

## Commencement of Printing in the Muslim World: A View of Impact on *Ulama* at Early Phase of Islamic Moderate Trends

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The beginning of printing press and dissemination of knowledge through it had brought about, in fact, a revolution in the world. But the Islamic World remained deprived of the benefits, including the reconstruction of its religious life, which the Christian world was reaping by using this new source.<sup>1)</sup> Printing could not get started in the Islamic World till the beginning of the 19th century, that is, until four centuries after the Christian world began using it. In the countries of the Islamic World where the Islamic rule was threatened by the western expansionism, such as Turkey, Egypt and then Iran, the setting up of the printing presses had begun from the outset of the 19th century but printing was not common until after a quarter of the century.

It was not that the Muslims were unaware of the printing.<sup>2)</sup> In Turkey, the Jewish settlers who had been migrating from Spain until 1493 had set up their printing presses and had begun printing their religious and some academic books. In other Islamic countries, too, the Jews and the Christians had started using printing presses.

Neither was it a reason that the printing in the languages of the Islamic World would have appeared more difficult to them, as these languages need different kinds of ligatures due to their script and calligraphic rules which require the joining of certain letters at times, because the Holy *Qur'an* had been printed in the Arabic script<sup>3)</sup> in the 15th century and the Christian denizens of Syria used presses in the 16th century for printing Arabic books.<sup>4)</sup>

One of the reasons that kept Muslims from accepting the printing press was their dependence on the tradition of memorizing the entire Holy *Qur'an* by heart and the tradition of disseminating the knowledge orally. The other reason being their traditional and unique art of calligraphy and penmanship they took great pride in. The errors that crept in during the calligraphy before printing were simply unacceptable for them. In their view, the original manuscripts penned by the authors themselves were more reliable, authentic and valuable. And then there was the ugliness in the printing process at that time which was totally different from the aesthetic values and artistic sense

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- 1) The success of Protestant revolution owed much to printing press and 'Lutheranism' can rightly be called the child of printing. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communication and Cultural Transformation in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1979), vol. I & II, covers the similar topics. Also: Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety* (Cambridge, 1991).
- 2) It is quite possible that the Muslims were unaware of the invention of moveable type printing in China in 1041-1049 AD, just as was the case with Johann Gutenberg (1399-1468), the inventor of printing press. G.A. Glaister, *Encyclopaedia of books* (London, 1996), p. 39.
- 3) Thomas F. Carter, "Islam as a Barrier to Printing," in: *The Moslem World*, 33, (1943), pp. 213-216; also, for details: G. Roper, "The Export of Arabic Books from Europe to the Middle East in the 18th century," in: *Proceedings of the 1989 International Conference on Europe and Middle East* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 233-266.
- 4) Pederson, *The Arabic Book*. Translated by G. French, and ed. by R. Hillenbrand (Princeton, 1984), pp. 131-141; also, for details: Wahid Gdoura, *Le de but de L'imprimerie Arab a Istanbul et en Syria: Evolution de L'environnement Culturel 1707-1787* (Tunis, 1985).

of the Muslims. The tradition of taking utmost care in the calligraphy of Holy *Qur'an* and making ornate designs for beautification of its hand-written copies made Muslims totally ignore the thought of adopting printing as the distinction between certain Arabic letters such as 'dal' ( ﺩ ), 'dhal' ( ﺫ ) and 're' ( ﺭ ), 'ze' ( ﺯ ) could not be maintained in the Holy *Qur'an* printed in Venus (Italy) in 1537.<sup>5)</sup> Though it was a preliminary and experimental process and later things improved much, the Muslim mind could not put up with the printing for a long time to come. This aversion was, perhaps, also based on the dictates of their conscience which told them that using the press invented by the infidels was tantamount to participating in or co-operating with the profanity.<sup>6)</sup> But at that time, this attitude was not restricted to the Muslims alone. Orthodox Christians or Catholics, too, had opposed printing for quite some time after its inception.<sup>7)</sup>

Though the printing of the religious books was unacceptable in a number of countries in the Islamic World, the point of view was different in Turkey, Central Asia under Tsar and India. In India, the printing of religious books began at the commencement of the 19th century. The so-called 'Wahabis' were the first Muslims to take interest in modern printing methods for disseminating their philosophy and concepts just as they were first to use steamships for the pilgrimage of *Hajj* and firearms for *Jihad*.<sup>8)</sup> Therefore, the attitude of the Muslim intellectuals and the governments under their influence soon changed in favour of printing but not in India. The situation, due to foreign rule, was different there. Watching the useful effects of printing in Europe, they considered it inevitable not only for the social reforms and spread of knowledge but also for the promotion of the Islamic teaching.<sup>9)</sup> Parallel to it was the ruling class that deemed it prudent to employ printing as means to impose and implement its strategy for success. Firstly, Sultan Murad III (1546–1595) allowed the European businessmen, in October 1588, to import into Turkey the books printed in the Arabic script.<sup>10)</sup> Sultan Ahmad III (1673–1736) stepped ahead by allowing in 1727 the establishment of printing presses in his domain, though this permission was limited to the printing of non-religious books only.<sup>11)</sup> Taking advantage of this permission, Ibrahim Mutafarraqa (1670–1745), an emigrant from Hungary who had settled in Istanbul and had embraced Islam as well, set up the Islamic World's first printing press in 1727. Though from this press books only on history and science were

5) Muhsin Mahdi, "From the Manuscript Age to the Age of Printed Books," in: George N. Atiyeh, *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East* (Albani, 1995), p. 283.

