

DE GRUYTER

Orlin Sabev

THE MÜTEFERRIKA PRESS

ARABIC TYPOGRAPHY IN AN OTTOMAN CONTEXT



EARLY ARABIC PRINTING
IN THE EAST

حمد وثنا وشكركم انتمها
صاحب الكبرياء والجهروت
شاياندرکه تدبير نظام عالم وتنظيم امور بني آدم انك ارادت
عليه سنه منوط وتعديل وتنسويه اجوال امه مشيت

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The Müteferrika Press

Early Arabic Printing in the East

Edited by
Ioana Feodorov

Volume 5

Orlin Sabev

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Preface

Although Johannes Gutenberg (d. 1468) invented and introduced movable type printing to Europe in the 1440s,¹ it was not until the late 1720s that a press was set up in Istanbul to print books in Arabic script in the Ottoman Turkish language. This press, commonly known as the Müteferrika press and operated by Muslims, was not the first printing press on Ottoman soil. Hebrew printing was introduced as early as the second half of the 15th century, followed by Armenian, Greek, Arabic-Christian and other short-lived or long-lived non-Muslim printing enterprises. Therefore, it is necessary to correctly define the place and the role of this press in the Ottoman context, without excluding or underestimating the activity and output of the non-Muslim presses.

However, this is a difficult task, because of the terminological pitfalls that can hardly be avoided. The Müteferrika press was an Ottoman press like all the other non-Muslim presses operating on Ottoman soil, but it could be argued that the latter were “Ottoman” only in territorial terms. On the other hand, given the multiethnic and multicultural nature of the Ottoman Empire, the non-Muslim presses can be considered “Ottoman” not only in territorial terms, but also in a social and cultural sense. These printing ventures, however, did not call themselves “Ottoman” because they printed books in Hebrew, Armenian, Greek, Arabic, Syriac, and Coptic. The Müteferrika press printed books in the Ottoman Turkish language, which was used in administration, science, education, and fiction, and its Turkish grammatical composition also included many Arabic and Persian words and morphological structures.

The other distinguishing feature of this language was the fact that it was written in Arabic script. Therefore, if we consider the place of the Müteferrika press in the history of Arabic printing,² it does not mean that it contributed to Arabic literature and culture. Rather, it contributed to Turkish culture by printing Turkish translations of Arabic texts. The situation becomes even more complicated when we consider the Müteferrika press in an Islamic context. It was run by two Muslim printers, İbrahim Müteferrika (d. 1747) and Mehmed Said Efendi (d. 1761), the first of whom was an apostate of Christian origin, but it did not print religious books, unlike the non-Muslim presses, which printed mainly the religious texts of their respective

1 For Gutenberg’s invention, see S. Füssel, *Gutenberg and the Impact of Printing*, transl. D. Martin, London/New York, 2019, p. 15–18.

2 See G. Roper, “Arabic Printing: Printing Culture in the Arabic and Islamic Context”, in H. Touati (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Mediterranean Humanism*, Spring 2014, <https://www.encycopedie-humanisme.com/?Arabic-printing> (accessed on September 25, 2024).

communities. Nevertheless, in socio-cultural terms, the Müteferrika press could be considered an important part of the history of Islamic culture. Moreover, although it was a private enterprise, it was strongly supported by the Ottoman authorities.

In short, it is a paradox that, depending on one's point of view, the Müteferrika press could be defined either as an Ottoman, Arabic, and Islamic phenomenon, or as a Turkish and secular phenomenon. This is because the terms "Ottoman", "Arabic", and "Islamic" are polysemantic rather than unambiguous, and, therefore, the Müteferrika press can hardly be defined in a simple way without the need to explain how circumstantial the terminology used is.

The Müteferrika press is generally considered by scholars to be a Turkish and Muslim printing press. Hidayet Nuhoglu's detailed description of this view goes as follows:

If we were to specify what is meant by the term "first", a more accurate description would be that it was the first printing press established in the Turkish Ottoman domain, under the auspices of the state, by a Muslim state (the Ottoman Empire), for the purpose of printing works belonging to and necessary for its own culture.³

This definition reflects the view of Turkish historiography, according to which the Müteferrika press was the first Turkish printing press. However, Nuhoglu's definition also places this printing press in the context of Muslim cultural tradition. In fact, Western scholars gave more importance to this aspect. Gérald Duverdier, for example, emphasizes that the Müteferrika press was the first printing press which was not run by a Jew or a Christian, not only in the Ottoman lands but in the entire Islamic world, and adds the following: "The first Turkish printing press was also the first Islamic printing press, although the printing of religious books was strictly forbidden".⁴

By using the phrase "the first Islamic printing press" (*première imprimerie islamique*), Duverdier placed it in the context of Islamic cultural tradition. On condition that the term "Islamic" is defined as a "collective cultural identity", Yasemin Gencer is also inclined to consider the Müteferrika press Islamic "because of the support it received from the Ottoman court, a Turkish-Islamic system of government".⁵ Indeed, the Müteferrika press was not only the first Turkish printing press,

³ H. Nuhoglu, "Müteferrika Matbaası ve Bazı Mulâhazalar" ["The Müteferrika Press and Some Considerations"], in G. Eren (ed.), *Osmanlı*, Vol. 7, Ankara, 1999, p. 223.

⁴ G. Duverdier, "Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika: deux drogmans culturels à l'origine de l'imprimerie turque", *Bulletin du bibliophile*, 3, 1987, p. 322.

⁵ Y. Gencer, "İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of Printed Manuscript", in C. Gruber (ed.), *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections*, Bloomington, IN, 2009, p. 187 (n. 12).

but also the first press founded and run by Muslims in the Islamic world. The European perception of this press as “Muslim”, or at least Oriental,⁶ can be traced back to the time of its operation. The 9th volume (published in 1735) of the historical series *Neu-eröffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal*, introduced by the German historian Andreas Lazarus von Imhof (1656–1704), includes an illustration of the Mütferrika press (Fig. 1).⁷ It shows two presses, a typesetter’s bench, and six workers dressed in caftans and turbans. There is no doubt that the illustration depicts an Oriental, i.e., Muslim or Ottoman Turkish printing press. However, the question is whether these figures and garments represent the actual situation or merely reflect the general idea of it. As the engraver is unknown and it is reasonable to assume that he was not an eyewitness to the operation of this press, the second option seems more plausible. There are many well-known engravings depicting the art of printing that developed in Europe in the 15th century. By the close of the century, such imagery representative of printing presses and printers started appearing in books and plates dealing with the inventions of the time. As the engraving in Imhof’s book was intended as an illustration to stimulate the reader’s imagination, the Oriental appearance of the figures may have been an artistic approach to highlight the Oriental Muslim character of this printing press, located in Istanbul.

Paradoxically, although the Mütferrika press is considered to be a Muslim enterprise, or at least one that could be generally associated with Islamic cultural tradition, it never printed Muslim religious books. Whether it was forbidden to do so, or whether its directors – although Muslims by faith – had never thought of setting up a printing press with a religious purpose, i.e., to disseminate Islamic religious literature to the Muslim reading public, remains a matter of debate. As their own writings and printing activities show, their aim was to publish scientific works, mostly composed by Muslim scholars, in the fields of philology, history, geography, medicine, and physics. Many of these works, however, contained knowledge acquired through translations of Western sources. It is also important to emphasize that Mütferrika and Said Efendi employed printers and cartographers of Jewish and Armenian origin living in Istanbul. Some sources even claim that they employed French or German workers in the early stages of their printing venture. All this supports the conclusion that, unlike the Jewish, Armenian, Greek, and other non-Muslim presses in the Ottoman Empire, which served their respective non-Muslim religious communities, the Mütferrika press was a non-religious

6 Adam Neale (d. 1832), physician to the British embassy in Istanbul, describes the press as “the Oriental press of Ibrahim Effendi at Constantinople”; see A. Neale, *Travels through Some Parts of Germany, Poland, Moldavia, and Turkey*, London, 1818, p. 99.

7 A. L. von Imhof, *Neu-eröffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal*, Vol. 9, Part 1, Nuremberg, 1735, p. 835.

printing venture whose output was of interest not only to the Muslim readership, but also to the non-Muslim one.

So, what is the correct definition of the Müteferrika press? Was it Muslim because its owners were Muslim, although they did not print Muslim religious literature? Was it Turkish because the language of its publications was Ottoman Turkish? All but two of the Müteferrika publications were in this language and were therefore intended for Turkish-speaking Muslims, not Arabic- or Kurdish-speaking Muslims in the Empire. On the other hand, the Arabic-script Western European publications of the Qur'ān and other texts were published in the Arabic language, and were therefore accessible to the Arabic-speaking Muslims as well as the Turkish-speaking Ottoman elite, who was also fluent in Arabic and Persian, having been educated in the court schools (*enderün*) and madrasas. Considering the language of the publications and their potential readership, as well as the absence of religious publications, this printing press was – with a high degree of conventionality – Turkish rather than Muslim.

Or else, can the Müteferrika press be defined as Ottoman because it was located within the borders of the Empire, even though there were other non-Turkish and non-Muslim printing houses – Jewish, Armenian, Greek, Arab-Christian? In his presentation of the book and newspaper printing in Turkish in the 18th–20th centuries, Christoph Neumann preferred to define the

Turkish book printing in Arabic letters “Ottoman” and that in Roman “Turkish” [after 1928], although these terms by no means do justice to the linguistic and social circumstances. For linguistically speaking, both are Turkish; and socially speaking all printed matter in other languages that arose in the Ottoman context can essentially be designated “Ottoman” – and that includes those printed in languages spoken by non-Muslim communities.⁸

Regarding Neumann’s definition, as well as his further assertion that “Ottoman book publishing in the sultan’s territory did not commence until the 18th century – at the behest of [...] İbrahim Müteferrika”,⁹ Ioana Feodorov notes that “if Neumann includes among the ‘Ottoman prints’ the books with Arabic letters printed by Christians on the territory of the Empire, the statement that Müteferrika was the

⁸ C. K. Neumann, “Book and Newspaper Printing in Turkish, 18th–20th Centuries”, in E. Hanebutt-Benz, D. Glass, G. Roper (eds.), *Sprachen des Nahen Ostens und die Druckrevolution: eine interkulturelle Begegnung. Katalog und Begleitband zur Ausstellung / Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter. A Catalogue and Companion to the Exhibition*, Mainz, 2002, p. 227.

⁹ Neumann, “Book and Newspaper Printing in Turkish”, p. 230.

first printer in the Ottoman lands no longer stands”.¹⁰ On the other hand, non-Muslim printers in the Ottoman Empire did not identify themselves as Ottoman, nor do scholars, while İbrahim Müteferrika himself, as will be shown later, defined his press as Ottoman – *Typographiae Otthomanicae* – in his Latin descriptions intended for the Western European audience. This suggests that he considered it to be a printing press associated with the Ottoman state, more precisely with the Turkish-speaking Ottoman ruling elite, and that its activities were authorized by the Ottoman sultan, with some restrictions. In the end, hardly any of the above definitions can fully reflect the nature and status of the Müteferrika press, and each of them contains a grain of truth and conventionality.

As a product of intense intercultural cooperation between the Ottoman Empire and European countries, especially France, and of a transcultural cooperation within the Empire itself, including non-Muslim communities, the Müteferrika press attracted immense attention in the European Republic of Letters. European literati were curious about the supposed obstacles that its founders had to overcome, about İbrahim Müteferrika’s non-Ottoman and non-Muslim origin, as well as about his printing agenda. Because of the strong diplomatic relations and cultural interaction between France and the Ottoman Empire, the French scholars were the most interested in receiving and uncovering any information about the Müteferrika press. Contemporary French and other European sources suggest that Ottoman Turkish printing was introduced despite Islamic conservatism and restrictions and express the hope that the newly established printing press would benefit the Republic of Letters by publishing valuable manuscripts that had presumably been preserved in the sultan’s seraglio. In fact, these sources, which were partly explored by Henri Omont,¹¹ Franz Babinger,¹² Edibe Birsen,¹³ Kemal Beydilli,¹⁴ Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, Coşkun

10 I. Feodorov, *Tipar pentru creștinii arabi: Antim Ivireanul, Atanasie Dabbās și Silvestru al Antiohiei*, Brăila, 2016, p. 282.

11 H. Omont, “Documents sur l’imprimerie à Constantinople au XVIII^e siècle”, *Revue des bibliothèques*, 5, 1895, p. 185–200, 228–236.

12 F. Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1919, p. 11.

13 E. Birsen, “XVIIIinci Yüzyılda İstanbul’da Matbaanın İlk Kuruluşu Üzerine Dokümanlar” [“Documents on the First Establishment of the Printing House in Istanbul in the 18th Century”], *Türk Kütüphaneciliği*, 11, 1962, 1–2, p. 29–31.

14 K. Beydilli, *İki İbrahim: Müteferrika ve Halefi* [Two İbrahims: Müteferrika and His Successor], İstanbul, 2019.

Yılmaz,¹⁵ Bekir Harun Küçük,¹⁶ Paul Babinski,¹⁷ and Jonathan Haddad,¹⁸ are neither abundant, in terms of numbers, nor comprehensive in terms of content. The earliest one is a report dating from November 19, 1726, first published in the *Gazette de France* on January 18, 1727.¹⁹ The same information was republished in a slightly reduced form in the January 1727 issue of the *Mercure de France*,²⁰ the February 1727 issue of the *Journal des Sçavans* (in Paris),²¹ as well as in the 81st volume (April 1727) of the Amsterdam edition of the same journal.²²

Between 1727 and 1741, many German newspapers, periodicals and books reported on the opening and operation of the Müteferrika press. The first publications were just German translations of the earlier French ones, and in the course of time the authors of books tended to copy and paste fully or partially the reports published in the newspapers, as well as to compile information that was already available in previously published or other accessible sources. It seems that the Leipzig newspaper *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen* was the earliest German source to provide news about the opening of the Müteferrika press. On February 6, 1727, it published in German translation²³ – without mentioning the original source – the report released earlier in the *Gazette de France* on January 8, 1727. Soon after, on February 15, 1727, the Munich-based German weekly *Mercurii Relation* published in its Saturday supplement (*Sambstägige Extra-Zeitungen*) a slightly different German translation of the same French publication.²⁴ Some months later, on

15 F. Sarıcaoğlu, C. Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi ve Müteferrika Matbaası / Basmacı İbrahim Efendi and the Müteferrika Press*, Istanbul, 2008, p. 37, 115 (n. 12).

16 B. H. Küçük, *Early Enlightenment in Istanbul*, San Diego, 2012 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis); B. H. Küçük, *Science without Leisure: Practical Naturalism in Istanbul, 1660–1732*, Pittsburgh, PA, 2020.

17 P. Babinski, *World Literature in Practice: The Orientalist's Manuscript Between the Ottoman Empire and Germany*, Princeton, 2020 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis).

18 J. Haddad, *Imagining Turkish Literature: Between the French Republic of Letters and the Ottoman Empire*, Berkeley, 2016 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis); J. Haddad, “People Before Print: *Gens de Lettres*, the Ottoman Printing Press, and the Search for Turkish Literature”, *Mediterranean Studies*, 2, 2017, p. 189–228.

19 *Gazette de France*, 3, January 18, 1727, p. 25–26; this report is partly quoted in Omont, “Documents sur l'imprimerie à Constantinople”, p. 186.

20 *Mercure de France*, January 1727, p. 122.

21 *Journal des Sçavans* (Paris edition), February 1727, p. 121.

22 *Journal des Sçavans* (Amsterdam edition), 81, April 1727, p. 550–551; this report is partly quoted by B. Tezcan, “İbrâhîm Müteferrika ve *Risâle-i İslâmiyye*” [“İbrahim Müteferrika and *Risâle-i İslâmiyye*”], in H. Aynur, B. Aydın, M. B. Ülker (eds.), *Kitaplara Vakfedilen Bir Ömre Tuhfe: İsmail E. Eriüsal'a Armağan*, Istanbul, 2014, p. 547.

23 *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen*, 11, February 6, 1727, p. 113–114.

24 *Mercurii Relation, oder wochentliche Ordinari Zeitungen von unterschiedlichen Orthen*, 7, February 15, 1727, *Sambstägige Extra-Zeitungen*, p. 4–5.

July 13, 1727, the *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen* published another report on this press. The second report is shorter but contains new information.²⁵ In the following years, the two German newspapers continued to provide up-to-date information about the output of the Mütferrika press. In addition, the German series *Der europäische Postillon: oder Begebenheiten, so sich in Europa hin und wieder zu Wasser und zu Land zugetragen haben* published in 1728 a short report about the introduction of Ottoman Turkish printing in Istanbul.²⁶

The second edition of the handbook on printing *Die wol-eingerichtete Buchdruckerey*, composed by Johann Heinrich Gottfried Ernesti (1664–1723) and published in Nuremberg in 1733, contains a four-page chapter titled “Reliable Information from the Turkish Printing Press Established in Constantinople in 1728” (“Zuverlässige Nachricht von der in Constantinopel A. C. 1728 angelegten Türkischen Buchdruckerey”), which describes the introduction of the art of printing by the Ottoman authorities.²⁷ Since Ernesti was a printer, he was particularly interested in the technical aspects of the Mütferrika press. Ernesti’s handbook contains engravings depicting various print shops, but none of them is related to the Mütferrika press, as is the case in the aforementioned *Neu-eröffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal* by Andreas Lazarus von Imhof.

Between 1692 and 1704, the year of his death, Imhof managed to publish five volumes of his massive work. However, because of the enormous popularity of the series, twelve more volumes, describing historical events after his death, were published by 1782 (seventeen volumes in total). The chronicle is also renowned for being illustrated with thousands of copperplate engravings that attracted not only scholarly but wider interest.²⁸ The first part of the ninth volume, including accounts of the events that happened between 1723 and 1733, was printed twice, in 1735 and 1740, by Christian von Loss (1697–1770) and Andreas Heinrich Beyer (d. 1752), who had received a printing privilege in Dresden on October 3, 1732.²⁹ On pages 834 and 835 of both editions there is a brief account of the introduction of Ottoman Turkish printing in Istanbul. As discussed above, on the upper part of page 835 there is an engraving depicting the Mütferrika press. This is the same engraving that the renowned Turkish researcher of Ottoman printing history Yahya Erdem published

²⁵ *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen*, 61, July 31, 1727, p. 609; this information is referred to in Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Mütferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 37, 115 (n. 12).

²⁶ *Der europäische Postillon: oder Begebenheiten, so sich in Europa hin und wieder zu Wasser und zu Land zugetragen haben*, Vol. 1, Part 2, Augsburg, 1728, p. 631–632.

²⁷ J. H. G. Ernesti, *Die wol-eingerichtete Buchdruckerey*, Nuremberg, 1733.

²⁸ See https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neueröffneter_Historischer_Bildersaal (accessed on August 5, 2022).

²⁹ Imhof, *Neu-eröffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal*.

in 2011. Erdem states that he came across this engraving in a German book printed in the 1750s.³⁰ However, it seems that Erdem published the engraving from one of the above-mentioned editions of Imhof's series.³¹ Nonetheless, Erdem's discovery is very important, because for the first time ever a scholarly study drew attention to a contemporary image of the Mütferrika press, despite it being the fruit of imagination rather than a true depiction.

One can find a compilation of the same information provided in the above-mentioned newspapers and books in another German work printed in 1737, *Rariora naturae et artis item in re medica* (*The Rarity of Nature and Art, also in the Field of Medicine*) by Johann Christian Kundmann (1684–1751),³² which is extensively referred to by Franz Babinger.³³ Besides the compiled information, Kundmann adds what he was told by Johann Friedrich Bachstrom (1686–1742), who had spent some time in Istanbul in 1729. Kundmann also gives detailed descriptions of the books printed by the Mütferrika press between 1729 and 1734.³⁴

A similar compilation is available in the fifth paragraph of the short essay on *Bibliothecae arabicae de typographiis arabicis* (*Arabic Books printed with Arabic Script*) by Heinrich Scholz (1696–1769), printed in Hamburg in 1741.³⁵ In the sixth paragraph, he provides a brief description of Mütferrika's output dating between 1729 and 1737.³⁶

As it appears, the books printed by the Mütferrika press – sometimes even before they were released – sparked great curiosity, especially among foreigners. Journals with news about the books published³⁷ and lists prepared in different periods and for various purposes are indicative of this interest. Such lists were prepared when the printing press was still in operation. Although unsigned, some of them, with introductory remarks about the opening of the press, were presumably prepared by İbrahim Mütferrika himself in the Latin language. The first one,

30 See Y. Erdem, “Mütferrika Matbaasının Erken Dönemde Yapılmış Bilinmeyen Bir Resmi” [“An Unknown Early Depiction of the Mütferrika Press”], *Mütferrika*, 39, 2011, p. 221–224.

31 See Y. Erdem, *Mütferrika'nın İzinde: Kitap ve Matbuat Tarihi Yazıları* [In the Footsteps of Mütferrika: Essays in Book and Printing History], Istanbul, 2021, p. 17–18.

32 J. C. Kundmann, *Rariora naturae et artis item in re medica, oder Seltenheiten der Natur und Kunst*, Breslau/Leipzig, 1737.

33 Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 11.

34 Kundmann, *Rariora naturae et artis*, col. 718–728.

35 H. Scholz, *Bibliothecae Arabicae de Typographiis Arabicis*, Hamburg, 1741, p. 11–13.

36 Scholz, *Bibliothecae Arabicae de Typographiis Arabicis*, p. 13–16.

37 See K. Beydilli, “Mütferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası. 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Kitabiyat” [“Mütferrika and the Ottoman Printing House: 18th-Century Books in Istanbul”], *Toplumsal Tarih*, 128, 2004, p. 44–52.

composed in 1730 and titled *Prima Typographiae apud Ottomanos Introductio* (*The Introduction of the First Printing Press to the Ottomans*), provides information about the first seven publications of the printing press.³⁸ The second text, preserved in the National Archive (Rijksarchief) in The Hague, is dated 1146/1733–1734 and titled *Origo et Principium Typographiae Otthomanicae* (*The Beginning and State of Ottoman Printing*). It contains a more detailed description of twelve books, including their formats and prices.³⁹ And a third one, preserved in the State Archive of Vienna (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv) and bearing a similar title, *Origo Typographiae Ottomannicae* (*The Beginning of Ottoman Printing*), describes all sixteen publications.⁴⁰ It is undated and appended to a 1747 report by Heinrich Freiherr von Penckler (1699/1700–1774), who was twice an Austrian ambassador to the Sublime Porte (in office 1741–1754; 1762–1766). This account has been wrongfully attributed to Penckler himself. However, the handwriting differs from Penckler’s and resembles that of Müteferrika’s earlier version preserved in the Hague.⁴¹ The account of the Müteferrika press and its output by Baron Joseph von Petrasch (1714–1772), also published in 1747, was mainly based on Müteferrika’s account, which was appended to Penckler’s report.⁴²

The list placed at the end of the second volume of Mustafa Na‘ima’s *History*, the thirteenth publication of the Müteferrika press, which gives the print runs of the twelve books published by 1734, was obviously also prepared by İbrahim Müteferrika.⁴³

38 H. Omont, “Nouveaux documents sur l’imprimerie à Istanbul au XVIIIe siècle”, *Revue des bibliothèques*, 36, 1926, p. 4–7.

39 Rijksarchief, The Hague, Legatiearchief Turkije tot 1811, no 1090; the text was translated and published in modern Turkish, with a facsimile, see İ. Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu ve Başlangıcı” [“The Establishment and Beginning of the Ottoman Printing Press”], in N. Kuran-Burçoğlu, M. Kiel (eds.), *Müteferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası*, Istanbul, 2004, p. 71–75, 93–103.

40 Österreichische Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Turcica II, Jg. 1747, fasc. 3, p. 263–266, Türkei V, 27, f. 301–310; this text is published in P. Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomannicae: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der türkischen Buchdruckerei in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts”, *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 1, 1978, p. 48–50.

41 Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomannicae”, p. 41–43 (see in particular n. 6 and n. 8 on p. 42).

42 J. von Petrasch, “Gelehrte Nachrichten”, *Moriathlichen Auszüge alt, und neuer Gelehrten Sachen*, 1, 1747, p. 437–451; reprinted in Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomannicae”, p. 44–48; the manuscript of Petrasch’s account, together with Müteferrika’s account, is preserved in Österreichische Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Türkei V, 27, f. 301–307.

43 M. Na‘ima, *Tārīḫ-i Na‘imā*, Istanbul, 1147/1734, Vol. 2, p. [741]; compare S. N. Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı I: Müteferrika Matbaası* [Turkish Printing I: The Müteferrika Press], Istanbul, 1939, p. 84–85.

In addition to the lists compiled by Müteferrika himself, there are also lists compiled by his contemporaries. The earliest one is appended to an undated report by the Jesuit priest Jean-Baptiste Holderman (1694–1730), a French missionary in Istanbul, on the establishment of the Ottoman printing press. In fact, the last book in this list was the seventh publication of the Müteferrika press, which came out on August 16, 1730. It turns out, therefore, that the list was compiled sometime between this date and November 13, 1730, when Holderman passed away.⁴⁴ In fact, the eighth publication was Holderman's *Grammaire turque*, and, therefore, he must have been familiar with the operation of the printing press.⁴⁵

The 1735 report of Edvard Carleson (1704–1767), who was the Swedish ambassador in Istanbul (in office 1734–1735), contains also a list of the Müteferrika publications. This list includes the titles of the thirteen books that İbrahim Müteferrika sent to the Swedish king Frederick I (1676–1751; r. 1720–1751) as a gift. However, the thirteenth item on this list is not Na'ima's *History*, but two maps depicting the Caspian and Black seas. The books on the list are briefly described and their prices are also given.⁴⁶ Mihaila Stajnova has published another list of thirteen Müteferrika publications found in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest.⁴⁷ She gives no information about the language in which it was written and whether it is dated. Nevertheless, it is probably a version of Carleson's list. Later, Müteferrika sent to Sweden the three publications that followed, and in 1751 another list of the whole collection was prepared by Magnus O. Celsius (1709–1784), who was at the time a librarian at the Swedish royal library.⁴⁸ In September 1747, another list was prepared by Armain, the Turkish and Persian translator of the French royal library in Paris, who spent some time in Istanbul between 1747 and 1749. The peculiarity of this list is that the prices of the books are shown in French currency (francs).⁴⁹

44 Omont, "Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à Constantinople", p. 2.

45 Omont, "Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à Constantinople", p. 8–10.

46 E. Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi ve Bastığı İlk Eserler / Ibrahim Müteferrika's Printing House and Its First Printed Books*, ed. M. Akbulut, Ankara, 1979, p. 8–12.

47 M. Stajnova, "Книгата в обществения живот на османските турци през XV–XIX век" ["The Book in the Social Life of the Ottoman Turks in the 15th–19th Centuries"], *Studia balcanica*, 21, 1992, p. 121–145.

48 The list is published in M. Akbulut, "İsveç Kraliyet Kütüphanesi'nde Bulunan İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Bastığı Eserlerin Latince Kataloğu" ["The Latin Catalogue of the Works Printed by İbrahim Müteferrika in the Royal Library of Sweden"], *Anadolu / Anatolia*, 20, 1976–1977, p. 233–243; G. Varanlıoğlu, "Latince Bir Belge" ["A Latin Document"], *Anadolu / Anatolia*, 20, 1976–1977, p. 245–259 (here, the transcription and translation into modern Turkish are provided).

49 H. Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris, 1902, Vol. 1, p. 751–753.

There is also preserved correspondence from many Western contemporaries of the Müteferrika press who, for various reasons, resided in Istanbul. One of them was César de Saussure (1705–1783), a Swiss nobleman in the service of Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II (1676–1735). He provided one of the rare accounts of the pre-Ottoman life of İbrahim Müteferrika.⁵⁰ The official correspondence of the French ambassador Louis Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve (1675–1745; in office 1728–1741)⁵¹ and that of the Swedish ambassador Edvard Carleson⁵² also reveal important aspects of Müteferrika's service to the court and his printing activities.

The information provided by all these sources, written in European languages and dating from the time of operation of the Müteferrika press, can be juxtaposed with the relevant Ottoman Turkish sources. Many of them are now preserved in the Turkish State Archive in Istanbul (Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı). One can find in this archive the copies of the *fermāns* that allowed İbrahim Müteferrika and Mehmed Said Efendi, as well as their apprentices, to run a printing press,⁵³ and fixed the price of some books,⁵⁴ Müteferrika's applications and other documents related to printing issues,⁵⁵ opening and operation of a paper mill,⁵⁶ and obtaining payment for various services.⁵⁷ Applications of the latter type are also preserved in the Oriental Collections Department of the National Library in Sofia.⁵⁸ İbrahim Müteferrika's writings in

50 C. de Thály (ed.), *Lettres de Turquie (1730–1739) et notices (1740) de César de Saussure*, Budapest, 1909.

51 S. Kunalalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve ambassadeur du roi de France auprès de la Sublime Porte ottomane (1728–1741)*, Vol. 1 (1728–1731), Istanbul, 2019; S. Kunalalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve ambassadeur du roi de France auprès de la Sublime Porte ottomane (1728–1741)*, Vol. 4 (1736–1739), Istanbul, 2021.

52 Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi ve Bastığı İlk Eserler*.

53 BOA, A.DVNS.MHM.d, 134, p. 156–157 (doc. 555); A.DVNS.MHM.d, 139, p. 57–58 (doc. 176); A.DVNS.MHM.d, 152, p. 384–385 (doc. 1566), p. 394 (doc. 1601); A.DVNS.MHM.d, 156, p. 302–303 (doc. 1049); a transcription is provided in Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 358–359, 363–364, 370–372.

54 BOA, A.DVNS.MHM.d, 147, p. 466 (doc. 1624); a transcription is provided in Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 364–365.

55 BOA, HAT, 1665/56, doc. 1; A.DVNS.MHM.d, 135, p. 204 (doc. 1048); BOA, İE.ML, 123/11612; a transcription is provided in Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 360–363.

56 BOA, C. İKTS, 21/1018; C. İKTS, 27/1311; C. İKTS, 36/1771; a transcription is provided in Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 366–369.

57 BOA, AE.SAMD.III, 144/13965; AE.SAMD.III, 150/14755; AE.SAMD.III, 177/17191; C.HR, 106/5256 (doc. 2); C.HR, 126/6260; C.HR, 139/6927; C.HR, 143/7107; C.HR, 152/7560; C.HR, 158/7864; C.HR, 159/7911; C.HR, 164/8154 (doc. 2); C.HR, 173/8642; C.HR, 173/8649 (doc. 2); C.HR, 180/8956; C.İKTS, 11/532; C.İKTS, 21/1018; C.İKTS, 27/1311; C.İKTS, 36/1771; HAT, 2/56; İE.HR, 14/1419.

58 NLS, OCD, OAK 3/9; OAK 3/83; OAK 24/28; OAK 28/13; OAK 49/14-a; OAK 49/21; OAK 49/25.

Ottoman Turkish, such as *Risâle-i İslâmiye (Treatise on Islam)*, composed in 1710,⁵⁹ *Vesiletü't-tübâ'a (The Means of Printing)*, written in 1726,⁶⁰ and the prefaces he prepared to the books he printed reveal equally important first-hand information.

It is the property inventory recorded after İbrahim Müteferrika's death in early 1747 that constitutes the most important source of information about his persona and printing activities. This inventory, which I discovered in 2002, is preserved in the Kısmet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi collection of the Archive of the Istanbul Mufti (İstanbul Müftülüğü Arşivi).⁶¹ The property inventory was recorded on *Rebî'ü'l-evvel* 20, 1160/April 1, 1747, and refers to İbrahim Müteferrika as the “late printer” (*bâşmacı merhûm İbrâhîm Efendi*).⁶² Besides this, it contains information on many previously unknown or barely known details of his private life and printing activities, including the date of his death, the members of his family, his private library and lifestyle, the workers in the printing press, and most importantly the exact number of unsold copies of the books he printed (see Addendum 2).⁶³

59 H. Necatioğlu, *Matbaacı İbrâhîm-i Müteferrika ve Risâle-i İslâmiye (Tenkidli Metin) [The Printer İbrahim Müteferrika and Risale-i İslamiye (Critical Edition)]*, Ankara, 1982; M. E. Coşan [H. Necatioğlu], *Matbaacı İbrâhîm-i Müteferrika ve Risâle-i İslâmiye [The Printer İbrahim Müteferrika and Risale-i İslamiye]*, İstanbul, 1993.

60 A. N. I. al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şîhâh-ı Cevheri [Luğat-i Vânkülü]*, transl. M. el-Vani, İstanbul, 1141/1729, Vol. 1, f. [6r–8r]; Omont, “Documents sur l'imprimerie à Constantinople”, p. 193–200 (translation into French); Birsen, “XVIIIinci Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Matbaanın İlk Kuruluşu Üzerine Dokümanlar”, p. 34–39 (in modern Turkish version); Atiyeh (ed.), *The Book in the Islamic World*, p. 286–292 (translation into English); Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 353–357 (transcription); S. Sümbül, “Osmanlı'da Matbaa Meselesine Yeni Bir Bakış: *Risâle-i Fevâid-i Basma* Adlı Yazma Eser Bağlamında Osmanlı Devleti'nde Matbaacılık Faaliyetlerinin Değerlendirilmesi” [“A New Perspective on the Printing Press in the Ottoman Empire: An Evaluation of Printing Activities in the Ottoman Empire in the Context of the Manuscript Work Titled *Risâle-i Fevâid-i Basma*”], *Bilgi ve Belge Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 10, 2018, p. 23–37 (transcription of another version of this text).

61 İMŞS, Kısmet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi, 98, f. 39r–40v.

62 A transcription of the document is provided in O. Sabev, *Първото османско пътешествие в света на печатната книга: нов прочит (1726–1746) [The First Ottoman Journey in the World of Printed Books: A Reassessment (1726–1746)]*, Sofia, 2004; O. Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726–1746): Yeniden Değerlendirme [İbrahim Müteferrika or the First Ottoman Printing Adventure (1726–1746): A Reassessment]*, ed. E. Afyoncu, 5th ed., İstanbul, 2024, p. 392–405; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 131–136.

63 An earlier list of the same unsold copies was prepared on *Rebî'ü'l-evvel* 10, 1160/March 22, 1747; see Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 102–103; for the importance of the property records for the study of Ottoman book history, see O. Sabev, “Osmanlı Toplumsal Tarihi İçin Değerli Kaynak Teşkil Eden Tereke ve Muhallefat Kayıtları” [“Property and Confiscation Records that Constitute a Valuable Source for Ottoman Social History”], in M. Yıldırım, S. Kadioğlu (eds.), *Osmanlı Coğrafyası Kültürel Arşiv Mirasının Yönetimi ve Tapu Arşivlerinin Rolü Uluslararası Kongresi 21–23 Kasım 2012*

One of César de Saussure's letters from 1732 bears a note added after 1759, i.e., after Müteferrika's death, claiming that the latter left behind piles of unsold printed books. Therefore, his heirs were disappointed and gave up the printing venture altogether.⁶⁴ Although the Hungarian author Imre Karácson referred to this letter in his article published in 1910,⁶⁵ no one discussed this issue in the rich literature devoted to İbrahim Müteferrika and his printing enterprise, except Lajos Hopp,⁶⁶ Jale Baysal,⁶⁷ and Hidayet Nuhoglu,⁶⁸ whose studies were based on Karácson's quotation. In fact, the above-mentioned inventory gives us a more accurate notion as to whether the Müteferrika press was a commercial success, as well as whether it was accepted by the reading public. The relationship between the print runs and the number of unsold copies of its publications could reveal the sale figures of each of them and provide a reliable basis for further analysis of the efficiency of this printing venture. The property inventory also reveals that even close to Müteferrika's death, many copies of the books he had printed some ten years earlier were still not ready for sale: some seemed to be waiting to be sewn and bound.

The physical condition of the Müteferrika publications is also revealed by many of the copies preserved in present-day public and private libraries and archives. There are several studies of library holdings related to the Müteferrika publications. To the best of my knowledge, these studies cover the holdings of the British Library in London,⁶⁹ the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris,⁷⁰ the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Biblioteca Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, and Biblioteca

İstanbul, Bildiriler, Vol. 1, Ankara, 2013, p. 259–272; E. Muhacı, “Tereke Kayıtlarının Kitap Kültürü Çalışmaları Açısından Önemi” [“The Importance of the Property Records for the Book Culture Studies”], in K. Yıldız (ed.), *Terekeler Neyi Derler? Miras Kayıtlarının İzinde Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, İstanbul, 2023, p. 511–545.

⁶⁴ Thály (ed.), *Lettres de Turquie*, p. 96.

⁶⁵ [I.] Karácson, “İbrahim Müteferrika”, *Tarih-i ‘Osmânî Encümeni Mecmû‘ası*, 3, 1326/1910, p. 185.

⁶⁶ L. Hopp, “İbrahim Müteferrika (1674/75?–1746): Fondateur de l'imprimerie turque”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 29, 1975, 1, p. 112.

⁶⁷ J. Baysal, “II. Rákóczi Ferenc'in Çevirmeni Müteferrika İbrahim ve Osmanlı Türklerinin İlk Bastıkları Kitaplar” [“İbrahim Müteferrika as an Interpreter of Ferenc Rákóczi II and the First Books Printed by Ottoman Turks”], in *Türk-Macar Kültür Münasebetleri İşığı Altında II. Rákóczi Ferenc ve Macar Mültecileri Sempozyumu / Symposium on Rákóczi Ferenc II and the Hungarian Refugees in the Light of Turco-Hungarian Cultural Relations*, İstanbul, 1976, p. 221; J. Baysal, *Kitap ve Kütüphane Tarihine Giriş [Introduction to Book and Library History]*, İstanbul, 1991, p. 75.

⁶⁸ Nuhoglu, “Müteferrika Matbaası ve Bazı Mulâhazalar”, p. 222.

⁶⁹ M. H. van den Boogert, *Early Ottoman Printing: The Müteferrika Press*, Leiden, [1999] (catalogue).

⁷⁰ M. Bozic, “Le fonds imprimé turc de la Bibliothèque nationale: Les débuts de l'imprimerie ottomane”, *Revue de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 1, 1981, p. 8–16.

Casanatense in Rome,⁷¹ the Royal Library in Stockholm,⁷² the Uppsala University Library,⁷³ the Lilly Library at Indiana University in Bloomington, IN,⁷⁴ the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg,⁷⁵ the Széchény National Library and the Library and Information Center of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest,⁷⁶ the Oriental Department of the National Library in Sofia,⁷⁷ the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University in New Haven, CT,⁷⁸ the Institute of Islamic Studies Library of McGill University in

71 D. V. Proverbio, “Gli ‘incunaboli’ di Mütefferrika conservati presso la Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana”, *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, 13, 2006, p. 559–581; A. Trentini, “Il Codice a Stampa nel Mondo Islamico”, in V. S. Rossi (ed.), *Libri Islamici in Controluce: Ricerche, modelli, esperienze conservative*, Rome, 2008, p. 147–180.

72 Akbulut, “İsveç Kraliyet Kütüphanesi’nde Bulunan”; J. Rohnström, “The Turkish Incunabula in the Royal Library, Stockholm”, *Turcica et Orientalia*, 1, 1988, p. 121–138.

73 H. Shaffer, “The Graphic Arts: Replication and the Force of Forms”, *Ars Orientalis*, 51, 2021, p. 1–26.

74 Gencer, “İbrahim Mütefferrika and the Age of Printed Manuscript”.

75 [J.-B. L. J. Rousseau], *Catalogue d’une collection de cinq cents manuscrits orientaux*, Paris, 1817; S. A. Frantsouzzoff, “Арабографичный фонд” [“The Arabic-Script Collection”], in *Азиатский музей – Институт восточных рукописей РАН: Путеводитель*, Moscow, 2018, p. 51–107; S. A. Frantsouzzoff, “Les vieux livres imprimés en écriture arabe dans la collection des Rousseau, père et fils, conservée à Saint-Petersbourg”, in I. Feodorov, B. Heyberger, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic Christianity between the Ottoman Levant and Eastern Europe*, Leiden/Boston, 2021, p. 250–285.

