguistic nature and less than 10 in Turkish. Official Arabic publications in other fields, such as religion, literature and history

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- 1) The number of Turkish works produced in the Ottoman Empire during this period is as follows (figures in brackets represent books produced in Egypt):

1238/1822-23: 5 (4) works;	1253/1837-38: 39 (10) works;
1239/1823-24: 7 (4) " ;	1254/1838-39: 37 (19) " ;
1240/1824-25: 7 (4) " ;	1255/1839-40: 36 (15) " ;
1241/1825-26: 13 (3) " ;	1256/1840-41: 44 (13) " ;
1242/1826-27: 14 (10) " ;	1257/1841-42: 46 (17) " ;
1243/1827-28: 11 (5) " ;	1258/1842-43: 29 (11) " ;
1244/1828-29: 9 (2) " ;	1259/1843-44: 24 (8) " ;
1245/1829-30: 11 (8) " ;	1260/1844-45: 33 (10) " ;
1246/1830-31: 18 (7) " ;	1261/1845 : 25 (8) " ;
1247/1831-32: 11 (5) " ;	1262/1845-46: 44 (6) " ;
1248/1832-33: 10 (11) " ;	1263/1846-47: 41 (0) " ;
1249/1833-34: 16 (7) " ;	1264/1847-48: 47 (6) " ;
1250/1834-35: 24 (11) " ;	1265/1848-49: 31 (8) " ;
1251/1835-36: 29 (14) " ;	1266/1849-50: 42 (5) " ;
1252/1836-37: 32 (15) " ;	1267/1850-51: 31 (4) " .

See below, Tables 35 and 36.

(including geography) also generally outnumbered their Turkish counterparts, with the exception of the works dealing with the military sciences and administration, of which 13 Arabic and 70 Turkish were produced in the former category, and 5 Arabic and 15 Turkish were produced in the latter, and with a total of 200 Arabic works and some 170 Turkish works being produced by the government. Although most of these scientific works served a relatively limited purpose, some were popular enough to be reprinted in the thirty-year period following the period under study, 1268-1299 (1851-1882).

1) Examples of these works are:

Al-Qawl al-Ṣarīḥ fī ʿIlm al-Tashrīḥ (1248/1832-33, reprinted 1283/1866-67); Al-Azhār al-Badīʿa fī ʿIlm al-Ṭabīʿa (1254/1838-39, reprinted 1269/1852-52 and 1291/1874-75); Uṣūl al-Handasa (1255/1839-40, reprinted 1282/1865-66); Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī Fann al-Aqrabādhīn (1258/1842-43, reprinted 1266/1849-50); Mabādi' al-Handasa (1258/1842-43, reprinted 1270/1853-54 and 1291/1874-75); Kunūz al-Ṣiḥḥa wa-Yawāqīt al-Minḥa (1260/1844-45, reprinted 1271/1854-55, 1280/1863-64, and 1296/1878-79); Tahdhīb al-ʿIbārāt fī Fann Akhdh al-Misāḥāt (1260/1844-45, reprinted 1292/1875-76); Kashf al-Niqāb ʿan ʿIlm al-Ḥisāb (1266/1849-50, reprinted 1289/1872-73); and Al-Minḥa al-Zahriyya fī al-Aʿmāl al-Jabriyya (1269/1852-53, reprinted 1278/1861-62); in addition to the reprint of two translations of western history, Bidāyat al-Qudamā' wa-Hidāyat al-Ḥukamā' (1254/1838-39, reprinted 1282/1865-66) and Al-Rawḍ al-Azhar fī Tārīkh Buṭrus al-Akbar (1266/1849-50, reprinted 1287/1870-71).