6) It was the same approach which prevented, either partially or totally, the Islamic World from using useful inventions of the western world, such as weapons, clocks and electric light, for a long period of time. A compact study of the Islamic World's hesitation over the use of printing is presented in Francis Robinson's "Islam and the Impact of Print in South Asia," in: *The Transformation of Knowledge in South Asia*, ed. by Nigel Crook (Oxford, 1996), pp. 62–97; also: Ami Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East, a History* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 166–167 and afterwards.

7) *Ibid.*, p. 167.

8) Marc Garborieau, "Late Persian, Early Urdu: The case of Wahabi Literature (1818–1857)," in: *Confluence of Culture: French Contributions to Indo-Persian Studies*, ed. by F.N. Delvoye (Delhi, 1995), p. 175.

9) In this regard, *Waseelat-al-Tab'a*, an article by Ibrahim Mutafarraqa, the pioneer of the first printing press in Turkey and the Islamic World, is full of many logical arguments and examples showing the benefits of printing. Its English translation is published in Atiyeh, *op.cit.*, pp. 286–292.

10) Related royal order, *ibid.*, p. 283.

11) Related royal order, *ibid.*, pp. 284–285.

printed, But, unfortunately, it had to be closed down in 1742 due to severe opposition from Muslim *Ulama* and general public.<sup>12)</sup>

In spite of surviving for a brief period of time, the beginning of printing in Turkey proved to be an effective and motivating force for the Islamic World. In addition to import of books from Europe into the Islamic countries, the printing of Arabic books began in Lebanon in 1734.<sup>13)</sup> But the books published from there were meant for the preaching of Christianity and ran small print orders.<sup>14)</sup> By that time, the Arab world had begun to assimilate European philosophies and European way of life and Turkey and Egypt were the first ones in the Islamic World to accept and absorb these effects. In Egypt, keeping in line with the tradition of bureaus of translation established by Abbasids, during the reign of Muhammad Ali Pasha (1786–1849) a bureau of translation was set up under his patronage that began translating western publications and got published 243 books from Cairo between 1822 and 1842.<sup>15)</sup> Though published from Cairo, the centre of the Arabic language, about half of these books were in Turkish language. A government press had begun working there under the patronage of the Government.<sup>16)</sup>

The printing in Iran, too, began under the government patronage and it started in 1816, a little earlier than it did in Egypt, when vicegerent, *Naib al Saltanat*, Abbas Mirza (1789–1833) set up a printing press at Tabrez.<sup>17)</sup> Abdul Wahab *Mu'atam al Daola* (d. 1827) established a press almost at the same time in Tehran.<sup>18)</sup> These presses were manifestation of the interest the ruling class was taking in printing at that time. This patronage had began earlier when in 1784 Abbas Mirza sent Mirza Jaffer Shirazi to Moscow and, according to Asad Agha Tabrezi (whose father's and brother's press was already functioning in Tabrez, as some have it), Mirza Sualeh Shirazi (d. 1839), the *Vazeer* of Tehran, sent Mirza Asadullah, a citizen of Iran, to St. Petersburg so that they could learn the skill of litho printing.<sup>19)</sup> On Mirza Asadullah's return, Tabrez's first litho press was established which was shifted to Tehran five years later. The setting up of another printing press by Zain al-Abideen in 1827 is also reported.<sup>20)</sup> Soon the setting up of printing presses in other Iranian cities also began.<sup>21)</sup> In Tabrez alone, which was Iran's biggest city back then, at least 16 presses were working in 1846.<sup>22)</sup>

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12) Bernard Lewis, *Muslim Discovery of Europe* (London, 1982), p. 168.

13) Geoffrey Roper, "Faris Al-Shidyah and the Transition from Scribe to Print Culture in the Middle East," in: Atiyeh, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

14) Lewis, *op.cit.*, p. 168.

15) *Ibid.*, p. 306.

16) Ayalon, *op.cit.*, pp. 13–14.

17) E.G. Brown, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. IV (Cambridge, 1953), p. 155; also: by the same author, *The Press and Poetry in Modern Persia* (second edition, Los Angeles, 1983), p. 7. Earlier, in September 1294, Gekhat Khan faced severe resistance when he began printing paper currency notes with the help of Chinese artisans and had to stop it just after two months. K. Jhan, "Paper Currency in Iran," in: *Journal of Asian history* (Michigan, 1970), pp. 125–135.

18) E.G. Brown, *The Press and Poetry in Modern Persia*, p. 7.

19) *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.

20) Mehdi Bamdar, *Sharh e Haal e Rijaal e Iran*, vol. II (Tehran, 1357Sh.), p. 177.

21) E.G. Brown, *The Press and Poetry in Modern Persia*, p. 7.

22) Abbas Amanat, *Point of the Universe: Nasir Al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831–1896* (London, 1997), p. 75.

It was a glimpse of attitude and attainment of the Islamic World to adopt and use printing facilities for the academic or official needs or up to some extent religious material, mostly Holy *Qur'an*, was started to publish but the use of printing presses among the Muslims of South Asia,<sup>23)</sup> especially around mid 19th Century was quite different then the rest of the Islamic World.