76 B. Varga, “İbrahim Mütefferrika nyomtatványai az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban”, *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 128, 2012, 1, p. 141–146; N. E. Kovács, “Küzdők öröksége: Szilágyi Dániel, Vámbéry Ármin és İbrâhîm Mütefferrika emlékezete és az Akadémiai Könyvtár Keleti Gyűjteményének török kincsei”, in D. Mihály (ed.), *A kívánt világosság – VI. Nemzetközi Vámbéry Konferencia*, Dunaszerdahely, 2009, p. 273–288.

77 Sabev, *Първото османско пътуешество*; S. Kenderova, Z. Ivanova, “Най-ранни арабографични печатни издания във фонда на Ориенталския отдел при Народната библиотека” [“The Earliest Arabic Printed Editions in the Collection of the Oriental Department at the National Library”], in A. Dipchikova, E. Musakova (eds.), *Библиотеката – минало и настояще: Юбилеен сборник, посветен на 125-годишнината на Народната библиотека „Св. св. Кирил и Методий“*, Sofia, 2005, p. 367–374; Z. Ivanova, “За изданията на Ибрахим Мютеферрика и Видинската вакъфска библиотека” [“On İbrahim Mütefferrika’s Publications and the Waqf Library in Vidin”], in N. Danova, S. Ivanova, H. Temelski (eds.), *Историята и книгите като приятелство: Сборник в памет на Митко Лачев*, Sofia, 2007, p. 229–248; Z. Ivanova, “Les éditions imprimées par İbrahim Mütefferrika et la bibliothèque du waqf de Vidin”, *Études balkaniques: Recherches interdisciplinaires sur les mondes hellénique et balkanique. Cahiers Pierre Belon*, 16, 2009, p. 199–218.

78 [T. Goodrich], *E. J. Brill – Leiden – Cat. No. 484, Antiquarian Booksellers*, June 1976 (catalogue).

Montreal,⁷⁹ the Gazi Husrev Beg Library in Sarajevo,⁸⁰ as well as those of several private collections.⁸¹ Based on my own research, copies of the Müteferrika publications are preserved not only in the libraries mentioned above, but also in many other libraries around the world. Only a few of them – the British Library, Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Austrian National Library in Vienna, the Library and Information Center of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the Lilly Library at Indiana University – hold the complete set of all sixteen Müteferrika publications (see Table 3). I was able to consult some of them, namely, those preserved in the state and university libraries in Princeton, Berlin, Vienna, London, Paris, the Hague, Budapest, Istanbul, and Ankara.

* * *

With all the above in mind, the present book, based on the available primary and secondary sources, some revisited and some totally new, aims to place the Müteferrika press in its Ottoman context.

In Chapter 1, *The Adoption of Printing in the Ottoman World*, I focus on pre-Müteferrika printing activities on behalf of the non-Muslim communities. I also consider the attitudes of the Ottoman ruling elite, Muslim religious officials, scholars and intellectuals toward printing. I emphasize that this attitude was not totally hostile and opposite. Rather, it was neutral because the manuscript culture was sufficiently developed to meet the needs for written texts of religious, educational, and scholarly importance. I argue, however, that in the second half of the 17th century there was a perceived need for more accurate copies of maps, and this required the use of a more appropriate means of reproduction, namely, printing. The gradual realization of the benefits of printing only gained momentum in the first half of the 18th century, when the fortunate combination of a more encouraging political environment during the so-called Tulip Age (1718–1730) and the appearance of characters such as İbrahim Müteferrika and Mehmed Said Efendi made the introduction of printing in the Ottoman Muslim milieu possible. Therefore, I present an overview of the social, political, and cultural circumstances that facilitated the establishment

79 W. J. Watson, “İbrahim Müteferrika and Turkish Incunabula”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 88, 1968, p. 435–441.

80 F. Tinjak, “İnkunabule iz štamparije İbrahima Muteferrike u Gazi Husrev-Begovoj biblioteki” [“Incunabula from İbrahim Müteferrika’s Press in the Gazi Husrev Beg Library”], *Anali*, 40, 2019, p. 159–191.

81 E. N. İşli, “Şevket Rado Koleksiyonunda Müteferrika Baskıları” [“The Müteferrika Prints in the Şevket Rado Collection”], *P Dünya Sanatı Dergisi*, 35, 2004, p. 66–73.

of the press, as well as a detailed description of the lives, careers, and intellectual pursuits of its co-founders.

In Chapter 2, *Setting up the Mütferrika Press*, I present the process of the establishment of the Mütferrika press. I discuss the obstacles that İbrahim Mütferrika and Mehmed Said Efendi had to overcome in opening the press due to objections from conservative Muslim circles. I identify the opponents and the supporters of the press, and how the obstacles were circumvented by finding the only possible solution at the time – the press was allowed to print only secular books, while the copyists maintained their centuries-old monopoly on the reproduction of Islamic religious texts in manuscript form. I also deal with the legal status and organization of the press, the origins and skills of its staff, the vicissitudes of its operation until its closure in early 1747, as well as the continuation of the printing business by the next generations of printers in the second half of the 18th century.

In Chapter 3, *Mütferrika's Printed Books*, I provide a detailed bibliographical and codicological description and analysis of the books printed in this press. As was also the case with early European printing,⁸² İbrahim Mütferrika was not only a printer but also a publisher. The choice of an author, work, subject, and genre was indicative of his publishing program, reflecting first and foremost his own – and not only his – views and preferences on the one hand, and the expectations and needs of the reading public on the other. I examine in detail the production process of Mütferrika's publications, their content, print runs, prices, and sales. I also refer to their reprints, translations into European languages, and critical editions.

In Chapter 4, *Mütferrika's Art of Printing*, I discuss whether the Mütferrika press was a commercial success or a failure. As the social perception of Mütferrika's publications depended not only on their content but also on their typographical quality, I examine in detail – based on surviving copies now preserved in various public libraries around the world – important typographical aspects such as the design of the Arabic typeface and the layout of the Mütferrika prints. This layout has undergone a gradual but irreversible transformation throughout the sixteen publications, from a design closer to the traditional manuscript layout to one that followed Western patterns. I pay particular attention to some specific features of Mütferrika's publications that made them look unique and different from both the traditional manuscript layout and the newly developed printing patterns. I argue that such features were a manifestation of the search for new visual expressions, albeit experimental and innovative, and not necessarily long-lasting and continued by the next generations of printers. It is obvious that the newly-applied printing technology led to a visual transformation of the written word. The latter received a new typographical

82 S. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, Harmondsworth, 1977, p. 127.

visualization only after undergoing a transitional period in which the unsatisfactory imitation of the manuscript appearance was abandoned and new graphic designs were introduced, which proved to be more appropriate to the new technology and its typographic nature. In the same context, I also discuss the pictorial output of the Mütferrika press, such as engraved illustrations and maps.

Chapter 5, *Conclusions*, summarizes the main ideas and findings of my research of the Mütferrika press and its output, ending a long-term project that I have been pursuing for several decades.

I have placed in *Addendum 1* a brief bibliographical and codicological description of all Mütferrika's printed books and maps. It is intended to help scholars of the history of printing and Arabic typography, as well as librarians, collectors, curators, and auctioneers to identify and catalogue surviving Mütferrika prints.

Addendum 2 contains the English translation of excerpts from the inventory of İbrahim Mütferrika's assets recorded after his death, in early 1747, providing, among others, information on the number and condition of the unsold copies of his publications.

Addendum 3 consists of three tables that summarize the available information on the Mütferrika press and its production, allowing researchers and the general readership to better understand the work of this great printer. *Table 1* gives an overview of Mütferrika's assets, including his printing equipment, as recorded in the inventory drawn after his death. *Table 2* lists all the charts and geographical maps that accompanied his most prestigious publication, *Cihānnumā*. *Table 3* lists the public libraries and archives which, to the best of my knowledge, hold copies of the books and maps printed in the Mütferrika press.

The *Bibliography* contains both unedited, archival sources (manuscripts, inventories, etc.), and published sources that cover two centuries of research on Ottoman printing in Istanbul, and especially on the Mütferrika press. While acknowledging that this bibliography is not exhaustive, my intention in supplementing it with a list of sources not cited in this book was to suggest further reading to interested readers. The present book also contains 100 black-and-white and color reproductions of the opening pages, including title pages, of all the sixteen publications recorded and described in Chapter 3, as well as of all the engravings, geographical maps, and charts appended to them or printed separately.

* * *

I have used the transcription rules listed in the romanization tables for Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, and Persian of the Library of Congress (Washington, DC) for all quoted texts, titles, and terms originally written and published in Arabic script and

type.⁸³ These rules differ depending on whether the original language was Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, or Persian. Although the works, written and published in Ottoman Turkish, usually have titles formulated according to the Arabic and Persian grammatical and orthographic rules, I have transcribed them according to the system applicable to Ottoman Turkish, as these works were disseminated in the Ottoman Turkish milieu.

Place names are used either in their modern forms, or in their Anglicized forms, if any – Istanbul, Constantinople, Salonica, for example. Accepted Anglicized terms denoting Ottoman institutions and titles, such as grand vizier, grand mufti, pasha, agha, janissary, are also preferred. Otherwise, the historical forms of Ottoman Turkish terms are used. Personal names, especially those appearing in the sources in Arabic script, are given in their modern, simplified form according to the respective national standard (e.g., İbrahim Müteferrika).

As the Ottomans used the Muslim calendar, in this book, when referring to Ottoman sources, the original dates are given first, and then, after a slash, their counterparts according to the Gregorian calendar (Anno Domini). If only the Muslim year is given, which usually means that the date coincides with two consecutive Gregorian years, both are given after the slash.

⁸³ See <https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/romanization/ottoman.pdf>; <https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/romanization/arabic.pdf>; <https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/romanization/persian.pdf> (accessed on January 16, 2025).

Acknowledgments

It was in 2002 that I researched at the Library of the Centre for Islamic Studies (ISAM) in Istanbul the microfilms of inventories of the properties that once belonged to 18th-century Istanbul residents. During my research, I received help from the librarians Cemal Toksoy and Mustafa Birol Ülker, now director of the same library, to whom I would like to express my deep gratitude. My research there turned out to be important for my subsequent work, because among the said inventories I was lucky to discover, without any hope of finding it beforehand, the inventory of the assets of İbrahim Müteferrika. This discovery led me to write and publish a book on the Müteferrika press, first in Bulgarian, my first language, in 2004, and then in Turkish, my mother tongue, in 2006.

The initial stage of my research was supported by the Andrew Mellon Foundation in cooperation with the American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT), the Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA), and the Rumelia Turks Culture and Solidarity Foundation (RUTEV), especially their directors at the time, Prof. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu and Prof. Halit Eren. I owe special gratitude to all of them. Other important supporters, such as the New Europe College (NEC) in Bucharest and the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (RCAC) of the Koç University, Istanbul, gave me the opportunity to continue my research between 2005 and 2007. I am grateful for the support of the NEC, its director at the time, Prof. Andrei Pleşu, and the project coordinator Irina Vainovski-Mihai, as well as for that of the RCAC and its then directors Prof. Scott Redford and Prof. Alessandra Ricci. I would also like to thank Prof. Machiel Kiel for recommending me for the NEC and RCAC scholarships.

The Turkish version of my book on the Müteferrika press was made possible by the encouragement I received from two prominent scholars of the history of Turkish printing, Prof. Erhan Afyoncu and Prof. Kemal Beydilli, both of whom also edited the Turkish edition. I am therefore deeply grateful to them, and their support has continued over the years as four more editions of the book have been published, with the latest, 5th edition released in early 2024.

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copies of Müteferrika's publications preserved in the Princeton University Library and recommended me for a grant provided by the Friends of Firestone Library in 2006. I am deeply grateful to all of them.

During these years I was also in contact with prominent scholars such as Prof. Thomas Goodrich, Thomas Milo, Prof. İsmail Erünsal, and the late Prof. István György Tóth and Dr. Kathryn Schwarz, who were familiar with my publications and provided me with new materials and information. I am deeply grateful for their scholarly support. I would also like to thank Prof. Hakan Karateke, who, as editor of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies series of the Academic Studies Press in Boston, supported the publication of my book *Waiting for Müteferrika: Glimpses of Ottoman Print Culture* in 2018.

The latest major development in my ongoing research on the Müteferrika press was my inclusion, in 2021, in the team of the ERC-funded project TYPARABIC: *Early Arabic Printing for the Arabic-Speaking Christians. Cultural Transfers between Eastern Europe and the Ottoman Near East in the 18th Century*. I am deeply grateful to Dr. Ioana Feodorov, Principal Investigator of the project, and Dr. Daniel Cain, Director of the Institute for South-East European Studies (ISEES) of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest, the host institution of the project, for inviting me to become a senior member in the TYPARABIC team. I am also grateful to Archim. dr. Policarp Chițulescu, director of the Library of the Holy Synod in Bucharest, who greatly helped me in my research.

The TYPARABIC project has allowed me to enrich my research in recent years and to write the present book, which focuses more on the typographical aspects of the Müteferrika press. Dr. Feodorov, in particular, gave me the idea and encouraged me to prepare this book in order to publish the first English-language source that would provide comprehensive research on Müteferrika's books and serve as a reference record for the identification of their now precious copies preserved in numerous public and private libraries and archives all over the world, and sometimes available with major auction houses. I would like to thank all the members of the TYPARABIC team for the enlightening and inspiring discussions we have had during our work-in-progress seminars and conferences, and especially Prof. Radu Dipratu, Prof. Hasan Çolak, Prof. Vera Tchentsova, and Dr. Mihai Țipău for sharing with me archival materials and newly published books related to the subject of my research.

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1 The Adoption of Printing in the Ottoman World

1.1 Printing in the Ottoman Empire before the Mütferrika Press

The Mütferrika press was not the first press in the Ottoman Empire, nor was the first to print books in Arabic script. Ottoman society was multi-ethnic and multicultural, and the ruling Turkish-speaking Muslim elite left enough room for non-Muslim communities to practice their religion and develop their culture. This explains the curious – at first sight – fact that the early printing presses in the Ottoman Empire were run by non-Muslims and served the religious and cultural needs of non-Muslim communities.

It is widely accepted by scholars that shortly after the Sephardic Jews were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula in 1492 and many of them migrated to the Ottoman Empire, the brothers David and Samuel ben Nahmias brought their printing equipment and set up a press in Istanbul in 1493. It was the first printing press to operate on Ottoman soil. During the 16th and 17th centuries, other Hebrew presses were established, mainly in Istanbul and Salonica, but also in Adrianople (Edirne), Safed, Damascus, Cairo, Smyrna (Izmir), and Tunis. The output of these presses was mainly concerned with the doctrinal and legal aspects of Judaism.¹

The Hebrew presses were soon followed by an Armenian press founded in Istanbul in 1567 by Abgar Toxatec'i (1520–1572). He was a local Armenian from the Anatolian town of Tokat who had visited Venice on a religious mission for

¹ See S. Gičev, “Les Débuts de l'imprimerie juive dans les Balkans (1494–commencement du XVI^e siècle)”, in *Actes du Premier Congrès International des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes, Sofia, 26 août – 1 septembre 1966*, Vol. 3, Sofia, 1966, p. 785–787; A. Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, Vol. 2, Istanbul, 1986, p. 86–92; G. A. Kut, “Matba'a. B. Printing and Lithography. 2. In Turkey”, in C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, B. Lewis et al. (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition*, Vol. 6, Leiden, 1991, p. 799; Y. Ben Na'eh, “Hebrew Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire”, in G. Nassi (ed.), *Jewish Journalism and Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Istanbul, 2001, p. 73–96; I. J. Tamari, “Notes on the Printing in Hebrew Typefaces from the 15th to 19th Centuries”, in Hanebutt-Benz, Glass, Roper (eds.), *Sprachen des Nahen Ostens und die Druckrevolution*, p. 33–52; Y. Meral, *İbrahim Mütferrika Öncesi İstanbul'da Yahudi Matbuatı (Matbaalar, İlmî Hayat ve Dinî Literatür) [Hebrew Printing in Istanbul before İbrahim Mütferrika (Presses, Scientific Life, and Religious Literature)]*, Ankara, 2016; İ. Yıldırım, “The Basic Development of Jewish Printing in the Ottoman Period”, *Bellek*, 5, 2023, 1, p. 61–79; T. Leber, “Hebrew Printing in Early Modern Istanbul: Between Mobility and Stability”, in R. Dipratu, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond*, Berlin/Boston, 2024, p. 69–88; M. Titleman, “Mobility, Change, and a Shared History: The Ottoman Jewish Printing Press in Istanbul Alongside Turkish-Muslim Print”, *Hamsa*, 10, 2024, p. 1–12, at <http://journals.openedition.org/hamsa/4557> (accessed on November 4, 2024).

Pope Pius IV (1499–1565; r. 1559–1565) to learn the art of printing from the first Armenian printer, Jacob (Hakob) Meghapart (early 16th century). On his return to Istanbul, Abgar set up a press in the church of St Nigogos (now Kefeli Mescidi) and printed six books between 1567 and 1569, assisted by a monk named Hotor. In 1695, another Armenian press was established in Istanbul. It printed mainly religious texts and served the Catholic missionaries until 1701, when it was closed down by the Ottoman authorities for spreading Catholic propaganda among the officially recognized Armenian Apostolic community in the Empire.² Two Ottoman documents dealing with this forced closure show that the authorities, after inspection, banned only those presses that printed books related to the “Frankish doctrine” (*mezâhib-i efrençiyeye*) and left the other Armenian presses “undisturbed because book printing had been common among them since ancient times” (*qadimden beynlerinde mütedâvil olan kitâb bâşmacılığı olduğundan mü’âheze olunmamışlardır*).³

The controversial nature of the publications of the first Orthodox Greek press to operate in the Ottoman Empire led to a similar forced closure. It was established in Istanbul in 1627 by the monk Nicodemus Metaxas (1585–1646) from Cephalonia, who had graduated from Balliol College, Oxford, in 1622. He had already printed some religious books in London with the financial support of his merchant brother. Their Istanbul printing venture was supported by the Patriarch of Constantinople Cyril Loukaris (1570–1638; in office 1623–1633), who allegedly had plans to reform the Orthodox Church with Calvinist views and to use the press against the Catholic propaganda. The press had the opportunity to print only three books, as in January 1628 it was destroyed by the janissaries because of a treatise against the Jesuits, written

² See Kut, “Matba’â”, p. 799; P. Tuğlacı, “Osmanlı Türkiye’sinde Ermeni Matbaacılığı ve Ermenilerin Türk Matbaacılığına Katkısı” [“Armenian Printing in Ottoman Turkey and the Contribution of Armenians to Turkish Printing”], *Tarih ve Toplum*, 15, 1991, 86, p. 48–56; R. H. Kévorkian, “Le Livre imprimé en milieu arménien ottoman aux XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles”, *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 87–88, 1999, p. 173–185; M. Pehlivanian, “Mesrop’s Heirs: The Early Armenian Book Printers”, in Hanebutt-Benz, Glass, Roper (eds.), *Sprachen des Nahen Ostens und die Druckrevolution*, p. 53–92; D. Kouymjian, “Between Amsterdam and Constantinople: The Impact of Printing on Armenian Culture”, in M. Dmitrieva, B. Kovács (eds.), *Die Kunst der Armenier im östlichen Europa*, Cologne/Weimar/Vienna, 2014, p. 19–26; A. Birinci, “Armenians in Ottoman Printing”, <https://turksandarmanians.marmara.edu.tr/en/armenians-in-ottoman-printing/> (accessed on December 12, 2024); D. Neagu, “Considerations on Oskan Erevants’i’s Printing Activity”, in O. Iacobovschi, S. Noble, I. Feodorov (eds.), *Icons, Ornaments, and Other Charms of Christian Arabic Books. Second Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, Berlin/Boston, 2024, p. 203–225.

³ BOA, A.DVNSMHM.d, 111, p. 636, 643 (doc. 2259, 2281); A. Refik, *Hicrî Onikinci Asır’da İstanbul Hayatı (1100–1200) / Onikinci Asr-ı Hicrî’de İstanbul Hayatı (1689–1785)* [Life in Istanbul in the 12th Century of the Hegira (1100–1200)], Istanbul, 1988, p. 32–33 (doc. 46, 47).

by Cyril Loukaris himself, which was ready for printing. The Jesuit missionaries in Istanbul, supported by the French embassy, complained to the Ottoman imperial court, misleading it into thinking that the press was hostile to Islam. This led to the destructive involvement of the janissaries.⁴

In the late 15th and throughout the 16th century, presses were set up in some Orthodox monasteries in the Balkans such as those in Cetinje (in present-day Montenegro) in 1494, Gračanica (in present-day Kosovo) in 1537, Mileševa (in present-day Serbia) in 1544, and the Serbian capital Belgrade in 1552.⁵ In the 16th and 17th centuries, the principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania, which paid a yearly tribute to the Ottoman Empire, also provided opportunities for printing in Greek and Cyrillic script. The Montenegrin hieromonk Makarije, who had also learned the art of printing in Venice, was the driving force behind the printing press founded in Cetinje in 1494 but was forced to flee in 1496 because of the Ottoman invasion. He found refuge in Wallachia, where he continued his printing activities between 1508 and 1512. Later, Târgoviște (1545), Bucharest (1582), and Câmpulung (1635) in Wallachia, as well as Sibiu in Transylvania (1525) and Iași in Moldavia (1643) became printing centers, publishing mainly Orthodox liturgical texts.⁶ While the Wallachian and Moldavian presses, established during the 17th century, operated with printing equipment and master printers provided by the Metropolitan of Kyiv and Galicia Petro Mohyla (Rom., Petru Movilă, 1596–1647; in office 1633–1646), Miklós Kis (1650–1702), the famous Hungarian printer and punchcutter who worked in Amsterdam between 1680 and 1689, returned to his hometown of

4 See Kut, “Matba‘a”, p. 800; L. Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione nel Levante del Seicento: La tipografia di Nicodemo Metaxas primo editore di testi greci nell’Oriente Ortodosso*, Venice, 1996; N. Pektaş, “The Beginnings of Printing in the Ottoman Capital: Book Production and Circulation in Early Modern Istanbul”, *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları*, 16, 2015, 2, p. 3–32; O. Olar, “‘Libertà et licenza... di stampare mille heresie et schismi’: The Propaganda Fide and the Greek Printing Press at Constantinople (1627–1628)”, in Dipratu, Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond*, p. 89–120.

5 See L. Plavšić, *Српске штампарије: од краја XV до средине XIX века [Serbian Printing: From the Late 15th to the Mid-19th Century]*, Belgrade, 1959; C. Draskovic (ed.), *Црна Гора: 500 година штампане књиге: 1494–1994 / Montenegro: 500 Years of Printing: 1494–1994*, Cetinje, 1994.

6 See D. Bădără, “The Beginning of Printing and Print Culture in the Romanian Principalities”, in Dipratu, Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond*, p. 123–125; M.-G. Hâncu, “Serbian-Romanian Relations in the Typographical Activity of the 16th–18th Centuries”, in Iacubovschi, Noble, Feodorov (eds.), *Icons, Ornaments, and Other Charms of Christian Arabic Books*, p. 496–514.

Cluj (Hung. Kolozsvár, now Cluj-Napoca, Romania), the capital of Transylvania, and revived the printing press of the Reformed Church.⁷

Until the 19th century, printing was not widespread among all Orthodox communities in the Ottoman Empire. For example, in the earlier centuries there were no printing presses in the territories of modern-day Bulgaria and Northern Macedonia. The need for liturgical texts for the local Orthodox population was partly met by books published by the 16th-century printer Jacob (Jakov) Kraykov. After spending some time in Sofia, he may have first learned the art of printing in the 1540s and 1550s at the aforementioned monastery of Gračanica – a claim that remains unconfirmed – and later moved to Venice, where he published several books in Cyrillic script in a Serbian printing press in the 1560s and 1570s.⁸

In 1610, the first Christian book printed in both Syriac and Arabic appeared on Ottoman soil. It was the Psalter printed at the Monastery of Saint Anthony in Quzhayya (Mount Lebanon). In the first half of the 18th century, the Romanian Principalities provided the opportunity for the printing of liturgical texts in Arabic type to meet the needs of the Arabic-speaking Christian communities in the Middle East. At the request of the Metropolitan of Aleppo, Athanasios III Dabbās (1647–1724), a former Patriarch of Antioch (in office 1685–1694) who travelled to Eastern Europe between 1700 and 1705 in search of financial aid, and with the support of the Wallachian prince Constantin Brâncoveanu (1654–1714; r. 1688–1714), the *Book of the Divine Liturgies* (*Liturgikon*) was printed in Greek and Arabic at the Snagov Monastery in 1701. The book was printed by Antim the Iberian (ca. 1650–1716), a monk of Georgian origin who had already printed Greek, Slavonic, and Romanian texts in Wallachia. It is believed that he also cast the Arabic type. Antim and Dabbās then printed in Arabic and Greek in Bucharest, in 1702, the *Book of Hours* (*Horologion*). Returning to his Metropolitan residence in Aleppo, Athanasios set up a press there, which operated between 1706 and 1711. Athanasios's disciple and apprentice in the Aleppo press, 'Abdallāh Zākhir (1684–1748), set up another press that was active from 1733 onwards in the monastery of St John the Baptist (also known as the Khinshāra Monastery, on Mount Lebanon), to print books serving the Catholic propaganda. With a few interruptions, Arabic Christian books were printed there until 1899. On the other hand, the printing of Arabic books also resumed in the Romanian

⁷ See G. Haiman, *Nicholas Kis: A Hungarian Punch-cutter and Printer 1650–1702*, Budapest, 1983, p. 21–32; G. Borsa, “Die volkssprachigen Drucke im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert in Ungarn”, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 62, 1987, p. 104–108.

⁸ See P. Atanasov, *Яков Крайков: книжовник, издател, график. XVI в.* [Jakov Kraykov: Scribe, Publisher, Graphic Artist, 16th century], Sofia, 1980; M. Tsibranska-Kostova, *Сборникът „Различни потреби“ от Яков Крайков между Венеция и Балканите през XVI век* [Jakov Kraykov's Book for Different Occasions between Venice and the Balkans in the 16th Century], Sofia, 2013, p. 25–37.

Principalities. At the request of the Patriarch of Antioch Sylvester I (1680?–1766; in office 1724–1766), four Arabic books were printed in Iași in 1745 and 1746, and two (or possibly three) in Bucharest in 1747.⁹ As Ioana Feodorov states, these books were the result, albeit on a relatively modest scale, of a joint effort that brought together religious men from several churches in the Middle East, princes and clergy from the Romanian Principalities, commanders from Ukraine, printers and other skilled workers in the printing industry from various countries.¹⁰ In fact, many of the printing businesses in the Middle East, including the first Ottoman Turkish one, involved actors from different professional and social backgrounds, denominations, and ethnicities.

In Safavid Iran, another major Islamic state, a similar development took place, albeit a little later. In 1628 or 1629, Catholic missionaries of the Carmelite order transported a wooden printing press with “349 Arabic letter sorts” to Isfahan and attempted to set up a printing press there. It seems, however, that no book was printed in Arabic script, apparently to spread the Catholic faith in Persian. After this first unsuccessful attempt to introduce printing on Persian soil, an Armenian printing press was established in Isfahan in 1636, which managed to publish at least eight books in Armenian script.¹¹ It was not until 1233/1817–1818, during the age of

9 See A. Kh. Rafikov, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции* [Essays on the History of Printing in Turkey], Leningrad, 1973, p. 65–78; W. Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie: Évolution de l'environnement culturel (1706–1787)*, Tunis, 1985, p. 124–153; Kut, “Matba’a”, p. 799–800; C.-M. Walbiner, “The Christians of *Bilād al-Shām* (Syria): Pioneers of Book-Printing in the Arab World”, in K. Kreiser (ed.), *The Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Jews, Christians and Muslims*, Wiesbaden, 2001, p. 11–12; G. Roper, “The Muslim World”, in M. F. Suarez, SJ, H. R. Woudhuysen (eds.), *The Book: A Global History*, Oxford, 2013, p. 524–552; I. Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands. The East-European Connection*, Berlin/Boston, 2023, p. 148–186, 209–233; I. Feodorov, “Sylvester of Antioch’s Arabic Books Printed in 1747 at Bucharest”, *Scrinium*, 19, 2023, 1, p. 5–27; Y. Petrova, “Toward the History of Arabic Printing in the Orient: The First Arabic Christian Books Printed in Wallachia”, *Shidnij svit*, 1, 2023, p. 24–43; Bădără, “The Beginning of Printing and Print Culture in the Romanian Principalities”, p. 135–136; M. Țipău, *Sylvester of Antioch: Life and Achievements of an 18th-Century Christian Orthodox Patriarch*, Berlin/Boston, 2024, p. 202–224; P. Chițulescu, “Livres polémiques imprimés en arabe, en Moldavie et en Valachie, au milieu du XVIII^e siècle”, *Scrinium*, 20, 2024, 1, p. 1–31; A. Girard, “Des moines et des livres: une imprimerie arabe chez les basilien shuwayrites (melkites grecs-catholiques) au XVIII^e siècle”, in Iacubovschi, Noble, Feodorov (eds.), *Icons, Ornaments, and Other Charms of Christian Arabic Books*, p. 111–135.

10 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 309.

11 See S. D. Aslanian, “The Early Arrival of Print in Safavid Iran: New Light on the First Armenian Printing Press in New Julfa, Isfahan (1636–1650, 1686–1693)”, *Handes Amsorya: Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie*, 1–12, 2014, p. 381–468.

the Qajar dynasty (1779–1924), that Arabic-type printing for the Muslims was finally introduced in Iran.¹²

It seems that the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman sultan did not really need his permission to print books for their own community, or at least no document regulating such printing has survived.¹³ To the best of my knowledge, no such permission is published in any non-Muslim book printed in the Ottoman territories, nor preserved in the archives. Geri Della Rocca de Candal tends to believe that there was a specific Ottoman regulatory framework for printing among minorities. Moreover, according to him, the Ottoman authorities were more tolerant toward the printing presses of the Spanish Jewish community, which found refuge on Ottoman soil and had no territorial claims, than they were toward the other local minorities such as the Armenians, Greeks, and Serbs, whose lands were conquered by the Ottomans. The new rulers – Rocca de Candal assumes – would not encourage an unwanted anti-Muslim and anti-authority propaganda, which would support, through printing, the recovery of the conquered lands and national emancipation.¹⁴

However, it was only during the Tanzimat period (1839–1876), when the Ottoman state apparatus and social structure were reorganized according to the French model, that the authorities introduced a general regulation for all printing presses, as well as for other cultural institutions, including schools. In 1857, the Press Code (*Maṭbūʿat Nizāmnāmesi*) was enacted to control the process of opening new presses and publishing books, newspapers and magazines in the Empire.¹⁵ The Imperial Penal Code (*Cezā Kānūnnāme-i Hümāyūnu*), enacted a year later, in 1858, imposed fines, closure of presses and imprisonment of editors for publishing texts against the state and offending private individuals.¹⁶ Until then, religious minorities had enjoyed cultural autonomy, which allowed them to develop their religious and cultural life without the need for authorization from the state. It is more likely

12 See U. Marzolph, “Early Printing History in Iran (1817–ca. 1900), Part I: Printed Manuscript in Iran”, in Hanebutt-Benz, Glass, Roper (eds.), *Sprachen des Nahen Ostens und die Druckrevolution*, p. 249–268; N. Green, “Persian Print and the Stanhope Revolution: Industrialization, Evangelicalism, and the Birth of Printing in Early Qajar Iran”, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 30, 2010, 3, p. 473–490; B. Izadpanah, “Persian and Arabic Printing with Movable Type in Qajar Iran (1818–1900)”, in T. Nemeth (ed.), *Arabic Typography: History and Practice*, Salenstein, 2023, p. 75–154.

13 See Leber, “Hebrew Printing in Early Modern Istanbul”, p. 69–71; Rocca de Candal, “The Circulation of Printed Books”, p. 96.

14 Rocca de Candal, “The Circulation of Printed Books”, p. 102–103.

15 See S. İskit, *Türkiye’de Neşriyat Hareketleri Tarihine Bir Bakış [An Overview of the History of Publishing in Turkey]*, Istanbul, 1939, p. 49–51; S. İskit, *Türkiye’de Matbuat Rejimleri [The Printing Regimes in Turkey]*, Istanbul, 1939, p. 10–13, 31–32.

16 İskit, *Türkiye’de Matbuat Rejimleri*, p. 18–19.

that in the pre-Tanzimat period the non-Muslim printing presses operated without prior permission, but as the Armenian and Greek cases above show, the Ottoman authorities occasionally intervened when such presses allegedly published religious books that disturbed the other non-Muslim denominations.

1.2 The Ottoman Muslim Attitude towards Printing

Developed in the mid-15th century, movable type was used in Western Europe for printing books not only in Latin script for the European book market, but also books in other scripts such as Hebrew, Greek, Armenian, Cyrillic, and Arabic, to meet the needs of non-Muslim minorities in Islamic states and to provide Western literati with scholarly texts in their original languages.¹⁷ For example, Christian liturgical texts were printed in Arabic script in the early 16th century, the *Book of Hours* printed in Italy (Fano or Venice) in 1514 being the earliest.¹⁸ At that time, the Qurʾān and the works of some prominent Muslim scholars were also printed in Western Europe.

The distribution of such Arabic books printed in Western Europe proved logistically inefficient because of their difficulty of access to the Middle East.¹⁹ In addition, their Western origin made them hard to sell. The French Orientalist Antoine Galland (1646–1715), who translated the *Arabian Nights* and spent some time in Istanbul in 1672 and 1673,²⁰ wrote in the preface to the compendium *Bibliothèque orientale*, prepared by Barthélemy d’Herbelot de Molainville (1625–1695) and published in France in 1697, that he had seen in the shop of an Istanbul bookseller a copy of Avicenna’s *Canon of Medicine* printed by the Medici press (Typographia Medicea, 1584–1614)²¹ in Rome in 1593.²² According to Galland, the bookseller was unable to

17 See G. D. Rocca de Candal, “The Circulation of Printed Books among Cultural Minorities in the Ottoman Empire (1450–1600): an Overview”, in F. Bistagne, J. Ferrer-Bartomeu, R. Mouren (eds.), *Minorités, migrations, mondialisation en Méditerranée: XIV^e–XVI^e siècles*, Paris, 2022, p. 81–104.

18 J. Balagna, *L’imprimerie arabe en Occident: XVI^e, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris, 1984, p. 18–20; Erdem, *Müteferrika’nın İzinde*, p. 147–149; A. Gherseti, “Arabic Printing in Italy”, in Iacubovschi, Noble, Feodorov (eds.), *Icons, Ornaments, and Other Charms of Christian Arabic Books*, p. 139.

19 See Z. Barbarics-Hermanik, “European Books for the Ottoman Market”, in R. Kirwan, S. Mulins (eds.), *Specialist Markets in the Early Modern Book World*, Leiden/Boston, 2015, p. 401–405.

20 See A. Galland, *İstanbul’a Ait Günlük Hâtralar (1672–1673) [Daily Memories of Istanbul (1672–1673)]*, ed. C. Schefer, transl. N. S. Örik, Ankara, 1949.

21 For the establishment of the Medici press, see C. Reimann, “Ferdinando de’ Medici and the *Typographia Medicea*”, in N. Lamal, J. Cumby, H. J. Helmers (eds.), *Print and Power in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, Leiden/Boston, 2021, p. 220–238.

22 Ibn Sina [Avicenna], *Kitāb al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb li-Abū ‘Alī al-shaykh al-raʾīs Ibn Sīnā*, Rome, 1593.

sell this book for a long time, although he was offering this printed version, which “surpasses in beauty all the Arabic prints that have appeared since, and best imitates the handwriting of the manuscripts”, at a much lower price, while selling the manuscript copies of the same work at a very high price. Galland attributed this to the fact that “these nations find no pleasure in printing”.²³ The Medici press published two other books in Arabic by Muslim scholars, Muhammad al-Idrisi’s geographical book *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq* (also known as *Tabula Rogeriana*), in 1592,²⁴ and Nasir al-Din al-Tusi’s commentary on Euclid’s *Geometrical Elements*, in 1594.²⁵ The poor sales of these books are also attested to by the available documentation. According to the inventories of the property of Giovanni Battista Raimondi (1536–1614), the director of the Medici press, made either between 1595 and 1614 or after his death, a large number of copies of these books remained unsold.²⁶ According to an 18th-century inventory of the same books, 810 copies of Avicenna, 1,967 copies of al-Tusi, and 1,129 copies of al-Idrisi were still unsold and kept in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence.²⁷

In other cases, when such books, especially printed Qur’āns, were imported into Ottoman lands, they were not only ignored by local Muslims, but sometimes met with hostility. If not burned by papal decree, the Qur’ān printed by Paganino and Alessandro Paganini in Venice in 1537–1538²⁸ was probably confiscated and destroyed on arrival at Ottoman ports because of the numerous errors it contained. Paganino was even briefly imprisoned by the Ottomans for attempting to sell the printed copies of the Qur’ān without permission.²⁹ According to a *fermān* issued

23 B. d’Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, Paris, 1697, p. [25]; compare with Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 18–19.

24 [al-Idrisi], *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq*, Rome, 1592.

25 [Euclid], *Kitāb Tahrīr Uşūl li-Ūqlīdis min ta’līf khūja Naşīr al-Dīn al-Ūsī / Euclidis Elementorum geometricorum libri tredecim ex traditione doctissimi Nasiridini Tusini nunc primum Arabicè impressi*, Rome, 1594.

26 See S. Fani, M. Farina, “An Inventory of Manuscripts and Typographic Materials in the Typographia Medicea Drafted During Raimondi’s Lifetime”, in E. Leuschner, G. Wolf (eds.), *The Medici Oriental Press: Knowledge and Cultural Transfer Around 1600*, Florence, 2022, p. 379–400; E. Leuschner, “Posthumous Inventory of Raimondi’s House and the Medici Press”, in Leuschner, Wolf (eds.), *The Medici Oriental Press*, p. 411–483.

27 See P. Lunde, “Arabic and the Art of Printing”, *Saudi Aramco World*, 32, 1981, 2, <https://archive.aramcoworld.com/issue/198102/arabic.and.the.art.of.printing-a.special.section.htm> (accessed on March 15, 2006).

28 Balagna, *L’imprimerie arabe en Occident*, p. 23–24; A. Nuovo, “A Lost Arabic Koran Rediscovered”, *The Library*, 6th Series, 12, 1990, 4, p. 273–292.

29 See M. B. Wilson, *Translating the Qur’an in an Age of Nationalism: Print Culture and Modern Islam in Turkey*, Oxford, 2014, p. 33–35; J. R. Osborn, *Letters of Light: Arabic Script in Calligraphy*,

by Sultan Murad III (1546–1595; r. 1574–1595) in the last third of October 1588, two European merchants, named Branton and Orazio Bandini, imported printed books and pamphlets in Arabic and Persian. When the local Muslims saw these books, they became angry and took them away. After the two merchants complained, the sultan ordered the relevant Ottoman officials not to allow such behavior, which was not in accordance with the Sharia and the commercial and diplomatic agreements, i.e., the so-called capitulations (*‘ahdnāme*).³⁰ Muslim sensitivity to the printed Qur’ān was revealed in another hostile act in the 17th century, when local Muslims allegedly threw copies of the Qur’ān, printed in Western Europe and imported by an Englishman, into the Sea of Marmara.³¹

Although the Ottoman authorities and the Muslims of the Empire – as was obviously the case in other Muslim states – were not usually hostile to non-Muslim printing presses, except in the case of Armenian and Greek presses whose production was considered inappropriate by other Christian denominations, they were obviously sensitive to the printing of Muslim religious or scientific texts in Arabic script. The French Catholic priest and scholar André Thevet (1516–1590), who travelled in the Ottoman lands in 1549, claims that Sultan Bayezid II (1447–1512; r. 1481–1512) issued an edict in 1483 threatening the death penalty to anyone who attempted to print books. According to Thevet, Sultan Selim I (1470–1520; r. 1512–1520) confirmed this edict in 1515.³² However, no archival evidence has been found to support this claim.³³ As John-Paul Ghobrial suggests, such claims may have something to do with the restrictions placed on non-Muslim printers to print books in Arabic script.³⁴ This suggestion is supported by some 16th- and 17th-century accounts. According to

Print, and Digital Design, Cambridge, MA/London, 2017, p. 87; Rocca de Candal, “The Circulation of Printed Books”, p. 90; Gherseti, “Arabic Printing in Italy”, p. 145–147.