In particular, we find that many religious, linguistic and literary works of a more traditional nature were printed in the period under study (1238-1267/1822-1851) and then reprinted in the following thirty-year period (i.e. 1268-1299/1851-1882); among them, some were issued more than ten times, such as Sharḥ Ḥasan B. ^CAlī al-Kafrāwī (d. 1202/1788) ^Calā al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya (21 editions, 5 in the period under study), Dalā'il al-Khayrāt wa-Shawāriq al-Anwār fī Dhikr al-Ṣalāt ^Calā al-Nabī al-Mukhtār (15 editions, 1 in the period), Sharḥ Khālīd al-Azharī ^Calā al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya (10 editions, 4 in the period), Sharḥ Ibn ^CAqīl ^Calā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik (11 editions, 4 in the period), Sharḥ ^CAbd Allāh Ibn Hishām ^Calā Qaṭr al-Nadā wa-Ball al-Ṣadā (11 editions, 2 in the period), Al-Sullam al-Murawnaq (10 editions, 1 in the period), and Al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya (fī al-Naḥw) (10 editions, 2 in the period). The reprinting of many of these works of traditional literature is proof of the general demand for these works, of which linguistical works seem to have been most read. Many of these works reprinted after the reign of Muḥammad ^CAlī were produced either by the official presses (mainly the Būlāq), or by others which were privately operated, for instance a work of epistolography, Inshā' al-^CAṭṭār, which was published three times by the Būlāq press during Muḥammad ^CAlī's time, was reprinted in 1270/1853-54 by a press known as Maṭba^Cat al-Kāstillī (and also reprinted several times afterwards).¹ This press, set up by an Italian Jew, Mose Castelli, who had come to Egypt in 1834 and probably worked in Muḥammad ^CAlī's printing establishment, was the first of several private Arabic-presses known to have appeared in the 1850s, such as Maṭba^Cat

1) See work No.144 listed below; cf. also above, pp. 76-77.

(al-Shaykh) Ḥasan al-Tūkhī (1273/1856-57), Sharikat Maktabat wa-Maṭba^cat Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (1856?), al-Maṭba^ca al-Wahbiyya (1275/1858-59), and Maṭba^cat (al-Shaykh) Muḥammad Shāhīn (1276/1859-60).¹ The appearance of these privately-operated presses was probably in response to the demand for printed books which was not being met by the government after it lost its original zeal for promoting the publication of books in the late 1840s. This in the end resulted in not only the transfer in 1862 of the state-owned Būlāq press to private hands,² but also the flourishing of privately-owned presses whose number began to increase in the following two decades:

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- 1) The exact date of foundation of these private Arabic presses is generally not known, but is given, in most cases, according to the date of its first known publication. The history of Egyptian printing press is still very much neglected, and it is not unusual to find many conflicting statements made by various scholars, as for instance when we see that the al-Maṭba^ca al-Wahbiyya is said by Ṣābāt (TT, p.202) as having been founded in 1280 (1863), despite a number of works printed/published with this press-name from as early as 1275/1858-59. Cf. also Sha^cbān^c Abd al-^cAzīz Khalīfa, Ḥarakat Nashr al-Kutub fī Miṣr, Dirāsa Taṭbīqiyya (Cairo, 1974), pp. 327-328.
 - 2) RidwānTMB, pp. 174-75; also ṢābātTT, p. 184.

- 1277/1860-61: Maṭba^Cat Aḥmad Ef. al-Azharī,
Maṭba^Ca li-al-Sayyid Muḥammad Hāshim,
- 1279/1862-63: Maṭba^Cat Wādī al-Nīl,
Maṭba^Cat ^CAbd al-Ghānī Ef. Fikrī,
Maṭba^Cat al-Sayyid ^CAlī,
- 1281/1864-65: Maṭba^Cat al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Sha^Crāwī,
1282/1865-66: al-Maṭba^Ca al-Khayriyya,
1283/1866-67: Maṭba^Cat Muḥammad Abī Zayd,
Maṭba^Cat Muḥammad Ef. Unsi,
- 1286/1869-70: Maṭba^Cat Jam^Cdiyyat al-Ma^Cārif bi-Miṣr,
1287/1870-71: Maṭba^Cat al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī,
1288/1871-72: al-Maṭba^Ca al-Waṭaniyya,
Maṭba^Cat Rawḍat al-Madāris,
Maṭba^Cat Mu^Cawwad Ef. Farīd,
- 1291/1874-75: Maṭba^Cat al-Wā^Ciz bi-al-Qāhira,
Maṭba^Cat al-Kawkab al-Sharqī bi-al-Iskandariyya,
Maṭba^Cat Manṣūr Ef. bi-Miṣr,
- 1293/1876-77: Maṭba^Cat Muḥammad Muṣṭafā,
al-Maṭba^Ca al-^CUṭhmāniyya,
- 1294/1877 : Maṭba^Cat al-Ahrām bi-al-Iskandariyya,
1295/1877-78: Maṭba^Cat Jarīdat Miṣr bi-al-Iskandariyya (1878),
1296/1878-79: Maṭba^Cat Abī al-Dhahab bi-Miṣr,
1297/1879-80: al-Maṭba^Ca al-Sharafiyya bi-Miṣr.