In fact, start and beginning of printing activities in South Asia had shown a different scenario in comparison with slightly developed and advanced countries of the Islamic World like Turkey, Egypt and Iran especially in respect of academics and administration and as well as in printing. The Muslims hailing from there had no exception in their approach as was the attitude of other Muslims of Islamic World. But, they were not defiant of its significance. When Mughal emperor Jahangir (1605–1627), was shown a copy of the Bible in Arabic script, printed in Italy by the Jesuits, Jahangir discussed with them about the possibilities of converting it into the *Nasta'liq* script.<sup>24)</sup> On the other hand, when Sa'dullah Khan (d. 1656), a minister of Jahangir's successor Shahjahan (1628–1657), was gifted a printed Arabic book in 1651, he refused to accept it.<sup>25)</sup>

The same attitude dominated till the printing started, there could not have been any sense prevailing among the admirers of *Nasta'liq* and *Naskh* to adopt printing themselves in almost three decades. In the beginning of 19th century, irrespective of one or two exceptions, whatever the printing activities appeared in South Asia, it was commissioned either by the East India Company or foreign Christian missionaries. With the sharing of the locals, printing in languages having Islamic cultural identity such as Arabic, Persian and Urdu in the third decade of 18th century could gain ground, but its commencement had already began in (1556) the middle of 16th century.<sup>26)</sup> At that time, the examples of printing remained limited to such books which kept on being published in various places of Europe.<sup>27)</sup> And in South Asia, these remained limited to partial sentences or words

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23) "South Asia", does not geographically consists of India only, Pakistan, Bangladesh Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Sri Lanka, Isles of Maldives even in a larger sense Burma and Afghanistan are included. Under Muslim era and the British rule, it remained in a limited meaning as Sub-Continent or a Continent. Present study pertain to the British period, Therefore South Asia means the areas between and around Pakistan and Bangladesh.

24) E. Mclegan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mughals* (London, 1932), pp. 2, 11, 215.

25) *Ibid.*, pp. 208–209.

26) The first printing press established in South Asia by Jesuits of Portugal in 1556 in their established St. Paul College in the coastal city Goa. They published about 10 books during 1556 to 1581. Two of them were in native languages, Tamil and Konkani. Graham Shaw, *The South Asia and Burma, 1556–1800: Retrospective Bibliography (SABREB)*, Stage I: 1556–1800 (London, 1987), p. 5; the publication referred includes the year wise entry of those books published in native presses. Its preface deals with the comprehensive details of the presses established in South Asia. Many publications provide the historical information about establishing of presses in South Asia. On this topic, a monograph of this same scholar: *Printing in Calcutta to 1800* (London, 1981), Apart from this, B.S Kasawan, *History of Printing and Publishing in India* (Delhi, 1985, 1988); A.K Provolkar, *The Printing Press in India* (Bombay, 1988); Katherine Diehl, *Early India Imprints* (New York, 1964) are informative sources on this subject.

27) For example, a book published in Tamil language on 27 December 1727 in Trankobar, *Dialogvs Inter Moslimvm et Christianvm...* by C.T. Walther, contains a sentence of an Arabic translation of Bible. It was published by wooden block. Graham Shaw, SABREB, p. 61; this book was published in 1740 and 1753. *Ibid.*; and also, Saleemuddin Quraishi, *op.cit.*, p. 12; a press in Bombay, which was set up by a Parsi Rustum Ji Kesha Pathi in 1777, was published a news paper *Bombay Courier*. Besides with other languages, it published advertisements in Urdu language either. J. Natrajan History of Indian Journalism. vol. II (Delhi, 2nd Edition, 1997), p. 69.

in such texts of local languages which were published in various printing presses of the region.<sup>28)</sup> These regions ruled under the British Government, where momentum in respect of beginning and richness of printing, remained lethargic. The Britons got control of the first press in 1761 in Pondicheri where the French were defeated by them. This press remained in use of the publications of office orders and almanac of the East India Company,<sup>29)</sup> the chain of Persian printing and complete book publishing could come in practice when presses were established in Calcutta by the East India Company, and tremendously organized publications in Persian (and Urdu) beyond their needs.<sup>30)</sup> Since Persian language has been a language of culture and academics of Muslims and even of Hindu elites until the end of 19th century, almost all activities in printing were consisted in this language or in Urdu language which was now becoming most common language of the masses and it is usually considered as a Muslim language. So, in 19th century, printing activities were mostly limited to Persian or Urdu.

It was the situation when in the second decade of 19th century, the locals took interest in printing and in establishing their own presses. At this time, the printing, which was limited to the cities, spread over in districts and towns. Despite official restrictions and scarcity of paper, it became so popular that the number of publications during 1801 to 1832 reached to 12,000 approximately.<sup>31)</sup>

Among the pioneer Indians, who established their own presses, there was a press called Matba' e Shukr Allah which seems to be established by a Muslim.<sup>32)</sup> But in this beginning, Indians established presses to promote printing, it was Matba' e Sultani in Lucknow founded in 1818<sup>33)</sup> by Ghaziuddin Haider (1814–1827), the then ruler of a North Indian Muslim State, Oudh. In establishing it, he got the support of an Eurasian Archer, a pupil of Dr. John Gilchrist,<sup>34)</sup> a leading administrator and teacher of The Fort William College. According to a version, this Matba' e Sultani was under possession of Shaikh Ahmad Arab (d. 1840)<sup>35)</sup> which was shifted to Lucknow from Calcutta in

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28) For details: Rijk Smitskap, *Philological Orientalio: A Description of Book Illustration, the Study of Printing of Oriental Language in the 18th and 19th Century Europe* (Leiden, 1992); P. Deschamps, *L'imprimerie Hors L'Europe* (Paris, 2nd edition, 1964); A.M. Piemontese, *Bibliographia Italiana Della Iran, 1462–1982* (Naples 1982); Nazir Ahmad, *Oriental Press in the World* (Lahore, 1985); Saleemuddin Quraishi, *Atharvin Sadi ki Urdu Matbu'at* (Islamabad, 1993).

29) For a history of the establishment of presses and printing activities particularly in Calcutta, Graham Shaw, *op.cit.*, Kasawan, *op.cit.* vol. I; S. Sen. "Early Printers and Publishers in Calcutta," in: *Bengal Past and Present* (87) 1968, pp. 59–66; S.B. Chaudhary, "Early English Printers and Publishers in Calcutta," *ibid.*, pp. 67–77; P.T. Nair, *A History of Calcutta Press* (Calcutta, 1987).