30 [Euclid], *Kitāb Tahrīr Uşūl li-Üqlīdis*, p. [454]. See also Efdaleddin, “Memālik-i ‘Oşmāniye’de Tıbā’atın Kadīmī” [“The Past of Printing in the Ottoman Dominions”], *Tārīḫ-i ‘Oşmāni Encumeni Mecmū’ası*, 40, 1332/1916, p. 245–247; Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 23–24; G. N. Atiyeh (ed.), *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, Albany, 1995, p. 283; Wilson, *Translating the Qur’an*, p. 36.

31 Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 8; O. Koloğlu, *Basımevi ve Basının Gecikme Sebepleri ve Sonuçları* [Reasons for the Delay of the Press and Printing and Its Consequences], Istanbul, 1987, p. 23.

32 A. Thevet, *Histoire des plus illustres et savans hommes de leurs siècles*, Vol. 2, Paris, 1671, p. 111.

33 See Efdaleddin, “Memālik-i ‘Oşmāniye’de Tıbā’atın Kadīmī”, p. 242–249; A. D. Jeltyakov, *Türkiye’nin Sosyo-Politik ve Kültürel Hayatında Basın (1729–1908 Yılları)* [The Press in Turkey’s Socio-Political and Cultural Life (1729–1908)], Ankara, 1979, p. 20; K. A. Schwartz, “Did Ottoman Sultans Ban Print?”, *Book History*, 20, 2017, p. 1–39.

34 J.-P. Ghobrial, “Diglossia and the ‘Methodology’ of Arabic Print”, unpublished paper presented at the 2nd International Symposium “History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East”, November 2–4, 2005, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

the French naturalist and traveler Pierre Belon (1517–1564), who was in Istanbul between 1546 and 1549, the Jewish printers there were not allowed to print books in Arabic type.³⁵ The Czech traveler Krystof Haran (1564–1621) also maintained that the Jewish printers of Istanbul were forbidden to print Arabic and Turkish books for fear that printing texts in these languages would endanger the sacredness of the Arabic script.³⁶ In a letter written in 1634, the Jewish book collector Jacob Roman ibn Pekuda (d. 1650) expressed his intention to revive the Jewish printing in Istanbul by printing a book in the Hebrew, Arabic, and Latin languages. However, he had to print the Arabic part in Hebrew rather than Arabic type because “no printing is done in Arabic type in these lands because the Turks do not want it”.³⁷

Restrictive measures were also applied to Christian books published in Europe and imported into the Ottoman Empire. One of the two documents from 1701 dealing with the closure of an Armenian press in Istanbul states not only that it published religious books distorted with Catholic interpretations, but also that “printed books with falsified contents were brought from the land of the Franks and sold by the wicked who adhered to them” (*muḥarref bāşma kitāblar Frengistāndan gelüb anlara mütāba’at eden ḥabişler vesātiyle fūrūht olunub*).³⁸ It is plausible that in this case the Ottoman authorities intervened in response to a probable complaint on behalf of the Armenian Apostolic community, which was officially recognized by the sultan. Another document, written in Arabic in 1132/1719–1720, reveals that the deputy judge (*nā’ib*) of Jisr al-Shughur, a town between Aleppo and Latakia (in present-day northwestern Syria), was responsible for inspecting whether “printed books” (*al-kutub al-maṭbū’a*) from the “Frankish lands” (*bilād al-Firanj*) were being distributed there, and if so, to confiscate them and send them to the central government in Istanbul for examination.³⁹ Ottoman documents dating from 1824 show that the importation of European-printed Old and New Testaments and other Christian texts was forbidden, and if such books were found, usually imported in quantities of 2,000 and 3,000 copies, they had to be confiscated and burned because they were

35 Y. Meral, “Müteferrika Öncesi Avrupalı Seyyahların Hatıratında Osmanlı’da Yahudi Matbaaları ve Arapça Kitap Basım Yasağı” [“Jewish Printing Presses and the Ban to Print Arabic Books in the Memories of European Travelers before Müteferrika”], *Kutadgubilig*, 28, 2015, p. 240.

36 Meral, “Müteferrika Öncesi Avrupalı Seyyahların Hatıratında Osmanlı’da Yahudi Matbaaları”, p. 244.

37 Meral, “Müteferrika Öncesi Avrupalı Seyyahların Hatıratında Osmanlı’da Yahudi Matbaaları”, p. 245.

38 BOA, A.DVNSMHM.d, 111, p. 643 (doc. 2281); Refik, *Hicrî Onikinci Asır’da İstanbul Hayatı*, p. 33 (doc. 47).

39 BOA, C.MF, 104/5163 (although the document is undated, the archival catalogue indicates 1132/1719–1720).

considered harmful.⁴⁰ It seems that these restrictive measures were also applied to the European Bibles printed in Greek, as one of these documents states. Until well into the 19th century, the Greek monasteries, schools, and other establishments kept on copying theological texts by hand, as the locals considered the books printed in Western Europe to be corrupted with Catholic interpretations.⁴¹ The sensitivity of the Ottoman government to the import and distribution of such books in those years can also be explained by the ongoing Greek War of Independence (1821–1829). Another document from 1839 reveals that the American missionaries who opened a school in Istanbul to educate “some children from the Greek, Armenian, Catholic, and Jewish communities” were forbidden to print and distribute books that would “convert their minds” to the “English denomination”, i.e., Protestantism.⁴²

As the above cases show, the Ottoman government tried to defend those non-Muslim denominations that were officially recognized in the Empire by prohibiting the printing, importation, and distribution of such books. It did the same when printed Qur’ans and Turkish translations of the Bible were imported and considered harmful to Muslims. A document from 1825 reveals the measures taken against the importation of printed copies of the Turkish translation of the New Testament published either in Paris or in London. Fearing that these books in Arabic type might offend the Muslim faith, the authorities decided to send them back to their place of origin if they were still in the customs office, or to confiscate and burn them if they were in private hands or on the book market. The government followed a precedent set with many printed Qur’ans previously imported from Russia. The sale of these Qur’ans was immediately prohibited and they were sent back.⁴³ In the following years, the authorities remained suspicious of any book in Arabic type imported from abroad. A document from 1830 reveals the fate of an Englishman who had permission to travel to Arab lands and distribute printed Arabic translations of the New Testament and other texts related to the Apostles imported from England. On his way back to Istanbul, he was attacked by corsairs and landed in Salonica, where he distributed these printed books in Arabic script for free, but aroused the suspicion of the local governor and was interrogated. Five copies of these books were confiscated to be examined as to whether or not they

40 BOA, C.MF, 105/5244; C.MF, 8/351; C.DH, 7/341; C.DH, 229/11442; C.ADL, 20/1196; C.ADL, 63/3753; C.ZB, 45/2203.

41 T. E. Sklavenitis, “Η δυσπιστία στο έντυπο βιβλίο και η παράλληλη χρήση του χειρογράφου” [“The Distrust of the Printed Book and the Parallel Use of the Manuscript”], in *Βιβλίο στις προβιομηχανικές κοινωνίες / Le livre dans les sociétés pré-industrielles*, Athens, 1982, p. 283–293 (I am grateful to Svetlana Doncheva for the translation from Greek).

42 BOA, HAT, 794/36842.

43 BOA, HAT, 1295/50284.

were harmful.⁴⁴ Another Ottoman document from 1872 states that “according to the existing regulations, the printing and trading of the Holy Qur’ān is forbidden and [if such copies are found] they should be confiscated”.⁴⁵ These documents also suggest that unlicensed printed versions of the Qur’ān, either imported or locally produced, were in circulation.

The negative attitude toward the printed form of the Qur’ān and other classical Arabic texts, penned by Muslim scholars, can be explained not only by the idea of defending the interests of the copyists and calligraphers, but also by the fact that Western printed books in Arabic script were full of textual and orthographic errors and were considered to violate the sacredness of the Muslim holy book.⁴⁶ These errors were due to the lack of skilled printers, punchcutters and proofreaders in Western Europe who were familiar with Arabic letters and grammar.⁴⁷ The Austrian envoy to Istanbul, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522–1592; in office 1555–1562), who wrote a series of letters describing his impressions from his stay, wrote that the Turks had adopted neither the printing press, nor the clock towers from Europe for fear of disrespecting their holy books and for the benefit of the *mü’ezzins*, whose duty was to call the faithful Muslims to prayer by shouting from the minarets.⁴⁸ Obviously, it was unusual for any Muslim to see the Qur’ān in printed form, as it is considered to be the ultimate divine revelation, fixed in manuscript form. Neither its sacred content, nor its sacred form can be modified. For the Muslims, the Qur’ān is eternal, and every word between its two covers is literally a divine word.⁴⁹ As Thomas Francis Carter suggested, it was apparently the conservative attitudes that fed the Muslim bias against printing: as the Qur’ān originally existed in manuscript form, it was expected that it would always be reproduced by hand.⁵⁰ Yet, there were

⁴⁴ BOA, HAT, 950/40835 (doc. 2).

⁴⁵ BOA, ŞD, 1280/51 (doc. 3).

⁴⁶ See M. Mahdi, “From the Manuscript Age to the Age of Printed Books”, in Atiyeh (ed.), *The Book in the Islamic World*, p. 1–15; Osborn, *Letters of Light*, p. 87; W. Ghali, “Print or not Print: Is That Still the Question? The Delay in Adopting the Printing Press in the Ottoman Empire”, unpublished paper presented at the 38th Annual Conference of the European Association of Middle East Librarians, May 30 – June 1, 2006, Leiden University Library, https://www.academia.edu/4093493/Print_or_not_print_is_that_still_the_question_Delay_in_adopting_Printing_Press_in_Muslim_Countries (accessed on January 3, 2025), p. 3–4.

⁴⁷ Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe*, p. 35.

⁴⁸ See Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe*, p. 103; Meral, “Müteferrika Öncesi Avrupalı Seyyahların Hatıratında Osmanlı’da Yahudi Matbaaları”, p. 242.

⁴⁹ J. Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, Princeton, NJ, 1984, p. 12; M. Ghaly, “The Interplay of Technology and Sacredness of Islam: Discussions of Muslim Scholars on Printing the Qur’an”, *Studies in Ethics, Law, and Technology*, 3, 2009, 2, p. 5–6.

⁵⁰ T. F. Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward*, New York, 1931, p. 112.

strict rules for copying the Qur'ân in manuscript, which were still followed in the 19th century.⁵¹ M. Brett Wilson persuasively argued that the Muslim calligraphic tradition “traces its roots to the Qur'ân itself” and that “the tools of the scribal craft – pens, ink, books and scrolls – play a prominent role in the Qur'ânic text and symbolize important elements of Muslim cosmology”, while printing traces its origins not to the dawn of Islam but to European non-Muslims such as Gutenberg and others who developed the technology in the 15th century. “Therefore – he stated – printed books lacked a lineage that provided Islamic authenticity and guaranteed the quality of work”.⁵²

In 1874, the first officially sanctioned Ottoman printed version of the Qur'ân appeared.⁵³ It was reproduced not by typesetting but by lithography, which, like xylography, enabled the printers to imitate handwriting more successfully.⁵⁴ Although the Ottoman authorities had banned the import and distribution of Qur'âns printed outside the Empire in the previous decades, it seems that by the 1870s the Muslim segment of Ottoman society was ready to have its holy text in printed form, having waited long enough to be convinced of the advantages of printing.⁵⁵ The prominent 19th-century Ottoman intellectual Ahmed Cevdet (1822–1895) provided an insight into the motives behind the decision to print the Qur'ân. In his *Târîh* (*History*), he included a section in which he pointed out that İbrahim Müteferrika and Mehmed

51 See J. J. Witkam, “Twenty-Nine Rules for *Qur'ân* Copying: A Set of Rules for the Lay-out of a Nineteenth-Century Ottoman *Qur'ân* Manuscript”, *Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları / Journal of Turkish Studies*, 26, 2002, 2, p. 339–348; Ghaly, “The Interplay of Technology and Sacredness of Islam”, p. 13.

52 Wilson, *Translating the Qur'an*, p. 39–40.

53 See O. Keskiöglü, “Türkiye’de Matbaa Te’sisi ve Mushaf Basımı” [“The Establishment of the Printing Press in Turkey and Qur'ânic Printing”], *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 15, 1967, p. 121–139; M. Gündüz, “Matbaanın Tarihçesi ve İlk Kur'anı Kerim Basmaları” [“A Concise History of the Printing Press and the Early Qur'ân Printing”], *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 12, 1978, p. 335–350; N. Kuran-Burçoğlu, “Matbaacı Osman Bey: Saray’dan İlk Defa Kur'an-ı Kerim Basma İznini Alan Osmanlı Hattatı” [“The Printer Osman Bey: The First Ottoman Calligrapher to Receive Permission from the Palace to Print the Holy Qur'ân”], *Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları / Journal of Turkish Studies*, 26, 2002, 2, p. 97–112.

54 See R. Schulze, “The Birth of Tradition and Modernity in 18th and 19th Century Islamic Culture – The Case of Printing”, in G. Roper (ed.), *The History of the Book in the Middle East*, London/New York, 2013, p. 29–64; I. Proudfoot, “Mass Producing Houris’s Moles”, in Roper (ed.), *The History of the Book in the Middle East*, p. 165–184; B. Messick, “On the Question of Lithography”, in Roper (ed.), *The History of the Book in the Middle East*, p. 299–315; G. Roper, “The Printing Press and Change in the Arab World”, in Roper (ed.), *The History of the Book in the Middle East*, p. 389–406.

55 See N. Gökıkr, *Tanzimattan Günümüze Din-Devlet İlişkileri ve Siyaset Bağlamında Mushaf Basımı [Qur'ânic Printing in the Context of Religion-State Relations and Politics from the Tanzimat to the Present]*, İstanbul, 2015, p. 23–27; Z. S. Zengin, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Kur'an Basımının İlk Safhası” [“The First Phase of Qur'ân Printing in the Ottoman Empire”], *Bellekten*, 87, 2023, 309, p. 527–557.

Said Efendi were given permission to print books, except for religious texts. According to him, the printing of such texts was considered a threat to their sacredness because of the pressure exerted on the leaves. However, he adds, bookbinders bind the Qurʾān in the same way, by pressing the leaves and applying a decorative seal to the hard cover. If it was not considered blasphemy to preserve the sacred text in this way, then it was decided that the printing of religious books was not a blasphemy either. Thus began the printing of religious texts, initially treatises for students of Muslim theology and jurisprudence.⁵⁶ It seems that by the 1870s, Ottoman print culture was indeed sufficiently developed, and the Muslim readership was ready to welcome the first Ottoman printed versions of the Qurʾān, more willingly than its earlier Western European versions. At least well-trained Muslim printers – much more trustworthy than the non-Muslim printers – were already available to print the holy text properly.⁵⁷

Still, many centuries earlier, in the 10th–13th centuries, some attempts were made to reproduce the Qurʾān on amulets by xylography. Fragments of Arabic woodcuts containing Qurʾānic verses and dating from this period were discovered in the Faiyum Oasis in Egypt.⁵⁸ On the other hand, Ibn al-Abbar (1199–1260) reported that during the reign of the Muslim ruler of Andalusia ‘Abd al-Raḥman III (890–961; r. 912–961) official administrative documents were distributed in printed form to the provincial governors.⁵⁹ These findings suggest that block printing was known and used to some extent in the Arab Muslim states of Egypt and Andalusia between the 10th and 13th centuries, but it does not appear to have been widely used and was eventually abandoned, probably because of its inefficiency. In fact, the transition from scribal culture to print culture was not necessarily a one-way process. Not to mention that, according to recent studies, printing practices such as the use of cylinder seals stamped on clay tablets and pottery in ancient Mesopotamia may have stimulated the invention of the oldest writing system, cuneiform, in the late 4th millennium BC, by simplifying the figural images on the seals into more schematic

56 A. Cevdet, *Tārīḫ-i Cevdet [Cevdet’s History]*, Vol. 1, Istanbul, 1309/1891, p. 76.

57 Ghaly, “The Interplay of Technology and Sacredness of Islam”, p. 19.

58 See G. Oman, “Matha’a, 1. In the Arab World, A. Xylography”, in C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, B. Lewis et al. (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition*, Vol. 6, Leiden, 1991, p. 795; R. W. Bulliet, “Medieval Arabic *Tarsh*: a Forgotten Chapter in the History of Printing”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 107, 1987, 3, p. 427–438. See also K. A. Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms: Medieval Arabic Block Printed Amulets in American and European Libraries and Museums*, Leiden, 2006.

59 G. Kaldy-Nagy, “Beginnings of the Arabic-Letter Printing in the Muslim World”, in G. Kaldy-Nagy (ed.), *The Muslim East: Studies in Honour of Julius Germain, Loránd Eötvös*, Budapest, 1974, p. 201; Bulliet, “Medieval Arabic *Tarsh*”.

signs.⁶⁰ In other words, ancient seal-printing practices may have led to the introduction of writing systems.

The information presented above leads us to the conclusion that until the early 18th century neither the Ottoman authorities nor the Muslims of the Empire paid any significant attention to, or warmly welcomed, Arabic-type printed books related to the Muslim religious tradition. They did not encourage the import of such books from Western Europe, nor were they eager to print books themselves.⁶¹ Some 17th-century Western travelers note that the resistance of the manuscript copyists and calligraphers and the obstacles placed by the religious officials were the main reasons for the absence of Ottoman Turkish printing. In his book on the Ottoman Empire published in 1668, Paul Rycaut (1629–1700) claimed that printing was forbidden because of the fear that it would encourage learning and thus become a threat to the tyrannical Ottoman rule. He also emphasized the concern for the livelihood of the numerous scribes.⁶² Luigi Ferdinando Count de Marsigli (1658–1730), who spent eleven months in Istanbul in 1679–1680 and visited the Ottoman capital once again in 1692, wrote in a book on the military state of the Empire that the Turks do not print their books not because of any prohibition, but out of concern for the livelihood of the numerous copyists and calligraphers.⁶³ Other Western travelers of that period made the same claim.⁶⁴

On the contrary, in his book on Turkish literature published in 1688, Giovanni Battista Donado/Donà (1627–1699), the Venetian Bailo in Istanbul from 1680 to 1684, claimed that the Turks did not have printing not because

60 See K. Kelley, M. Cartolano, S. Ferrara, “Seals and Signs: Tracing the Origins of Writing in Ancient South-West Asia”, *Antiquity*, published online 2024, p. 1–19, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/antiquity/article/seals-and-signs-tracing-the-origins-of-writing-in-ancient-southwest-asia/B3C2D400F3F80A7A0162D9035C9C2804> (accessed on November 7, 2024).

61 On the issue of Islamic reluctance to the adoption of movable type printing, see H. A. Avakian, “Islam and the Art of Printing”, in Roper (ed.), *The History of the Book in the Middle East*, p. 407–420.

62 P. Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London, 1668, p. 32; compare with Meral, “Müteferrika Öncesi Avrupalı Seyyahların Hatıratında Osmanlı’da Yahudi Matbaaları”, p. 247.

63 L. F. C. di Marsigli, *Stato militare dell’Imperio Ottomanno incremento e decremento del medesimo*, The Hague/Amsterdam, 1732, p. 40; compare with Meral, “Müteferrika Öncesi Avrupalı Seyyahların Hatıratında Osmanlı’da Yahudi Matbaaları”, p. 251. For a further analysis of this issue, see Schwartz, “Did Ottoman Sultans Ban Print?”

64 E. C. Tekin, *Osmanlı’da Kitap Kültürü ve Batı Dünyası: Avrupalı Seyyahların Bakış Açısından Osmanlı’da Kitap ve Kütüphane Kültürü (1453–1699)* [*Book Culture in the Ottoman Empire and the Western World: Book and Library Culture in the Ottoman Empire from the Perspective of European Travelers (1453–1699)*], Istanbul, 2018, p. 103–106.

it is forbidden by their sovereign in order not to deprive them of their employment, and consequently [of] food for so many and so many scribes, or for another, more hidden, purpose, but because they are indeed very careful about us, believing that communication with Christians would profane their things, and considering it especially forbidden to do so in matters of law.⁶⁵

As Nadia Al-Bagdadi notes, “those involved in the whole process of book making, from copyists to booksellers [...] revolted most fiercely against the introduction of the printing press” not only for economic and pragmatic reasons, but also for “the veneration of the book” as the “archetypal manifestation of wisdom” that maintained “inflections of a transcendental presence that went beyond its mere physical existence”.⁶⁶ In one of his recent publications, the great Dutch expert in Oriental manuscripts Jan Just Witkam provides a brief review of the explanations offered by early modern European travelers and diplomats, on the one hand, and scholars of the history of printing, on the other, for the Muslims’ reluctance to adopt printing. These include concerns about the possible distortion of the sacredness of the holy texts, “massive joblessness among copyists and the high cost of founding a printing press”, strong oral (memorizing) and calligraphic tradition, political considerations, and so forth.⁶⁷ He finds them unconvincing and notes that “numerous stories are told about this late spread of printing in Muslim countries, but that is precisely what they are: stories”. According to him, these stories or scholarly anecdotes tell us more about their authors than about the real reasons behind the initial Muslim rejection of printing.⁶⁸

But there may have been other reasons for this hard-to-explain reluctance. In his 1726 treatise *Vesiletü’-t-ıbbā’a* (*The Means of Printing*), the promoter of Ottoman printing İbrahim Müteferrika claimed that Ottoman statesmen had often considered the idea of establishing a printing press, but such ideas could not be realized due to the absence of people who mastered the art of printing.⁶⁹ If he was correct, printing could indeed only be introduced by people who knew the craft, as was the

65 G. B. Donado, *Osservationi fatte della letteratura de’ Turchi*, Venice, 1688, p. 43–44; compare with Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 8.

66 N. Al-Bagdadi, “From Heaven to Dust: Metamorphosis of the Book in Pre-modern Arab Culture”, *The Medieval History Journal*, 8, 2005, 1, p. 96–97.

67 See Ghali, “Print or not Print”; M. Aqeel, “Commencement of Printing in the Muslim World: A View of Impact on *Ulama* at Early Phase of Islamic Moderate Trends”, *Kyoto Bulletin of Islamic Area Studies*, 2, 2009, 2, p. 10–21.

68 See J. J. Witkam, “Stories about Early Ottoman Printing”, in H. Aynur, D. Bayır, T. Zorlu, et al. (eds.), *İlim ve İrfan Yolunda Bir Hezarfen: Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu’na Armağan / A Festschrift in Honor of Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu*, Istanbul, 2021, p. 517–532.

69 al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şihâh-i Cevheri*, Vol. 1, f. [7v]; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 356.

case with the earlier Hebrew, Armenian, and Greek printing ventures on Ottoman soil, the printing of Orthodox texts in Montenegro and the Romanian Principalities in the late 15th and early 16th centuries and so on, as discussed above. Müteferrika's claim has not yet been confirmed by any official Ottoman document, but other sources may reveal that such projects were discussed, although the reasons for their failure were reported to be different. According to the account of Baron Joseph von Petrasch on the Müteferrika press and its output, published in 1747, "it is said in one or the other Turkish writings" that there were efforts to set up a printing press during the reign of Sultan Mehmed IV (1642–1693; r. 1648–1687). However, the idea failed because of the scribes and scholars who opposed it; not because "the law forbids such a thing", but because of a concern for the livelihood of the numerous scribes and the assumption that "the printed books would become much cheaper than the copied ones".⁷⁰

The earliest comments by Ottoman intellectuals on the art of printing also date from the 17th century. The famous traveler Evliya Çelebi (1611–1682/1684) tells us that the impressively rich book collection of Abdal Khan, the Kurdish governor of Bitlis, who fled in 1655 because of the Ottoman campaign against him, included "two hundred European printed books". Seeing the quality of their engravings, Evliya Çelebi exclaimed that "indeed, the art of printing belongs to the tricky Franks".⁷¹ Peçevi İbrahim Efendi (1574–1650), originally from Pécs in Hungary, gave a brief account of the development of European printing in his *History*, describing it as a "strange" (*acâ'ib*) but efficient art.⁷² However, Peçevi remained completely indifferent to any possible adoption of this technology by the Ottomans. The same is true for another famous 17th-century Ottoman author, Kâtib Çelebi (1609–1657). In his geographical work *Cihānnümā* (*Mirror of the World*), he also considered printing to be a "strange" art.⁷³ He pointed out that the ancient Chinese had printed their books by means of xylography, which proved to be a much more difficult

70 Österreichische Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Türkei V, 27, f. 301r; Petrasch, "Gelehrte Nachrichten", p. 438; Deréky, "Origo Typographiae Ottomannicae", p. 44.

71 R. Dankoff, *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname Edited with Translation, Commentary and Introduction*, Leiden/New York/Copenhagen/Cologne, 1990, p. 292–293; compare with S. A. Kahraman, Y. Dağlı (eds.), *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi [Evliya Çelebi's Travelogue in Present-day Turkish]*, Book 4, Vol. 1, Istanbul, 2010, p. 340.

72 Peçevi İbrahim Efendi, *Peçevi Tarihi [Peçevi's History]*, ed. B. S. Baykal, Vol. 1, Ankara, 1981, p. 82–83.

73 For the history of printing in China, see L. Chia, H. De Weerd (eds.), *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print: China, 900–1400*, Leiden/Boston, 2011.

way of reproducing books than European typesetting.⁷⁴ He also lamented the scarcity of maps in the Empire, stating that “as there is no printing in this country, it would be difficult to illustrate even a single page” (*bu diyârlarda bâşma isti'mâl olunmamağla bir şaḥîfesini bile resm emr-i 'asîrdir*).⁷⁵ Despite this complaint, Kâtib Çelebi remained indifferent to the adoption of printing.

Kâtib Çelebi's polemical work *Mizânü'l-ḥaḳḳ* (*The Balance of Truth*), completed in 1656 and consisting of essays on controversial issues related to the Islamic doctrine and practice, is also completely silent about printing, apparently because it was not a significant part of the Ottoman political agenda or intellectual pursuits of the time. The author (and apparently his contemporaries) was more concerned with the ignorance of rational sciences and the question of whether to drink coffee or not, for example.⁷⁶

On the other hand, as Nir Shafir's recent study shows, the production and circulation of manuscripts seems to have been sufficient to meet the educational and scholarly needs of the time. Moreover, many Muslims still relied not on reading but on memorization and oral learning.⁷⁷ Manuscripts were widely copied not only by professional copyists, but also by scholars and students of Islamic theology and law. In addition, the written word was available to the public through the extensive network of *waqf* libraries,⁷⁸ through auctions of books belonging to the deceased or degraded dignitaries, whose properties were confiscated by the treasury, and through the numerous booksellers who usually dealt in second-hand manuscripts.⁷⁹ Kâtib Çelebi's above-mentioned complaint, however, may have referred to the limited production of maps by hand, which could not satisfy the needs not

74 Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, p. 156; O. Ş. Gökyay, *Kâtib Çelebi'den Seçmeler* [Selections from Kâtib Çelebi], Istanbul, 1968, p. 124.

75 Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ*, p. 55; G. Hagen, R. Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography: Translation of Cihânnümâ by Kâtib Çelebi*, transl. F. Csirkés, J. Curry, Gary Leiser, Leiden/Boston, 2022, p. 73; see also Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 80; H. S. Selen, “Cihannümâ”, in *Kâtib Çelebi: Hayatı ve Eserleri Hakkında İncelemeler*, Ankara, 1991, p. 131; O. Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi ve İlk Basılan Eserler* [The Introduction of Printing in Turkey and the First Printed Works], Ankara, 1959, p. 30 (the author quotes Selen's publication but presents incorrectly Kâtib Çelebi's words as claiming that printing was forbidden).

76 See G. L. Lewis (ed., transl.), *The Balance of Truth by Kâtib Çelebi*, London, 1957; Ghaly, “The Interplay of Technology and Sacredness of Islam”, p. 4.

77 See N. Shafir, *The Order and Disorder of Communication: Pamphlets and Polemics in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire*, Stanford, 2024.

78 See İ. E. Erünsal, *A History of Ottoman Libraries*, Boston, 2022; İ. E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik* [Libraries and Librarianship among the Ottomans], Istanbul, 2015.

79 See İ. E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar* [Book Trade and Booksellers among the Ottomans], Istanbul, 2013.

only of scholars, but also of seafarers, military officers, and diplomats. According to Evliya Çelebi, there were eight cartographic workshops in mid-17th century Istanbul, providing work for a small guild of only fifteen mapmakers who knew several languages, including “Plato’s language” (Greek) and Latin. They were drawing portolans and other maps based on the *Mappa Mundi*, *Atlas Minor*, and *Geographia*, and sold them to seafarers.⁸⁰ In contrast to the duplication of identical texts that could vary in their graphic appearance according to the personal calligraphic skills of the scribes, but whose content remained unchanged, the duplication of visual materials such as maps required an exact imitation of the source, which was definitely a more complicated and difficult task than any text copying. In the case of mapmaking, printing offered a far more reliable and standardized method of duplication. Given this difference, the adoption of printing may not have been perceived as an option for the reproduction of all kinds of manuscripts but at least for the ones, including maps, whose duplication by hand was more difficult and possibly displayed deviations from the required standards. Therefore, it was perhaps no coincidence that İbrahim Müteferrika’s first attempts at printing were related to the production of maps and not to the reproduction of texts.

Although Kâtib Çelebi did not openly express his support for the introduction of printing, this idea may have been discussed during the reign of Sultan Mehmed IV, as Petrasch claims. Notably, during his reign, the influence of a conservative religious group known as the Kadızadeli, which had emerged in the 1630s, gained more influence through the presence of the Muslim preacher Vani Mehmed Efendi (d. 1685) in the Ottoman capital between 1663 and 1685. He had an enormous impact on Sultan Mehmed IV, and it was at his suggestion that the sultan banned the spiritual rituals of the Sufi orders, the veneration of tombs attributed to Muslim “saints”, and the operation of non-Muslim taverns that served alcohol.⁸¹ In this context, as Radu Dipratu has recently explained, it is hard to imagine that a non-Muslim invention like printing could be adopted in an environment dominated at the time by the Kadızadeli, who opposed any innovation in religious matters (*bid’a*).⁸² Walid Ghali also assumes that “certainly, Ulama, that is, Muslim learned men, ever wary of the possibility of religious innovation (i.e., *bid’a*), would have been deeply concerned about the introduction of printing”. He also notes that “more generally, there would

⁸⁰ Kahraman, Dağlı (eds.), *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Book 1, Vol. 2, Istanbul, 2008, p. 502–503.

⁸¹ S. Çavuşoğlu, “Kadızâdeliler”, in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 24, Istanbul, 2001, p. 102.

⁸² R. Dipratu, “Ottoman Endorsements of Printing in 18th-Century Istanbul”, in Dipratu, Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond*, p. 51.

have been the doubt which many pious Muslims would have felt about associating [printing] with *kufri*, with the products of non-Islamic civilization”.⁸³ However, the Muslim theologians understood *bid'a* in two ways: the conservative party rejected any kind of innovation, while the moderate party tolerated some innovations as being good, necessary, and praiseworthy.⁸⁴

Later, in the 18th-century, the Mujaddidiya branch (from *mujaddid*, meaning “one who brings renewal to the religion”) of the Naqshbandi Sufi order, known for its call for spiritual renovation by following the very roots of Islam, adopted the same conservative attitude as that of the 17th-century Kadızadeli regarding normative ethics and public morality. The Naqshbandi sheikh Muhammad Murad Buhari (d. 1720) was the first to support the idea of religious renovation in Istanbul. He later settled in Damascus, and his descendants, who took the family name al-Muradi, held important religious positions in 18th-century Damascus.⁸⁵ The Mujaddidiya’s influence on the central Ottoman government increased during the reign of Sultan Selim III (1761–1808; r. 1789–1807), who was under the strong influence of conservative religious figures such as Sheikh Mustafa Efendi, a follower of the al-Muradi family in Damascus, who shared the Mujaddidiya’s views.⁸⁶ In 1790, as a result of this influence, the sultan issued a series of edicts in which he ordered – based on Sharia law and Islamic normative ethics – that taverns be closed (because they served alcohol), brothels be discovered and their owners punished, public bathhouses of dubious reputation be investigated and emptied of “immoral beardless youths”, and prostitutes be expelled.⁸⁷

However, there are no known sources that prove that either the Kadızadeli or the Mujaddidiya opposed the introduction of printing among the Muslims. Moreover, Sultan Selim III, who was under the influence of the Mujaddidiya, was also a strong proponent of printing training books for the Ottoman army. It seems that, as the writings of Evliya Çelebi, Peçevi İbrahim Efendi, and Kâtib Çelebi attest, printing was not considered a “bad innovation”, but rather a harmless “strange” art. This moderate Ottoman attitude was actually in favor of printing as, at least, it did not close the door to its adoption. In other words, this novelty had to wait for better times before

⁸³ Ghali, “Print or not Print”, p. 3.

⁸⁴ See D. B. Macdonald, “Bid’a”, in M. Th. Houtsma, T. W. Arnold, R. Basset, et al. (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, Leiden/London, 1913, p. 712–713.

⁸⁵ H. A. R. Gibb, “Murādi”, in C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, B. Lewis, et al. (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition*, Vol. 7, Leiden/New York, 1993, p. 602–603.

⁸⁶ T. Artan, “Forms and Forums of Expression: Istanbul and Beyond, 1600–1800”, in C. Woodhead (ed.), *The Ottoman World*, London, 2011, p. 378–380, 391.

⁸⁷ See O. Sabev, “How to Manage the Unmanageable: Inconsistent Ottoman Strategies to Prevent Prostitution”, *Turkish Historical Review*, 12, 2021, 1, p. 34–35.

it was eventually accepted. The 17th-century Ottoman use of the adjective “strange” (*‘acā’ib*), with neutral rather than overtly negative or positive connotations, used instead of the noun “innovation” (*bid’a*) to define the art of printing, paved the way for its later adoption. Even as printing spread among the Ottoman ruling elite and the Muslim intellectual circles in the first half of the 18th century, the adjective “strange” continued to be its main definition. In his 1726 treatise on the means of printing, İbrahim Müteferrika described printing as a “strange art” (*şan’at-ı ğaribe*).⁸⁸ Some of the sixteen high-ranking Muslim religious officials who praised Müteferrika’s treatise also emphasized the “strangeness” and “wonder” of printing.⁸⁹ Echoing Müteferrika’s arguments, the *fermân* of 1727, issued by Sultan Ahmed III (1673–1736; r. 1703–1730) to allow Müteferrika and his associate Mehmed Said Efendi to print Arabic-type texts, referred to printing as a “strange” art.⁹⁰ Even later, in the introductory notes to the 1732 printed edition of Kâtib Çelebi’s *Cihānnümâ*, Müteferrika used the same phrase.⁹¹ Since, as a newcomer from Transylvania, he was quite accustomed to the art of printing, it can be assumed that he had used the adjective “strange” not to express his view of this art as being unusual, but to conform to the general Ottoman opinion on printing at the time.⁹²

1.3 An Encouraging Environment: The Tulip Age

Hüseyin Gazi Topdemir states that the introduction of Ottoman Turkish printing was completely due to the personal efforts of the founder of the first Ottoman Turkish press, İbrahim Müteferrika. Therefore, Topdemir maintains that the question of whether Ottoman Turkish printing was late is meaningless.⁹³ Indeed, as I noted in my previous book on Müteferrika, “the personal factor is quite important, because every invention has its inventor, and every adoption of an invention

88 al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şihâh-i Cevherî*, Vol. 1, f. [7v]; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basımcı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 357.

89 See R. Dipratu, “Blessings of the Printed Work”: Islamic Scholars (*Ulemâ*) and the Müteferrika Press in Early 18th-Century Istanbul”, in Iacubovschi, Noble, Feodorov (eds.), *Icons, Ornaments, and Other Charms of Christian Arabic Books*, p. 230, 232–233.

90 al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şihâh-i Cevherî*, Vol. 1, f. [2v]; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basımcı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 359; Dipratu, “Ottoman Endorsements of Printing”, p. 55–56.

91 Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihānnümâ*, f. [2v].

92 For the contextual analysis of the Ottoman attitude toward the Western “strange arts”, see O. Sabev, *Waiting for Muteferrika: Glimpses of Ottoman Print Culture*, Boston, 2018, p. 1–15.

93 See H. G. Topdemir, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Türk Matbaacılığı* [*İbrahim Müteferrika and Turkish Printing*], Ankara, 2002, p. 27–39.

has its agent”. However, “it is of equal importance whether such an agent enjoys a favorable milieu and sufficient support in his innovative efforts. The existence or lack of the latter would make these efforts achieve success or face failure”.⁹⁴

As the promotion of printing was closely linked to the socio-cultural developments in the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the 18th century, it is inevitable that the opening and legalization of the Müteferrika press should be discussed within the encouraging milieu of the Tulip Age (1718–1730). This was a period in Ottoman history that coincided with the grand vizierate of Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Pasha (1662–1730; in office 1718–1730). As Jale Baysal notes, the press was a product of the Tulip Age.⁹⁵ If it is necessary to describe this period metaphorically, it can be said that at that time the smell of tulips and of printing ink was more noticeable than the smell of gunpowder that had prevailed in previous decades.

Between 1683 and 1699, during the so-called Great Turkish War, the Ottomans fought unsuccessfully against the Habsburgs and Russia. Then the rule over Transylvania – the homeland of İbrahim Müteferrika – was also contested by the Prince of Upper Hungary Emeric (Imre) Thököly (1657–1705; r. 1682–1685), who was an Ottoman vassal. Thököly even became Prince of Transylvania for just a month or so in 1690.⁹⁶ After the war, the Ottoman Empire sought to improve its capabilities. The reign of Sultan Ahmed III (1703–1730) saw many initiatives and innovations, as well as political and military cooperation with some Western European countries. The Russo-Ottoman War of 1710–1711 was successful for the Ottomans, who regained control of the fortress of Azov, which they had lost in the Great Turkish War, but they lost another war against the Habsburgs and Venice in 1716–1718. During the war, in 1717, the sultan granted asylum to the Transylvanian prince Ferenc Rákóczi II (1676–1735; r. 1703–1711) and his entourage, who had failed in their war of independence against the Habsburgs, which lasted from 1703 to 1711.⁹⁷

94 Sabev, *Waiting for Müteferrika*, p. xviii.

95 Baysal, *Kitap ve Kütüphane Tarihine Giriş*, p. 71.

96 See I. Parvev, *Habsburgs and Ottomans between Vienna and Belgrade (1683–1739)*, New York, 1995.

97 See A. Refik, *Memâlik-i ‘Osmaniye’de Kral Rakoçi ve Tevâbi’ (1109–1154) [King Rákóczi and His Entourage in the Ottoman Dominions]*, Istanbul, 1333/1917; T. Gökbilgin, “II. Rákóczi Ferenc ve Tevâbiine Dair Yeni Vesikalar” [“New Documents on Ferenc Rákóczi II and His Entourage”], *Belleterin*, 5, 1941, 20, p. 577–595; T. Gökbilgin, “Rákóczi Ferenc II. ve Osmanlı Devleti Himayesinde Macar Mültecileri” [“Ferenc Rákóczi II and the Hungarian Refugees under the Protection of the Ottoman Empire”], in *Türk-Macar Kültür Münasebetleri Işığında II. Rákóczi Ferenc ve Macar Mültecileri Sempozyumu / Symposium on Rákóczi Ferenc II and the Hungarian Refugees in the Light of Turco-Hungarian Cultural Relations*, Istanbul, 1976, p. 1–17; B. Köpeczi, “II Ferenc Rákóczi”, in *Türk-Macar Kültür Münasebetleri Işığında II*, p. 18–37; I. G. Tóth (ed.), *Mil ans d’histoire hongroise: Histoire de la Hongrie de la Conquête jusqu’à nos jours*, Budapest, 2003, p. 253–256.