Some of these presses existed only for a brief period, and some functioned for a long period of over hundred years and have even survived until the present day.¹ These presses, founded after the reign of Muḥammad ^CAlī, produced mainly Arabic works, and were set up either for the general purpose of providing the public with publications of all kinds, or for more special purposes, that is to publish certain types of works, as for instance, al-Maṭba^Ca al-Qibṭiyya al-Ahliyya which was founded to publish religious works,² Maṭba^Cat Jam^Cīyyat al-Ma^Cārif bi-Miṣr which was established to produce the classics of the Arabic language,³ and Maṭba^Cat Wādī al-Nīl and Maṭba^Cat Rawḍat al-Madāris, which were set up to publish the newspaper "Wādī al-Nīl" (the first unofficial Arabic newspaper, 1862) and the literary magazine "Rawḍat al-Madāris" respectively.⁴

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- 1) Amongst these private Arabic presses, the most famous is Maṭba^Cat al-Ahrām which was founded to published the newspaper "al-Ahrām", a very popular daily newspaper in Egypt of today.
 - 2) The claim by Heyworth-Dunne (Education, p. 338) that the press was the first private Arabic printing press in Egypt seems rather doubtful, although no date for its foundation is given. However, Ṣābāt (TT, p. 201) mentions that this press was first imported from England in 1860, and only started to function actively from 1870.
 - 3) ṢābātTT, p. 203.
 - 4) The literary magazine, Rawḍat al-Madāris, was founded in 1863 and was first printed by the Maṭba^Cat Wādī al-Nīl; it was later printed by a press known as Maṭba^Cat Rawḍat al-Madāris.

The setting up of printing-presses for journalistic publications inaugurated the era of Arabic periodical presses, through which public opinion was formed and the intellectuals were able to express more freely their own ideas. As a result of this flourishing private enterprise, thousands of Arabic books and hundreds of Arabic newspapers/magazines were produced in the second half of the 19th century.¹ In these books and journalistic publications, new ideas were advocated, and new literary forms (such as plays and novels) made their debut. This contributed significantly to a period of social, political and literary activity which is known, in the modern history of the Arabs, as the "Nahḍa" (the Revival or Renaissance).² In this movement, the printing-press has been regarded by Jurjī Zaydān as one of the main factors contributing to its birth.³ But the role played by the printing-press in these social and cultural movements of the second half of the nineteenth century, is more significant; not only did it assume the more positive function of disseminating the various currents of thought, rather than acting as an organ of government policy as it did in Muḥammad ^cAlī's reign, but it was also the most important single factor contributing to the success of other phenomena of the "Nahḍa", such as journalism, new schools, the desire of freedom

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- 1) P. J. E. Cachia, "Modern Arabic Literature", in The Islamic Near East, ed. by D. Grant (University of Toronto Press, 1960), p.290. Cf. also M. Hartmann, The Arabic Press of Egypt (London, 1899).
 - 2) The era of "Nahḍa" is described by Jurjī Zaydān (Tārīkh Ādāb, vol. IV, p. 6) as the period lasting from the evacuation of the French Expedition in 1801 to the beginning of the 20th century.
 - 3) Ibid., pp. 14-16.

of expression, literary and scientific societies, public libraries and museums, the theatre, and the participation of westerners (or orientalists) in the literature of the Arabic language.¹