30) Susan S. Wadly, Introduction. In: *Media and the Transformation of Religion in South Asia*, edited with Lawrence A. Bob (Philadelphia, 1995), p. 21.

31) Susan Wadley, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

32) A book published from this press in 1912, is available in Maulana Azad Library, Muslim University, Aligarh. Nadir Ali Khan, *Hindustani Press: 1556 to 1900* (Lucknow, 1900), p. 268; In Bombay, a Press Fardunji marzban was founded in same year where a translation of *Dabistan (mazahib)* in 1915 in Gujarati language was printed. *ibid.*, p. 85.

33) Masood Hasan Rizvi Adeeb. "Shahan e Avadh ka Ilmi Zauq," in: *Nazr e Zakir*. ed. by Majlis e Nazr e Zakir, (Delhi, N.D.), p. 179.

34) Abdul Haleem Sharar, *Guzishta Lakhnau* (Lucknow, 1974), p. 142; Hakeem Mahmood Ali Khan Mahir, *Tahqiqat e Mahir*, p. 132, *vide* Nadir Ali Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 305–306.

35) Son of Mohammad Bin Ali Bin Ibrahim Yamani Sherwani. Arrived in India after completing his education in Yeman and settled in Calcutta. He was appointed in Fort William College and Madarsa e A'alia as a teacher of Arabic. Shifted to Lucknow and joined the service of Ghaziuddin Haider. After Haider's demise headed to travel

accordance with a wish of Ghaziuddin Haider.<sup>36)</sup> In this press, type was used.<sup>37)</sup> The renowned *Ulama* Shaikh Ahmad Arab, Maolvi Aohaduddin Bilgrami,<sup>38)</sup> Qazi Muhammad Sadiq Akhtar<sup>39)</sup> were appointed on assignments of writing and compiling. From this press, the first book in Arabic language *Manaqib e Haideria*, written by Shaikh Ahmad Arab was printed.<sup>40)</sup> And *Muhamid e Haideria*,<sup>41)</sup> *Zad al Ma'ad*,<sup>42)</sup> *Haft Qulzam*<sup>43)</sup> and *Taj al Lughat*<sup>44)</sup> in Persian were published. Since these books were printed in type, which was not acceptable to the people's taste, this press could not continue its publications further.<sup>45)</sup>

The era of commencement of Persian printing in South Asia was the time of move able type keys. Printing by the wooden blocks, which existed in China for a couple of centuries, could reach

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- and died in Puna on 19th Rabiul Awwal, 1256H/1840. *Alf Laila* in two volumes, *Al Manaqib e Haideria and Taj al Iqbal fi Tarikhe Bhopal* are among his works. For detail, Abdul Hai Lakhnavi, *Nuzhat al Khawatir*, vol. VIII (Karachi, 1978), p. 34; Rehman Ali, *Tazkira e Ulama e Hind*, Urdu translation by Muhammad Ayub Qadri (Karachi, 1961), p. 105; Malik Ram, *Talameza e Ghalib* (Delhi, 1984), pp. 209–210.
- 36) Rs. 70,000 were spent on its transportation and shifting. Muhammad Zahiruddin Bilgrami. "Taqreez e Misbahul Hidayat," in: *Tehqeeq* (Journal of Department of Urdu, Sidh University) no. 7, 1993, pp. 159–160.
- 37) In this press, bold and concealed type of various sorts for Persian and Arabic were used. Masood Hasan Rizvi Adeb, *op.cit.*, p. 179.
- 38) Son of Qazi Ali Ahmad (1756–1824), born in Bilgram in 1779. After educating in Calcutta, became a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Arab and participated in his work of printing in Calcutta. He was a learned and excellent writer. Among his books *Nafa'is al lughat*, *Raozat al Azhar*, *Miftah al Lisan*, *Tazkira e Sho'ara e Arab* are important. For details: Munshi Muhammad Mehmood Usmani Bilgrami, *Tanqih al Kalam fi Tarikh e Khitta e Pak Bilgram* (Aligarh, 1960), p. 211; Abdul Hai Lakhnavi, *op.cit.*, pp. 88–89, Rehman Ali, *op.cit.*, pp. 126–127.
- 39) Son of Qazi Muhammad La'li, born in Hogli in 1786 and died in 1885. In Lucknow. He was *Munshi* of *Madar al Muham* of Oudh State. Then he joined the service of Ghaziuddin Haider and received a most valuable title: *Malik al Shu'ra'*. After Haider's demise moved to Kanpur and appointed as Revenue Officer. His prominent works are: *Masnavi Sarapa Soz*, *Subh e Sadiq*, *Hadiqat al Irshad*, *Bahar e Iqbal*, *Mufeed al Mustafeed*, *Haft Akhtar*, *Lawame' al Noor*, *Guldasta e Muhabbat*, *Bahar e be Khizan*, *Muhamid e Haideri*, *Naqood al Hakam*, *Makhzan al Jawahir*, *Tazkira e Aftab e Alamtab*. For details: Muzaffer Husain Saba, *Roz e Raoshan* (Tehran, 1343), pp. 40–41; Siddiq Hassan Khan, *Sham e Anjuman* (Bhopal, 1293H), p. 63; Qazi Abdul Wadood, annotations, *Tazkira e Ibne Tufan*. Written by Ibn e Ameenullah Tufan (Patna, 1954), pp. 60–65.
- 40) In eulogizing Ghaziuddin Haider, consists of 200 pages. Yusuf al Yama Sarkis, *Mu'jam al Matbu'at al Arabiya al Mu'arriba* (Qum, 1410H) C. 1121.
- 41) A work of Qazi Muhammad Sadiq, published in *Matba'e Sultani* in 1833, consisted of 388+35 pages. A.J. Arberry, *Catalogue of the Library of India Office. Persian Books* (London, 1937), p. 277.
- 42) A work of Muhammad Baqir Ibne Muhammad Taqi, based on problems in *Shi'i* worships. This was later published in Lucknow in 1879 and 1885. Bloom Hardt *op.cit.*, C. 459–460.
- 43) Published in two volumes in 1822 from *Matba'e Sultani* in 2 vols. Respectively in 354 and 242 pages. Arberry, *op.cit.*, p. 181; Name of Ghaziuddin Haider is written as writer on its title. Najm al Ghani, *Tarikh e Avadh*. vol. IV (Lucknow, 1919), pp. 207–209, it holds a different view. But its foreword and editing was done by Maqbool Ahmad. This Dictionary was published in seven volumes in Neval Kishor Press, Lucknow in 1879. Pages in sequence were: 247, 168, 170, 123, 128, 123, 444. Arberry, *op.cit.*, p. 181; Then its another edition, consisting of 1170 pages, was published. Shahryar Naqvi, *Farhang Navisi e Farsi dr Hindo Pakistan* (Tehran, 1341), pp. 217–220.
- 44) This Arabic Persian dictionary, in total seven volumes and in 2917 pages was published. Masood Hasan Rizvi Adeb, *Lakhnawiyat e Adeb* (Islamabad, 1988), pp. 9–11; for more details; same writer, *Shahan e Avadh Ka Ilmi Zauq*, p. 179; According to A. Sprenger, many addition were printed by the order of Ghaziuddin Haider. *Report of the Researches into the Muhammadan Libraries of Oudh* (Calcutta, 1896), p. 2.
- 45) Hakeem Mahmood Ali Khan Mahir, *Tehqiqat e Mahir*, p. 132 vide, Nadir Ali Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 306, but according to a contemporary evidence, this press was closed after reprimanded of Shaikh Ahmad Arab by Ghaziuddin Haider. Muhammad Zahiruddin Bilgrami, *op.cit.*, 160, and it started again to work with the help of Muhammad Zahiruddin Bilgrami, *op.cit.*, pp. 160–161.