The situation changed drastically during the grand vizierate of Damad İbrahim Pasha. The Treaty of Passarowitz, signed with the Habsburgs and Venice in 1718, paved the way for the rapprochement between the Ottoman Empire and France. Jean Louis d'Usson Marquis de Bonnac (1672–1738), the French ambassador to Istanbul (in office 1716–1724), established close contacts with the grand vizier, and France now supported the Ottomans against the Habsburgs. In October 1720, Damad İbrahim Pasha sent an embassy to Paris – led by Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi (ca. 1670–1731) – with the task of establishing an alliance with France. Although the eleven-month-long embassy did not achieve the expected results, the Ottoman ambassador, together with his entourage, including his son Mehmed Said Efendi, the co-founder of the Mütferrika press, had the opportunity to become acquainted with the achievements of the French society, culture, and education. Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi described his ambassadorial mission in a report (*sefâret-nâme*), whose most discussed part is his visit to the opera-house. In his words, “there was a special place in Paris, called *opâre*, where strange arts (*‘acâyib san‘at-lar*) were performed”.⁹⁸ The Ottoman perception of European arts and crafts as “strange” – including, as noted above, printing – could be understood in terms of the opposing paradigms of the Western and the Eastern worlds, rather than in terms of religious differences. This is what could be inferred from the autobiography of Hanna Diyab (ca. 1688–1763), a Maronite Christian from Aleppo, who also describes the Ottoman ambassador’s visit to the opera-house and explains that this is “a place, where they produce strange, wondrous spectacles during the winter”.⁹⁹ Although not mentioned in the ambassadorial report, French sources reveal that a printing press was also visited.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ F. M. Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, New York/Oxford, 1987, p. 47; Ş. Rado (ed.), *Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi'nin Fransa Seyahatnamesi* [*Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi's Ambassadorial Report from France*], Istanbul, 1970, p. 51; H. Tuncer, “Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi'nin Fransa Sefaretnamesi” [“Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi's Ambassadorial Report from France (1132–1133/1720–1721)”], *Belleterin*, 51, 1987, 199, p. 141; see also S. Suner, “Of Messengers, Messages and Memoirs: Opera and the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Envoys and Their *Sefâretnâmes*”, in M. Hüttler, H. E. Weidinger (eds.), *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre*, Vol. 2: *The Time of Joseph Haydn. From Sultan Mahmud I to Mahmud II (r. 1730–1839)*, Vienna, 2014, p. 83–141; G. Veinstein, *Mehmed efendi – Le Paradis des infidèles: Relation de Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed efendi, ambassadeur ottoman en France sous la Régence*, Traduit de l'ottoman par Julien-Claude Galland, Paris, 1981.

⁹⁹ C. Stone (ed.), *The Man Who Wrote Aladdin: The Life and Times of Hannā Diyāb*, transl. P. Lunde, Edinburgh, 2020, p. 171.

¹⁰⁰ Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 386; B. A. Mistakidis, “Hükümet-i ‘Osmāniye Tarafından İlk Te’sis Olunan Maḥba’a ve Bunun Neşriyâtı” [“The First Printing Press Established by the Ottoman Government and Its Publications”], *Tārîḥ-i ‘Osmānî Encümenî Mecmû’ası*,

Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi brought from Paris drawings and plans of French palaces, and in the following years, the sultan, the grand vizier, and many members of the imperial court built palaces, mansions, and summer houses in Istanbul in European architectural style. In addition, European clothing and life-style were imitated and a new fashion called *alafranga* emerged. As an obvious result of the embassy, a process of Westernization of the aesthetic understanding and mentality of the upper classes of Ottoman society began.¹⁰¹

In parallel with the development of relations with France, Damad İbrahim Pasha sent another embassy to Iran, headed by Dürri Ahmed Efendi (d. 1722). The purpose of the embassy, which lasted from August 1720 to December 1721, was to conclude a trade treaty between the two countries. In 1722, Afghan tribes led by Mahmud Hotak (1697–1725) rebelled and overthrew the ruling Safavid dynasty (1501–1736) in Iran. The Ottomans reacted by conquering the fortresses and the surrounding areas of Revan (Yerevan), Tabriz, Ganja, and Tbilisi to prevent further Afghan invasions of the Ottoman lands. On June 24, 1724, with the mediation of France, a treaty was signed between the Ottoman Empire and Russia, dividing the Iranian territories between them.¹⁰² However, the Iranian noble Nader Shah (1698–1747; r. 1736–1747) fought against the Ottomans and defeated them in 1729 and 1730. Therefore, in the summer of 1730, the Ottoman state began to prepare for a new campaign and introduced new levies and custom taxes to cover the expenses. This new situation increased food prices, leading to public discontent and an uprising started in September 1730 by Patrona Halil (ca. 1690–1730), a former janissary and sailor in the Ottoman navy. The insurrection grew to such an extent that Sultan Ahmed III was deposed and replaced by Sultan Mahmud I (1696–1754; r. 1730–1754), while Damad İbrahim Pasha was executed at the insistence of the rebels and on the orders of Ahmed III. The new sultan abolished the controversial levies and custom taxes, and the uprising ended in 1731.¹⁰³ The war against Iran continued until 1736, when

5, 1326/1910, p. 327; İ. Sungu, “İlk Türk Matbaasına Dair Yeni Vesikalar” [“New Documents about the First Turkish Printing Press”], *Hayat*, 3, 1928, 73, p. 10; Rafikov, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции*, p. 81–82; B. Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, New York/London, 1982, p. 115; Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe*, p. 193–194; Ö. Gezer, “Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi'nin Fransa Elçiliği” [“Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi's Embassy to France”], *Bellefen*, 88, 2024, 311, p. 173.

101 See Göçek, *East Encounters West*.

102 See M. Aktepe, *1720–1724 Osmanlı–İran Münâsebetleri ve Silâhşor Kemânî Mustafa Ağa'nın Revân Fetih-Nâmesi* [Ottoman–Iranian Relations in 1720–1724 and Silâhşor Kemani Mustafa Agha's Yerevan Fetih-Nâme], Istanbul, 1970, p. 1–34.

103 See M. Aktepe, *Patrona İsyanı (1730)* [The Patrona Rebellion (1730)], Istanbul, 1958; R. W. Olson, “The Esnaf and the Patrona Halil Rebellion of 1730: A Realignment in Ottoman Politics?,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 17, 1974, 3, p. 329–344.

a treaty was signed with Nader Shah, recognizing the Ottoman-Iranian border line established in 1722.

During the grand vizierate of Damad İbrahim Pasha, the passion for tulips among the Ottoman ruling elite increased so much that later historians called this period the Tulip Age. Many Ottoman statesmen, such as the grand vizier himself, Grand Mufti Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi (d. 1743; in office 1718–1730), and many others possessed tulip gardens, and some even developed new varieties of tulips.¹⁰⁴ The trade in flowers, particularly tulips, became so widespread that in order to protect the interests of florists, a *fermân* issued in 1140/1727 set a ceiling price (*narh*) for the different varieties of tulip bulbs.¹⁰⁵ The tulip, which had previously been used as an ornamental element, became a dominant motif in the interior decoration of mosques and palaces. Floral motifs also replaced the traditional geometric shapes in book illumination. Many poets praised the flowers, and the tulip in particular. However, the Patrona Halil rebellion of September 1730 put an end to the Tulip Age. Ironically, according to Ahmed III's private secretary and keeper of the imperial seal, Abdi, the grand vizier's chief steward was still planting tulips in his garden on the day the rebellion began.¹⁰⁶

Despite the tragic death of Damad İbrahim Pasha, his grand vizierate was a success story. In the beginning of 1721, he managed to close the traditional deficit in the state budget by tightly controlling the expenses. From the 1720s to the 1760s, the Ottoman budget was relatively balanced and even enjoyed surpluses in some years. The value of the new Ottoman currency, the piaster (*guruş*), decreased only slightly, symbolizing the stability of the Ottoman financial system during these years, in contrast to the high levels of inflation seen in the preceding 17th and the following 19th century.¹⁰⁷ This stability was also evident in the development of various economic sectors such as weaving, mining, and agriculture.¹⁰⁸ For the first time,

104 M. Aktepe, “Damad İbrahim Paşa Devrinde Lâle” [“The Tulip in the Age of Damad İbrahim Pasha”], *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, 4, 1952, 7, p. 90.

105 Refik, *Hicrî Onikinci Asır'da İstanbul Hayatı*, p. 94–95; Aktepe, “Damad İbrahim Paşa Devrinde Lâle”, p. 91–92.

106 F. R. Unat (ed.), *Abdi Tarihi (1730 Patrona İhtilâli Hakkında Bir Eser)* [*Abdi's History (A Work on the 1730 Patrona Rebellion)*], Ankara, 1943, p. 29–30.

107 See Ş. Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge, 2000, p. 159–171; Ş. Pamuk, “The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1870”, in S. Broadberry, K. Fukao (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of the Modern World*, Cambridge, 2021, p. 169–192.

108 See M. Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi* [*State and Economy in the Ottoman Empire*], İstanbul, 2002, p. 211–292.

a firefighting service was established in Istanbul in 1720.¹⁰⁹ Due to the relatively sustainable development of its economy, the Ottoman Empire was somewhat successful in the 1736–1739 war against the Habsburgs and Russia, reclaiming certain territories that were lost in previous wars.¹¹⁰

All the political developments described above affected the life of İbrahim Müteferrika, as well as his printing activities. The Ottomans, exposed to the maelstrom of successful and unsuccessful wars, developed a feeling of dissatisfaction with the growing dominance of European forces. The Ottomans realized that they were being defeated more often than in the past and that they had to find a way out of this unfavorable situation. This led to a change in the Ottomans' attitude towards Western civilization. As mentioned above, the Ottoman elite tried to adjust to the new reality and get to know, and even adopt, although selectively, some Western achievements. However, they did not immediately and fully influence the traditional Ottoman Muslim culture; these achievements were adapted rather than simply adopted.¹¹¹ In Fatma Müge Göçek's words, this adaptation led to a "cultural dichotomy",¹¹² or, according to Rifaat Ali Abou-el-Haj to a "cultural symbiosis".¹¹³ In such a cultural environment, which was much more open to the Western counterpart than in previous periods, the Ottoman elite, or at least part of it, tended to

109 For the Tulip Age see Aktepe, "Damad İbrahim Paşa Devrinde Lâle"; W. Heinz, "Die Kultur der Tulpenzeit des Osmanischen Reiches", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 61, 1967, p. 62–116; M. Aktepe, "İbrahim Pasha Nevşehirli", in B. Lewis, V. L. Ménage, Ch. Pellat, et al. (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Vol. 3, Leiden, 1971, p. 1002; A. Ö. Evin, "The Tulip Age and Definitions of 'Westernization'", in O. Okyar, H. İnalçık (eds.), *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071–1920) / Social and Economic History of Turkey (1071–1920)*, Ankara, 1980, p. 131–145; Göçek, *East Encounters West*, p. 72–81; M. Karagöz, "Osmanlı Devletinde İslahat Hareketleri ve Batı Medeniyetine Giriş Gayretleri (1700–1839)" ["Reform Movements in the Ottoman State and Efforts to Enter Western Civilization (1700–1839)"], *OTAM: Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, 6, 1995, p. 174–194; M. C. Zilfi, "Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730", in A. el-Azhary Sonbol (ed.), *Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws in Islamic History*, Syracuse, NY, 1996, p. 290–303; N. Sakaoğlu, "Lale Devri'ne Genel Bir Bakış" ["A General Overview of the Tulip Age"], in M. Armağan (ed.), *İstanbul Armağanı, 4. Lâle Devri*, Istanbul, 2000, p. 17–24; A. R. Altınay, *Lâle Devri [The Tulip Age]*, Istanbul, 2014.

110 See L. Cassels, *The Struggle for the Ottoman Empire, 1717–1740*, London, 1966; M. L. Shay, *The Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1744 as Revealed in Dispatches of the Venetian Baili*, Westport, 1978; Parvev, *Habsburgs and Ottomans*.

111 See A. U. Peker, "Western Influences on the Ottoman Empire and Occidentalism in the Architecture of Istanbul", *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 26, 2002, 3, p. 139–163.

112 Göçek, *East Encounters West*, p. 81.

113 R. A. Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, Albany, 1991, p. 67.

benefit from certain technologies of the West and encouraged the establishment of a printing press to print books for its own needs.

This encouraging environment would have remained meaningless if motivated printing entrepreneurs had been missing. The founders of the press, İbrahim Müteferrika and Mehmed Said Efendi, were not only enthusiastic about printing books in the Turkish language in Arabic type, but they were also eager enough to overcome the obstacles and objections they faced while bringing into effect the printing project. Their origin, social background, personality, and intellectual pursuits seem to have been an important part of the bigger picture.

1.4 The Founders of the Press

1.4.1 İbrahim Müteferrika

İbrahim Müteferrika was born to a Hungarian Protestant family in the 1670s in Cluj, the capital of Transylvania. Later, presumably during the 1683–1699 war between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs, under unknown circumstances, he became an Ottoman subject and converted to Islam. Contemporary European sources claim that İbrahim Müteferrika was originally Socinian (i.e., Unitarian, or Anti-Trinitarian) by denomination. On July 31, 1727, the *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen* reported the opening of the Müteferrika press, stating the following:

Constantinople: It is not yet known when the plan to establish a printing press in the city would be put into practice. It is known with certainty, however, that one of the two founders is a disgraced monk, a Socinian from Transylvania, who has become a Turk. The other chief is Said,¹¹⁴ son of Mehmed Efendi, the former ambassador to the French court.¹¹⁵

The 1735 *postmortem* addendum to Imhof's historical work *Neu-eröffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal* also describes Müteferrika as “an apostate Socinian, a Jacobin from Transylvania”.¹¹⁶ One can find the same information in Kundmann's *Rariora naturae et artis*, published in 1737.¹¹⁷ However, one must keep in mind that the authors of these writings did not presumably know İbrahim Müteferrika in person. The claim that he was a “Jacobian” may refer to the 17th-century Jacobites in Britain, who also had an anti-Catholic rhetoric, or to the Eastern Orthodox

¹¹⁴ Mentioned as “Zaide Aga”.

¹¹⁵ *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen*, 61, July 31, 1727, p. 609.

¹¹⁶ Imhof, *Neu-eröffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal*, p. 834–835.

¹¹⁷ Kundmann, *Rariora naturae et artis*, col. 712; compare with Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 11.

Churches. In his 1710 *Treatise on Islam*, Müteferrika mentions them along other anti-Catholic denominations like the Nestorians, Calvinists, Lutherans, Unitarians, Socinians, and Anabaptists. Jan Just Witkam suggests that “Jacobin” may have been Müteferrika’s birth name before his conversion to Islam and the adoption of the Muslim name İbrahim.¹¹⁸ Long before Witkam, Niyazi Berkes assumed that Abraham was Müteferrika’s pre-Muslim name.¹¹⁹ However, Müteferrika’s birth name remains unknown.

Kundmann shares also what he was told by Johann Friedrich Bachstrom, who met the founders of the press during his stay in Istanbul in 1729. As he had personal experience in printing between 1719 and 1724, Bachstrom was particularly curious about the Müteferrika press and even provided some help in its operation.¹²⁰ He rejected the rumors claiming that İbrahim Müteferrika was an “apostate monk” or “a Socinian from Transylvania” and insisted that he was just “a Hungarian renegade”.¹²¹ Bachstrom’s claim might be only partly correct. As the Unitarian Church adopted the Socinian doctrine of the Polish Reformed Church, because many Socinian Poles took refuge in Transylvania,¹²² what Bachstrom may have had in mind was the fact that Müteferrika was of Hungarian, not Polish, or, in his interpretation, Socinian origin.

In his 1710 *Treatise on Islam*, İbrahim Müteferrika reports that he was born in Kolozsvár (Cluj) and studied in a Christian theological college to become a Protestant minister.¹²³ In the same treatise, Müteferrika claims to have gained insight into Muhammad’s prophethood while in Cluj.¹²⁴ Based on this, Niyazi Berkes concludes that Müteferrika was a Unitarian. According to Berkes, although the treatise condemns the Catholic Church and claims that it will be defeated by Islam, it seems

118 J. J. Witkam, review of Orlin Sabev, *Waiting for Müteferrika: Glimpses of Ottoman Print Culture*, Boston, 2018, in *Quaerendo*, 49, 2019, p. 188.

119 N. Berkes, “104 Sayılı *Belleten*’de Çıkan ‘İlk Türk Matbaası Kurucusunun Dinî ve Fikrî Kimliği’ Adlı Yazı İçin Bir Not” [“A Note on the Article Titled ‘Religious and Intellectual Identity of the Founder of the First Turkish Printing House’ in *Belleten*, no. 104”], *Belleten*, 28, 1964, 109, p. 183.

120 Küçük, *Early Enlightenment in Istanbul*, p. 176–177.

121 Kundmann, *Rariora naturae et artis*, col. 713.

122 See E. M. Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*, Vol. 2, Boston, 1952, p. 121–122; I. Feodorov, *Dimitrie Cantemir, Salvation of the Sage and Ruin of the Sinful World*, Leiden, 2016, p. 23–24.

123 See Necatioğlu, *Matbaacı İbrâhîm-i Müteferrika*, p. 55–56.

124 Necatioğlu, *Matbaacı İbrâhîm-i Müteferrika*, p. 13–14, 57–58; M. Yıldız, “İbrahim Müteferrika’nın *Beşairü’n-Nübüvve*’ye Dair Tespit ve Görüşleri” [“İbrahim Müteferrika’s Observations and Opinions on *Beşairü’n-Nübüvve*”], *Türk-İslam Medeniyeti Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 7, 2012, 14, p. 79–100.

that it was written first and foremost to suggest a direct link between Müteferrika's pre-Ottoman religious identity and his conversion to Islam.¹²⁵

Baki Tezcan's in-depth study of the *Treatise on Islam* shows that Müteferrika does not mention at all that his pre-Ottoman belief was directly linked to Unitarianism. Tezcan states that Müteferrika's main preoccupation was to prove that Muhammad's prophethood was predicted in the Bible, rather than to become involved in theological disputes involving Catholicism, Calvinism, and Unitarianism.¹²⁶ According to Tezcan, the year of composition of this treatise, 1710, was not accidental, because Müteferrika aimed to "boost the morale of the Ottomans" after the Great Turkish War, which they had lost to the Habsburgs and Russia. His treatise could be seen "as war propaganda to strengthen the case made to go to war against Russia" again, which broke out the same year and ended in 1711 with the so-called Pruth River Campaign.¹²⁷ Margareta Aslan argues that the careful textual analysis of this treatise leads to the conclusion that Müteferrika studied at the Calvinist College in Cluj and was most likely Calvinist by denomination. She considers later claims that Müteferrika belonged to the Unitarians, Socinians, or some other denomination as a possible result of social exclusion and defamation through false religious affiliation due to his apostasy. Unlike Tezcan, however, she tends to see the treatise as Müteferrika's plea to the Ottoman sultan to effectively support the Transylvanian war of independence against the Habsburgs, led by Ferenc Rákóczi II from 1703 to 1711.¹²⁸ Nándor Erik Kovács similarly argues that Müteferrika "gives his treatise a special political-propagandistic character by focusing exclusively on prophetic passages".¹²⁹ Tezcan

125 See N. Berkes, "İlk Türk Matbaası Kurucusunun Dini ve Fikri Kimliği" ["The Religious and Intellectual Identity of the Founder of the First Turkish Printing House"], *Belleken*, 26, 1962, 104, p. 715–737; N. Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, Montreal, 1964, p. 36–39; N. Berkes, "İbrahim Müteferrika", in B. Lewis, V. L. Ménage, C. Pellat, et al. (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Vol. 3, Leiden, 1971, p. 996–998.

126 Tezcan, "İbrâhîm Müteferrika ve *Risâle-i İslâmîyye*", p. 515–545.

127 B. Tezcan, "Secularist Anxieties Meet Evangelical Ones in Modern Turkish Historiography: İbrahim Müteferrika and the *Risale-i İslamiye*", in S. Atamaz, O. İnal, A. Schweig (eds.), *Transforming Empire: The Ottomans from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean: Essays in Honor of Linda Darling*, Leiden, 2024, p. 50–51.

128 M. Aslan, "Education and Religious Affiliation of the Young İbrahim Müteferrika", in M. Aslan (ed.), *İbrahim Muteferrika: A Young Man from Cluj in the Sublime Porte's Administration Structure*, Cluj-Napoca, 2024, p. 71–113; M. Aslan, "İbrahim Müteferrika ve Kızıl Elma Politikası", paper presented at the *5th International Conference on İbrahim Müteferrika*, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, February 26–27, 2025.

129 N. E. Kovács, "Eschatology as an Instrument of the Ottoman Imperial Propaganda in the Early 18th Century: Some Remarks on the Treatise of İbrahim Müteferrika", in P. Fodor, N. E. Kovács,

also touches upon the above-mentioned German newspaper *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen*'s issue of July 31, 1727, which claims that Müteferrika was formerly Socinian. Tezcan states that besides such claims there were also others describing Müteferrika as a Franciscan friar, a Calvinist minister, or simply “a renegade monk”. Tezcan assumes that these discrepancies “might be the result of İbrahim Efendi's own choice – perhaps he told his interlocutors what they would like to hear”.¹³⁰ Some Hungarian scholars maintain that Müteferrika could have belonged to neither the Calvinist, nor the Unitarian, but the Sabbatarian denomination, which also had Transylvanian roots and held Unitarian and Judaizing beliefs. As Sabbatarianism was mostly popular among those of Szekler ethnicity, this also made some of Müteferrika's contemporaries, and later scholars, think that he was either a Jew¹³¹ or a Szekler.¹³²

İbrahim Müteferrika talked about his past in Transylvania only in the *Treatise on Islam*. For the time being, no contemporary source about his pre-Ottoman life has been found. The only source providing biographical data is a letter written by César de Saussure on February 21, 1732. It claims that Müteferrika was

A young Hungarian aged 18–20, who was studying to become a Calvinist priest one day, but by an unfortunate coincidence was enslaved by the Turks in 1692 or 1693, during the Thököly War. He lived for a long time rather unhappily in the house of a hard-hearted and cruel master and being no longer able to bear his slave status, became a Muslim. İbrahim, for this is the name he received, was clever and able; he spent many years in learning the language and law of the Turks, [making] great progress and becoming a capable effendi. He had the good fortune to know Grand Vizier İbrahim Pasha, who was killed during the 1730 uprising that brought Mahmud I to the throne. This vizier used İbrahim Efendi with success in various affairs. [İbrahim] soon showed before the vizier his great and versatile talents and expressed a desire to acquaint the Turks with the arts and sciences. For this purpose, he proposed to establish a printing press in Constantinople [...].¹³³

B. Péri (eds.), *Şerefe: Studies in Honour of Prof. Géza Dávid on His Seventieth Birthday*, Budapest, 2019, p. 488.

130 Tezcan, “İbrâhîm Müteferrika ve *Risâle-i İslâmiyye*”, p. 546–548; Tezcan, “Secularist Anxieties Meet Evangelical Ones”, p. 63–65; compare with J. Haddad, “People Before Print: *Gens de Lettres*, the Ottoman Printing Press, and the Search for Turkish Literature”, *Mediterranean Studies*, 2, 2017, p. 209.

131 See J. J. Horváth, “İbrahim Müteferrika Magyarországon”, *Török Füzetek*, 1, 2003, p. 11–12, and 2, 2003, p. 11–12.

132 See Z. Barbarics-Hermanik, “İbrahim Müteferrika als transkultureller Vermittler im Osmanischen Reich”, in A. Strohmeyer, N. Spannenberg (eds.), *Frieden und Konfliktmanagement in interkulturellen Räumen: Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Stuttgart, 2013, p. 283–308.

133 Thály (ed.), *Lettres de Turquie*, p. 93–94.

In a 1910 publication, the Hungarian Catholic priest Imre Karácson was the first to draw scholarly attention to Saussure's letter. However, Karácson overinterpreted it by claiming that Müteferrika was born in Cluj in 1674 to a poor Hungarian family belonging to the Calvinist Church; then, during Thököly's anti-Habsburg revolt in the 1690s, he was captured and enslaved by Turkish soldiers who hoped to obtain a ransom in exchange for his release; however, having not been ransomed, Müteferrika converted to Islam and took the name İbrahim; then he learned the Turkish language and studied Islamic sciences, and later wrote the so-called *Treatise on Islam* in defense of his newly adopted faith.¹³⁴

It was again Niyazi Berkes who criticized Karácson's overestimation and insisted – considering the way Müteferrika supported Muhammad's prophethood in his *Treatise on Islam* – that Müteferrika might have converted to Islam by free will.¹³⁵ However, given the fact that this treatise was composed only in 1710, i.e., some twenty years after Müteferrika's either being forced or deciding on his own freewill to become an Ottoman subject and a Muslim, one may reasonably raise the question whether he tried to present his fate in a more plausible light in order to please his new milieu in Istanbul.

According to Coşkun Yılmaz, based on the language and style of the treatise, it can be estimated that by 1710, Müteferrika had indeed learned the Turkish language and knew Islamic culture quite well.¹³⁶ Afterwards, he entered the imperial court by performing various services. According to a petition he submitted in May 1715 as a servant in the court cavalry (*kapıkulu sipāhisi*), he applied for an increased salary because he spoke several languages and had translated into Turkish some “foreign” books on astronomy (*nücüm*).¹³⁷ A year later, in April 1716, he was appointed one of the court *müteferrika*s,¹³⁸ high-ranking imperial stewards, who were assigned with different tasks.¹³⁹ For this reason,

¹³⁴ Karácson, “İbrâhim Müteferrika”, p. 178–180.

¹³⁵ See Berkes, “İlk Türk Matbaası Kurucusunun Dinî ve Fikri Kimliği”; Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, p. 36–39; Berkes, “İbrahim Müteferrika”, p. 996–998.

¹³⁶ C. Yılmaz, “Hezarfen Bir Şahsiyet: İbrahim Müteferrika ve Siyaset Felsefesi” [“A Learned Person: İbrahim Müteferrika and His Political Philosophy”], in Armağan (ed.), *İstanbul Armağanı, 4. Lâle Devri*, p. 266–267.

¹³⁷ See E. Afyoncu, “İbrahim Müteferrika Hakkında Önemli Bir Vesika” [“An Important Document about İbrahim Müteferrika”], *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 28, 2013, p. 51–56.

¹³⁸ E. Afyoncu, “İbrâhim Müteferrika”, in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 21, Istanbul, 2000, p. 324–325; E. Afyoncu, “İlk Türk Matbaasının Kurucusu Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler” [“New Information about the Founder of the First Turkish Printing House”], *Belleten*, 55, 2001, 243, p. 609–611.

¹³⁹ See J. Kramers, “Mutafarrika”, in *Enzyklopaedie des Islâm*, Leiden/Leipzig, Vol. 3, 1936, p. 840; M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* [Glossary of Ottoman Historical Idioms

İbrahim became known under the nickname “Müteferrika”. In the colophon of the books he printed, he usually introduced himself as “[one] of the *müteferrikas* at the imperial court, who is in charge of printing [books] at the flourishing printing press in the pleasant city of Constantinople” (*İbrâhîm min müteferrikan-ı dergâh-ı ‘âlî el-me’mûr bi-‘amelü’-t-tab’ be-dârü’-t-ıbbâ’ati’l-ma’mûre fî beldetü’-t-ıyyibeti’l-Koştantiniye*).

As a court steward, İbrahim Müteferrika was mostly assigned to diplomatic missions.¹⁴⁰ In 1716, he was appointed an aide to the Hungarian military commanders who defended the Ottoman fortresses along the Danube.¹⁴¹ The next year, he became an aide of the Transylvanian prince Ferenc Rákóczi II and his entourage, who received asylum on Ottoman soil.¹⁴² According to many Ottoman sources, after Ferenc’s death in 1735, Müteferrika continued this duty for Ferenc’s son, Jozsef Rákóczi (1700–1738), until his death in 1738, and after that – until 1740 – he served the Hungarian generals who were in the prince’s entourage.¹⁴³ Meanwhile, in 1737, he was sent to Założce (now Zalitzsi, Ukraine) to renew the treaty between the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.¹⁴⁴

and Terms], Vol. 2, Istanbul, 1951, p. 637–638; T. Gökbilgin, “Müteferrika”, in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 8, Istanbul, 1960, p. 853–856; G. Bayerle, *Pashas, Begg, and Effendis: A Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul, 1997, p. 116–117.

140 See F. Tóth, “İbrahim Müteferrika, un diplomate ottoman”, *Revue d’histoire diplomatique*, 3, 2012, p. 283–314.

141 Karácson, “Müteferrika İbrâhîm”, p. 147; NLS, OCD, OAK 49/14-a; OAK 24/28; D 215; B. Nedkov, *Османотурска дипломатика и палеография [Ottoman Turkish Diplomats and Paleography]*, Vol. 2, Sofia, 1972, p. 157–159, 309.

142 BOA, A.AMD, 3/100; AE.SAMD.III, 18/1791; AE.SAMD.III, 144/13965; AE.SAMD.III, 150/14755; AE.SAMD.III, 177/17191; C.HR, 164/8154 (doc. 2); C.HR, 173/8642; İE.HR, 8/837; İE.HR, 9/919 (doc. 3); İE.HR, 14/1419; İE.HR, 14/1428; NLS, OCD, OAK 3/9, OAK 3/83, OAK 28/13, OAK 49/21, OAK 49/25, Fund 104, a. u. 46, Fund 104A, a. u. 38, 131, 194, 200, 291, 309, 534, 535, 547, 644; Gökbilgin, “Rákóczi Ferenc II. ve Osmanlı Devleti Himayesinde Macar Mültecileri”, p. 9–14; Karácson, “Müteferrika İbrâhîm”, p. 147; O. Sabeve, “İbrahim Müteferrika ve Tekirdağ’da İkamet Eden Macar Mültecileri (1720–1740)” [“İbrahim Müteferrika and the Hungarian Refugees Who Stayed in Tekirdağ (1720–1740)”], in M. Yıldız (ed.), *Rodosto’dan Süleymanpaşa’ya Tekirdağ Uluslararası Tekirdağ Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildirileri 26–27 Mart 2015*, Istanbul, 2016, p. 411–428.

143 BOA, C.HR, 106/5256 (doc. 2); C.HR, 126/6260; C.HR, 139/6927; C.HR, 143/7107; C.HR, 152/7560; C.HR, 158/7864; C.HR, 159/7911; C.HR, 173/8649 (doc. 2); C.HR, 180/8956; Sabeve, “İbrahim Müteferrika ve Tekirdağ’da İkamet Eden Macar Mültecileri”.

144 BOA, HAT, 2/56; for detailed information about the report written by Müteferrika regarding this embassy, see E. Afyoncu, A. Önal, “İbrahim Müteferrika’nın Lehistan Elçiliği ve Bilinmeyen Sefaretnâmesi” [“İbrahim Müteferrika’s Embassy to Poland and His Unknown Ambassadorial Report”], *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 48, 2016, p. 105–142.

Together with this mission,¹⁴⁵ the French ambassador to Istanbul Marquis de Villeneuve mentioned other duties performed by Müteferrika. A letter dated May 6, 1737, mentions Alexander Ghica, dragoman of the Sublime Porte (in office 1727–1740), whose duties Müteferrika performed for the grand vizier during his absence.¹⁴⁶ According to Villeneuve, in August 1737, during the Ottoman-Habsburg War of 1736–1739, Müteferrika, “who currently serves as dragoman of the Porte”, was charged to translate into Hungarian and Latin a Turkish manifesto that the Porte drew up to urge the Hungarians to escape the obedience of the Habsburg Emperor and place themselves under the sultan’s protection.¹⁴⁷ Then, he played an important role in planning the 1738 campaign headed by Jozsef Rákóczi, who was proclaimed by the Ottomans Prince of Transylvania and Duke of Hungary, and whose aim was to liberate Transylvania from the Habsburgs.¹⁴⁸ As Jozsef Rákóczi died on November 10, 1738,¹⁴⁹ the envisaged campaign failed.

İbrahim Müteferrika also participated in the process of establishing an alliance between the Ottomans and France, on the one hand, and between the Ottomans and Sweden, on the other, during the war. In 1738, he was appointed a secretary (*kātib*) of the cannon charioteers (*top arābacı*) and negotiated with Habsburg representatives for the surrender of the Danube fortress of Orşova (now in Romania) to the Ottomans.¹⁵⁰ In 1741, when he published the fourteenth book of his printing press and asked the sultan to set a selling price for it, he was still at this post.¹⁵¹ In 1743, Müteferrika took part in the negotiations for the settlement of an Ottoman-Swedish alliance against Russia, and at the end of the same year he was sent to Dagestan in relation with the appointment of a new khan to one of the principalities

145 Kunalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 4, p. 191.

146 Kunalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 4, p. 234.

147 Kunalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 4, p. 295.

148 See F. Tóth, “İbrahim Müteferrika, egy oszmán diplomata a magyar függetlenség szolgálatában az 1730-as évek végén”, *Magyar Tudomány*, 1, 2011, p. 38–47; Refik, *Memâlik-i ‘Osmâniye’de Krâl Râkoçi ve Tevâbi’*, p. 7–9, 49–57; L. Cassels, *The Struggle for the Ottoman Empire, 1717–1740*, London, 1966, p. 139.

149 K. Mikes, *Osmanlı’da Bir Macar Konuk Prens Rakoczi ve Mikes’in Türkiye Mektupları* [A Hungarian Prince Who Stayed in the Ottoman Empire, Rákóczi, and Mikes’s Turkish Letters], transl. E. Tasnadi, ed. F. Turna, Istanbul, 1999, p. 236; NLS, OCD, R 7, f. 10v–11v.

150 Afyoncu, “İbrâhîm Müteferrika”, p. 324–327; U. Demir, “Claude-Aleksandre Comte De Bonneval”, in M. Haniççe, Y. E. Tekinsoy (eds.), *Osmanlı Devleti Hizmetindeki Yabancılar*, Istanbul, 2020, p. 255.

151 BOA, A.DVNS.MHM.d, 147, p. 466 (doc. 1624); Refik, *Hicrî Onikinci Asır’da İstanbul Hayatı*, p. 152–153; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 364–365.

of the Caucasus.¹⁵² However, according to Kemal Beydilli, the information about this mission should be considered with caution, since it is possible that another person with the same name was assigned with this task.¹⁵³ In 1744–1746, Müteferrika collaborated with Claude Alexandre Comte de Bonneval (1675–1747), a French renegade working for the Ottoman court under the Muslim name of Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha, in his unsuccessful efforts to form anti-Habsburg and anti-Russian alliances with Prussia and France.¹⁵⁴

After his presumed mission to Dagestan, Müteferrika served as an annalist (*tārîhçi*) in the Imperial Council (*Divân-ı Hümâyün*) until 1745. Meanwhile, in 1744, he initiated the establishment of a paper mill in Yalova, not far from Istanbul, and in 1745 became its manager (*emîn*). This mill, initially run by three Polish paper manufacture masters, operated for only a decade or so.¹⁵⁵ Its management turned out to be Müteferrika's last office because he died in late January 1747.¹⁵⁶

İbrahim Müteferrika's assets inventory, recorded on April 1, 1747, reveals that he resided – together with his wife Hadice Hatun ibnet-i Abdullah and his under-age¹⁵⁷ daughter Ayşe – in the Mismari Şüca neighborhood in Istanbul, near the Sultan

152 T. H. Kun, “İbrâhim Müteferrika”, in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 5, Part 2, Istanbul, 1965, p. 897; Berkes, “İbrahim Müteferrika”, p. 997.

153 Beydilli, “Müteferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası”, p. 46.

154 See Demir, “Claude-Aleksandre Comte De Bonneval”, p. 271–278.

155 BOA, A.AMD, 5/42; C.İKTS, 11/532; C.İKTS, 21/1018; C.İKTS, 27/1311; C.İKTS, 36/1771; C.NF, 32/1560; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 366–369; Afyoncu, “İlk Türk Matbaasının Kurucusu Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler”, p. 615; Afyoncu, “İbrâhim Müteferrika”, p. 325; Nedkov, *Османотурска дипломатика и палеография*, Vol. 1, Sofia, 1966, p. 87; Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler*, p. 189–190; A. N. Galitekin, *İbrahim Müteferrika Eserlerinden Yalova Kağıthanesi [The Yalova Paper Mill Founded by İbrahim Müteferrika]*, Istanbul, 2013; A. Vural, E. N. Irmak (eds.), *İbrahim Müteferrika Kağıt Müzesi: Medeniyet Hamuru; Kağıt ve Bir Eski Dönem Kağıthanemiz: Kağıthane-i Yalakabad [İbrahim Müteferrika Paper Museum: Pulp of Civilization; The Paper and a Paper Mill of Our Past: Kağıthane-i Yalakabad]*, Yalova, 2013.

156 İMŞS, Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi, 98, f. 39r; BOA, A.DVNS.MHM.d, 152, p. 384–385 (doc. 1566), p. 394 (doc. 1601); Refik, *Hicrî Onikinci Asır'da İstanbul Hayatı*, p. 168; A. Refik, *Osmanlı Alimleri ve Sanatkarları [Ottoman Scholars and Artists]*, Istanbul, 1999, p. 244; E. Afyoncu, “İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Yeni Yayınlanan Terekesi ve Ölüm Tarihi Üzerine” [“On the Newly Published Assets Inventory of İbrahim Müteferrika and the Date of His Death”], *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 15, 2004, p. 349–362; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 370–371; Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 38, 44.

157 According to Ottoman rules, girls reached puberty at the age of 12; see G. Dávid, “The Age of Unmarried Male Children in the *Tahrir-Defters* (Notes on the Coefficient)”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 31, 1977, 3, p. 347–357.

Selim Mosque.¹⁵⁸ According to Hammer¹⁵⁹ and Babinger,¹⁶⁰ Müteferrika also had a son, called İbrahim Junior (Jungen Ibrahim), who continued his father's printing business. According to the inventory, however, İbrahim Junior inherited nothing, not even the printing equipment. Kemal Beydilli assumes that Müteferrika's son was born from another marriage to a woman who was no longer alive when the inventory was prepared.¹⁶¹ Some sources show that Müteferrika did indeed have another wife named Zeyneb.¹⁶² James Porter (1710–1776), the British ambassador to the Sublime Porte between 1747 and 1762, reported in the *Philosophical Transactions* on February 1, 1755, that İbrahim Junior was Müteferrika's adopted son. Porter says that “the adoptive son of this Ibrahim Effendi, who bears the same name, is secretary under the interpreter of the Porte” and is unable to find funds to print new books, although “he has all the materials for printing”.¹⁶³ Regarding Porter's account, as well as some other sources, Beydilli suggests that İbrahim Junior could be identified with Kadi İbrahim Efendi, son of Ali (d. 1777).¹⁶⁴ The latter was appointed as a supervisor (*nāzir-i muhtār*) of the procedure of recording Müteferrika's assets.¹⁶⁵ He also purchased the printing equipment from Müteferrika's wife Hadice.¹⁶⁶ In the first volume of his *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman* published in 1787, Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740–1807) claims that “under Osman III, the ministry granted the privilege of printing to Kutschuk [Junior] Ibrahim, an apprentice of Basmadij [Printer] Ibrahim”.¹⁶⁷ Therefore, some scholars assume that Kadi İbrahim Efendi was an apprentice at the printing press and probably Müteferrika's son-in-law.¹⁶⁸

158 İMŞS, Kısmet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi, 98, f. 39r.