In this flourishing printing and publishing activity, not only did many of these Arabic presses avail themselves of the resources of the official printing establishments (mainly Būlāq), by using the Arabic type of the Būlāq press and sending their workers to be trained at Būlāq,² but also many personnel who had previously worked in Muḥammad ^CAlī's printing/publishing establishments left their official jobs to act as directors, publishers, correcteurs etc. in the new private presses, amongst the most prominent men such as ^CAbd Allāh Abū Su^Cūd (editor of the newspaper Wādī al-Nīl),³ Rifā^Ca Rāfi^C al-Ṭaḥṭāwī (editor of Rawḍat al-Madāris),⁴ and Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī (co-founder of the first medical journal in Egypt "Ya^Csūb al-Ṭibb", started in 1865 by Muḥammad ^CAlī al-Baqlī),⁵ and Muḥammad ^CUṭhmān Jalāl (pioneer of Arabic plays and the short story in Egypt, also publisher of a weekly political newspaper "Nuzhat al-Afkār", founded in 1869 with Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī).⁶

1) J. Zaydān, Tārīkh Adāb, vol. IV, p. 16.

2) Ṣābāt, p. 201, and Heyworth-Dunne, Education, p. 338.

3) Heyworth-Dunne, Ibid., p. 345.

4) Muḥammad ^CAbd al-Ghānī Ḥasan and ^CAbd al-^CAzīz al-Dasūqī, Rawḍat al-Madāris, Nash'atuhā wa-Ittijāhātuhā al-Adabiyya wa-^CIlmiyya (Cairo, 1975), pp. 37 ff.

5) Heyworth-Dunne, Education, p. 180.

6) Ibid., 345, and Mohamed A. Al-Khozai, The Development of Early Arabic Drama, 1847-1900 (London, 1984), pp. 169-72. Abu-Lughod

Thus, the founder of modern Egypt, Muḥammad ^cAlī, deserves not only the credit for introducing the first indigenous Arabic typography, the first Arabic newspaper, new schools, libraries etc. in Egypt, but, more importantly, for moulding a generation of Egyptian intellectuals who were educated and trained either at home or abroad to become specialists in certain sciences. They all contributed a great deal, during and after his reign, to the publication of many books and newspapers/journals which came as a result of their interest in its potential created and nourished under Muḥammad ^cAlī. Some of them pursued their publishing outside Egypt, as for instance Ibrāhīm Ef. al-Ṭabīb, usually known as Ibrāhīm Bey al-Najjār, a Syrian who studied in Muḥammad ^cAlī's medical school and founded in Beirut a press called al-Maṭba'a al-Sharqiyya, and the famous man of letters, Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (1804-1887), an assistant editor of Muḥammad ^cAlī's official gazette, al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya, in the 1830s, who

(Arab Rediscovery, p. 53) mentions that he was credited with being the "father" of the short story in Arabic, and also that he had translated Moliere's play "Tartuffe" (under the title of Riwāyat al-Shaykh Matlūf) as early as 1850, which cannot however be ascertained as being correct.

- 1) A. N. M. A. Hasan, Western Influence in the Arabic Literature of Egypt and Syria between 1820 and 1879 (Ph. D. Thesis, London University, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1930), pp. 161-62. The extent of Muḥammad ^cAlī's reforms on the literary activities of many Egyptians and Syrians who worked or studied in his institutes of reform is described at length in this thesis.

became the editor of many journals including the well-known Arabic newspaper published in Istanbul "al-Jawā'ib" (1861).¹ Muḥammad ^cAlī's printing/publishing activities seem to have borne more fruit than his other institutes of reform, and contributed much more towards the formation of the modern Arab world than he ever envisaged.

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Owing to the limitations not only of the thesis but also of many of the publications which so far have not been satisfactorily identified, discussions on certain questions as to the influence of the publications on the development of Egyptian cultural and literary life or vice versa, which are obviously raised by this study and worthy of some thought, are beyond the scope of the present form of the thesis. It is, however, far more urgent and important in this study to provide a bibliography which will enable us to trace and identify many inadequately catalogued or uncatalogued works amongst the 570 publications known to have appeared in the period under study. To achieve this, these 570 works have been arranged in a special way to serve as a provisional checklist of printed literature for the period, and are listed in the second part of this thesis with as much information as possible to allow students of nineteenth century Egypt to have a firmer basis than previously on which to gain access to the full extent and nature of the products of the printing presses and to build their studies of the cultural life of Egypt on a more satisfactory foundation.

1) Ibid., pp. 151-52; also H. A. R. Gibb, Studies on the Civilization of Islam, ed. by S. J. Shaw and W. R. Polk (London, 1962), p. 248.