South Asia via Europe in the beginning of 19th century.<sup>46)</sup> Printing itself at its start in the beginning did not attract the Muslims who, for their academic and educational needs, used only Persian and had a good taste of calligraphy, designing and decoration in books, could not convince themselves to be acquainted with *Nasta'liq* block printing, that is why they did not like wooden blocks despite their daily use of making stamps and printing on clothes with wooden blocks. Besides this, there were the harsh feelings in South Asia against British Colonial Power and the benefits of significant inventions which the West had brought there. On the contrary, the majority of people (Hindus) were getting its benefits completely. Muslims, looking this, could not have been satisfied psychologically against Hindus in competition, therefore, start of litho press, which was not purely western, though attracted them to follow up and use it. When they adopted it, no hurdle was remained there. After the popularization of litho press, the printing activities were prevailing all over the region and with in a few years small private litho presses gained their ground all over South Asia.<sup>47)</sup>

Establishment of litho press came in to working was the event in 1823 in South Asia<sup>48)</sup> when *East India Company* established first litho presses in its large cities Madras, Bombay and Calcutta.<sup>49)</sup> With in 3 years a private organization founded the first privately operated litho press *Mataba e Fardunji Sohrabji Dastoor* in 1826 in Bombay.<sup>50)</sup> *Risala Maosuma Badila Qavia Bar Adam Jawaz e Kabisa Dar Shariat e Zartushtia*, written by Mulla Feroz Ibne Kaous (1758–1830) was the first book published in litho press, which was a rejoinder against Shawahid al Nafisa written by Muhammad Hashim Isfahani. This was published in 1827 in Bombay in Bombay Samachar press.<sup>51)</sup> *Gulistan* by Sa'di was published in the same year in litho press in Calcutta<sup>52)</sup> and his *Bustan* was also published

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46) L. Cardon and H. Hostan. "Earliest Jesuit Printing in India," in: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta, March 1913), p. 149.

47) These spread independently and disappeared themselves from the scene. Joseph Warren, *A Glance Background at Fifteen Years of Missionary Life in North India* (Philadelphia, 1856), p. 45; Muhammad Zahiruddin Bilgiram covered some aspects of its economical and social disadvantages. *op.cit.*, pp. 162–163.

48) According to a study, the fist litho press was set in Calcutta in 1810. Ram Ratan Bhatnagar, *The Rise and Growth of Hindi Journalism* (Allabad, 1947?), p. 22; but it is not confirmed. Perhaps, the writer means *Hindustani Press* founded by Maolvi Ikram Ali (d. 1837), which does not have any authentication. In this context, for discussion: Nadim Sitapuri, *Fort William College aor Maolvi Ikram Ali* (Lucknow, 1952), relevant chapter; Ateeq Siddiqui, *Gilchrist aor us ka Ahed*, pp. 129–130; by the same writer, *Hindustani Akhbar Navisi, Company ke Ahed Men*, pp. 43–44, Gor Bachan Chandan, *Jam e Jahan Numa: Urdu Sahafat Ki Ibtida* (Delhi, 1992), pp. 15–19; Nadir Ali Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 258, 267–268.

49) R.H. Phillmore, *Historical Record of the Survey of India*, vol. III (Dheradun, 1954), pp. 292, 298; Preolkar, *op.cit.*, p. 103; but it is mentioned about *Asiatic Lithographic Press* (Calcutta) was to be the first lithographic press, founded in 1825. Herman Losty. "Sir Charles Royly's Lithographic Press," in: *India a Pageant of Prints* (Bombay, 1989), p. 132, in the same year, lithographic press in Patna and Madras were established. *ibid.*, pp. 137–139.