159 J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Vol. 4, Pest, 1835, p. 407, 423; Afyoncu, “İlk Türk Matbaasının Kurucusu Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler”, p. 617.

160 Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 19.

161 Beydilli, “Müteferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası”, p. 50.

162 Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 57.

163 J. Porter, “Queries Sent to a Friend in Constantinople; by Dr. Maty, F. R. S.; and Answered by His Excellency James Porter, Esq, His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, and F. R. S.”, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, 49, December 31, 1755, p. 105–106; compare with Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 28–29.

164 Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 27–28, 37, 44.

165 Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni*, p. 392.

166 Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 96.

167 I. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1787, p. 301; compare with Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 28.

168 N. Asım [Yazıksız], “Türk Matbaacılığı” [“Turkish Printing”], *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası*, New Series, 1, 1929, 2, p. 46–48; [A. Erzi], “Basım” [“Printing”], in *Türk (İnönü) Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 5, fasc. 37–38, Ankara, 1951, p. 335.

As evident from his biography, İbrahim Müteferrika's personality was shaped in two different geographical areas and socio-cultural environments: the Christian Central Europe and the Muslim Ottoman state. It seems that his conversion to Islam did not completely erase his pre-Ottoman personality. Instead, it led to a harmonious coexistence of two identities. The information given by some contemporaries implies that Müteferrika was a Muslim who did not fully follow the rules of Sharia. While in the *Treatise on Islam* he portrayed himself as a faithful Muslim, in fact, he did not give up some of his Christian habits. In November 1737, for example, Villeneuve reported that according to Jean-Raymond Delaria, the dragoman of the French embassy in Istanbul, İbrahim Müteferrika did not observe all the requirements of his new religion, and that sometimes wine made conversations with him more intimate.¹⁶⁹

It was again Delaria who reported to Villeneuve on June 8, 1737, that he had known Müteferrika for a long time because the latter had previously been his teacher (*kodja*, Tk. *hoca*). The Swedish traveler Jonas (Jean) Otter (1707–1748), who was sent by Jean Frédéric Phélypeaux Comte de Maurepas (1701–1781), the French minister of the navy and state secretary, to the French ambassador in Istanbul, Villeneuve, to learn Arabic and Turkish, resided in Istanbul between 1734 and 1736. As Otter notes in his travel book *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, avec une Relation des expéditions de Tahmas Kouli-Khan*, published in 1748, during his stay there, he practiced these languages through conversations with local Armenians and Turks, İbrahim Müteferrika including.¹⁷⁰ It seems that Müteferrika, in addition to his numerous duties at the imperial court, his assistance to Hungarian refugees, his diplomatic missions and his involvement in the printing business, also helped some foreigners to learn Turkish and Arabic.

Contacts and close relations with diplomats and other foreigners living in Istanbul made Müteferrika a sought-after and trusted source of sensitive information. Delaria notes that Müteferrika had the “complete confidence” of his compatriot André de Tott, whom Villeneuve employed for secret missions during the 1736–1739 Ottoman-Habsburg War. Delaria states that Tott “by his manners knew how to put him [Müteferrika] in our interests”.¹⁷¹ Villeneuve's letter of May 6, 1737, mentions that Müteferrika “had shown that he had confidence” in Tott, “as an old friend of

169 Kunalalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 4, p. 355.

170 J. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, avec une Relation des expéditions de Tahmas Kouli-Khan*, Paris, 1748, p. 17–18.

171 Kunalalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 4, p. 261; see also F. Tóth, “Agents hongrois au service de la France sous l'Ancien Régime”, in D. Éric, L. Benoît (eds.), *Renseignement et espionnage de la Renaissance à la Révolution (XV^e–XVIII^e siècles)*, Paris, 2021, p. 227–242.

his”, and therefore would keep him informed of current political developments.¹⁷² Another letter of Villeneuve, of July 21, 1737, reveals that Müteferrika had informed Tott and Delaria about the Austrian military plans to besiege either Nish or Vidin.¹⁷³ As the Porte’s deputy dragoman, Müteferrika was obviously well acquainted and in contact with the dragomans of the British, Dutch, and French embassies in Istanbul, as a 1737 report by Grand Vizier Muhsinzade Abdullah Pasha (1661?–1749; in office 1737) shows.¹⁷⁴ Müteferrika and his adopted son or apprentice, İbrahim Junior, in collaboration with Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha and his adopted son Süleyman, served the French embassy as an unofficial source of information not only during Villeneuve’s tenure, but also during the tenure of the following ambassador, Comte de Castellane (1703–1782; in office 1741–1747).¹⁷⁵

However, according to Kemal Beydilli’s recent findings, the four men became secret informants of the “hostile” Austrian ambassador Heinrich von Penckler. His reports, dating from 1746 and 1747, show that both “the senior İbrahim” (der alte İbrahim) and İbrahim Junior were his source of “secret” news.¹⁷⁶ The fact that in 1747 Penckler attached to one of his reports an account in Latin of the output of the printing press, written by Müteferrika himself, also testifies to their cooperation.¹⁷⁷ It seems that Müteferrika and Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha, after their aforementioned unsuccessful efforts to form anti-Habsburg and anti-Russian alliances with Prussia and France in 1744–1746, proceeded to serve the Habsburg and Russian interests. According to Russian archival sources, Müteferrika and his apprentice were also secret informants of the Russian embassy.¹⁷⁸ Penckler collaborated with the Russian ambassadors until 1765 and the two embassies shared the same informants. The archives refer to “the old scribe of the dragoman of the Porte, İbrahim Efendi – a renegade Hungarian, according to one historian” and “his long-time secretary”, who provided information to the Russians in 1745–1746 but disappeared in

172 Kunalalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 4, p. 234.

173 Kunalalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 4, p. 281.

174 Refik, *Memâlik-i ‘Osmâniye’de Kıral Râkoçı ve Tevâbi*, p. 8–9.

175 Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 24–25.

176 Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 23–24, 36.

177 See Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomannicae”.

178 See S. Kenan, “Kemal Beydilli, *İki İbrahim: Müteferrika ve Halefi [Two İbrahims: Müteferrika and His Successor – Off the Founders of the Ottoman Printing Press]*”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 56, 2020, p. 345.

later years.¹⁷⁹ It makes sense, as Müteferrika died in early 1747.¹⁸⁰ Likewise, the dragoman's "young scribe", also named İbrahim, was a secret informant to the Russian embassy.¹⁸¹ It is worth reminding that the British ambassador James Porter also referred to İbrahim Junior as "a secretary under the interpreter of the Porte". It seems that in this case the dragoman's "old scribe", İbrahim Efendi, could be identified as İbrahim Müteferrika, and the "young scribe" with his supposedly adopted son and/or apprentice, known as İbrahim Junior. Neither Penckler's reports,¹⁸² nor the Russian sources connect the two scribes as father and son. The Russian reference to İbrahim Efendi as "the old scribe of the dragoman of the Porte" may refer to the post to which Müteferrika was appointed to as a deputy dragoman in the late 1730s. The dragoman and his assistants attended the meetings of the Imperial Council.¹⁸³ Moreover, between 1743 and 1745, Müteferrika was an annalist of the Imperial Council. It seems that in those years he began to provide Penckler with information about the Council's discussions and decisions, and later, in 1745–1746, he did the same for the Russian ambassadors. In addition to being paid as secret informants of the Habsburg and Russian embassies, Müteferrika and Kadi İbrahim may also have been presented with expensive gifts. The Russian ambassadors usually presented and bribed higher Ottoman officials with valuable furs.¹⁸⁴ As many expensive furs were listed in Müteferrika's and Kadi İbrahim's property inventories,¹⁸⁵ we can assume that they received them as gifts for certain favors. Whatever the case, Müteferrika was clearly not only well placed within the Ottoman court and intellectual circles, but he also maintained close relations with some of the foreign embassies in Istanbul. Moreover, it seems that he provided sensitive information in many directions, from the Ottoman court to the ambassadors of foreign (even

179 See M. V. Amelicheva, *The Russian Residency in Constantinople, 1700–1774: Russian-Ottoman Diplomatic Encounters*, Washington, 2016 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis), p. 165–166, 217; C. A. Panchenko, "The Russian Intelligence Service in the Ottoman Empire in the Middle of the 18th Century", in S. Ağcagül, H. Sievert (eds.), *Kitâb-ı Hedâyâ: Studien zum Osmanischen Reich und seinen Nachbargebieten: Zu Ehren von Hedda Reindl-Kiel*, Göttingen, 2020, p. 180.

180 The claim that the same "old scribe" was paid by the Russian ambassadors "as of 1763", when Müteferrika was no longer alive, seems to be incorrect; see Amelicheva, *The Russian Residency in Constantinople*, p. 217.

181 Amelicheva, *The Russian Residency in Constantinople*, p. 216–217.

182 Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 37.

183 See B. Lewis, "Dīvān Humāyūn", in B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat, J. Schacht (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, Vol. 2, Leiden, 1991, p. 338; R. Ahushali, "Divan-ı Hümayūn Teşkilâtı" ["The Institution of the Imperial Council"], in G. Eren (ed.), *Osmanlı*, Vol. 6, Ankara, 1999, p. 31.

184 Amelicheva, *The Russian Residency in Constantinople*, p. 195 (n. 446), 231.

185 Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni*, p. 396; Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 75, 80–81.

hostile) countries, and vice versa. Aside from the political aspect of such behavior, it is indicative of Müteferrika's personality, which could be seen as multifaceted rather than confined within a limited framework.

One may therefore speculate on whether his personality consisted of a harmonious cultural mixture of Christianity and Islam, or at least one that did not create mental disharmony. Because of his dual cultural identity, İbrahim Müteferrika was a "passeur d'idées" – as Gérard Duverdier eloquently puts it – from one side to the other.¹⁸⁶ That is to say, when he crossed the border between the two worlds, he did not replace the old world with the new one. Instead of this, he remained loyal to both worlds, bridging the two cultural environments. As Hasan Çolak explained, Müteferrika's persona fits perfectly the three characteristics of transculturality covered by Wolfgang Welsch's definition: relationship with external cultures as a scholar, dragoman and diplomat; internal difference as a person who despite his conversion to Islam remained more or less different from the typical Ottoman Muslim intellectuals; and hybridity as a person "which combines his pre- and post-conversion qualities".¹⁸⁷ Müteferrika's intellectual circle included not only Muslims and non-Muslims of European origin but also local non-Muslim intellectuals. Yet, in his printing venture he collaborated with local Jews (such as the punchcutter Yona ben Ya'akov Ashkenazi) and Armenians (like the map engraver Mıgırdıç Galatavi).¹⁸⁸ As Vefa Erginbaş put it, Müteferrika – having come from Europe – was "a man of the Enlightenment in the Ottoman context".¹⁸⁹ This was evident not only in his printing venture, but also in his original works in Turkish, and most of all in his translations from Western languages into Turkish, some of which he printed.

According to Jean-Baptiste Holderman, whose Turkish grammar manual, *Grammaire turque*, was printed at the Müteferrika press in 1730,¹⁹⁰ İbrahim Müteferrika spoke Latin and Hungarian, on the one hand, and Turkish, Persian

186 Duverdier, "Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika", p. 359.

187 H. Çolak, "İbrahim Müteferrika and the Ottoman Intellectual Culture in the Early 18th Century: a Transcultural Perspective", in Dıpratu, Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond*, p. 5–6.

188 V. Erginbaş, "Enlightenment in the Ottoman Context: İbrahim Müteferrika and His Intellectual Landscape", in G. Roper (ed.), *Historical Aspects of Printing and Publishing in Languages of the Middle East: Papers from the Symposium at the University of Leipzig, September 2008*, Leiden/Boston, 2014, p. 83–84; Çolak, "İbrahim Müteferrika and the Ottoman Intellectual Culture", p. 9–10.

189 Erginbaş, "Enlightenment in the Ottoman Context", p. 95.

190 J.-B. Holderman, *Grammaire turque ou Méthode courte & facile pour apprendre la langue turque; avec recueil de noms, de verbes, & des manières de parler les plus nécessaires à sçavoir; avec plusieurs dialogues familiers*, Constantinople, 1730.

and Arabic, on the other.¹⁹¹ According to the 1735 report of the Swedish ambassador Edvard Carleson, Müteferrika was fluent in Latin, as well as in the Eastern languages.¹⁹² Given the fact that Müteferrika was presumably sent on a diplomatic mission to Vienna in 1715, Rafikov assumes that he also spoke German.¹⁹³ However, it is clarified that it was not İbrahim Müteferrika, but another İbrahim who carried out this mission.¹⁹⁴ Giambattista Toderini (1728–1799), an Italian priest who spent four and a half years in Istanbul between 1781 and 1786 and wrote three volumes on Turkish literature, wrote that Müteferrika “spoke the French, Turkish, and Italian languages”.¹⁹⁵ Franz Babinger, while accepting that Müteferrika spoke French, Italian and German, doubts his command of Latin.¹⁹⁶ However, it appears that Müteferrika translated mostly from Latin, but sometimes from French and Italian. As already mentioned, he translated also texts from Turkish into Latin and Hungarian.

Müteferrika’s original works are the *Risāle-i İslāmiye* (*Treatise on Islam*), composed in 1710 (unpublished),¹⁹⁷ the *Vesiletü’l-ṭibā’a* (*The Means of Printing*), composed in 1726¹⁹⁸ and published as an appendix to the Vankulu dictionary printed in 1729, the first book of the Müteferrika press,¹⁹⁹ and the *Uşûl’l-ḥikem fi nizāmi’l-ümem* (*Reasonable Principles for the Organization of States*), published also by his press in 1732. He also translated into Turkish the following works:

1. *Tārīḥ-i seyyāḥ der beyān-ı zuhūr-i Ağvāniyān ve sebeb-i inhidām-ı binā-i devlet-i şāhān-ı Şafeviyān* (*A History of the Traveler Describing the Emergence of the Afghans and the Reasons for the Destruction of the Foundations of the State of the Safavid Shahs*) by Judasz Tadeusz Krusiński (1675–1756), who was a Polish Jesuit missionary active in Iran between 1707 and 1725. He described in Latin the political developments of Iran in the 1720s (a text printed in 1729).²⁰⁰

191 Omont, “Nouveaux documents sur l’imprimerie à Istanbul”, p. 8.

192 Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 9.

193 Rafikov, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции*, p. 112.

194 See K. Beydilli, İ. E. Erünsal, “Prut Savaşı Öncesi Diplomatik Bir Teşebbüs Seyfullah Ağa’nın Viyana Elçiliği (1711)” [“A Diplomatic Initiative before the Battle of Pruth: Seyfullah Agha’s Embassy to Vienna (1711)”], *Belgeler*, 22, 2001, 26, p. 13 (n. 67).

195 G. Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, Venice, 1787, p. 17.

196 Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 11.

197 Several manuscript copies are preserved; see Tezcan, “Secularist Anxieties Meet Evangelical Ones”, p. 47–48.

198 The autograph has not yet been found. A slightly different manuscript version of the same text was recently discovered in the Turkish archives; see Sümbül, “Osmanlı’da Matbaa Meselesine Yeni Bir Bakış”, p. 23–37.

199 al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şihāḥ-ı Cevheri*, Vol. 1, f. [6r–8r].

200 J. T. Krusiński, *Tārīḥ-i seyyāḥ der beyān-ı zuhūr-i Ağvāniyān ve sebeb-i inhidām-ı binā-i devlet-i şāhān-ı Şafeviyān*, transl. İ. Müteferrika, Istanbul, 1142/1729.

2. Travelers' reports and letters on the history of Iran, titled *Zeyl-i Tārīḥ-i seyyāh* (*Addendum to the History of the Traveler*), which covers the events between 1729 and 1740 (the identified sources are published in French). The translation was probably made between 1743 and 1747 and has at least five later hand-written copies. Müteferrika referred to it as a "second translation" (*tercüme-i sâniye*) and considered it an addendum to the aforementioned translation of Krusiński's text. He added some parts penned by him but failed to print it.²⁰¹
3. *Specimen Theoriae Magneticae*, a work on magnetism by Christoph Eberhard (1675–1750), published in both German and Latin in Leipzig in 1720.²⁰² Müteferrika published its Turkish version in 1732 under the title *Füyûzât-ı Miknaṭsiye* (*The Benefits of Magnetism*).²⁰³
4. *Nouveau théâtre d'Italie, ou description exacte de ses villes, palais, églises* by Johannes Blaeu (1596–1673), published in Amsterdam in 1704.²⁰⁴ Müteferrika translated this text from French in 1145/1732–1733 with the Ottoman Turkish title *İtalyanın Temâşgâh-ı Cedîdi* (*A New Exploration of Italy*) but failed to print it.²⁰⁵
5. *Atlas Coelestis* by Andreas Cellarius (ca. 1596–1665), dealing with the theories of Claudius Ptolemy (ca. 90–ca. 160), Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543), and Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) and reprinted in Amsterdam in 1708 under the revised title *Harmonia Macrocosmica*.²⁰⁶ Müteferrika translated this text from Latin by order of the Sultan Ahmed III under the title *Mecmû'a-i hey'etü'l-ḳadîme ve'l-cedîde* (*Compendium of Old and New Astronomy*). He completed the translation in 1733 but failed to print it.²⁰⁷
6. An undated text describing the "history of Germany" prepared in French and presented to the grand vizier by the aforementioned French renegade Claude

201 M. N. Özel, *Ambassadors, Spies, Captives, Merchants and Travelers: Ottoman Information Networks in the East, 1736–1747*, Istanbul, 2018 (unpublished M.A. thesis), p. 195–198.

202 C. Eberhard, *Versuch einer Magnetischen Theorie, in welchem nach gewissen Grund-Sätzen Anleitung gegeben wird, Den rechten und allgemeinen Weg zur Länge und Breite der Oerter, so wol auf der See als zu Lande, vermittelst des Magnets zu finden: Specimen theoriae magneticae, quo ex certis principiis magneticis ostenditur vera et universalis methodus inveniendi longitudinem et latitudinem*, Leipzig, 1720.

203 İ. Müteferrika, *Füyûzât-ı Miknaṭsiye*, Istanbul, 1144/1732.

204 J. Blaeu, *Nouveau théâtre d'Italie, ou description exacte de ses villes, palais, églises*, Amsterdam, 1704.

205 Library of the Topkapı Palace Museum (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi), Hazine Collection, no. 2724 (Vol. 1–2) and no. 2751 (Vol. 3–4).

206 A. Cellarius, *Harmonia Macrocosmica, seu Atlas universalis et novus*, Amsterdam, 1708.

207 The autograph is preserved in the Library of the Military Museum (Askeri Müze Kütüphanesi) in Istanbul, no. 5302 [74].

Alexandre Comte de Bonneval (Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha). Müteferrika did not print it.²⁰⁸

7. *Storia Fiorentina* by Benedetto Varchi (1503–1565), published in Cologne in 1721.²⁰⁹ Müteferrika translated from Italian a part of this work but failed to print it.²¹⁰

Besides these works, İbrahim Müteferrika made various textual additions while printing works written by other authors.²¹¹ As mentioned above, he had already translated into Turkish in 1715 some “foreign” books on astronomy.²¹²

The works that Müteferrika translated, compiled, and printed showcase his particular interest in history, geography, astronomy, physics, politics, and military sciences. This is attested also in the property inventory, which includes two lists of books found in his house after his demise: one records books in Arabic type and the other books in Latin type.²¹³ The first list reveals that he did not neglect religious sciences but was more interested in subjects such as history, geography, and astronomy. In the Muslim educational tradition, the sciences related to religion and linguistics were given priority, while positive sciences such as astronomy and mathematics were taught and learned for the purpose of determining prayer times and religious holidays, as well as in relation with the law of inheritance (*ferā'iz*), an important branch of Islamic law.²¹⁴ In contrast to this tradition, İbrahim Müteferrika gave precedence to history, geography, astronomy, and politics, and this can be attributed to his personal preferences, on the one hand, and his diplomatic activities, on the other.

The second list includes books in Latin which were mostly geographical works such as *Atlas Minor* by Gerardus Mercator (1512–1594)²¹⁵ and two other works without titles or authors, as well as nine atlases and some maps. It is noteworthy

208 A manuscript copy of this translation, dating from 1790, is preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Diez A quart. 96, <https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN1845408837> (accessed on October 18, 2024). This text may be similar to others attributed to Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha; see Demir, “Claude-Aleksandre Comte De Bonneval”, p. 282.

209 B. Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina: Nella quale principalmente si contengono l'ultime Rivoluzioni della Repubblica Fiorentina, e lo Stabilimento del Principato nella Casa de Medici*, Cologne, 1721.

210 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Département des manuscrits, Supplément turc 1435 (1–3), f. 28r–29r.

211 Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 93, 96, 101–104, 109–113.

212 See Afyoncu, “İbrahim Müteferrika Hakkında Önemli Bir Vesika”.

213 See Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni*, p. 392–395, 400–401.

214 See Sabev, *Waiting for Müteferrika*, p. 44–45.

215 It had several editions in the 17th century, the first of which was published in 1607; see *Atlas Minor Gerardi Mercatoris à I. Hondio plurimis aeneis tabulis auctus et illustratus*, Amsterdam, 1607. See also A. A. Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim [Science under the Ottoman Turks]*, Istanbul, 1991,

that Müteferrika also owned a globe, an object that was not typical of a traditional Ottoman house, reading room, or library. In terms of numbers, geographical books and atlases were followed by works on geometry (five), astronomy (three), astrology (one), a Gregorian calendar, a Bible, a grammar book, and two dictionaries. In terms of subject matter, İbrahim Müteferrika's Latin books show that he closely followed the developments in Western science in the field of geography. He must have used these maps and atlases both during his diplomatic missions and in preparing the maps and geographical works that he printed.

Moreover, in the signatures he affixed to some of the maps and charts he drew, he referred to himself as a “draftsman” (*ressām*) and a “geographer” (*coğrafi*).²¹⁶ Not only did Müteferrika identify himself as a “geographer”, but some of his contemporaries also referred to him by this label. For instance, the Armenian Pietro Baron (Bedros/Petros Baronian/Baronyan), who worked as an interpreter and a servant at the Dutch embassy and the one of the Kingdom of Two Sicilies in Istanbul from 1725 to 1765, translated from French into Turkish a part of the voluminous geographical work *Méthode pour apprendre facilement la géographie* by Jacques Robbe (1643–1721).²¹⁷ In his translation, Baron expressed his great admiration for İbrahim Müteferrika's involvement in editing and printing geographical works, referring to him as “İbrahim Efendi the Geographer” (*İbrāhīm Efendi el-Coğrafi*).²¹⁸

It is also noteworthy that in the colophon of Na'ima's *History*, printed in 1734, Müteferrika referred to himself not only as “one of the *müteferrikas* at the imperial court”, but also as a “printer” (*tābi*), for the first time (*‘ālī yedü'l-ḥakīri'l-muḥtāc ila rahmet rabbi-hi el-ḳadir İbrāhīm eṭ-ṭābi' min müteferrikān-ı derğāh-ı ‘ālī fi'l-beldeti't-ṭayyibet-i Koşantiniye*).²¹⁹

p. 143; E. İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi / History of Geographical Literature during the Ottoman Period*, Vol. 1, Istanbul, 2000, p. 90.

216 Princeton University Library, Rare Books and Manuscripts Room, Robert Garrett Collection, no. 3033 T, f. [1a]; Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitāb-ı Cihānnumā li-Kâtib Çelebi*, between p. 25 and 26. See also Sabev, *Waiting for Müteferrika*, p. 32–33; A. Üstüner, “Avrupa Coğrafyacılığının Osmanlı Dünyasına İntikali: Tercüme Eserler” [“The Transfer of European Geography to the Ottoman World: Translated Works”], in R. Şentürk, A. Sururi, R. T. Kalyoncu, et al. (eds.), *İslâm'da Medeniyet Bilimleri Tarihi*, Vol. 2, Istanbul, 2021, p. 101–103; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 101–104; S. E. İşkorkutan, *The 1720 Imperial Circumcision Celebrations in Istanbul: Festivity and Representation in the Early Eighteenth Century*, Leiden/Boston, 2021, p. 248–249.

217 See F. Günergun, “La traduction de l'Abrégé de la sphère de Jacques Robbe, géographe du Roi de France, par Petros Baronian, drogman à Istanbul: *Cem-nümâ fi fenn el-coğrafya*”, *La Révolution française – Cahiers de l'Institut d'histoire de la Révolution française*, 12, 2017, p. 1–19.

218 T. Hanstein, *A New Print by Müteferrika? A Comparative View of Baron's Qibla Finder*, Berlin, 2021, p. 18–19.

219 M. Na'ima, *Tārīḥ-i Na'imā*, Istanbul, 1147/1734, Vol. 1, p. 701, and Vol. 2, p. 711.

The unofficial accounts on İbrahim Müteferrika's person tend to shift his public image from a *müteferrika* to a printer. In the very beginning of his printing undertaking, the official chronicler (*vak'anüvîs*) at the imperial court Küçükçelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi (d. 1760), who recorded the events of 1134–1141/1721–1729, describes him as “İbrahim Agha the Interpreter, [one] of the *müteferrikas* at the imperial court” (*dergâh-i ‘âli müteferrikâlarından Tercümân İbrâhîm Ağâ*).²²⁰ However, a decade or so later, in Grand Vizier Muhsinzade Abdullah Pasha's 1737 statement, İbrahim Müteferrika was called “İbrahim Efendi the Printer” (*Bâşmacı İbrâhîm Efendi*).²²¹ It is a significant indication that after ten years of printing activities Müteferrika deserved recognition as a printer. This is also confirmed by certain foreign observers such as Saussure, who in a letter of August 13, 1735, named him exactly in the same way: “İbrahim Efendi the Printer”.²²² In later manuscript copies of his compositions and translations, as well as in the reprints of his editions, he was again described as a “printer” (Tk. *bâşmacı*, Ar. *al-tâbi*).²²³ The 1747 assets inventory also refers to him as “the late İbrahim Efendi the Printer” (*Bâşmacı merhûm İbrâhîm Efendi*).²²⁴ Keeping in mind that probate inventories were official judicial documents, it is quite a remarkable indication of how İbrahim Müteferrika's public image, involving not only non-official Ottoman and non-Ottoman attitudes but also the official Ottoman views of him, shifted in the course of time. What made him publicly recognizable were his activities as a printer, while his printing exertions became the main expression of his persona in Ottoman society.²²⁵

1.4.2 Mehmed Said Efendi

İbrahim Müteferrika founded the press together with Yirmisekiz Çelebizade Mehmed Said Efendi. The 1727 *fermân* allowing its opening referred to Said as being one of the clerks (*hâlif*) at the grand vizier's correspondence office (*Mektûbî Kalemî*). Mehmed Said Efendi, who, in his 20s, accompanied his father Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi's embassy to France in 1720–1721, became aware of the

220 İ. A. Küçükçelebizade, *Târîh-i Çelebizâde Efendi*, İstanbul, 1153/1741, f. 119v.

221 Refik, *Memâlik-i ‘Osmâniye’de Krâl Râkoçi ve Tevâbi*, p. 8.

222 Thály (ed.), *Lettres de Turquie*, p. 176.

223 NLS, OCD, Or 2296, f. 1r; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Diez A quart. 96; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Département des manuscrits, Supplément turc 1435 (1–3), f. 28r; Kâtib Çelebi, *Takvîmü't-tevârih*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1291/1874–1875 (title page).

224 İMŞS, Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi, 98, f. 39r.

225 See R. Murphey, “Forms and Expression of Individuality in Ottoman Society”, *Turcica*, 34, 2002, p. 135–170.

importance of printed books in Europe. During their eleven-month stay in France, the Ottoman officials had the opportunity to see libraries and printing presses. Although Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi did not mention in his ambassadorial report any visit of a printing press,²²⁶ in his memoirs, Louis de Rouvroy duc de Saint-Simon (1675–1755) claimed that the Ottoman ambassador had visited one, and after returning to Istanbul, established a printing press and a library, despite the existing opposition.²²⁷ However, it was not Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi himself, but his son Mehmed Said Efendi who, together with İbrahim Müteferrika, set up the press in Istanbul. Saint-Simon may have confused the father and the son due to the similarity of their names.

According to Küçükçelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, during his stay in France, Mehmed Said Efendi was impressed by the abundance of printed books, and as soon as he returned to Istanbul he met several times the translator İbrahim Ağa, one of the palace officials who had a great desire to set up a printing press.²²⁸ In the application submitted in 1726, where he asked for an official permission to start printing, İbrahim Müteferrika asserted that he had received material and moral support from Said since 1724.²²⁹

Mehmed Said Efendi, who passed away in 1761, held many high-ranking positions in Ottoman bureaucracy, achieving for a while the position of grand vizier in 1755–1756.²³⁰ He was presumably the first Ottoman statesman to speak French (or any other Western language).²³¹ According to Mikhail Meyer, he was one of the leading “Westerners” in the Ottoman capital. Contemporary Russian diplomats described Said as an intelligent, determined person who was not a religious

226 See Rado (ed.), *Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi'nin Fransa Seyahatnamesi*; Tuncer, “Yirmi Sekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi'nin Fransa Sefaretnamesi”.

227 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 386; Sungu, “İlk Türk Matbaasına Dair Yeni Vesikalar”, p. 10; Mistakidis, “Hükümet-i ‘Osmaniye Tarafından İlk Te’sis Olunan Matba’a”, p. 327; Rafikov, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции*, p. 81–82; B. Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, New York/London, 1982, p. 115; Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe*, p. 193–194.

228 Küçükçelebizade, *Tarih-i Çelebizâde Efendi*, f. 119r–119v.

229 Sungu, “İlk Türk Matbaasına Dair Yeni Vesikalar”, p. 11–13.

230 See E. Afyoncu, “Mehmed Said Paşa, Yirmisekizçelebizâde”, in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 28, Istanbul, 2003, p. 524–526; E. Afyoncu, “Yirmisekiz Çelebizâde Mehmed Said Paşa (ö. 1761)”, in *Matbaanın Ön Sözü “Basmacı İbrahim Efendi”: Müteferrika Sergisi '21*, Ankara, 2021, p. 46–48; T. Timur, “Matbaa, Aydınlanma ve Diplomasi: Said Mehmed Efendi” [“Printing, Enlightenment, and Diplomacy: Said Mehmed Efendi”], *Toplumsal Tarih*, 128, 2004, p. 54–61.

231 Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, p. 35.

fanatic. He spoke French, knew European etiquette, and loved wine.²³² Mehmed Said Efendi also had a keen interest in medicine. In 1753, he prepared a catalogue under the title *Ferâidü'l-müfredât fî't-ṭıbb ve Esmâü'n-nebât* (*Pearls of Words on Medicine and the Names of Herbs*), a record of herbs names according to Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Greek, and Latin sources.²³³ His affection for medicine and lexicography could have been the reason why, in the aforementioned application as well as in Müteferrika's treatise on the means of printing, these subjects were also mentioned alongside other topics such as history, physics, astronomy, and geography, which would all be covered by the printing press. It is obvious that history, physics, astronomy, and geography were Müteferrika's preference, while medicine and lexicography were Said's pursuits.

232 M. S. Meyer, *Османская империя в XVIII веке: Черты структурного кризиса* [*The Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century: Aspects of Structural Crisis*], Moscow, 1991, p. 184.

233 M. Süreyyâ, *Sicill-i Osmanî Yahud Tezkire-i Meşâhir-i Osmâniye* [*Ottoman Records or Biographies of Famous Ottomans*], ed. A. Aktan, A. Yuvalı, M. Hülâgü, Vol. 3, Istanbul, 1996, p. 32; A. Kazancıgil, "Lâle Devri'nde Bilim Hayatı" ["Scientific Life in the Tulip Age"], in Armağan (ed.), *İstanbul Armağanı*, 4. *Lâle Devri*, p. 204–205.

2 Setting up the Müteferrika Press

2.1 The Story of How the Müteferrika Press Came into Being

The establishment of a Turkish Muslim printing press, a startup company in an Ottoman context, was a complex and complicated undertaking. It required the availability of financial resources, access to printing know-how, supply of equipment and raw materials, employment of capable workers and proofreaders, provision of good management, following up a clear editorial vision, and finally, adhering to the rules of profitable marketing.

İbrahim Müteferrika's earliest known attempt at printing took place in 1719 or 1720. Although no Ottoman document was found so far to confirm this, certain authors claim that Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Pasha – shortly after he took office in 1718 – granted Müteferrika the right to print maps.¹ A surviving woodblock of a nautical map of the Sea of Marmara, presumably prepared by Müteferrika, contains an unsigned note dated 1132/1719–1720 that reads as follows: “My Excellency, if you so order, even larger [maps] can be produced” (*Benim devletlü efendim eğer fermânınız olursa dahî büyükleri yapılır*). It is believed that a copy printed from this woodblock was presented to the grand vizier, but no surviving printed copy of this map has been found. İhsan Sungu had the opportunity to see the woodblock and published a print of it in 1928. Two more prints were published later.² However, the present location of the woodblock is unknown.³ According to Kemal Özdemir's estimation, the grand vizier must have been very impressed by this map and ordered other maps to be printed, as Müteferrika promised.⁴ In 1137/1724–1725, he printed a nautical map of the Black Sea (*Bahriye-i Bahr-ı*

1 Duverdier, “Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika”, p. 330; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 143; F. Sarıcaoğlu, “Harita (Osmanlı Dönemi)” [“Map (The Ottoman Period)”], in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 16, İstanbul, 1997, p. 215.

2 See Sungu, “İlk Türk Matbaasına Dair Yeni Vesikalar”, p. 10; A. Aygün [Abdurrahman], “Türkiye’de İlk Harita Basımı ve İlk Asri Matbaa” [“The First Printed Maps and the First Printing Press in Turkey”], *Haritacılar Mecmuası*, 4, 1934, p. 86; T. Kut, F. Türe (eds.), *Yazmadan Basmaya: Müteferrika, Mühendishane, Üsküdar* [From Manuscript to Print: Müteferrika, Mühendishane, Üsküdar], İstanbul, 1996, p. 22–23.

3 N. K. Özür, “Türk Haritacılık Tarihinde İlk Baskı Haritalar” [“The First Printed Maps in the History of Turkish Mapmaking”], in N. Türkoğlu, K. Karabacak, G. Mutlu, et al. (eds.), *TUCAUM 2024 International Geography Symposium, 8–10 October 2024*, Ankara, 2024, p. 257.

4 K. Özdemir, *Osmanlı Haritaları [Ottoman Maps]*, İstanbul, 2008, p. 145.

Siyāh) engraved on four copper plates. This map was also unsigned and was again presented to the grand vizier.⁵

Notably, the first attempts at printing on behalf of Muslims in an Ottoman context were in the field of cartography and not in any other field of learning and dissemination of knowledge through texts. This was partly due to Müteferrika's own involvement in cartography as a "geographer", as mentioned above, and partly due to his diplomatic assignments, which made geography and the availability of accurate maps more important to him. The fact that the maps were the very first Ottoman Muslim printed materials may also be related to an objective situation in which the need for accurate maps in printed form was far more obvious than the need for texts in printed form, as Kâtib Çelebi's complaint about the lack of printing in his country suggests, when it comes to the need for relevant maps.

After the cartographical experiments, in 1726 – without having any permission, as the aforementioned application proves – Müteferrika and Said started to print the so-called *Vankulu Dictionary* prepared by Mehmed bin Mustafa el-Vani (d. 1592), also known as Vankulu. This was the Turkish version of the popular Arabic dictionary *al-Şihāh* by Abu Nasr Ismail ibn Hammad al-Jawhari (940–1002/1008).⁶

On January 18, 1727, the French newspaper *Gazette de France* published the following report from Istanbul, dated November 19, 1726, which revealed the progress of the printing project:

The grand seignior is establishing here a printing press, in the Arabic and Turkish languages, the management of which he has entrusted to Said Agha,⁷ son of Mehmed Efendi, grand treasurer of the Empire, and formerly ambassador extraordinary of his Highness to the Court of France: the type has been cast, and everything is ready for this new establishment. It is not yet known what the first work to be published will be, but the grand vizier has promised to make available all the manuscripts at the court and Said Agha, intending to publish first those things which are least known to the scholars, is to take the advice of a renegade monk who has been here for some time and who has a great reputation for literary knowledge. Said Agha also proposes, if this first press is successful, to establish others in the principal cities of the Empire, and to have in the capital a printing office for Greek and Latin works: he is going to have engraved in the near future a collection of maps which he has brought from Paris, most of them by the late Sire de l'Isle,⁸ and afterwards he will publish those drawn by Arabs and Persians.⁹

5 Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 35–36; Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 37; U. Ehrensvärd, Z. Abrahamowitz, "Two Maps Printed by Ibrahim Müteferrika in 1724/25 and 1729/30", *Svenska Forskningsinstitutet i Istanbul Meddelanden*, 15, 1990, p. 59; Özdemir, *Osmanlı Haritaları*, p. 145–150.

6 al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şihāh-ı Cevheri*.

7 Referred to as Zâir-Aga.

8 Guillaume Delisle (1675–1726).

9 *Gazette de France*, 3, January 18, 1727, p. 25–26; compare *Journal des Sçavans* (Amsterdam edition), 81, April 1727, p. 550–551; Omont, "Documents sur l'imprimerie à Constantinople", p. 186;

However, it seems that Müteferrika's and Said's printing endeavor met with the opposition of the copyists, calligraphers, and conservative Muslim clergy. Selim Nüzhet Gerçek claimed that the calligraphers organized a "funeral procession" by placing paper, pens, and other writing tools in a coffin.¹⁰ Gerçek's claim, which is quoted in many studies without any criticism, is not documented. However, César de Saussure's above-mentioned letter of February 21, 1732, confirms the existence of such resistance. Saussure wrote that the grand vizier had supported Müteferrika's proposal to open a printing press and had done what was necessary to establish it. According to Saussure, when the printing press started working with printers brought from Vienna, the calligraphers complained to the grand vizier because they feared that it would print more books than necessary, and, as a result, thousands of calligraphers would be deprived of their livelihood. They claimed that, thus, the printing press would offend social order and religion. Saussure added that when the opponents had seen the grand vizier's reluctance to stop printing, they had almost started a riot.¹¹

Erhan Afyoncu has recently discovered official Ottoman evidence of the resistance against the Müteferrika press. Upon Selim Efendi's and İلمي Efendi's objection to the press, Sultan Ahmed III ordered that "it is not appropriate to reproduce the Qur'anic verses in books". While Selim Efendi remains unidentified, İلمي Efendi was probably the same person who was a member of the team assigned in 1725 to translate from Arabic into Turkish the cosmographical and historical work *Ikd al-Cümân fi Târîh-i Ehl al-Zamân* (*The Pearl Necklace of Human History*) written by Bedreddin Mahmud Ayni (d. 1451). Afyoncu assumes that the objection mentioned in this undated sultanic order was raised in 1726, after İbrahim Müteferrika's treatise on the means of printing was presented to the grand vizier and then to other senior statesmen.¹²

In the *Vesiletü't-ıtbâ'a* (*The Means of Printing*), Müteferrika already alluded to such objections and stated that he would not print works on Islamic law, exegesis, tradition, and theology, but dictionaries and books on history, medicine, physics,

Birsen, "XVIIIinci Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Matbaanın İlk Kuruluşu Üzerine Dokümanlar", p. 30. It is believed that the originals of some maps printed by İbrahim Müteferrika later on – the maps of the Black Sea (1137/1724–1725) and of Iran (1142/1729–1730) – were brought by Said Efendi from Paris; see C. Yılmaz, "Müteferrika Matbaasının Kurucu Kadrosu" ["The Founding Staff of the Müteferrika Press"], in *Matbaanın Ön Sözü "Basmacı İbrahim Efendi"*, p. 35.

10 Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 58–59; İskit, *Türkiye'de Neşriyat Hareketleri*, p. 7.

11 Thály (ed.), *Lettres de Turquie*, p. 94–95; compare with Karácson, "İbrahim Müteferrika", p. 183–184.

12 E. Afyoncu, *III. Ahmed'in Hatt-ı Hümayûnları* [*Ahmed III's Imperial Edicts*], Istanbul, 2022, p. 70–71, 217.

astronomy, geography, and related fields. He also declared that he needed the sultan's *fermân*, the grand mufti's *fatwa*, and the opinions of leading religious scholars praising the art of printing. Müteferrika also requested the appointment of three or four proofreaders to ensure the readers' confidence in his work.¹³ All this considered, one may assume that the above-mentioned objections and sultanic order might have preceded the date the treatise was submitted to the grand vizier. It is obvious that Müteferrika had to reconcile the suspicious copyists, calligraphers, and conservative clergy, and was thus forced to write the treatise because of the objections to his printing venture. In the accompanying note to the aforementioned map of the Black Sea, printed in 1137/1724–1725, he declares that it was printed “despite its opponents” (*muḥālifine rağmen*). Here, he might have referred to either the opponents of printing, or those who disapproved of deeper involvement in the science of geography and navigation.¹⁴

Müteferrika's treatise on the means of printing begins with an introduction that emphasizes the usefulness of the printing press for the preservation of the written heritage and the scarcity of copyists who can copy voluminous dictionaries without errors. According to Müteferrika, the available manuscript copies of al-Jawhari's and Vankulu's dictionaries and important historical and biographical works were very few, and, in this respect, reproducing books by printing would be a worthy profession and a good endeavor.¹⁵ Müteferrika insisted that printing was just “a writing style among writing styles” (*kitâbet envâ'inden bir nev'-i kitâbetden ibâretdir*)¹⁶ and described the benefits of the printing press in the following ten points:

1. Arabic dictionaries and books on history, astronomy, physics, and geography, corrected and reproduced by printing, would be useful for the education of the lower and upper social layers.

13 al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şîḫâḫ-ı Cevherî*, Vol. 1, f. [8r]; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 357.

14 Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 164–165; compare with Osborn, *Letters of Light*, p. 110; K. Üçsu, “İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Haritacılık Çalışmalarına Bir Bakış” [“An Overview of İbrahim Müteferrika's Mapmaking Activities”], in A. H. Furat, N. K. Yorulmaz, O. S. Arı (eds.), *Sahn-ı Seman'dan Darülfünun'a Osmanlı'da İtim ve Fikir Dünyası: Alimler, Müesseseler ve Fikri Eserler XVIII. Yüzyıl, 22–23 Aralık 2017*, Vol. 2, İstanbul, 2018, p. 212–214.

15 al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şîḫâḫ-ı Cevherî*, Vol. 1, f. [6r–6v]; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 353–355.

16 al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şîḫâḫ-ı Cevherî*, Vol. 1, f. [7r]; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 355; compare with Omont, “Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à İstanbul”, p. 3.

2. Due to the printing press, many valuable works written after the emergence of the Islamic religion and state could be corrected, renewed, and distributed among the Muslims.
3. Teachers and students would increase their confidence in books that are reproduced accurately using the printing method, and books printed with better ink would be more resistant to poor climatic conditions, such as humidity.¹⁷
4. Not one volume, but thousands of volumes would be made available by the printing method, with the same amount of work compared to copying by hand, so that the price of a copy would be reduced, and thus, poorer people, including students, would be able to buy books.
5. Reading printed books would be easier by adding the contents at their beginning, as well as indexes of “difficult words” and “important useful things” at the end.
6. As the price of printed books would be lower, it would be possible for everyone to access knowledge, and consequently ignorance would be eliminated.
7. Thanks to books reproduced by printing, the collections of the public libraries in the Empire’s capital and other cities would meet the needs of the students, and the enlightened men would be enriched.
8. If the Ottoman sultans, who proudly fulfill their duty to increase the honor of Jihad and Islam, support the printing press, this would increase the number of books that also fulfill the same duty.
9. All Christian peoples respect the works written in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, and in order to meet their own needs, they have published many books written in these three languages, including the works of Avicenna, Euclid, and al-Idrisi. However, as these books were printed by people who did not know these languages very well, they were full of errors and were not very popular in the Islamic world. Therefore, Muslims themselves should attempt to print books in these three languages, as Christian peoples would be soon able to prepare more talented printers and to increase the quality of such books, which then would sell better in the Islamic countries and produce profit.
10. Establishing a printing press was considered by Ottoman statesmen in previous periods, but such ideas could not be realized because of the absence of people who understood the art of printing.¹⁸

¹⁷ In fact, this argument was very appropriate, considering the humid climate of Istanbul.

¹⁸ al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şühâh-ı Cevheri*, Vol. 1, f. [7r–7v]; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 355–357.

This treatise explains the main reasons for Müteferrika's printing enterprise. First, Müteferrika was a man who was aware of the printing developments in Europe. It is obvious that he knew very well the Arabic works printed in Western Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. As his assets inventory reveals, he possessed some of these publications, such as the geographical work of Muhammad al-Idrisi (1100–1165) and the commentary by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (1201–1274) on the geometrical theory of Euclid. He was aware that these Western editions were inaccurate, and therefore not well perceived by Muslims. According to Müteferrika, the quality of these printed books could be improved, and infidels would not be given the opportunity to conduct successful trade in Islamic countries. Müteferrika emphasized that only Muslims themselves should do this work. He stressed the idea that the book market for Arabic texts should be operated exclusively by Muslims. Therefore, Müteferrika was not only looking at the printing press as a means of enlightenment. For him this venture also had a commercial aspect.¹⁹ In this respect, some scholars tend to see the Müteferrika press as an Ottoman Muslim political and cultural response to the West.²⁰ In fact, as in the case of printing Armenian, Greek, Slavonic, and Christian Arabic texts, the first activities that involved the reproduction of Muslim Arabic texts in printed form took place outside the Middle East, in Europe, where the printing technology had been introduced earlier. This also meant that the first printed Arabic texts appeared in a place far from the countries where Arabic manuscripts were traditionally produced. Müteferrika's plea for the establishment of a printing press run by Muslims in the Muslim Middle East was also an attempt to restore the importance of Islamic lands as the cradle of the Arabic scholarly tradition not only in terms of the production of manuscripts, but also in terms of the printing of Arabic texts. In Dikran Kouymjian's words, it was an attempt to reconfigure the "geographical change of production".²¹

On the other hand, the treatise shows that İbrahim Müteferrika was aware of the deficiencies and the demands of the Ottoman book market. Müteferrika's claim that manuscript copies of al-Jawhari's dictionary, or its Vankulu version, were quite difficult to obtain is attested by the Italian traveler Pietro Della Valle (1586–1652), who visited Istanbul in the first half of the 17th century. He claimed that there were

¹⁹ Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe*, p. 35.

²⁰ See M. H. van den Boogert, "The Sultan's Answer to the Medici Press? İbrahim Müteferrika's Printing House in Istanbul", in A. Hamilton, M. H. van den Boogert, B. Westerweel (eds.), *The Republic of Letters and the Levant*, Leiden/Boston, 2005, p. 265–291; B. Mermutlu, "The Politic Meaning of Ottoman Printing House", *Uludağ Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 9, 2008, 15, p. 297–318.

²¹ Kouymjian, "Between Amsterdam and Constantinople", p. 21.

available no more than four manuscript copies of this dictionary at the time.²² As Müteferrika was aware of the doubts among the Muslim readers about whether printed books could be error-free, he deemed it appropriate to also include in the first book he decided to print, the Vankulu dictionary, the sultan's *fermân*, the grand mufti's *fatwa*, and the appraisals of sixteen high-ranking Muslim scholars. In doing so he tried to prevent speculations about the permissibility of printing.

According to Tibor Halasi Kun, Müteferrika's treatise can be described as a revolutionary program.²³ André Demeerseman also argues that this treatise was a reform program because the new mentality created by the printing press subsequently affected the modernization process of other Muslim societies.²⁴ However, according to Gérald Duverdier, İbrahim Müteferrika's printing enterprise appears to be more conservative than reformist, as he considers printing just another style of writing and showcases its potential for the Muslim state.²⁵ Likewise, Stefan Reichmuth notes that Müteferrika was a person who strived to strengthen the foundations of the Muslim state by means of printing.²⁶ Duverdier emphasizes that Müteferrika discussed printing in the context of jihad, which recommended the use of the infidels' weapons, in order to convince the conservative religious circles to endorse printing despite its bad reputation of being a "Frankish invention".²⁷

As mentioned above, apart from this treatise, İbrahim Müteferrika also submitted to the grand vizier an application.²⁸ As it is undated and unsigned, it is assumed to have been written again by Müteferrika in 1139/1726–1727. Explaining that he printed a few opening pages of the Vankulu dictionary, Müteferrika asked for the issuance of a *fatwa* and a *fermân* allowing the printing of 500 copies of this dictionary, as well as other dictionaries and books on astronomy, medicine, mathematics, and geography. As already stated in the treatise, he again insisted that three or four capable men be appointed as proofreaders. In the margins of the application, the

22 See Y. Erdem, "Sahhaflar ve Seyyahlar: Osmanlı'da Kitapçılık" ["Booksellers and Travelers: Book Trade under the Ottomans"], in G. Eren (ed.), *Osmanlı*, Vol. 11, Ankara, 1999, p. 720–721.

23 Kun, "İbrâhim Müteferrika", p. 898.

24 A. Demeerseman, "Un mémoire célèbre qui préfigure l'évolution moderne en Islam", *Institut des belles lettres arabes* (IBLA), 18, 1955, p. 5–32; compare with S. Schmidt, "İbrahim Müteferrika szerepe a 18. századi oszmán reformokban: Er-risâletü'l-müsemâ bi-vesîletü't-tibâ'a – A nyomda szükségessége", *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 125, 2009, 2, p. 220–228.

25 Duverdier, "Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika", p. 335.

26 See S. Reichmuth, "Islamic Reformist Discourse in the Tulip Period (1718–30): İbrahim Müteferrika and His Arguments for Printing", in A. Çaksu (ed.), *International Congress on Learning and Education in the Ottoman World, Istanbul, 12–15 April 1999*, Istanbul, 2001, p. 149–161.

27 Duverdier, "Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika", p. 357–358.

28 Sungu, "İlk Türk Matbaasına Dair Yeni Vesikalar", p. 11–13.

names of İshak Efendi, Sahib Efendi, Esad Efendi and Şeyh Musa Efendi, who had already proofread the said printed opening pages of the Vankulu dictionary, were given. Müteferrika stated that he had been involved in printing for eight years, i.e., since 1719, when the aforementioned woodblock for the map of the Sea of Marmara was prepared. He added that in his printing venture he had received help from a Jew named Yona, who was a skilled printer and typesetter and owned a printing press in Istanbul equipped with the necessary tools. Müteferrika explained that he also received help and financial support from Said, the son of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, for two years. However, as Said was unable to continue to provide the needed financing, and Müteferrika himself had not enough capital to invest in the printing enterprise, he asked the state for financial support. At the end of the application, Müteferrika also asked that an affordable price for the first publication, the Vankulu dictionary, would be fixed by sultanic order.²⁹

İhsan Sungu believes that the grand vizier discussed Müteferrika's request with other senior statesmen.³⁰ As a result, sixteen high-ranking Muslim functionaries – the grand mufti, the higher judges of the Empire, etc. – consented to give favorable reviews (*taḳrîz*) of the art of printing.³¹ Radu Dipratu argues that their praises – notably written in the Arabic and not in the Ottoman Turkish language – also attest for the very fact that the anxiety of the conservative religious circles was one of the obstacles which Müteferrika and Said had to overcome in order to receive a printing license.³² After that, Grand Mufti Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi³³ issued a *fatwa* that stated the permissibility of printing dictionaries and other books on logic, physics, astronomy, and alike. It also recommended that proofreaders should be appointed.³⁴ Finally, in the second third (*evâsıt*) of *Zî'l-ka'de* 1139/June 30–July 9, 1727, Sultan Ahmed III issued a *fermân*, allowing “Said, one of the grand vizier's clerks, and İbrahim, one of my court stewards” (*mektûbî-i şadr-ı â'zamî hulefâsından Sa'îd*

29 BOA, HAT, 1665/56 (doc. 1); Sungu, “İlk Türk Matbaasına Dair Yeni Vesikalar”, p. 11–13; H.R. Ertuğ, *Basın ve Yayın Hareketleri Tarihi [History of the Development of the Press and Publishing]*, Vol. 1, Istanbul, 1970, p. 96–101; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 360–362.

30 Sungu, “İlk Türk Matbaasına Dair Yeni Vesikalar”, p. 11; Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 52–57; Refik, *Hicri Onikinci Asır'da İstanbul Hayatı*, p. 91–94.

31 See Dipratu, “Blessings of the Printed Work”, p. 230–235.

32 Dipratu, “Ottoman Endorsements of Printing”, p. 49–67.

33 See A. Altunsu, *Osmanlı Şeyhülislâmları [Ottoman Grand Muftis]*, Ankara, 1972, p. 117–118.

34 al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şihâh-ı Cevherî*, Vol. 1, f. [3r]; see also A. Şen, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Usûlü'l-Hikem fî Nizâmi'l-Ümem [İbrahim Müteferrika and Usûlü'l-Hikem fî Nizâmi'l-Ümem]*, Ankara, 1995, p. 56; H. Nuhoglu, “Müteferrika Matbaasının Kurulması İçin Verilen Fetvâ Üzerine” [“On the *Fatwa* Given for the Establishment of the Müteferrika Press”], in *Basım ve Yayınlarımızın 250. Yılı Bilimsel Toplantısı*, p. 119–126.

ve *dergâh-ı mu'allâm müteferrikâlarından İbrâhîm*) to print dictionaries and books on logic, physics, astronomy, geography, medicine, and similar subjects. With the same *fermân*, the former Istanbul judge İshak Efendi, the former Salonica judge Sahib Efendi, the former Galata judge Esad Efendi and Şeyh Musa Efendi (the principal dervish of the Kasımpaşa dervish lodge in Istanbul), all of whom were already mentioned in Müteferrika's application, were appointed proofreaders.³⁵ Notably, three of them – İshak Efendi, Esad Efendi (also known as Yanyalı Esad Efendi), and Şeyh Musa Efendi – as well as the aforementioned İلمي Efendi, who objected to Müteferrika's printing initiative, were members of the scholarly teams, assigned by the grand vizier to translate historical and philosophical works from Arabic, Persian, Latin and Greek into Turkish.³⁶ In particular, Yanyalı Esad Efendi's assets inventory, recorded on *Şa'bân* 20, 1144/February 17, 1732, includes the titles or authors of 154 books, many of them from the field of physics, astronomy and mathematics,³⁷ and reflecting his scholarly pursuits.³⁸ It is obvious that either Müteferrika and Said, or the grand vizier himself, assigned the supervision of the printing press to leading Ottoman intellectuals of the time, who served as translators of important works in the palace and whose scholarly interests covered more or less the topics of the envisaged publications. In doing so, the founders of the press were presumably able to calm the anxiety of some influential religious functionaries who may still have had a biased and contrary attitude toward the art of printing.

The sultan's approval of the Müteferrika press appears to be the first known Ottoman case of prior permission being given for a press to operate. Such a

35 BOA, A.DVNS.MHM.d, 134, p. 156–157 (doc. 555); al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şîhâh-ı Cevherî*, Vol. 1, f. [2v–3r]; see also Refik, *Hicrî Onikinci Asır'da İstanbul Hayatı*, p. 89–91; Şen, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Usûlü'l-Hikem*, p. 57–59; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 358–359; Atiyeh (ed.), *The Book in the Islamic World*, p. 284–285; Omont, "Documents sur l'imprimerie à Constantinople", p. 190–192.

36 See M. Kaya, "Some Findings on Translations Made in the 18th Century from Greek and Es'ad Efendi's Translation of the *Physica*", in E. İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Transfer of Modern Science & Technology to the Muslim World, Proceedings of the International Symposium on "Modern Sciences and the Muslim World". Science and Technology Transfer from the West to the Muslim World from the Renaissance to the Beginning of the XIXth Century (Istanbul 2–4 September 1987)*, Istanbul, 1992, p. 385–392; K. Sarıkavak, "Az Bilinen Osmanlı'da Bir Aydınlanma Hareketi" ["A Little Known Enlightenment Movement in the Ottoman Empire"], in G. Eren (ed.), *Osmanlı*, Vol. 7, Ankara, 1999, p. 189–194; S. Aydın, "Bilimsel Faaliyetler Açısından Lâle Devri" ["The Tulip Age in Light of Scientific Activities"], in Armağan (ed.), *İstanbul Armağanı, 4. Lâle Devri*, p. 170–171; Çolak, "İbrahim Müteferrika and the Ottoman Intellectual Culture", p. 9–10.

37 İMŞS, Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi, 66, f. 5v–6r.

38 K. Sarıkavak, "Yanyalı Esad Efendi", in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 43, Istanbul, 2013, p. 322–323.

permission became a practice that was used in the ventures of successive generations of Ottoman Turkish printers, as well as by non-Turkish and non-Muslim printers in the 19th century. However, as can be seen, Müteferrika's treatise and application, as well as the permission documents on behalf of the Ottoman government, were written at a time when the Müteferrika press was already in operation, not before its establishment. As Alpay Kabacalı³⁹ and Yaşar Tonta⁴⁰ state, Müteferrika wrote the treatise on the means of printing and submitted the application to obtain a printing license just to have the public opinion on his side. According to Gerçek, copyists and calligraphers gave up their resistance to the printing press only after realizing that the most sought-after religious books would not be printed and that they could continue to earn their living as before.⁴¹ As Saussure stated in 1732, the uneasiness created by the Müteferrika press generated chaos and great noise, and in order to calm the situation, its founders promised they would not print books without getting permission from the grand mufti first.⁴²

During the years when the Vankulu dictionary was still in the process of being published, or just released, similar news appeared in Western Europe, describing the difficult acceptance of the art of printing in Ottoman society. In 1728 and 1729, some English, French and German newspapers and journals stated that the Müteferrika press created concern among the clergy for the livelihood of the numerous calligraphers and copyists, and that the grand vizier managed to neutralize the objection of the grand mufti only by threatening to dismiss him from office.⁴³ The same tone was echoed in many books published in the 1730s and dealing in particular with the

39 A. Kabacalı, *Türk Kitap Tarihi I: Başlangıçtan Tanzimat'a Kadar* [Turkish Book History I: From the Beginning until the Tanzimat], Istanbul, 1989, p. 40.

40 Y. Tonta, "Ahmet Rasim'in İbrahim-i Müteferrika ve Matbaacılık Üzerine Yazdıklarının İncelenmesi" ["A Study of Ahmet Rasim's Writings on İbrahim Müteferrika and Printing"], *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 3, 1985, 1, p. 163.

41 Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 58–59; İskit, *Türkiye'de Neşriyat*, p. 7.

42 Thály (ed.), *Lettres de Turquie*, p. 94–95; compare with Karácson, "İbrahim Müteferrika", p. 183–184.

43 *Daily Courant*, 8280, April 24, 1728; *Mercurii Relation*, 19, May 8, 1728, p. 2; *Mercurii Relation*, 28, July 17, 1728, p. 1–2; *Der europäische Postillon*, 1728, p. 631–632; *Gazette de France*, November 26, 1729, p. 578; *Mercure de France*, December 1729, p. 2915–2916; Omont, "Documents sur l'imprimerie à Constantinople", p. 188; Birsen, "XVIIIinci Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Matbaanın İlk Kuruluşu", p. 31; Haddad, "People Before Print", p. 202–203; Haddad, *Imagining Turkish Literature*, p. 41, 48; Ü. Araç, "18. Yüzyıl İngiliz Gazetelerinde Osmanlı Kültürü: 1718–1730" ["The Ottoman Culture in the 18th-Century English Newspapers: 1718–1730"], *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 22, 2015, p. 22.

introduction of Arabic-type printing to the Ottoman capital.⁴⁴ While their authors used secondary sources and were not witnesses of the developments, Jonas Otter lived in Istanbul in 1734–1736 and had the chance to get to know Müteferrika in person. Otter says that the establishment of the printing press “suffered great difficulties from the people of the law and from the multitude of scribes, who spend their lives transcribing books”. However, Müteferrika “finally obtained permission to print all kinds of books, except those which deal with religion”. According to Otter, the faithful Muslims gave as the reason for this exception “that it would be a sin to put the Word of God into print; the real reason is undoubtedly that they wanted to reserve some means of subsistence for the copyists”.⁴⁵

The impression remains that the official opening of the Müteferrika press had to overcome some obstacles set by the opponents of printing like the scribes, manuscript copyists, and men of religion. As a result, İbrahim Müteferrika and Said Efendi received the necessary support from the Ottoman statesmen. As in a classical Greek drama, they enjoyed the help of a *deus ex machina*. As Orhan Koloğlu stated, Müteferrika’s eagerness to establish a printing press was as important as the decisive support of the sultan, the grand vizier, and Said Efendi.⁴⁶

The fact that Müteferrika dedicated the first two maps he printed to the grand vizier showcases the strong bonds between them.⁴⁷ To remind us of what Saussure wrote, Müteferrika had the opportunity to know the grand vizier closely, and the grand vizier successfully used him in various state affairs and supported his desire to set up a printing press without hesitation.⁴⁸ Tibor Halasi Kun assumes that the good relationship between them began in 1716, when they were both in Belgrade.⁴⁹ Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Pasha was a highly influential statesman. According to the Venetian Bailos’ reports, in the last years of his reign, Sultan Ahmed III was only a nominal ruler, while the administration of the state was entirely in the hands of his grand vizier and son-in-law, İbrahim Pasha. The latter had a great influence on the sultan regarding his decisions.⁵⁰

44 Ernesti, *Die wol-eingerichtete Buchdruckerey*, n. p.; Imhof, *Neu-eröffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal*, p. 834–835; Kundmann, *Rariora naturae et artis*, col. 715–716.

45 Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, p. 17–18.

46 Koloğlu, *Basımevi ve Basının Gecikme Sebepleri*, p. 19.

47 For a more detailed study of this relationship, see S. Soyer, *İbrâhîm Müteferrika in the Age of the Households: A Study of the İbrâhîm Müteferrika Printing Press in Relation to Nevşehirli Dâmâd İbrâhîm Pasha and the 1718–1730 Period of Ottoman History*, Montreal, 2019 (unpublished M.A. thesis).

48 Thály (ed.), *Lettres de Turquie*, p. 94.

49 Kun, “İbrâhîm Müteferrika”, p. 897.

50 Shay, *The Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1744*, p. 17–27.

Damad İbrahim Pasha was also a highly educated person and a book lover. The best evidence of this is that approximately 900 volumes of books were recorded in the assets inventory prepared after his execution in 1730.⁵¹ He was interested in history and philosophy books presumably useful for Ottoman policy and diplomacy, and therefore ordered to scholarly teams or individual scholars to translate such works from Arabic, Persian, German, Latin, and Greek into Turkish.⁵² As already mentioned, İbrahim Müteferrika also participated in this intensive translation work. It seems that Kundmann alludes to the same scholarly endeavor and connects it directly with the operation of the printing press, although he includes the anachronistic interpretation that the idea of its opening pertained to the Marquis de Villeneuve, who came to Istanbul as a French ambassador later, in 1728:

At the same time, he [the grand vizier] was struck by the idea that a learned society should be founded in Constantinople, headed by some French scholars. Through this society, these studies would become better known to the Turks. He therefore consulted the French ambassador, Mons de Villeneuve, who believed that the whole thing would be impracticable unless a printing press was set up.⁵³

As mentioned earlier, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, another prominent figure of the Tulip Age and Ottoman ambassador to France in 1720–1721, was not only an imperial chief treasurer (*başmuhâsebeci*, in office 1724–1730)⁵⁴ but also a highly educated person. According to the French ambassador to Istanbul Marquis de Bonnac, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi knew Arabic, Persian, and Turkish

51 L. Uluç, “Ottoman Book Collectors and Illustrated Sixteenth Century Shiraz Manuscripts”, *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 87–88, 1999, p. 85–107; compare with T. Artan, “El Yazmaları Işığında Bir Çevre ve Çehre Eskizi: Kadızâdeliler, Müceddidiler ve Damad İbrahim Paşa (1730)” [“A Sketch of Environment and Appearance in the Light of Manuscripts: Kadızâdelis, Müceddidis, and Damad İbrahim Pasha (1730)”], *Müteferrika*, 50, 2016, p. 51–143.

52 See M. İpşirli, “Lale Devrinde Teşkil Edilen Tercüme Heyetine Dair Bazı Gözlemler” [“Remarks on the Translation Committee Organized in the Tulip Age”], in E. İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Osmanlı İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri*, 1. *Millî Türk Bilim Tarihi Sempozyumu 3–5 Nisan 1987*, Istanbul, 1987, p. 33–42; Ayduz, “Bilimsel Faaliyetler Açısından Lâle Devri”, p. 170–171; Müneccimbaşı Ahmed b. Lütfullah, *Camii’ü’l-Düvel: Osmanlı Tarihi (1299–1481)* [*Camii’ü’l-Düvel: Ottoman History (1299–1481)*], ed. A. Ağrakça, Istanbul, 1995; Sarıkavak, “Az Bilinen Osmanlı’da Bir Aydınlanma Hareketi”; P. Bockholt, “Weglassen, wovor man sich eher hüten sollte: Zu inhaltlichen Veränderungen in der offiziellen Übersetzung einer safavidischen Weltchronik ins Türkische im Istanbul der ‘Tulipenzeit’”, *Der Islam*, 100, 2023, 1, p. 252–301.

53 Kundmann, *Rariora naturae et artis*, col. 711–712; compare with Küçük, *Early Enlightenment in Istanbul*, p. 196.

54 Z. Arıkan, “Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi”, in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 43, Istanbul, 2013, p. 552.

literature very well and had a rich book collection.⁵⁵ He translated from Arabic into Turkish *al-Shajara al-Ilâhiyya (The Divine Tree)* by Muhammad al-Shahrazuri (d. 1298), which explains nature and metaphysics in terms of the views of Aristotle (384–322 BC) and Avicenna (ca. 980–1037).⁵⁶ I have already mentioned that, according to Saint-Simon, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi visited a printing press during his embassy to France. Although Saint-Simon wrongly ascribed the opening of a printing house in Istanbul to the Ottoman ambassador, one may assume that Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi strongly supported his son Said Efendi's and Müteferrika's endeavor. Fatma M. Göçek emphasizes that the Müteferrika press was the only and the most important technological consequence of the Ottoman embassy to France in 1720–1721.⁵⁷

The role of the grand mufti of the period, Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi, was also important in the official endorsement of printing. He was installed as a grand mufti between 1718 and 1730 by Grand Vizier Damad İbrahim Pasha and was also under his close influence. Abdullah Efendi was a brilliant scholar in Islamic law (Ar. *fiqh*, Tk. *fıkıh*) and author of a popular *fatwa* collection titled *Behçetü'l-fetâva (Beautiful Fatwas)*. Consequently, he was entrusted with the important task to provide a plausible judicial framework for the legalization of the Müteferrika press.⁵⁸

Adil Şen stresses that the printing press received the support of high-ranking Muslim scholars and points out that, therefore, the claim that Muslim clergy opposed the art of printing is ungrounded.⁵⁹ However, one should not forget that the support of the clergy was probably obtained on the condition that religious books would not be printed and that those that were printed would be proofread by Muslim scholars. As Müteferrika promised both in his treatise and application, the texts of the official opinions of the said sixteen scholars, of the grand mufti's *fatwa*, of the *fermân* (Fig. 2), as well as of the treatise on the means of printing were published at the very beginning of the Vankulu dictionary, released in 1729.⁶⁰ The dictionary includes also a two-page preface written by Müteferrika, where he provided

55 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 385.

56 See B. Karlığa, “Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi'nin Yeni Bulunan Bir Fizik Kitabı Tercümesi ve Onsekizinci Yüzyılın Başında Osmanlı Düşüncesi” [“Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi's Newly Found Translation of a Physics Book and Ottoman Thinking at the Beginning of the 18th Century”], in Aykut Kazancıgil, et al. (eds.), *Bilim, Felsefe, Tarih*, Istanbul, 1991, p. 314–324.

57 Göçek, *East Encounters West*, p. 80–81.

58 M. İpşirli, “Lale Devri'nde Yenilikçi Bir Âlim: Şeyhülislam Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi” [“An Innovative Scholar in the Tulip Age: Grand Mufti Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi”], in Armağan (ed.), *İstanbul Armağanı*, 4. *Lâle Devri*, p. 249–257.

59 Şen, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Usûlü'l-Hikem*, p. 60 (n. 101).

60 al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şühâh-ı Cevherî*, Vol. 1, f. [2v–8r].

a brief account of the process of legalization of the printing press.⁶¹ In doing so, he sought once again the trust of his potential customers.

2.2 The Müteferrika Press as a Private Venture

Although the Müteferrika press was supported by the Ottoman state, it was not a state press, as wrongly claimed by some authors.⁶² It was a private enterprise, just as the Medici press, although supported by Pope Gregory XIII (1502–1585; r. 1572–1585), was not a papal but a private enterprise, founded in Rome in 1584 by the Vatican Cardinal and Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinando I de' Medici (1549–1609; in office 1562–1609; r. 1537–1609) and the renowned scholar Giovanni Battista Raimondi.⁶³ As understood from the aforementioned sources, İbrahim Müteferrika was running the printing press together with Mehmed Said Efendi and a skilled Jewish printer named Yona. In fact, because of the lack of other sources, Said's role in the press remains slightly obscure. Hidayet Nuhuğlu emphasizes that the question of whether Said Efendi was just the patron or the actual operator of the printing press has not yet been answered.⁶⁴ The French sources tend to exaggerate Said's role in the venture.⁶⁵ As Osman Ersoy states, according to his French contemporaries, Said Efendi supervised or was responsible for the management of the printing press.⁶⁶ In the aforementioned French newspapers, Said Efendi (Zaîr-Aga) comes to the fore as the supervisor of the press, while İbrahim Müteferrika – a “renegade monk who has [...] a great reputation for literary knowledge” – is shown only as his consultant in the selection of books to be printed.⁶⁷ According to other sources, the French ambassador Villeneuve brought to Istanbul two librarians, François Sevin (1662–1741) and Étienne Fourmont (1683–1746), whose mission was to obtain Greek, Armenian, Arabic, Persian, and

61 al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şiḫāḫ-ı Cevherî*, Vol. 1, f. [1v–2r].

62 See M. Titleman, “Mobility, Change, and a Shared History: The Ottoman Jewish Printing Press in Istanbul Alongside Turkish-Muslim Print”, *Hamsa*, 10, 2024, p. 1, <http://journals.openedition.org/hamsa/4557> (accessed on November 4, 2024).

63 See C. Reimann, “Ferdinando de' Medici and the *Typographia Medicea*”, in N. Lamal, J. Cumby, H. J. Helmers (eds.), *Print and Power in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, Leiden/Boston, 2021, p. 221–224.

64 Nuhuğlu, “Müteferrika Matbaası ve Bazı Mulahazalar”, p. 225.

65 Haddad, “People before Print”, p. 201–202, 206–207.

66 Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 34.

67 *Gazette de France*, 3, January 18, 1727, p. 25–26; compare Omont, “Documents sur l'imprimerie à Constantinople”, p. 186.

Ottoman Turkish manuscripts for the royal library in Paris, as well as to advise Said Efendi on what to print.⁶⁸

Fatma M. Göçek notes that the Müteferrika press came into being due to the presence of experienced printers working in the non-Muslim printing presses of the Ottoman capital.⁶⁹ Hasan Çolak emphasizes that “there is still a need to delve further into Müteferrika’s intellectual entanglements with broader Ottoman intellectual society, one that mirrors the diversity of the Ottoman world”.⁷⁰ He highlights “the networks between individuals and institutions”, involving the Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem Chrysanthos Notaras (1655–1731; in office 1707–1731), Esad Efendi of Ioannina, the Armenian map engraver Mıgırđıç Galatavi and the Jewish printer Yona Ashkenazi.⁷¹ Mark Titleman echoes this sentiment, stating that

historical paradigms implicating marketplaces, networks, and internal and external mobility can be brought to the fore to show an organic evolution of Ottoman printing from its 1493 introduction by the Ottoman Jewish community through its official adoption during the Tulip Era by Müteferrika and his colleagues.⁷²

Adil Şen also stresses that Müteferrika benefited from the experience of Jewish, Armenian-Gregorian, and Eastern Orthodox (Greek) printing traditions already existing in the Empire, and criticizes Jale Baysal, who is convinced that the Ottoman Turkish printing press was established and developed completely independently of the minority printers.⁷³ Şen recalls what Müteferrika wrote in his application to the grand vizier, according to which he had prepared the first proofs of the Vankulu dictionary with the help of the experienced Jewish printer Yona, who was one of the prominent representatives of non-Muslim printing in the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁴ Holderman also notes that Müteferrika was assisted by the Jewish typographer Yona, who cast the Arabic type.⁷⁵

Étienne Fourmont’s letter of March 26, 1729, contains an interesting remark on the Müteferrika press. He wrote about his visit to the press, whose operation – according to him – was quite difficult due to its founders’ inexperience in the art

68 Küçük, *Early Enlightenment in Istanbul*, p. 197.

69 Göçek, *East Encounters West*, p. 80–81.

70 Çolak, “İbrahim Müteferrika and the Ottoman Intellectual Culture”, p. 4.

71 Çolak, “İbrahim Müteferrika and the Ottoman Intellectual Culture”, p. 5.

72 Titleman, “Mobility, Change, and a Shared History”, p. 2.

73 Şen, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Usûlü’l-hikem*, p. 61–62 (n. 113); compare with Baysal, *Müteferrika’dan Birinci Meşrutiyete*, p. 3.

74 Şen, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Usûlü’l-hikem*, p. 61–62.

75 Omont, “Nouveaux documents sur l’imprimerie à Istanbul”, p. 8–9.

of printing. Fourmont also added that as one of the two partners, Said, was just a supervisor (*nāzur*), the printing press was actually relying on the hard work of the other partner, İbrahim Müteferrika, as well as on the work of a typesetter who was “a poor Polish Jew” who barely spoke Turkish.⁷⁶ The latter was the aforementioned Jewish printer of Polish origin Yona ben Ya‘akov Ashkenazi (d. 1745). He had founded a Hebrew printing press in Istanbul in 1710, which fell victim to a fire in 1740 but was revived two years later.⁷⁷ Fourmont’s remark that Müteferrika and Said were inexperienced in the art of printing deserves special attention, as it contradicts certain scholars’ suggestion that at least Müteferrika may have gained some experience in Cluj.⁷⁸ They assume that he might have personally known the famous Transylvanian punchcutter and printer Miklós Kis, who after spending a decade in Amsterdam, returned to his hometown of Cluj and revived the local Calvinist printing press in the early 1690s.⁷⁹ Although Müteferrika was certainly aware of this press, and as a student at the Calvinist College may even have spent some time there as an apprentice, he could not have had much experience in the art. At first, he seems to have been interested in maps, as evidenced by the woodblock of the Sea of Marmara he made in 1132/1719–1720, and it was only later that he decided, or was encouraged by Said or someone else, to go further and print books.

The Müteferrika press was officially a joint venture of İbrahim Müteferrika and Mehmed Said Efendi from 1727, when it obtained a printing license, until late 1732, when Said left the venture.⁸⁰ The *fermân* issued in July 1727 stipulated that they both should “contribute to the [printing] equipment and expenses” (*levâzım ve mesârıfın iştirâken görüp*).⁸¹ Küçükçelebizade İsmail Asım’s *History* states the same.⁸²

76 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 2, p. 543; Mistakidis, “Hükümet-i ‘Osmâniye Tarafından İlk Te’sis Olunan Matba’a”, p. 325–326; Haddad, “People before Print”, p. 208–209.

77 Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, Vol. 2, p. 90; Ersoy, *Türkiye’ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 35; Meral, *İbrahim Müteferrika Öncesi İstanbul’da Yahudi Matbuatı*, p. 49–58; Y. Meral, “Yona ben Ya‘kov Aşkenazi ve Matbaacılık Faaliyetleri (1710–1778)” [“Yona ben Ya‘kov Aşkenazi and His Printing Activities (1710–1778)”], in F. M. Emecen, A. Akyıldız, E. S. Gürkan (eds.), *Osmanlı İstanbulu IV*, Istanbul, 2016, p. 775–796.

78 Ersoy, *Türkiye’ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 30; Kun, “İbrâhim Müteferrika”, p. 898.

79 See Haiman, *Nicholas Kis*, p. 21–32.

80 BOA, A.DVNS.MHM.d, 139, p. 57–58 (doc. 176); Refik, *Hicri Onikinci Asır’da İstanbul Hayatı*, p. 123–125; Refik, *Osmanlı Alimleri ve Sanatkârları*, p. 242–243; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 363–364.

81 Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 359.

82 Küçükçelebizade, *Târîh-i Çelebizâde Efendi*, f. 119v.

In the scholarship related to the printing joint venture between 1727 and 1732 there are discrepancies of opinions about its nature. Selim Nüzhet Gerçek⁸³ and İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı⁸⁴ assume that this venture was of the *mudāraba* type, in which one partner provides the capital and the other carries out the operation or the management of the venture. On the other hand, available sources and a *fatwa*, also issued by Grand Mufti Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi, provide ground for another assumption, namely, that this partnership was of the *mufāwada* type, in which both parties invested equal amounts of capital and labor. Moreover, this *fatwa* reveals that yet a third party, of Jewish origin, claimed to be a part of the printing partnership.

The text of Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi's *fatwa* in question, published by Mehmet İpşirli without any comments, reads as follows:

Question: Zayd and Amr expressed a desire to print some books; they bought with their own funds a lot of paper, ink, and printing presses, after which Bakr, who is skillful in the art of printing, printed copies of dictionaries and history books with various titles. The three [persons] set up a joint venture (*‘aḳd-ı şirket*) on condition that the profit which remains after the release of the books and their sale, and after deducting the expenses for paper, ink, and presses from the income, is divided into five equal shares, one share falling to Bakr and two shares to Zayd and Amr each. What is your legal view: is such an enterprise, which has released a certain number of volumes according to the above-mentioned principles, valid or invalid?

Answer: A joint venture organized in this way is void. These books belong to Zayd and Amr, and they are bound to give a certain remuneration to Bakr for his work.⁸⁵

Although the *fatwa* mentions the parties not by their real names but by the names of Amr, Zayd, and Bakr, as customary in legal opinions, one may assume that it was related to the legal status of the Müteferrika press. The names Zaid and Amr presumably stand for Said Efendi and İbrahim Müteferrika. They bought with their own funds all the necessary materials and presses for printing, and then they asked the experienced Jewish printer Yona ben Ya‘akov Ashkenazi to help them print books.

Müteferrika's aforementioned application for the legalization of the printing press reveals more details about his cooperation with Said and Yona. He stated

⁸³ Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 58; F. Gedikli, *Osmanlı Şirket Kültürü: XVI–XVII. Yüzyıllarda Mudārebe Uygulaması [The Ottoman Corporate Culture: Mudaraba Application in the 16th–17th Centuries]*, İstanbul, 1998.

⁸⁴ İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi [Ottoman History]*, Vol. 4, Part 2, Ankara, 1988, p. 514.