50) Preolkar, *op.cit.*, p. 111.

51) Its one manuscript is in British Museum, London: 14724. H.I. *vide* Edward Edwardes, *A Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books in the British Museum* (London, 1923) C 213, for more information about this book and writer: Syed Hasan Askari, *Maqalat e Syed Hasan Askari* (Patna, 1996), pp. 397–407; also, for details: M.M. Marzaban, *The Parsis in India*, vol. I (Bombay, 1917), pp. 200–201; for bibliography on the problems of *Kabisia*: *ibid.*, p. 215; and for Mulla Feroz; *ibid.*, pp. 202–207.

52) Its one manuscript is in British Museum, London: 757 a 13: *vide* Edward Edwardes, *op.cit.*, C 555; Nadir Ali Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 219, according to this, the personal collection of Malik Ram contained a copy of lithographic print of *Gulistan* printed in 1828.

in the coming year.<sup>53)</sup> After its establishment promotion of Persian printing through litho presses was widespread in the North India, particularly in Kanpur. There has been a debate on establishing the first litho press in Kanpur by Archer, an European, which was later shifted to Lucknow<sup>54)</sup> by Archer himself in accordance with the wish of Nasiruddin Haider (1827–1837) the then ruler of Oudh. The book entitled *Behjat e Marzia Fi Shrh e Alfia* was the first published in 1831.<sup>55)</sup> This press was known as Sultan al Matabe or Matba' e Sultani and it remained active in Lucknow until the fall of Oudh State in 1856. Then it was shifted to Calcutta along with the deposed ruler Wajid Ali Shah (1847–1856) exiled from Lucknow and moved to Calcutta and settled in its vicinity Matya Burj. This press continued its printing in Matya Burj. One of its printed books *Riaz al Quloob* written by Wajid Ali Shah was probably the last one published from this press in 1885.<sup>56)</sup> After Matba' e Sultani, Matba' e Haji e Haramain Sharifain (Matba' e Muhammadi) was perhaps the first private press established in Lucknow. Following this, Matba' e Mustufai was founded. Then there was a chain of presses established in Lucknow and its outskirts continued. These presses played a pivotal role in publishing Muslim's classics or religious literature in South Asia.<sup>57)</sup>

There were many reasons involved in popularity of litho press. A society in which reading manuscript was common where reading litho printed text was relatively easier and accustomed than type. In its printing decoration and beautification was possible like in manuscripts. The impact of calligraphy remained here with diversity. And, its adoption also provided lively hood to many writers. Inception of litho press in South Asia has been considered as landmark in the history of book making and printing. It made printing easier, faster, economical and effective as well as lucrative where there was no impediment such as type, money and skill. This was the time when more or less all South Asia was under the domination of the British power. People and society were experiencing dichotomy between old and new ideas and a great political and educational revolution. This was due to some political affairs and it had some historical factors too, under which political appraisal and protest took place against the British rule and movements for social reforms and awareness started. For all movements, in the scarcity of any other media, language is the most effective medium and it takes support from communication media. Now this support was available everywhere in the existence of litho presses.

53) Its manuscript is also in the *British Museum*, London: 757.1.14. vide Edward Edwardes; *op.cit.*, C 548; till this time, two lithographic presses, one *Government Lithographic Press* and second *Asiatic Lithographic Press* continued functioning. see for details: Nazir Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 137.

54) A Sprenger, *A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani Manuscripts of the Libraries of the King of Oudh*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1854), introduction, p. 5; but according to *Bengal Political Consultations*, dated 2nd October 1849 that Archer merely became servant of this press. According to a witness, *Muntazim al Daola* Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan (d. 1837) gave Archer Rs. 500 monthly installments. Kamaluddin Haider, *Qaisar al Tawarikh*, vol. I (Lucknow, 1896), p. 310; *Naib Madar al Moham*, col. Lockett was also an administrator of this press, but did not have good relationship with *Muntazim al Daola*, so they dismissed him. *ibid.*, p. 299.

55) Sprenger, *op.cit.*, preface, p. 5.

56) Kaukab Qadr Sajjad Ali Mirza, *Wajid Ali Shah ki Adabi wa Saqafati Khidmat* (Delhi, 1995), pp. 507–509.

57) For details: Abdul Haleem Sharar, *op.cit.*, p. 143 and else; Nadir Ali Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 313–322. In 1831, lithographic presses were just started in Lucknow, where there were minimum seventeen presses running. *Bengal Political Correspondence*, dated 6th October 1849, no. 130 preserved in *Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London*. And in 1834, in the United Province and Punjab, there were 37 presses working. Garsin de Tassy, "Seventh Lecture," in: *Urdu* (Aurangabad, January, 1929), p. 372.