⁸⁵ İpşirli, "Lale Devri'nde Yenilikçi Bir Âlim", p. 252.

that he had been printing for “eight years” and in that work he had been assisted by the experienced Jewish printer and typefounder Yona, who had a print shop with the necessary equipment. Müteferrika asked that a warrant (*berât*) be issued to Yona certifying that he and his descendants would be exempted from taxes for this service. He also states that “for two years” he had received help and support in his “work and expenses” from Said. The latter, however, was no longer able to help, and as Müteferrika himself did not have enough money to finance the venture, he asked the government to grant him the necessary funds to continue the work he had begun.⁸⁶ An Ottoman document – a receipt issued by the state treasury and discussed for the first time in this book – shows that Said and İbrahim Müteferrika did indeed receive a loan in 1140/1727–1728 to enable them to print the Vankulu dictionary. About four years later, on *Zîl-hicce* 16, 1143/June 22, 1731, Said repaid 238 piasters to the treasury.⁸⁷ It is unclear whether this sum is the whole amount or only a part of the loan. Although the state treasury did not normally lend money to private individuals, it was apparently not difficult for them to obtain this loan, as Said’s father, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, who had once headed an Ottoman embassy to Paris, had been the Empire’s chief treasurer since 1724. In addition to this loan, the state also provided daily rations to the workers employed at the printing press. According to Ottoman documents dating from late 1727, “fifteen pairs of bread loaves should be given daily to the workers employed at the printing press, where İbrahim Efendi began printing the Vankulu dictionary with [movable] type, for the account of the [imperial] kitchen, until [the book] is completed”.⁸⁸

The *fermân* issued in early July 1727 names Said and Müteferrika as the joint organizers of the operation of the printing press and does not mention Yona as a part of the venture. It is likely, however, that at a later point – when the Vankulu dictionary and the following history books were printed in 1729 and 1730 – Yona insisted to receive a one-fifth share of the printing house’s profit, while both Said and Müteferrika disagreed. Therefore, they turned to Grand Mufti Abdullah Efendi for a legal opinion. The latter issued a *fatwa* that confirmed Said’s and Müteferrika’s perspective and stated that Yona could only claim remuneration for his labor. According to Müteferrika’s property inventory, Yona himself, or one of his descendants, mentioned as “the Jewish typefounder”, received 1,770 aspers⁸⁹ as “an

⁸⁶ See Ertuğ, *Basın ve Yayın Hareketleri Tarihi*, p. 96–101.

⁸⁷ BOA, İE.ML, 123/11612.

⁸⁸ BOA, HAT, 1665/56 (doc. 6); Sungu, “İlk Türk Matbaasına dair Yeni Vesikalar”, p. 14.

⁸⁹ Asper (*ağçe*), an Ottoman silver coin. In the 18th century, one Ottoman piaster (*ğurüş*) was equal to 120 aspers.

incumbent duty by compromise” (*hurūfātçı Yahūdiye bi-ṭariķū’ş-şulh verilen deyn 1770 akçe*).

Considering the said *fatwa*, the business cooperation between Said and Müteferrika was a joint venture (*‘akd-ı şirket*). According to Islamic law, such an enterprise could be established by two or more persons for the purpose of trade or production. Capital could include one’s own funds (*emvāl*), labor (*a’māl*), and loans (*vücūh*). According to the share of the capital invested and the distribution of the profit received, the joint venture could be one of two main types. In the one called *mufāwada*, the business partners participate with equal shares of capital, have equal ownership rights over the enterprise, and receive correspondingly equal shares of the profit. In the other type, called *‘inān*, the partners participate with different amounts of capital and agree accordingly on a different share of the profit received. In this case, the emphasis falls on the joint management of the enterprise. Specific variants of these two main types of joint venture were the *mudāraba* (in which one partner provides capital and the other one carries out the operation and management of the venture), the *muzāra’a* (which was related to the occupancy of agricultural land for the production and marketing of grain), and the *musāqāt* (related to the occupancy of orchards and vineyards for a commercial exploitation of the production). With them, only one party provides cash or property, while the other develops the enterprise accordingly, and the profit is divided according to the preliminary agreement but equally, in principle. According to research based on archival documents, the most common form of joint enterprise in Ottoman practice was *‘inān*, with an investment of cash funds. Some specific sectors, such as tailoring, weaving, or dyeing (of fabrics), were typical joint ventures in which the participants did not invest funds but distributed the profit made for the accomplished order according to their labor. The form of *mudāraba* was mainly applied in the overseas trade, where the volume of capital was much larger.⁹⁰

In our case, if the said *fatwa* referred to the Müteferrika press, it is likely that the joint venture between Said and İbrahim Müteferrika was of the *mufāwada* type, in which both parties contributed capital and shared profits equally, because the *fatwa* in question discusses two shares of the profit for each of them. It seems that the status of the experienced Jewish printer Yona in this partnership remained unacknowledged, for unclear reasons. Although Islamic legal regulation allowed, in principle, the participation only with labor and a corresponding right to a share

⁹⁰ See M. Çizakça, *A Comparative Business Partnership: The Islamic World and Europe with Specific Reference to the Ottoman Archives*, Leiden, 1996; F. Gedikli, “Osmanlı Şirketleri” [“Ottoman Corporations”], in G. Eren (ed.), *Osmanlı*, Vol. 3, Ankara, 1999, p. 433–442; Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 83–84.

of the profit, in this case this right was not credited to Yona, as the printed books were the property only of Said and İbrahim Müteferrika, to whom the permission to print books had been granted in 1727. Therefore, what Yona was entitled to receive was only the appropriate remuneration for his labor.

It is possible that Said did not ask for compensation for his investment when he left the partnership in late 1732, or that Müteferrika paid him some money to become the sole owner of the company until his death in early 1747.

The colophons of the books printed at the Müteferrika press could also provide some clue about its status. They contain information about the date and place of publication, as well as who and which press printed them. The variation of this information in the different books could also refer to the change in the legal status of the press. The colophons of the seven books that were released by August 1730, i.e., prior to the Patrona Halil rebellion and Sultan Ahmed III's dethronement that occurred in September 1730, read that they had been printed by “[those] who are in charge of printing in the flourishing printing house [...] in the pleasant city of Constantinople” (*el-me'mürin be-'ameli't-ṭab' be-dārü't-ṭbā'ati'l-ma'müre [...] fi'l-beldeti't-ṭayyibet-i Ḳoṣṭanṭiniye*). The colophons of the books printed after the renewal of the printing privilege issued by the new sultan Mahmud I in the early 1730s and prior to Said's withdrawal in late 1732 (three in number) read that “the drafting and printing [of this book] was completed through the help of the Lord, the All-Bountiful, by the hand of the humble İbrahim, [one] of the *müteferriḳas* at the royal court, who is permitted to print in the flourishing printing house in the pleasant city of Constantinople” (*tamü't-tesvid ve't-ṭab' be-'avnü'l-māliki'l-vahāb 'alī yedü'l-ḥakīr İbrāhīm min müteferriḳān-ı dergāh-ı 'ālī el-mā'zün be-'amelü't-ṭab' be-dārü't-ṭbā'ati'l-āmire fi'l-beldeti't-ṭayyibet-i Ḳoṣṭanṭiniye*). While in the first case the Arabic word for “flourishing” is *ma'müre*, in the second case it is *āmire*. The latter adjective is used also in the chart depicting the cosmological plan according to Claudius Ptolemy that İbrahim Müteferrika himself prepared and attached to the *Tārīḫü'l-Hindi'l-ġarbī*, which came out in the second third (*evāsıf*) of *Ramażān* 1142/March 29–April 7, 1730, and for the second time to *Cihānnümā*, which was released on *Muḥarrem* 10, 1145/July 3, 1732 (*temet ve't-ṭbā'at hazi-hi eṣ-şüreti'l-merġübe be-dārü't-ṭbā'ati'l-āmire fi'l-beldeti't-ṭayyibet-i Ḳoṣṭanṭiniye*). The chart is dated 1142/1729–1730. Besides “flourishing”, the adjective *āmire* also means “imperial” or “pertaining to the government”, which misled many scholars of the history of Ottoman printing to consider the Müteferrika press a state-owned press. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that after the renewal of the printing privilege by the new sultan, Müteferrika changed the adjective from *ma'müre* to *āmire*. Although one of the meanings of the latter matches that of the previous one (“flourishing”), the other meaning of *āmire* (“imperial”) might indeed indicate some variation in the status of the printing press. Two of these three books mention İbrahim Müteferrika

personally, as he was also their author, while the colophon of the third book omits his name. However, after Said's withdrawal from the venture, the colophons of the following four books printed individually by Müteferrika read that "the book was completed through the help of the Lord, the All-Bountiful, by the hand of the humble İbrahim, [one] of the *müteferriķas* at the royal court, in the pleasant city of Constantinople" (*tāmü'l-kitāb be-'avnü'l-māliki'l-vahāb 'alī yedü'l-ħakīr İbrāhīm min müteferriķān-ı derġāh-ı 'ālī fı'l-beldeti't-ṭayyibet-i Košťantiniye*). This time the "flourishing printing house" is not mentioned anymore. However, Müteferrika used the same phrase – *dāriü't-ṭibā'ati'l-'āmire* – when he appended a list of his publications at the end of the second volume of Na'ima's *History*, published in 1147/1734.⁹¹ The colophon of the penultimate publication, related to Bosnia (*Aḥvāl-i ġazavāt der diyār-ı Bosna*) and printed in 1741, reads that "the copies of this book had been made numerous through the new way of writing of the art of printing in order to become complete and useful to the public" (*işbu mecellede cem' ve derc ve fevāidini ta'mim için kalem-i nev-i ḥaṭṭ-ı fenn-i ṭibā'at ile nüshaları tevfi olundu*).⁹² İbrahim Müteferrika's name does not appear at all. And the colophon of the last book, printed in 1742, contains again the initial formula and reads as follows: "[printed] by the hand of the humble [person] who is in charge of printing in the flourishing printing house [...] in the pleasant and protected city of Constantinople" (*'alī yedü'l-ħakīri'l-me'mür be-'amelü't-ṭab' be-dāriü't-ṭibā'ati'l-ma'müre [...] fı'l-beldeti't-ṭayyibeti'l-maḥmiye-i Košťantiniye*). Here, the formula repeats the one used in the first publications, with one difference – the expression "charged" is in the singular (*me'mür*) and not plural form (*me'mürin*), revealing that after 1732 Müteferrika ran the press individually. It is also noteworthy that in the colophon of Na'ima's *History*, printed in 1734, he referred to himself not only as "one of the *müteferriķas* at the imperial court", but also as a "printer", *ṭābi'* (*'alī yedü'l-ħakīri'l-muḥtāc ila raḥmet rabbi-hi el-ķadir İbrāhīm eṭ-ṭābi' min müteferriķān-ı derġāh-ı 'ālī fı'l-beldeti't-ṭayyibet-i Košťantiniye*).⁹³

Another important question is why the sultan set the prices for the Müteferrika publications, which were the product of a private enterprise. Until now, no one has paid attention to this question, because it was thought that the Müteferrika press was state-owned and such a procedure seemed normal. When the first book was still in print, Müteferrika and his partner Said Efendi asked the sultan to set a selling price. In fact, the sultan issued a *fermān* setting the price of a paperback copy of the Vankulu dictionary at 35 piasters. As stated in this *fermān*, issued in the

91 Na'ima, *Tārīḥ-i Na'imā*, Vol. 2, p. 741.

92 Ö. Bosnavi, *Aḥvāl-i ġazavāt der diyār-ı Bosna*, Istanbul, 1154/1741, f. 62v.

93 Na'ima, *Tārīḥ-i Na'imā*, Vol. 1, p. 701, and Vol. 2, p. 711.

last third (*evāhîr*) of *Şa'bân* 1141/late March 1729, the price was set at the suggestion of the two printers.⁹⁴ Later, this happened with another publication, containing Raşid's *History* and Küçükçelebizade's *History*. According to a *fermân* issued in the second third (*evāsıt*) of *Rebî'ül-evvel* 1154/May 27–June 5, 1741, the price of a set of unbound copies of this publication was to be 30 piasters, while its bound copies were to be priced at 40 piasters.⁹⁵ These two orders of the sultan stipulated that the Muslim judges of Istanbul should see to it that these copies were not sold or bought below or above the fixed prices. There are no surviving *fermâns* for the other 14 books published by the Müteferrika press. It can be assumed that their prices were also set by similar orders and in similar conditions.

This was not the case with manuscripts traded on the book market. As İsmail Erünsal notes, the prices of manuscripts were not fixed. These prices varied according to the size, subject and calligraphy of the manuscripts and depended entirely on the conditions of the book market. The only regulations issued by Sultan Mehmed II (1432–1481; r. 1444–1446, 1451–1481) and Sultan Süleyman I (1494–1566; r. 1520–1566) concerned the booksellers, who were not allowed to sell a copy with a profit of more than 10 %. However, it is uncertain whether and to what extent these regulations, issued in the 15th and 16th centuries, were strictly observed, especially in later centuries.⁹⁶

The sultan's involvement in setting the price of the Müteferrika prints did not contradict the private status of the press. First of all, it was the two printers who asked the sultan to set prices – also suggested by the two of them – for the books they printed. The sultan simply responded to their request. Second, in the case of printed books, we are talking about multiple identical copies of the same book (the print run of a book is 500 copies), which are just a mass-produced good, like all the others produced by craftsmen. With manuscripts, on the one hand, there is no serial reproduction of many copies of the same text. They are individual copies traded at a price agreed upon by the buyer and seller. On the other hand, it can be assumed that the prices set for the Müteferrika prints were a kind of ceiling price (*narh*) set for other goods, including the tulip bulbs, as noted in the previous chapter. Such a price adjustment was common practice in the Ottoman Empire. It was meant to protect the rights of both sellers and consumers, and higher officials,

94 BOA, A.DVNS.MHM.d, 135, p. 204 (doc. 1048); Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 61–62; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 363.

95 BOA, A.DVNS.MHM.d, 147, p. 466 (doc. 1624); Refik, *Hicrî Onikinci Asır'da İstanbul Hayatı*, p. 152–153; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 364–365.

96 Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar*, p. 174–175, 210.

including judges, were responsible for enforcing the price regulation.⁹⁷ In fact, as long as Müteferrika lived, the prices of the books he printed may have been lower than the price set by a *fermān*, but they never exceeded it.⁹⁸

2.3 Staff, Equipment, and Location of the Press

As I have stated, the 1735 addendum to Imhof's chronicle contains an engraving depicting the Müteferrika press in 1728 (Fig. 1).⁹⁹ On this engraving, one can notice two presses, a typesetter's bench, and six workers. All workers are depicted with turbans and caftans, thus leaving no room for hesitation that the picture represents an Oriental, i.e., Muslim or Ottoman Turkish printing press.

Other contemporary Western European sources provide different, yet contradictory information about the location and staff of the Müteferrika press. On July 17, 1728, *Mercurii Relation* published the following report from Istanbul, dated May 12, 1728:

The printing press established by the grand vizier in the seraglio has almost reached perfection. There are 36 young apprentices working in it, under the direction of eight masters, most of them learned Greeks, but who know the local [language].¹⁰⁰

In addition, on September 4, 1728, *Mercurii Relation* released another report from Vienna:

The Turkish consul here¹⁰¹ has bought many Oriental manuscripts at a high price and sent them to the grand vizier as a gift. He has [also] sent some typesetters, who are to be used in the new printing press in Constantinople. It is believed that similar print shops will also be established in other cities of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰²

97 See O. Oguz, A. Tabakoglu, "An Historical Approach to Islamic Pricing Policy: A Research on the Ottoman Price System and Its Application", *Journal of King Abdulaziz University: Islamic Economics*, 3, 1991, p. 63–79; F. Günergün, "Standardization in Ottoman Turkey", in F. Günergün, S. Kuriyama (ed.), *International Symposium: The Introduction of Modern Science and Technology to Turkey and Japan*, Kyoto, 1998, p. 205–225.

98 See Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar*, p. 181–182, 186–187.

99 Imhof, *Neu-eröffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal*, p. 835.

100 *Mercurii Relation*, 28, July 17, 1728, p. 1.

101 Kazancızade Ömer Agha, who served as an Ottoman consul (*şehbender*) in Vienna between 1726 and 1732; see H. Wurm, "Entstehung und Aufhebung des osmanischen Generalkonsulats in Wien (1726–1732): Eine Relation Heinrich von Penklers aus dem Jahr 1761", *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, 42, 1992, p. 152–187.

102 *Mercurii Relation*, 35, September 4, 1728, p. 4.

The second edition of Ernesti's 1733 handbook repeats this information, but also adds new details regarding the origin of the type:

Various credible reports attest to this, such as the fact that 36 young apprentices, under the direction of Greeks well versed in this art, were working on their printing presses set up in the seraglio, and had already achieved a certain degree of perfection [...]

The Turkish consul in Vienna bought many Oriental manuscripts at a high price and sent them to the grand vizier as a gift. He also sent a good and suitable typesetter to Constantinople, although he is of the Protestant faith. Six Turks were sent from Constantinople to Leiden to cast and produce 40 to 50 centners¹⁰³ of Turkish type, so that there would be no shortage for printing.¹⁰⁴

Imhof's chronicle (1735) repeats that Said Efendi and İbrahim Müteferrika disposed of a staff consisting of 36 boys and eight master printers, "mostly Greeks". It also claims that 40 to 50 centners of "Turkish type" were brought from Holland.¹⁰⁵

Kundmann's account, published in 1737, is more elaborate:

He [Said Efendi] first had Arabic and Turkish type cast; but as this did not last, six Turks were sent to Vienna, and the Turkish consul there sent them to Leiden in Holland to have 40 to 50 centners of Arabic and Turkish type made, so that they could continue the work on a large scale [...]. The Turkish agha [consul] in Vienna hired printers and scribes as day laborers and sent them to Constantinople, where eight master printers, most of them educated Greeks and fluent in the language of the country, and 36 apprentices worked in the seraglio where the printing press had been installed. Thus, in early 1729, they were able to present a sample of their art to the grand vizier.¹⁰⁶

Kundmann also repeats Bachstrom's report (1729) that the print shop was not located in the seraglio but in a private house, and adds the following information:

[İbrahim Müteferrika] bought a bad press from an Armenian printer; later, he used two other presses brought from France. As there had been Jewish printers in Istanbul for many years, he asked some of them to cast the type. [Then] he began to print the aforementioned work [the Vankulu dictionary] and happily published it in-folio, in two volumes.¹⁰⁷

103 One German centner (*zentner*) was equal to 50 kg, therefore the total weight mentioned here must have been equal to 2–2,5 tons.

104 Ernesti, *Die wol-eingerichtete Buchdruckerey*, n. p.

105 Imhof, *Neu-eröffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal*, p. 834–835.

106 Kundmann, *Rariora naturae et artis*, col. 711–712; compare Küçük, *Early Enlightenment in Istanbul*, p. 197 (n. 64).

107 Kundmann, *Rariora naturae et artis*, col. 712–714; compare Babinski, *World Literature in Practice*, p. 389.

The same information found in Ernesti's, Imhof's, and Kundmann's books is repeated in Heinrich Scholz's short essay on the *Bibliothecae arabicae de typographiis arabicis*, published in 1741.¹⁰⁸

The information provided by Bachstrom, who had obviously attained a personal impression of the Müteferrika press during his stay in Istanbul in 1729,¹⁰⁹ should be considered more reliable and trustworthy. He states that the print shop was located not in the seraglio, as the initial European opinion was, but in a private house. According to Saussure's claim in his 1732 letter, Müteferrika set up the press in his own house.¹¹⁰ Küçükçelebizade Asım Efendi's *History*, printed by Müteferrika in 1741, also suggests that the printing press was set up in Müteferrika's house located in the Sultan Selim district in Istanbul.¹¹¹ As I mentioned before, according to the 1747 inventory of his assets, Müteferrika resided in the Mismari Şüca neighborhood near the Sultan Selim Mosque in Istanbul. The small mosque of Mismari Şüca, around which the said neighborhood was organized, still exists and can give us an idea of the approximate location of the Müteferrika press in today's Istanbul topography. According to the same inventory, the copies of the books printed by Müteferrika that remained unsold after his death were kept in a stone room in a place called Tophane, which was adjacent to the Sultan Selim Mosque (see Addendum 2). It seems that after the books were printed in his house, he moved them to a safer place to protect them from any damage caused by fire or flood.

Bachstrom claims that the print shop started its operation with "a bad press" purchased from an Armenian printer, but later two presses were brought from France. If this information is correct, in 1729 Müteferrika worked with two fully functional presses like the ones depicted in Imhof's chronicle. Unfortunately, Bachstrom does not provide any details, at least in Kundmann's reference, about the staff of the print shop.

There are also other sources that provide relevant yet contradictory information. B. A. Mistakidis refers to Carl B. Lorck's *Handbuch der Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst*, published in 1882,¹¹² according to which Said Efendi ordered the Arabic type to be cast in Istanbul.¹¹³ This confirms Kundmann's narrative. Giambattista Toderini was also convinced that the type was manufactured in the

¹⁰⁸ Scholz, *Bibliothecae Arabicae de Typographiis Arabicis*, p. 11–12.

¹⁰⁹ Paul Babinski assumes that Bachstrom "appears to have worked with Müteferrika in the new press"; see Babinski, *World Literature in Practice*, p. 388–389.

¹¹⁰ Thály (ed.), *Lettres de Turquie*, p. 94.

¹¹¹ Küçükçelebizade, *Tārīḫ-i Çelebizāde Efendī*, f. 120r (the folio is wrongly numbered 112).

¹¹² C. B. Lorck, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst 1450–1750*, Leipzig, 1882, p. 281.

¹¹³ Mistakidis, "Hükümet-i 'Osmaniye Tarafından İlk Te'sis Olunan Matba'a", p. 326.

Ottoman capital.¹¹⁴ Necip Asım, citing no source, claims that the type was cast by a local Armenian named Araboğlu.¹¹⁵ Some other authors also maintain the opinion that an Armenian typesetter cast the Arabic characters.¹¹⁶ According to a letter written in 1776 by an interpreter of the French Foreign Office, Étienne Legrand, the necessary equipment was brought from Leiden.¹¹⁷ This is exactly what Ernesti's, Imhof's, and Kundmann's books say.

However, the claim that the Arabic type used in the Müteferrika press was cast in Leiden may be the result of a misunderstanding. Jan Just Witkam, a renowned specialist in Arabic typography, declared the following: "Many years ago, I tried, in vain, to establish a connection between the design of Müteferrika's type and the Arabic type used by Western European presses of the time".¹¹⁸ According to more reliable sources, İbrahim Müteferrika did not ask for Arabic type to be supplied from the Netherlands or France, but for Latin type, so that he could print in 1730 Holderman's *Grammaire turque*, as well as a Turkish-French or Turkish-Latin dictionary, in both Arabic and Latin script. According to a report by the Dutch ambassador in Istanbul Cornelis Calkoen (1696–1764; in office 1727–1744), dated October 4, 1728,

The Turkish director [of the press] has written to Holland to get Latin type as a *Grammar* and *Lexicon Turco Latinum* will be printed here, to serve as an instruction [book] in the Latin language for the Turks, for which the Jesuit father has set up a college with the permission of the [Sublime] Porte in Constantinople.¹¹⁹

Such a college, called *École des jeunes de langues*, was indeed established in Istanbul (Galata) in 1669. However, its aim was not to train "Turks", but French youths to become dragomans of the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages. Holderman's handbook was intended to provide basic knowledge of Turkish grammar for the

¹¹⁴ Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 14–15.

¹¹⁵ Asım [Yazıksız], "Türk Matbaacılığı", p. 46–48; in fact, Araboğlu Bogos (1742–1835) and his sons cast new typefaces in the late 18th and early 19th century; see O. F. Yazıcıgil, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Nesih Hattının Tipografik Evrimi (1729–1928)* [*The Typographic Evolution of the Naskh Typeface in the Ottoman Empire (1729–1928)*], Istanbul, 2020 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis), p. 141–142; K. Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne, Mühendishâne Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi (1776–1826)* [*The Mühendishane Printing House and Library in the History of Turkish Science and Printing (1776–1826)*], Istanbul, 1995, p. 321, 324–325; BOA, C.MF, 120/5983.

¹¹⁶ Ertuğ, *Basın ve Yayın Hareketleri Tarihi*, p. 103.

¹¹⁷ Omont, "Documents sur l'imprimerie à Constantinople", p. 229; compare with O. Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 34.

¹¹⁸ Witkam, "Orlin Sabev, *Waiting for Müteferrika*", p. 188.

¹¹⁹ National Archive of the Netherlands, NL-HaNA_1.02.20_25_0002, https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/1.02.20/invnr/25/file/NL-HaNA_1.02.20_25_0017 (accessed on February 24, 2024).

Francophones living or studying in the Ottoman Empire.¹²⁰ According to a letter by the French ambassador Marquis de Villeneuve dated March 2, 1730, Müteferrika asked that French type be made for him as a “royal gift”, providing several Arabic fonts whose size and proportion would be observed.¹²¹ Holderman, however, claimed that the “French” letters were cast by people who did not speak French.¹²² Villeneuve also noted that the Latin letters were produced locally.¹²³ Babinger, quoting the *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen* (no. 192, 1729, p. 93), declared that this grammar book was “the first French work printed in Constantinople and with type cast there”.¹²⁴ However, the quoted number and page do not contain such information.¹²⁵ Babinger may have had in mind no. 52 (December 22, 1729, p. 937), where it is said that

So far, various works have been published in the newly established printing press here, and they are also in the process of acquiring French letters to print a history of Europe in the same language, because most of the distinguished Muslim men are well versed in it.¹²⁶

However, this information does not support Babinger’s claim that the French letters were cast in Istanbul. It is also uncertain whether any type – be it Arabic or Latin – was brought from France, the Netherlands, or elsewhere. Emanuela Conidi also assumes that the type was prepared in Istanbul.¹²⁷ It cannot be ruled out that Müteferrika did not ask the French authorities for a complete set of Latin letterforms, but only for specimens to be used for casting Latin type in Istanbul, in a size that matched the one of the existing Arabic type in his press.

As for the number of Müteferrika’s functioning presses, according to Holderman, who personally observed the process of printing his grammar book in

¹²⁰ See Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni*, p. 226–227.

¹²¹ Omont, “Documents sur l’imprimerie à Constantinople”, p. 188–189; Kunalalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 1, p. 236.

¹²² Holderman, *Grammaire turque*, f. [4v]; compare Omont, “Nouveaux documents sur l’imprimerie à Istanbul”, p. 6.

¹²³ Kunalalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 1, p. 446–449; R. Dipratu, “French Ambassador Marquis de Villeneuve and the Beginning of Ottoman Print in Istanbul”, in *Proceedings of the Early Modern Ottoman Studies (EMOS) Conference, July 12–15, 2023, Ankara* (forthcoming).

¹²⁴ Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 14.

¹²⁵ https://zs.thulb.uni-jena.de/rsc/viewer/jportal_derivate_00245940/dt_zs_1071_jg1729_00889.tif?logicalDiv=jportal_jparticle_00495918&q=1729 (accessed on January 8, 2023).

¹²⁶ *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen*, 52, December 22, 1729, p. 937.

¹²⁷ E. Conidi, *Arabic Types in Europe and the Middle East, 1514–1924: Challenges in the Adaptation of the Arabic Script from Written to Printed Form*, Reading, 2018 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis), p. 511–513, https://centaur.reading.ac.uk/80437/1/16021166_Conidi_redacted.pdf (accessed on May 25, 2024).

1730, there were four presses for printing books and two more for the reproduction of geographical maps.¹²⁸ A report from Genoa dated March 15, 1731, and published in the Saturday supplement (*Sambstägige Extra-Zeitungen*) of *Mercurii Relation's* issue of April 13, 1731, confirms Holderman's information. The report mentions that the size of the French type specially cast for printing Holderman's grammar book was the same as that of the "Turkish" type, as Müteferrika had requested from the French ambassador. The report is also noteworthy for its claim that there were six "Turks" working in the print shop. Whether coincidental or not, this number matches exactly the number of persons depicted in Imhof's chronicle. The report reads as follows:

There are six presses in the print shop, namely four for books and two for maps, and six Turks work on the composition of Turkish books. A certain clergyman and missionary [Holderman] has also induced İbrahim Effendi to print books for the use of the French, or free people, for which he has had the matrices and French type cast for him, together with other Turkish type matching the French one. The 200,000 Turkish letterforms come in three different sizes. It is hoped that Roman [Latin] type will be cast for the other prints.¹²⁹

The assertion in the above-mentioned German sources that eight master printers, "most of them educated Greeks", and 36 young apprentices worked at the Müteferrika press needs to be confirmed by other sources. There are different accounts on the origin of its staff. The French sources tend to exaggerate the role of France in the foundation of the Müteferrika press by claiming that it began to operate with printers brought from France.¹³⁰ They were echoed by some British newspapers, which declared in 1730 that the printers had been brought from Marseilles.¹³¹ Ernesti's 1733 edition also claims that "shortly afterwards, many Frenchmen came by water from Marseilles to Constantinople, who were assigned to these printers".¹³² However, it seems that these sources actually meant that French printers were sent to Istanbul in 1730 to print Holderman's grammar book at the Müteferrika press.

128 Omont, "Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à Istanbul", p. 10.

129 *Mercurii Relation, Sambstägige Extra-Zeitungen*, 6, April 14, 1731, p. 4; almost the same information can be found in *Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savans de l'Europe*, 6, January, February, March 1731, 1, p. 237; see also Hanstein, *A New Print by Müteferrika*, p. 8.

130 R. Zäimova, "Quelques traits de l'Européanisation culturelle dans l'Empire Ottoman au début du XVIII^e siècle", in M.-C. Skuncke (ed.), *Centre(s) et périphérie(s): Les lumières de Belfast à Beijing/Centre(s) and Margins: Enlightenment from Belfast to Beijing*, Paris, 2003, p. 77.

131 *Daily Journal*, 2969, July 13, 1730; Araç, "18. Yüzyıl İngiliz Gazetelerinde Osmanlı Kültürü", p. 22.

132 Ernesti, *Die wol-ingerichtete Buchdruckerey*, n. p.; compare Küçük, *Early Enlightenment in Istanbul*, p. 33.

Ernesti's edition claims that "more and more improvements have been made to this [print] shop, and the Dutch Jews are said to have contributed to it in no small measure".¹³³ According to César de Saussure, the printers, engravers and typefounders were brought from Vienna.¹³⁴ This is what Ernesti and later Kundmann (after Ernesti) also claimed. In his 1735 report, Edvard Carleson states that İbrahim Müteferrika immediately set to work, as he had at his disposal printers and typesetters brought from Germany.¹³⁵ He also adds that "during the last riots [the Patrona Halil rebellion of 1730], all the German workers [at the print shop] fled" the country, and therefore İbrahim Müteferrika continued to work with "his five sons" who quickly became familiar with the art of printing.¹³⁶

As I stated before, Müteferrika did not have any sons. What Carleson seems to have had in mind was the five workers employed in the print shop. The names of five employees were also recorded in Müteferrika's assets inventory, as he owed them monthly wages. All of them had Turkish/Arabic names: Mehmed Çelebi; another Mehmed, son of Ali; Ahmed, son of Osman; another Ahmed, son of Mehmed; and Hafız Abdülkerim Efendi. The inventory also mentions an "incumbent duty" to be paid off to a Jewish typefounder (*hurûfâtçı Yahûdi*).¹³⁷ The name of the latter is not indicated but one can assume that he was either Yona, or one of his sons who ran the Jewish printing shop after his death in 1745.¹³⁸ The two engravers, Ahmed al-Kırımı and Mıgırđıç Galatavi, who prepared some of the charts and maps for the printed edition of Kâtib Çelebi's *Cihânnümâ*, were also not recorded in the inventory. Like Yona, they may have been employed on a part-time basis to produce certain cartographical images.

To sum up, it seems that İbrahim Müteferrika employed five Muslim Turkish printers who worked on a full-time basis and three other part-time contractors: a Jewish typefounder (Yona) and two map makers of Muslim Turkish (Ahmed al-Kırımı) and Armenian origin (Mıgırđıç Galatavi), eight in total. It is a matter of speculation whether it is coincidental that this number is an exact match of the number of eight master printers mentioned in *Mercurii Relation* (1728), in Imhof's work (1735), and Kundmann's narrative (1737). Nevertheless, as the above sources suggest, the number of workers and their origins may have varied. Their number may have been greater in the beginning, when more investment and human labor

133 Ernesti, *Die wol-eingerichtete Buchdruckerey*, n. p.; compare Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 11.

134 Thály (ed.), *Lettres de Turquie*, p. 94.

135 Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 9.

136 Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 12.

137 Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni*, p. 404.

138 Meral, *İbrahim Müteferrika Öncesi İstanbul'da Yahudi Matbaatı*, p. 50.

were needed. As already mentioned, Ottoman documents from the end of 1727 show that the imperial kitchen gave fifteen pairs of bread loaves daily to the workers employed at the printing press until the Vankulu dictionary was completed.¹³⁹ It can be assumed that the mentioned number of “fifteen pairs of bread loaves” referred to fifteen persons involved in the printing process, each of whom was given a pair of bread loaves on a daily basis. It also makes sense that foreign printers were initially employed, along with the use of imported equipment, and over time local Muslim Turkish printers were trained and became capable to replace them and continue the work.

2.4 Interruptions in the Operation of the Press

After receiving an imperial privilege to jointly run a press, İbrahim Müteferrika and Said Efendi continued their printing activities in quite an intensive mode. They printed eight books, half of their sixteen publications, in four years (1727–1730). The other eight publications were completed in a much longer period, eleven years, with some interruptions (1732–1742). The first four years of this impressive hard work attest how enthusiastic Müteferrika and Said were about launching printing. As I will discuss in the following chapter, the printing process of the first publications partly overlapped. While the printed sheets of the first book, the Vankulu dictionary, were proofread, and the errata tables of its two volumes were prepared, the two printers began printing the second book. Similarly, before the completion of this work, for which also an errata table was prepared, the presses were put into operation to print the third book. This is how the Müteferrika press was able to offer the reading public eight books in just two years (1729 and 1730).

This intense initial stage finished in late 1730. The Patrona Halil rebellion, which dethroned Sultan Ahmed III and led to the execution of Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Pasha, broke out in September 1730 and ended only in 1731. It obviously interrupted the smooth operation of the press, at least for a while. As mentioned above, the Swedish ambassador Edvard Carleson even claimed that the German workers of the Müteferrika press fled because of the “recent riots”. It seems that the rebellion did not immediately affect its work, as Holderman’s grammar book, which was still in print when the rebellion broke out, was finished at the end of November 1730.¹⁴⁰ However, the following ninth and tenth publications were completed only in February 1732. Ahmed Refik wrote, with a certain amount

139 BOA, HAT, 1665/56 (doc. 6); Sungu, “İlk Türk Matbaasına dair Yeni Vesikalar”, p. 14.

140 Duverdier, “Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika”, p. 345.

of exaggeration, that the 1730 rebellion destroyed the fruits of the printing press.¹⁴¹ According to Kundmann, the rebellion did not interrupt the operation of the press because the new sultan and the new grand mufti¹⁴² encouraged its activity by issuing “express orders”.¹⁴³ Later, scholars such as Franz Babinger¹⁴⁴ and Günay Alpay Kut¹⁴⁵ echoed Kundmann’s claim. However, the newly installed Sultan Mahmud I issued a *fermân* only in the second third (*evâsıt*) of *Receb* 1145/December 27, 1732–January 5, 1733, allowing İbrahim Müteferrika to run the press individually after Said Efendi’s withdrawal in late 1732.¹⁴⁶ Apparently, the rebellion did not immediately affect the operation of the press, but it may have delayed or changed the publication projects.

İbrahim Müteferrika’s various court duties probably also prevented him from being fully involved in the printing process. For example, with a *fermân* dating from the second third (*evâsıt*) of *Cemâziyü’l-âhır* 1144/December 11–20, 1731, İbrahim, one of the court stewards, was appointed an aide of the Iranian prince Safi Mirza, who had been granted asylum by the Ottoman authorities and settled in Salonica.¹⁴⁷ However, as Erhan Afyoncu notes, it is unclear whether İbrahim Müteferrika or another İbrahim is mentioned in this *fermân*.¹⁴⁸

As already mentioned, the next ninth and tenth publications of the Müteferrika press came out only in February 1732. According to Mikhail Meyer, its operation was revived after Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha (1689–1758) became grand vizier (in office 1732–1735). According to the Russian diplomatic reports, many prominent figures of the Tulip Age recovered their positions and influence during his tenure.¹⁴⁹ As Radu Dıpratu recently argued, most of the sixteen high-ranking Muslim functionaries who approved the printing enterprise in 1727 preserved their leading positions in the Ottoman religious hierarchy after the rebellion. This fact was also of essence in guaranteeing the smooth continuation of the printing enterprise.¹⁵⁰

141 Refik, *Osmanlı Alimleri ve Sanatkârları*, p. 242.

142 Mirzazâde Şeyh Mehmet Efendi (d. 1735; in office 1730–1731).

143 Kundmann, *Rariora naturae et artis*, col. 717–718.

144 Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 19.

145 Kut, “Matba’â. B. Printing and Lithography. 2. In Turkey”, p. 799–803.

146 BOA, A.DVNS.MHM.d, 139, p. 57–58 (doc. 176); Refik, *Hicrî Onikinci Asır’da İstanbul Hayatı*, p. 123–125; Refik, *Osmanlı Alimleri ve Sanatkârları*, p. 242–243; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 363–364; compare with Yılmaz, “Müteferrika Matbaasının Kurucu Kadrosu”, p. 41.

147 Refik, *Hicrî Onikinci Asır’da İstanbul Hayatı*, p. 119.

148 Afyoncu, “İlk Türk Matbaasının Kurucusu Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler”, p. 613; Afyoncu, “İbrâhim Müteferrika”, p. 325.

149 Meyer, *Османская империя в XVIII веке*, p. 179.

150 See Dıpratu, “Ottoman Endorsements of Printing”, p. 59–61.

The eleventh publication of the press was completed in July 1732, and the twelfth book came out approximately a year later, in June 1733. The reason for this interruption was Said Efendi's official withdrawal from the venture because of his long diplomatic mission to Sweden (1732–1733).¹⁵¹ This being the case, Müteferrika applied for the renewal of the printing license in his name only. In response, an approving *fermân* was issued in late 1732 or early 1733, as already mentioned.¹⁵²

There was also another six-year long interruption between late 1734 and early 1741. According to Kundmann, who provided a list of Müteferrika's output until 1734, Raşid's *History* was "in print",¹⁵³ but it was officially released in 1741. Erhan Afyoncu assumes that this interruption was due to İbrahim Müteferrika's diplomatic missions.¹⁵⁴ It was also during this period that Müteferrika became more involved in the service of his Hungarian compatriots from Transylvania who had found refuge on Ottoman soil. During these years, he tried to encourage them to organize a military campaign, supported by the Ottoman state, to regain Transylvania's independence from the Habsburgs.¹⁵⁵ According to Hüseyin Gazi Topdemir, this interruption may also indicate a lack of funding for the printing press.¹⁵⁶ This may indeed be the case, as a 1736 publication in a Leipzig newspaper claims that the sultan encouraged the printing venture by offering "60 purses of thalers, but also demanded 1,000 copies of the printed books in return".¹⁵⁷

By October 1, 1742, İbrahim Müteferrika managed to publish two more books, and no other publication appeared until his death in early 1747. Selim Nüzhet Gerçek assumes that Müteferrika fell ill in 1156/1743–1744 and this prevented him to print new books.¹⁵⁸ However, it should be remembered that at the end of 1743 Müteferrika was apparently assigned to a diplomatic mission to Dagestan. From November 1744 to November 1745, he was also appointed annalist of the Imperial Council, and while performing this service he initiated the establishment of a paper mill in Yalova, becoming its director in 1745. It seems that Müteferrika, although

151 Afyoncu, "Mehmed Said Paşa, Yirmisekizçelebizâde", p. 524; Afyoncu, "Yirmisekiz Çelebizâde Mehmed Said Paşa", p. 46.

152 BOA, A.DVNS.MHM.d, 139, p. 57–58 (doc. 176); Refik, *Hicri Onikinci Asır'da İstanbul Hayatı*, p. 123–125; Refik, *Osmanlı Alimleri ve Sanatkârları*, p. 242–243; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 363–364.