In these circumstances, Muslim, who were not interested in printing at first, now, looking the benefits and specifications of litho printing, became attracted to litho printing for their movements and missions due to its effectiveness and convenience to the extent that no nation in Asia could compete them till the end of the 19th century. According to the administrators of the British Indian Government, Muslims had a monopoly on the business of religious book publishing in the 19th century.<sup>58)</sup> It is attested by the version of Aloys Sprenger (1803–1893), a renowned Orientalist and scholar that the books published in litho presses in Kanpur till 1854 were almost 700 but it expended the class of religiously educated Muslims. This circle even extended to the women and common Muslims, who were away from their initial religious sources, they were now reaching towards their basic books and texts.<sup>59)</sup> At this time, printed texts of *Qur'an* and *Hadith* were the first of any kind for the Muslim world. That was the time when the movements for religious reforms and Islamic nationalism started. At the time of beginning of printing, the family and pupils of the greatest religious scholar of the time Shah Abd al Aziz of Delhi (1746–1824), elder son of Shah Wali Allah of Delhi (1703–1761) who tried hard to promote Islamic education among Muslims, published widely his reforming literature,<sup>60)</sup> and the struggle and *Jihad* movement of Syed Ahmad of Rae Bareli (1786–1831), who was an off-shoot of his reforms and thoughts. He influenced other *Jihadi Ulama* like Syed Abdullah of Sirampur (d. 1848), who was motivated by Syed Ahmad of Rae Bareli to establish a press Matba' e Ahmadi in Calcutta in 1824.<sup>61)</sup> This press geared up the distribution of reform literature that was available every where in abundance in only eight years.<sup>62)</sup> Those publications were so large in numbers that it covered not only entire South Asia but also Middle East and Central Asia via Afghanistan.<sup>63)</sup> According to a government version that only in 1871, thirty thousands copies of the Holy *Qur'an*<sup>64)</sup> were published in accordance with the printing activities of

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58) Barbara D. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860–1900* (Princeton, 1982), pp. 198–203.

59) Sprenger, *op.cit.*, introduction, pp. 12–13.

60) Among those important books in this respect, were referred in *Tehrik e Azadi Men Urdu Ka Hissa* (Karachi, 1976) by this writer, specially on pp. 247–252, and also, Khawaja Ahmad Farooqui, *Urdu Men Wahabi Adab* (Delhi, 1967); a work by Shah Abd al Aziz himself, *Tohfa e Asna Asharia*, which had been published in type from Calcutta in 1801. Syed Muqetul Hasan, *Calcutta Ke Qadeem Matabe' aor un Ki Matbo'aat: Ek Tazkira* (Calcutta, 1980), p. 142; however the translation of its printed version *Tafseer Tabarak al lazy* was also published in 1822. Khuda Bakhsh Khan, *Mehboob al Lubab fi Ta'rif al Kutub wa al Kitab* (Patna, 1898), p. 91; a most important work of Shah Ismail (d. 1831), *Siraat e Mustaqim* published in Calcutta in type in 1823. A copy of this edition is also preserved in the British Museum, London. 14724. d. 2, *vide* Edward and Edwards, *op.cit.*, C. 492; for a detail of the printing activities by the *Jihadi Ulama*, Ghulam Rasool Mahr, *Jama'at e Mujahideen* (Lahore, n.d.) pp. 287, 294, specially contained at pp. 302–307.

61) Garcin De Tassy, *Histoire de la litterature Hindouie et Hindoustanie* (Paris, 1839–1847), vol. I, pp. 81–87; vol. III, pp. 32–37; M. Ahmad, *Syed Ahmad Shahid: His life and Mission* (Lucknow, 1975), pp. 312–313; Ghulam Rasool Mahr, *Jama'at e Mujahideen*, pp. 287, 305–309; Muhammad Ayub Qadri, *Urdu Nasr Ke Irtiqā Men Ulama Ka Hissa* (Lahore, 1988), pp. 197–198.

62) J.R. Colvin, “Notices on Peculiar Texts Held by the Followers of Syed Ahmad...,” in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1832), p. 494.

63) According to Abdul Haleem Sharar, The stature gained by the *Mustufai Press* and *Neval Kishore Press* in Lucknow rejuvenated the whole oriental literature and supremacy and respect gained by Lucknow, no city can gain so. It is the blessing that Lucknow fulfilled the total academic whole requirements from Central Asia to Kashghar and Bukhara and Afghanistan to Iran. *op.cit.*, p. 144.

64) *Proceedings*, dated 20th February 1872, in: *Selection from the Vernacular News Papers Published in Punjab, North Western Province, Oudh and the Central Provinces, 1860–1900*, Paragraph 2nd.

Muslim *Ulama*, which became the major part of their struggle and activities, and they were using it to their objectives of education, reforms and polemics against Christian and Hindu missionaries.

It was immensely felt that Muslims had monopolized the printing scene in South Asia to such extent that in this arena no nation, even Christian Missionaries in India, could match them.<sup>65)</sup> Printing had become a weapon for them from which they could first defend from aggressions of Hindu revivalist movements and Christian Missionaries<sup>66)</sup> and then spread their orthodox beliefs and thoughts against un-Islamic concepts and practices in rituals, *Tasawwuf* and customs of every day life. Therefore, they selected printing as a mean to update their nation in respect of *Sufi* traditions, socio-cultural practices, education and learning. They paid special attention on printing Islamic Literature and basic religious texts. The publication of this literature did not restrict to some particular presses.<sup>67)</sup> Various presses took part in publishing religious literature, but some of them were prominent in this context. Matba' e Siddiqui (Bareilly) established by Maolana Muhammad Ahsan Nanotvi (1825–1895), a follower of Shah Abd al Aziz and his movement, was very active in printing since 1862 and paid special attention on the publication of Persian classics and translations as well as polemic and the reform literature of Shah Wali Allah of Delhi and his son Shah Abd al Aziz of Delhi and his followers.<sup>68)</sup> The source of printing provided a way to bring forward and to enhance Islamic learning and preserve its orthodox teachings of Islam to the next generations.

Deed to adopt printing by Muslims could also be seen in an attempt to safeguard their political decline.<sup>69)</sup> For Muslims of South Asia printing in the mid-19th century appeared as a mean of a sincere and effective religious and political change. *Ulama* were not as influential in any time of history as they became after adopting printing as a source to spread their teachings and ideas. Such *Ulama*, specially in Colonial Muslim world who expressed their moderate or enlightened thoughts, were usually reacted against colonialism or imperialism and were propagated as *Wahabis* even they were not in favour of this school of thought. In South Asia British Government of India has used this propaganda against those *Ulama* who were struggling against its power at various fronts. That is why mostly British administrators and writers called 'Wahabis' to those *Ulama* associated with Shah Wali Allah and Shah Abd al Aziz. These *Ulama* have adopted this source of printing for all their expressions of thoughts and arguments. And they were not alone to get benefit of this, later *Ulama* of *Farangi Mahal*, *Ahl e Hadith*, *Deoband* and other school of thoughts were also benefited tremendously though this mean to their own.<sup>70)</sup> Their efforts did not go lost.

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65) Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharam* (Berkeley, 1976), p. 22.

66) It was the means of printing which provided polemic literature to help the missionaries and the polemicists. Emmett Davis, *Press and Politics in British Western Punjab* (Delhi, 1983), p. 24; and also, Susan Wadley, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

67) Sharar describes that the printing work started here not for financial benefits but for pleasure. The finest paper used which was very suitable for lithographic press. Renowned calligraphers were enticed by giving them reasonable amount of stipend in order to get the job of calligraphy done. At last, every thing of best quality was used resulting religious and text books in Persian and Arabic published during the time of previous rule which would have unparalleled before the people of high stature. *op.cit.*, pp. 142–143.

68) Muhammad Ayub Qadri, *Maolana Mohammad Ahsan Nanotvi* (Karachi, 1966), pp. 71–79; refers many important publications.

69) Francis Robinson, *op.cit.*, p. 72.

70) Barbara Metcalf, *op.cit.*, pp. 104, 171, 199–202, 204–206, 243. Francis Robinson gave special meaning to the

Apart from this, the most important movement and struggle of the time, and among Muslims, specially educated Muslims at large, Syed Ahmad Khan's educational and reform movement, which is called '*Aligarh Movement*' was not only succeeded widely but activated and benefited itself initially by press and publications of its reform literature and journals, namely *Tahdhib al Akhlaq* and *Scientific Society Gazette*. He was the first Muslim thinker who was prominent for his rationalist and modernist Islamic thoughts and philosophical religious concepts. His journal *Tahzib al Akhlaq* was the first in whole Muslim world who presented most rationalistic and modern thoughts not only in South Asia but in the whole Muslim world. After this journal, and looking its impacts and influences, there were so many magazines and journals started to be published. Among them, *Al-Hilal*, *Al-Balagh*, of renowned and influential scholar and '*alim* Abul Kalam Azad are an easy example, which paved the way for other *Ulama* to follow and publish their journals, magazines and news papers to come in front line to spread their thoughts and beliefs. It was almost the same time when beyond South Asia *Al Urwa al Wuthqa* of Jamal al Din Afghani, and Muhammad Abduh and *Al Manar* of Rashid Rida were active in promoting contemporary Islamic thoughts prominent in responding the emerging challenges.

We know the time of mutual rivalry between Islamic and Christian faiths that had been prevailing for the centuries and continued almost for a century and a half and even at present it still goes on. Obviously, the outcome under the Western influence was the shattering of Islamic religious and traditional unity into pieces. Under the consequences especially during the nineteenth century, the orientalist like William Muir and Alois Sprenger, who under the patronage of Christian Missionaries, raised such type of questions about the fundamentals of Islam which were coercive for the Muslim scholars and they, due to those scathing questions, were drawn out to create new and modernistic explanation and interpretation of Islam.<sup>71)</sup> Western civilization and culture had brought in the Islamic world a political and traditional anxiety and distraction which further loosened the hold of Islam. In such consequences the modern and irrelevant education further created an extra critical situation. Before this, Muslims had been associated with their religious education and traditional knowledge through their conventional and traditional system where ethics, sciences, mathematics, language and literature were included. Introduction of modern education furthered them from their educational values and the fundamental elements of the religion.

Now a great number of Muslims who have obtained modern education are unable to understand Islam with all of its characteristics. Now only such type of category of scholars and thinkers of Islamic World would face the arising demands of the time and the challenges of life who clearly understand the whole educational and traditional assets of Islam and who oppose Islam as a complete code of life. Such type of religious scholars think that the authoritative interpretation or *ijtehad* is always permissible and the new explanation or interpretation of Islamic laws or the modernization of Islamic teachings according to the contemporary requirements are not prohibited according with

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issuance of just before the war of Independence in 1857 to a magazine *Tilisim* (Lucknow) and later *karnama* (Lucknow). *op.cit.*, p. 71; both magazines were issued by Maolvi Muhammad Yaqoob (d. 1907), one of the *Ulama* of Farangi Mahal.

71) Daniel Brown, *Rethinking Traditions in Modern Islamic Thoughts* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 21.

reference to any Islamic rule. But this new explanation or interpretation should be according to the true faith (*Quran* and *Hadith*) of Islam. This process does not mean the diversion from the tradition but the expansion should be intended.

The time, when print media was flourishing in India and in the Islamic world, there were many motives active to let Islam face the challenges of contemporary world and make Islam and its ideologies. Some how contemporaneous and modernistic in various Islamic thinkers and even *Ulamas*. The most important and tough task for Islam was, at that time, was its clash with the West. When, after renaissance, West had gathered strength through industrial revolution and capitalism, clashed militarily, politically, socially and traditionally with Islam and Islamic World. Soon the impact of these clashes resulted in the cultural and social crisis in the whole Islamic World especially in India, Iran, Egypt and Turkey.

It was the press and contemporary print media who expended the success of what Muslim intelligentsia and thinkers were trying to reconstruct or reshape the Islamic thoughts and concepts in reaction to the modern world challenges. Besides this, this media has helped the masses too, to be motivated themselves for social and political movements which were already succeeded in fighting against western imperialism, materialism and modernism.