153 Kundmann, *Rariora naturae et artis*, col. 719–728.

154 Afyoncu, "İbrâhim Müteferrika", p. 326.

155 See Sabev, "İbrahim Müteferrika ve Tekirdağ'da İkamet Eden Macar Mültecileri".

156 Topdemir, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 48.

157 G. Weil, "Die ersten Drucke der Turken", *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 24, 1907, p. 59; compare with Rafikov, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции*, p. 124.

158 Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 88.

in his seventies, was quite energetic and probably had new printing projects. The monthly wages owed to his workers and the “incumbent duty” to be paid off to the Jewish typefounder recorded in his assets inventory may be indicative of the uninterrupted operation of the press until his death. After 1740, Müteferrika translated reports and letters on the history of Iran and compiled the information derived from them in an addendum to Krusiński’s book, published in 1729. As mentioned above, the addendum was titled *Zeyl-i Tārīḫ-i seyyāh* and covered the events from 1729 to 1740. In 1743, Müteferrika may have discussed this addendum with the Swedish traveler Jonas Otter. After spending two years in Iran to learn Persian and four more years in Basra as a French consul, Otter returned to Istanbul in 1743, and then to Paris in 1744.¹⁵⁹ Müteferrika may have had plans to publish the addendum. Besides the mentioned debts and monthly wages, 234 reams of paper were also recorded in his assets inventory,¹⁶⁰ leaving the impression that new printing projects had been planned.

2.5 18th-Century Printing after İbrahim Müteferrika

After Müteferrika’s death in late January 1747, his presumed adopted son and apprentice in the printing press Kadi İbrahim (d. 1777), together with his brother Kadi Ahmed, both of them Sharia judges at the time, applied for an imperial permission to continue the printing venture and received from Sultan Mahmud I the necessary *fermān* in early February 1747.¹⁶¹ According to Ottoman documentation dating from 1755 and recently discovered by Kemal Beydilli, Kadi İbrahim – together with his brothers Kadi Ahmed and Halil – bought Müteferrika’s printing equipment on April 4, 1747, for the same price of 700 piasters as stated in his assets inventory, recorded shortly before, on April 1, 1747.¹⁶² It can be also assumed that the Patriarch of Antioch Sylvester I, who resided in the Romanian Principalities between 1744 and 1747 and supervised the printing of Arabic liturgical and polemical books first in Iași and then in Bucharest,¹⁶³ was also interested

¹⁵⁹ See Özel, *Ambassadors, Spies, Captives, Merchants and Travelers*, p. 195–198.

¹⁶⁰ İMŞS, Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi, 98, f. 39v.

¹⁶¹ BOA, A.DVNS.MHM.d, 152, p. 384–385 (doc. 1566), p. 394 (doc. 1601); Refik, *Hicrî Onikinci Asır’da İstanbul Hayatı*, p. 168; Refik, *Osmanlı Alimleri ve Sanatkârları*, p. 244; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 370–371.

¹⁶² Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 95–98, 105–106.

¹⁶³ See M. Țipău, *Sylvester of Antioch. Life and Achievements of an 18th-Century Christian Orthodox Patriarch*, Berlin/Boston, 2024, p. 202–224; P. Chițulescu, “Livres polémiques imprimés en arabe, en Moldavie et en Valachie, au milieu du XVIII^e siècle”, *Scrinium*, 20, 2024, 1, p. 1–31.

in acquiring Müteferrika's type. Dissatisfied with the newly-cast Arabic type in Bucharest, which was to replace the worn-out type previously used in Iași, Sylvester went to Istanbul in October 1746 in search of better Arabic type.¹⁶⁴ He could have heard about the inactivity of the Müteferrika press because of his runner's alleged illness or other duties, and may have hoped that Müteferrika would agree to sell him its set of Arabic typefaces. Sylvester may also have been looking for a skilled typefounder in Istanbul to cast new type for him. This did not happen, and on his return to Bucharest new Arabic type was manufactured, which enabled the Patriarch of Antioch to print in 1747 a Psalter and perhaps other books.¹⁶⁵ From the end of 1748 until 1750 or early 1751, Sylvester was again in the Ottoman capital, where he was primarily concerned with ecclesiastic issues.¹⁶⁶ As he planned to continue his printing activities, this time in the Middle East, and therefore had taken the new type cast in Bucharest first to Damascus and later to Beirut, possibly to use it as a model for the production of new type,¹⁶⁷ he may still have been interested in acquiring Müteferrika's fonts after his death in early 1747. However, the type, along with the rest of the printing equipment, had already been purchased by Müteferrika's apprentice and his brothers.

Kadi İbrahim and Kadi Ahmed were able to print the second edition of the Vankulu dictionary, whose first Müteferrika edition was already sold out, only in *Şabân* 1169/May 1756 (the first volume) and on *Rebî'ü'l-aḥır* 1, 1170/December 24, 1756 (the second volume), after renewing the previous 1747 permission through a *fermân* issued by the following Sultan, Osman III (1699–1757; r. 1754–1757), in January 1755.¹⁶⁸ The process of publishing the second edition coincided with the time when Mehmed Said Efendi, Müteferrika's partner in the publication of the first edition, was holding high state offices. In 1755, he oversaw the state treasury and was a secretary to the grand vizier. He even became grand vizier between *Muḥarrem* 11, 1169/October 25, 1755, and *Receb* 1, 1169/April 1, 1756.¹⁶⁹ Said Efendi may have supported

¹⁶⁴ See Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 238–239; Feodorov, “Sylvester of Antioch's Arabic Books”, p. 9–10; see also the forthcoming book by Habib İbrahim Mūsā Trābulṣī's *Correspondence: Insights into the 18th-Century Rūm Intellectuals' Circles*, Berlin/Boston, 2025.

¹⁶⁵ Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 248–249; Feodorov, “Sylvester of Antioch's Arabic Books”, p. 10–18; Tıpāu, *Sylvester of Antioch*, p. 194–195.

¹⁶⁶ Tıpāu, *Sylvester of Antioch*, p. 101–104.

¹⁶⁷ Tıpāu, *Sylvester of Antioch*, p. 194–195.

¹⁶⁸ A.DVNSMHM.d, 156, p. 302–303 (doc. 1049); al-Jawhari, *Lugat-i Vānkūlu*, Vol. 1, f. [4v]; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 371–372.

¹⁶⁹ Afyoncu, “Mehmed Said Paşa, Yirmisekizçelebizâde”, p. 525; Afyoncu, “Yirmisekiz Çelebizâde Mehmed Said Paşa”, p. 47.

the second edition financially, if the available accounts, which indicate a lack of funding, are correct. According to James Porter's report dated February 1, 1755, the inability of the new owners of the press to print immediately upon receiving a printing license (in 1747) was due to the lack of funding. He narrates that Kadi İbrahim "has all the materials for printing but never could find, since his father's death, and during Sultan Mahmud's reign, the money to carry it on. The question is now whether Sultan Osman is not too strict a Mussulman to continue the permission".¹⁷⁰ Likewise, Carsten Niebuhr (1733–1815), who travelled to Istanbul and then to Egypt and Yemen in the 1760s, states that Müteferrika's "heirs" inherited his printing venture, but "they did not continue their work because the revenue was so low that they could not cover the cost of the print run".¹⁷¹ Mouradgea d'Ohsson also claims that after reprinting the Vankulu dictionary in 1756, "as he [Kadi İbrahim] had dedicated himself to the judicature, and had the means to advance in the order of judges, he stuck to this career, as infinitely more honorable and more profitable, and abandoned the printing business".¹⁷² In fact, the persona of Kadi İbrahim is somewhat puzzling. As mentioned above, the available sources present him either as an Ottoman judge (kadi), or as the secretary of a dragoman of the Porte. The only thing these sources have in common is the claim that this İbrahim, known either as Kadi İbrahim or İbrahim Junior, and as Müteferrika's presumed adopted son and apprentice, continued the printing business. Kemal Beydilli has found evidence that Kadi İbrahim was indeed a judge when he bought Müteferrika's printing equipment, and later, after reprinting the Vankulu dictionary in 1756, he again applied for a kadi post and held such offices in the European provinces of the Empire, with some interruptions, from 1759 until his death in 1777.¹⁷³ On the other hand, some of the sources mentioned above claim that the same İbrahim was the secretary or the "young scribe" of the dragoman of the Sublime Porte between the 1740s and the mid-1760s.¹⁷⁴ İbrahim may have held these positions simultaneously, appointing at least a short-term deputy (*nā'ib*) to his kadi post,¹⁷⁵ but only further research may clarify this situation.

The second edition of the Vankulu dictionary remained the only book printed by Kadi İbrahim Efendi and Kadi Ahmed Efendi. In 1196/1781–1782, Mehmed Raşid

170 Porter, "Queries Sent to a Friend in Constantinople", p. 105–106.

171 C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen, 1772, p. 216.

172 d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Vol. 1, p. 301; compare Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 28, 53–54.

173 Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 53–59.

174 Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 28–29; Amelicheva, *The Russian Residency in Constantinople*, p. 216–217;

Porter, "Queries Sent to a Friend in Constantinople", p. 105–106.

175 Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 55.

Efendi (d. 1797), a clerk (*beylikçi*) at the Imperial Council, and the official state chronicler Ahmed Vasıf Efendi (d. 1806) purchased for 4,000 piasters the printing equipment from the wife of the late Kadi İbrahim.¹⁷⁶ According to Toderini, on March 11, 1784, Sultan Abdülhamid I (1725–1789; r. 1774–1789) issued a *fermân* allowing them to print books on history, ethics, civil institutions, medicine, poetry, and other similar subjects, excluding religious books. The edict provided also a printing monopoly in return for a certain fee to be paid to the imperial pious foundations.¹⁷⁷ The preface to their first publication of 1198/1784, which included in one volume the historical works of the state chroniclers Sami, Şakir, and Subhi – describing the Ottoman history from 1141/1728–1729 to 1156/1743–1744 – states that because of the death of Kadi İbrahim, successor “of the first printer İbrahim Efendi”, and because of the state’s commitment to “certain affairs”, it could not assign anyone to carry out the printing business.¹⁷⁸ One might assume that these “affairs” were related to the 1768–1774 Ottoman-Russian War. Giambattista Toderini states that Sultan Abdülhamid I “intended to reestablish the Turkish press several times, but the wars disturbed this useful undertaking”. Only after a peace treaty with Russia was signed could the government revive printing in order to develop and disseminate knowledge useful for strengthening the Ottoman state and its naval forces.¹⁷⁹ According to Toderini, who visited the newly-opened printing house in May 1784, there were two printing presses there, and two of the workers were experienced associates of the late Kadi İbrahim.¹⁸⁰

Mehmed Raşid and Ahmed Vasıf were able to print together two books in 1784 and 1785, and then Ahmed Vasıf left the joint venture for unknown reasons. Afterwards, Raşid printed individually four more books by 1794. Shortly before his death in 1797, Raşid sold the printing equipment to the state, which then founded a new printing press attached to the *School of Military Land Engineering (Mühendishâne-i Berri-i Hümayûn)*. When asked about the printing equipment available in his press, Raşid explained that initially, in 1784–1786, he had printed three books, the historical works of Sami, Şakir, and Subhi in one volume, İzzi’s *History*, and Güzelhisarlı’s Arabic grammar book (*İrâbü’l-kâfiye*). He stated, however, that their sales were poor and the money invested was not fully recovered. Consequently, Raşid printed three more books only after a long interruption, in 1792–1794, and then he also

176 Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, p. 104, 121.

177 See Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 211–222; compare BOA, AE.SABH.I, 12/1064; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 372–373.

178 Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 93.

179 Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 210–211.

180 Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 223.

relinquished the printing enterprise. It is important to underline that these three books, translations from French, were related to military affairs, and this time their printing expenses were covered by the Ottoman state itself,¹⁸¹ as they were needed for the instruction of the new military units known under the name *nizâm-ı cedîd* (“new order”), introduced by Sultan Selim III. Raşid also explained that he had invested in printing equipment over 13,000 piasters in total. However, after negotiations, the state paid much less than the asking price, 7,500 piasters.¹⁸² Raşid’s assets inventory has not yet been found, to be used as a source that would reveal how successful his printing enterprise was, but his explanation demonstrates that his venture was far from being profitable. The equipment of the Mühendishane press, which was established in 1797 with the printing equipment purchased from Mehmed Raşid Efendi, was transferred in 1802 to the new premises established in Üsküdar, henceforth known as the Üsküdar press.¹⁸³

Turkish scholars of the history of Ottoman printing consider the printing activities of Kadi İbrahim and Kadi Ahmed in the 1750s and of Mehmed Raşid and Ahmed Vasıf in the 1780s and 1790s to be a continuation of the Müteferrika press. They believe that it did not cease its operation until 1794. The only reason for such an interpretation is the fact that the same printing equipment was moved from one place to another and used to reproduce books. However, it would be more accurate to think of these three printing ventures as separate private enterprises, because although they used the same presses and type, they were located in different places and were legalized independently. On the other hand, the Mühendishane press, and later the Üsküdar press, which also used Müteferrika’s printing implements along with newly acquired equipment and newly cast type, were state-owned printing houses.

181 Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, p. 104.

182 Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, p. 121.

183 BOA, C. MF, 138/6869; Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, p. 136–137; K. Beydilli, “Üsküdar Matbaası” [“The Üsküdar Press”], in İ. B. İstekli (ed.), *220. Yılında Üsküdar Matbaası*, İstanbul, 2023, p. 23–35.

3 Müteferrika's Printed Books

3.1 Abu Nasr Ismail ibn Hammad al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şihâh-i Cevherî* [*Luğat-i Vānķūlu*] / *Translation of al-Jawhari's Şihâh* [*The Vankulu Dictionary*], translated by Mehmed bin Mustafa el-Vani (Vankulu), Vol. 1–2, Istanbul, 1141/1729.

The format of the book is in-2^o,¹ with page size 220 × 330 mm,² and the text area is 150 × 260 mm. The pages have 33 or 34 lines. According to the watermarks, the book was printed on paper manufactured in France, more precisely in Paris.³ As stated in the colophons of the two volumes, the printing process was completed on *Receb* 1, 1141/January 31, 1729.⁴

The first volume consists of 13 unnumbered leaves containing a preface (f. [1v–2r]), the texts of the *fermān* legalizing the printing press (f. [2v–3r], see Fig. 2), the grand mufti's legal opinion (f. [3r]), the assessments (*taķrīz*) of sixteen leading Ottoman Muslim religious functionaries, approving the art of printing (f. [3v–5r]), Müteferrika's treatise on the means of printing (f. [6r–8r]), the biographies of al-Jawhari and Vankulu (f. [8v–9r]), the contents of the two volumes (f. [16r–18v]), and 666 numbered pages, or 333 leaves,⁵ containing the main text, without a title on the opening page (Fig. 3). The second volume consists of 755 numbered pages, or 378 leaves⁶ (in fact, the last, 755th page, is incorrectly numbered 756), containing the continuation of the main text, again without a title on the opening page. The publication was supplied with an errata table, present either between the unnumbered leaves of the first volume, or at the end of the second volume of surviving copies.⁷

1 For book formats, see F. Déroche (ed.), *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe*, Paris, 2000, p. 73–74.

2 The size of the pages may vary in the extant copies; the size specified here applies to the copies preserved in the NLS, OCD, and the Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi (Library of the Turkish Historical Society), Ankara.

3 O. Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Giriş*i, p. 38.

4 al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şihâh-i Cevherî*, Vol. 1, p. 666, and Vol. 2, p. 755.

5 Omont, "Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à Istanbul", p. 3.

6 Omont, "Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à Istanbul", p. 3.

7 NLS, OCD, O II 175 (Vol. 1); Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, Ankara, B/582 (Vol. 2); Kut, Türe (eds.), *Yazmadan Basmaya*, p. 36 (Vol. 1).

According to the list in Na‘īma’s *History*, 1,000 copies of this dictionary were printed.⁸ However, as Hasan Ertuğ⁹ and Akhmet Rafikov¹⁰ state, what the list meant was the print run of the two volumes together, each of them printed in 500 copies. The list does not specify that the dictionary was printed in two volumes, in contrast to Na‘īma’s *History*, whose two volumes were separately recorded with 500 copies each. Yet, as already mentioned in the previous chapter, Müteferrika stated in his 1726 application to obtain a printing license that he would print 500 copies of this dictionary.¹¹ Therefore, one may safely assume that a total of 500 copies of this two-volume dictionary were produced.

As the first publication of the Müteferrika press, the Vankulu dictionary was also the first ever Turkish text composed in the Ottoman and Muslim milieu that was printed in Arabic type on Ottoman soil, or in the Islamic world. Some scholars believe that the 1615 printed version of the 1604 capitulation granted to France by the Ottoman Empire was the first “Turkish” printed text ever. This was a bilingual version of both the French and Ottoman Turkish texts of the capitulation, published by François Savary de Brèves (1560–1628), the French ambassador to Istanbul between 1593 and 1605.¹² Between 1608 and 1614, de Brèves was sent as ambassador to the Vatican, in Rome,¹³ where he set up a press, known as *Typographia Savariana*, to print books in the Oriental languages. Afterwards, de Brèves was summoned to Paris and moved the press there under the name *Imprimerie des langues Orientales, Arabique, Turquesque, Persique, & c.*¹⁴ Other even earlier Western European publications of Ottoman Turkish texts were two *fermāns* issued by Sultan Murad III. The first *fermān* was issued on March 3, 1581, to the Protestant preacher Salomon

8 Na‘īma, *Tārīḫ-i Na‘īmā*, Vol. 2, p. [741].

9 Ertuğ, *Basın ve Yayın Hareketleri*, p. 104.

10 Rafikov, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции*, p. 103.

11 BOA, HAT, 1665/56 (doc. 1); Sungu, “İlk Türk Matbaasına Dair Yeni Vesikalar”, p. 11–13.

12 *Fransa Pâdişâhı ile Âl-i ‘Osmân Pâdişâhı mabeyninde mün’akid olan ‘ahdnâmelerdir ki zikrolunur/ Articles du Traicté fait en l’année 1604 entre Henri le Grand, roi de France et de Navarre, et le sultan Amat, empereur des Turcs, par l’entremise de François Savary, seigneur de Brèves, conseiller du roi en ses Conseils d’estat et privé, lors Ambassadeur pour sa Majesté à la Porte dudit Empereur*, Paris, Imprimerie des langues Orientales, Arabique, Turquesque, Persique, & c., 1615; see also R. Dipratu, *Regulating Non-Muslim Communities in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire: Catholics and Capitulations*, London/New York, 2022; R. Dipratu, “The French Capitulation (‘ahdname) of 1604: A Re-evaluation and Critical Edition of an Ottoman Charter of Privileges”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 63, 2024, p. 49–114.

13 See Duverdier, “Savary de Brèves et Ibrahim Müteferrika”, p. 322–359.

14 See Duverdier, “Savary de Brèves et Ibrahim Müteferrika”, p. 322–323; T. Acaroğlu, “Dünyada Basılan İlk Türkçe Kitap” [“The First Turkish Book Printed in the World”], *Belleten*, 50, 1986, 209, p. 507–530.

Schweigger (1551–1622) to enable him to travel through the sultan's territories from Istanbul to Jerusalem. It was reproduced as a woodcut in Schweigger's travel book *Ein neue Reyssbeschreibung*, published in 1608.¹⁵ The other one, as already mentioned, was issued in the last third of October 1588 to two European merchants, named Branton and Orazio Bandini, who imported printed books and pamphlets in Arabic and Persian into the Ottoman lands. It was reproduced in Arabic type in al-Tusi's commentary on Euclid's *Elementorum geometricorum* published by the Medici press in 1594, i.e., earlier than the first *fermān*.¹⁶

The Vankulu dictionary was a Turkified version of the Arabic dictionary composed by the famous lexicographer Abu Nasr Ismail ibn Hammad al-Jawhari (d. 1010) under the title *Tāj al-Lugha wa Şihāḥ al-'Arabiya* (*The Crown of Language and Correct Arabic*). *Al-Şihāḥ*, the popular name of the dictionary, was adapted to Ottoman Turkish by Mehmed bin Mustafa el-Vani (d. 1592), known also as Vankulu. The title is not shown separately anywhere in the book. It is introduced only in Müteferrika's preface as the "book titled *Vānķūlu*, a translation of Jawhari's *al-Şihāḥ*" (*Şihāḥ-i Cevherī tercümesi olān Vānķūlu nām kitāb*).¹⁷ As shown in its colophon (Fig. 4), the printed version came out on *Receb* 1, 1141/January 31, 1729,¹⁸ a year and a half after the July 1727 *fermān* authorizing the establishment of the Müteferrika press. In fact, the colophons of most of its publications give the first day of the lunar month as date of completion. It is therefore reasonable to assume that these dates were not the exact dates of completion. As the colophons, along with the rest of the text, were typeset in advance, the dates of completion mentioned in the texts must have been anticipated rather than strictly adhered to. In any case, as the last pages of the printed works, ending with the said colophons, must have been typeset shortly before the completion of the printing of the whole book, it is safe to assume that the indicated dates were close to the actual dates of completion.

The reason for the relatively late release of this work, whose printing, as Rafikov notes, started even before the 1727 edict was issued, was the delay entailed by the correction of the numerous errors in the manuscript used for the preparation of the printed version.¹⁹ Consequently, a table of errata identified by comparison with another manuscript copy preserved in the Fatih Mosque in Istanbul, with their corrections, was included. As John Eames also stated in his *Short Account*,

15 Salomon Schweigger, *Ein neue Reyssbeschreibung auss Teutchland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem*, Nuremberg, 1608, p. 233; see also S. Schmitt, "Ein neue Reyssbeschreibung", in M. Pehlivanian (ed.), *Exotische Typen: Buchdruck im Orient – Orient im Buchdruck*, Berlin, 2006, p. 208.

16 [Euclid], *Kitāb Tahḥīr Uşūl li-Ūqlīdis*, p. [454].

17 al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şihāḥ-i Cevherī*, Vol. 1, f. 2r.

18 al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şihāḥ-i Cevherī*, Vol. 1, p. 666, and Vol. 2, p. 755.

19 Rafikov, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции*, p. 102–103.

published in 1732, “the manuscript, from which they printed off the first sheets, was found to be incorrect”. Therefore, printing stopped until a more correct copy could be procured. “During this stop – Eames notes – the book I am to give a brief account was printed, containing about 150 leaves”.²⁰ It appears from Eames’s book that the printing of the Vankulu dictionary was stopped for a while, and during the interruption, Müteferrika and his partner Said Efendi started to print another book, namely the *Tuhfetü’l-kibâr fi esfâri’l-bihâr*, which was released as the second publication of his press. In fact, Müteferrika himself confirmed the same situation in the preface of the second book. He noted that the manuscript copy of the Vankulu dictionary at his disposal had turned out to be not “free of errors” (*habt ve haţadan hâlî olmıyub*), and therefore the printed version had to be corrected. Meanwhile, instead of disrupting the operation of the press, he decided to begin printing the second book.²¹

While the dictionary was still in print, Müteferrika and Said Efendi asked the sultan to set a reasonable and moderate price so that it would be accessible to the students of the madrasas. Their request was satisfied by a *fermân* addressed to the kadi of Istanbul dating from the last third (*evâhir*) of *Şa’bân* 1141/March 22–30, 1729 and setting the price of 35 piasters for a paperback copy. The *fermân* decreed that copies of the dictionary should not be sold or bought below or above this price.²² According to other sources dated April 1729, the price of the dictionary was 40 piasters for Ottoman subjects and slightly more expensive for foreigners.²³ In his 1751 list, Celsius also claims that the initial price was 40 piasters.²⁴ This price was probably meant for the hard-cover copies. The French price was 120 francs.²⁵

In spite of what was decreed in the said *fermân*, quite soon, in the early 1730s, the price of the dictionary dropped by almost half. According to the list attached to İbrahim Müteferrika’s 1146/1733–1734 Latin account of his printing press, the initial price set by the imperial court was 35 thalers – here, “thaler” should be read “piaster” – while “today the book is sold for 25 thalers”.²⁶ Müteferrika’s other Latin

20 J. Eames, “A Short Account”, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, 37, 1732, 424, p. 338–339.

21 Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü’l-kibâr fi esfâri’l-bihâr*, İstanbul, 1141/1729, f. 2v.

22 BOA, A.DVNS.MHM.d, 135, p. 204 (doc. 1048); Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 61–62; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 363.

23 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 468; compare with Ersoy, “İlk Türk Basımevi’nde Basılan Kitapların Fiyatları”, p. 70.

24 Akbulut, “İsveç Kraliyet Kütüphanesi’nde Bulunan İbrahim Müteferrika’nın Bastığı Eserlerin Latince Kataloğu”, p. 234; Varanlıoğlu, “Latince Bir Belge”, p. 249, 255.

25 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 751.

26 Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu ve Başlangıcı”, p. 72.

account attached to Penckler's 1747 report also indicates that initially the book was sold, by order of the sultan, for no less than 35 piasters, but "at present it is sold for 20 or 25 thalers".²⁷ Carleson claims the same in his 1735 report. According to him, the sultan set an initial price of 35 piasters, but the dictionary was later sold for 25.²⁸ This price fluctuation was also recorded in Holderman's two reports of 1730. One mentioned a price of 23 piasters,²⁹ while the other indicated 30 piasters.³⁰ This price drop can also be detected in the Ottoman archival sources. For example, the estimated price of a printed Vankulu dictionary recorded in the assets inventory of Esad Efendi,³¹ former kadi of Galata, who was also one of the four proofreaders at the Mütferrika press, dated *Şa'ban* 20, 1144/February 17, 1732, is 2,900 aspers, while according to the auction catalog of books belonging to a person known as Filibelizade, dated *Receb* 6, 1146/December 13, 1733, the printed Vankulu dictionary was purchased for 2,520 aspers.³² Since one piaster was valued at 120 aspers at the time, the price of these volumes appears to be around 21–24 piasters.

However, by the beginning of 1747 at the latest, the price of the dictionary climbed again to 35–40 piasters. In İbrahim Mütferrika's 1747 assets inventory, the price is recorded to be 40 piasters. Another example is the inventory of a certain Mehmed Efendi bin Abdullah dated *Zî'l-ħicce* 22, 1159/January 5, 1747. Among the nine books he owned, the estimated price of the two-volume Vankulu dictionary was 4,120 aspers,³³ i.e., 35 piasters. The same price fluctuation is observed by İsmail Erünsal.³⁴

Unlike the other books printed by İbrahim Mütferrika and recorded in his assets inventory, the number of unsold copies of the Vankulu dictionary is not specified. Since only a price of 40 piasters is written, one may assume that probably one unsold copy remained. Notably, the price of this first publication decreased and later increased again in Mütferrika's last years, while the estimated price of the other publications recorded in his inventory were considerably lower than their initial price.

The good sales and the commercial success of this publication indicate that İbrahim Mütferrika and Said Efendi understood the great need for this dictionary and that they made the right choice to start with. In the preface of the book

27 Deréky, "Origo Typographiae Ottomannicae", p. 45, 48.

28 Carleson, *İbrahim Mütferrika Basımevi*, p. 10.

29 Omont, "Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à Istanbul", p. 6.

30 Omont, "Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à Istanbul", p. 9.

31 İMŞS, Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi, 66, f. 6r.

32 BOA, D.BŞM.MHF, 12439, p. 2.

33 İMŞS, Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi, 96, f. 79r.

34 Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar*, p. 181–186.

Müteferrika noted that “it was considered proper to launch [printing] with the science of lexicography” (*fenn-i luğat ile ibtidâ münâsib görüleb*), and therefore “it [al-Şihâh] was the first to be printed because it was certain that students of sciences missed it in their education and demanded it” (*ṭullâb-ı ‘ulûmun rağbeti ve taḥşîlinin ‘usreti muḳarrer olmağla kitâb-ı merḳûmun ṭab‘ ve resmine mübâderet ve mübâşeret olunmuşdu*).³⁵ As already mentioned, in his treatise on the means of printing, as well as in his application to obtain permission to run a printing press, Müteferrika stated that the available manuscript copies of the Vankulu dictionary were too few and they could hardly meet the real demand. In the application, he explicitly stated that he had undertaken the printing of this book because it was “a praised and a rare book, which is very much needed by every kind of learned men” (*memdûh ve mu‘teber ve nâdirü’l-vuḳu‘ bir eser oldığından ve dünü danâ ve ḥ‘ana olanlar kitâb-ı mezbûre eşedd ihtiyâcyla muḥtâc olduklarından*).³⁶

Another reason for the commercial success of Müteferrika’s first publication is that the price was much lower than the price of the manuscripts, as can be seen from a French report from Istanbul dated March 15, 1729. According to this report, the price of a manuscript copy of the Vankulu dictionary reached 300 écus (here, “écu” means “piaster”), while a printed copy could be purchased for 40 écus,³⁷ i.e., 40 piasters. Sultan Abdülhamid I’s 1784 *fermân*, which authorized Mehmed Raşid Efendi and Ahmed Vasıf Efendi to run a printing press, stated that the price of beautifully written copies of the Vankulu dictionary and similar large books was 250–300 piasters, the price of more ordinary ones was 100–150 piasters, and the price of the copies printed by İbrahim Müteferrika was just 20–30 piasters.³⁸

The commercial success of Müteferrika’s first publication depended also on its typographical quality. The *naskh* (Tk. *nesih*) typefaces used were well-shaped and therefore much more satisfactory in comparison with the Western publications in Arabic type,³⁹ and many contemporary Western observers were impressed by the quality of Müteferrika’s first printed book.⁴⁰

As all the printed copies of the Vankulu dictionary had sold out by Müteferrika’s death and there was a great need for this dictionary on the book market, Kadi İbrahim Efendi and Kadi Ahmed Efendi reprinted the dictionary in 1169–1170/1756.⁴¹ As the second edition of the dictionary was obviously also sold out by the beginning

35 al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şihâh-i Cevherî*, Vol. 1, f. 2r.

36 Sungu, “İlk Türk Matbaasına Dair Yeni Vesikalar”, p. 11.

37 Omont, “Documents sur l’imprimerie à Constantinople”, p. 187.

38 Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 213–214.

39 Osborn, *Letters of Light*, p. 118.

40 Rafikov, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции*, p. 103–104.

41 al-Jawhari, *Luğat-ı Vankûlî*, Vol. 1–2, Istanbul, 1169–1170/1756.

of the 19th century, a third edition of 800 copies was released in 1217–1218/1802–1803 by the Üsküdar press.⁴² As Jale Baysal and Yahya Akyüz emphasized, the fact that the first Ottoman Turkish printed book was reprinted twice in a period of seventy years is an indisputable indication that İbrahim Müteferrika and Said Efendi had made the right and appropriate choice for the first publication of their printing press.⁴³

A modern edition of the Vankulu dictionary was released in 2014. Although its editors have used various manuscript and printed versions of this dictionary, they admit that their edition is based mainly on Müteferrika's first edition.⁴⁴ This modern edition attests once again not only to the typographical, but also to the editorial quality of the Müteferrika edition.

3.2 Kâtib Çelebi [Mustafa bin Abdullah], *Tuḥfetü'l-kibâr fî esfâri'l-bihâr* / *Gift of the Nobles Regarding Naval Campaigns*, Istanbul, 1141/1729.

The format of the book is in-4^o. In his Latin accounts, Müteferrika indicated the format as either in-4^o or in “half folio” (*mediocri foglio*).⁴⁵ The page size is 175 × 260 mm, and the text area is 125 × 195 mm. Each page has 25 lines. The paper was imported from France and Italy.⁴⁶ John Eames states that “the whole is done upon shining or gummed paper, stamped with three crescents in pale, and an imperial crown, proper to the Turks”.⁴⁷ According to the colophon, the book was completed on *Zî'l-ka'de* 1, 1141/May 29, 1729.⁴⁸ The print run was 1,000 copies and the

42 A. N. al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şîhâh-i Cevherî [Luğat-i Vankülü]*, Vol. 1–2, [Istanbul], 1217–1218/1802–1803; Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, p. 255.

43 Baysal, *Müteferrika'dan Birinci Meşrutiyete*, p. 58; Y. Akyüz, “İlk Türk Matbaası ve Eğitim Tarihimizdeki Yeri” [“The First Turkish Printing Press and Its Place in Our History of Education”], *Millî Eğitim*, 76, 1988, p. 19.

44 Vankulu Mehmed Efendi (Mehmed b. Mustafâ el-Vânî), *Vankulu Lügati*, ed. M. Koç, E. Tanrıverdi, Istanbul, 2014, p. 21.

45 Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 72, 97; Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 46, 49.

46 Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 39.

47 Eames, “A Short Account”, p. 340.

48 Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuḥfetü'l-kibâr*, f. 75r.

price was 2–3 piasters,⁴⁹ or 12 francs.⁵⁰ Celsius's list of 1751 states the slightly higher price of 4 piasters.⁵¹

The book consists of seven unnumbered leaves, including a preface by Müteferrika, describing the founding of the printing press (f. [1v–2v]), four assessments of Kâtib Çelebi's work (f. [3r–3v]) written by his contemporary high-ranking religious functionaries, a table of contents (f. [4r–5v]), two tables (f. [6v–7r]) showing distances on the continents, seas and oceans (*Zeyl der beyân-ı mişkâs-ı berr ü bahır*), and the land and water measurements of distance (*Mikdâr-ı mesâfe-i küre-i arz ü mâ*), 75 numbered leaves (i.e., 150 pages) containing the main text (Fig. 5), without a title (it is mentioned in the preface),⁵² and two unnumbered folios at the end, containing an errata table.

Although this second publication came out only four months after the first one, its printing process lasted longer. As already mentioned, John Eames stated that when the printing of the Vankulu dictionary was stopped for a while so that a more accurate manuscript copy could be found and used to correct the version to print, Müteferrika began printing something else in the meantime, namely, this text of Kâtib Çelebi, “which contained about 150 leaves”.⁵³ Müteferrika also mentioned this in the preface of the book.⁵⁴

In contrast to the printed edition of the Vankulu dictionary, İbrahim Müteferrika and Said Efendi perhaps decided to double the print run of this second book, for two possible reasons. First, it was of smaller size and therefore much cheaper than the dictionary. Second, Kâtib Çelebi's work seems to have been very popular. According to Svatopluk Soucek, the popularity of the *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr* is attested by the number of known extant manuscript copies: “thirty-two, besides three incomplete ones”. “Most, if not all”, he states, “must have been copied between 1657 and 1729”.⁵⁵ One of

49 Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 72; Omont, “Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à Istanbul”, p. 9; Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 10; Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomannicae”, p. 46, 49.

50 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 752.

51 Akbulut, “İsveç Kraliyet Kütüphanesi'nde”, p. 234; Varanlıoğlu, “Latince Bir Belge”, p. 258.

52 Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr*, f. 2v.

53 Eames, “A Short Account”, p. 338–339.

54 Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr*, f. 2v.

55 S. Soucek (ed.), *The History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks by Kâtib Çelebi*, Princeton, 2012, p. 5; compare with Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fî Esfâri'l-bihâr*, ed. İ. Bostan, Ankara, 2018, p. 48–52 (31 complete and two incomplete manuscript copies are listed there).

these copies, preserved in the Library of the Topkapı Palace Museum (TSMK, Revan 1192), was published in several editions in modern Turkish.⁵⁶

Kâtib Çelebi completed this work and offered it to Sultan Mehmed IV in 1657.⁵⁷ As John Eames states, the work “is partly historical, and partly geographical”.⁵⁸ It consists of two parts. The first one narrates the victories of the Ottoman navy prior to the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, while the second one reports on the Ottoman naval campaigns until the 1656 campaign in Crete. The second part also contains biographies of the Ottoman admirals and a description of the Ottoman fleet.⁵⁹

The printed edition includes four unsigned geographical maps that depict the following: 1) two hemispheres representing the Old and the New Worlds (Fig. 6); 2) the Mediterranean Sea and the Black Sea (Fig. 7); 3) the Aegean islands belonging to the Ottoman state (Fig. 8); 4) the Gulf of Venice and the Adriatic Sea with its islands and adjacent coasts (Fig. 9).

The first map was later reproduced in two other Müteferrika's publications, the *Târihü'l-Hindi'l-ğarbi* and *Cihännümâ*. In the latter, it is signed by Ahmed al-Kırmi. The other three maps were also reproduced in the *Cihännümâ*.⁶⁰ An unsigned chart of two compass roses is also attached (Fig. 10).⁶¹ However, the said maps and the chart are not consistently included in all surviving copies.⁶²

Alpay Kabacalı pays attention to Giambattista Toderini's claim that there were two editions of this book.⁶³ A similar claim by Christoph W. Lüdeke⁶⁴ is also cited by

56 See Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi Esfâri'l-bihâr* (*Deniz Savaşları Hakkında Büyüklere Armağan*) [*Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi Esfâri'l-bihâr* (*Gift of the Nobles Regarding Naval Campaigns*)], ed. O. Ş. Gökyay, Istanbul, 1973 (reprinted by other publishing houses in 1980 and 2007); Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi-Esfâri'l-bihar*, ed. İ. Bostan, Ankara, 2008 (reprinted by another publishing house in 2018); Kâtib Çelebi, *The Gift to the Great Ones on Naval Campaigns*, ed. İ. Bostan, Ankara, 2008.

57 See the facsimile and transcribed edition of the autograph preserved in the library of the Topkapı Palace Museum in Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi Esfâri'l-bihâr* (2018 edition) and Kâtib Çelebi, *The Gift to the Great Ones on Naval Campaigns*.

58 Eames, “A Short Account”, p. 339.

59 Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi Esfâri'l-bihâr* (2018 edition), p. 37–38.

60 Princeton University, Firestone Library, Rare Books Division, 2070.46.391.11; [T. D. Goodrich], *Turcica, Catalogue no. 484*, Leiden, June 1976, p. 7; Kut, Türe (eds.), *Yazmadan Basmaya*, p. 38.

61 Princeton University, Firestone Library, Rare Books Division, 2070.46.391.11; NLS, OCD, O II 127; [Goodrich], *Turcica, catalogue no. 484*, p. 7; Kut, Türe (eds.), *Yazmadan Basmaya*, p. 38.

62 Compare the copies preserved in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Pq 2851, Ui 518, Ui 518a, Ui 518b, Ui 518c; Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, Ankara, A II/1208; see also Watson, “İbrâhîm Müteferrika and Turkish Incunabula”, p. 437 (the copy preserved in the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University).

63 Kabacalı, *Türk Kitap Tarihi*, p. 48 (n. 62a).

64 C. W. Lüdeke, *Beschreibung des türkischen Reiches*, Part 3, Leipzig, 1789, p. 52.

Franz Babinger⁶⁵ Lüdeke probably relied on Toderini's account. In fact, Toderini wrote that from the very similar copies of the book that he was able to see in the 1780s it cannot be concluded that there were two editions of the book, although Müteferrika himself had mentioned this.⁶⁶ James Mitchell, who translated two thirds of the Müteferrika edition into English,⁶⁷ also claimed that a second "impression" was made immediately after the first edition of the book and that the errors in the first edition were exactly the same as in the second.⁶⁸ However, as Yahya Erdem noted, in the preface of the third book that Müteferrika printed, *Târîh-i seyyâh*, it is noted that he had obtained an imperial edict and began printing this book "at the time when the two desired prints were to be completed" (*iki nüsha-i mergûbe dahî hüsn-i hitâma resîde olmak hilâlunda*).⁶⁹ Obviously, Müteferrika referred not to the alleged second edition of Kâtib Çelebi's work, but to the first two publications: the Vankulu dictionary and the *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr*. Erdem assumed that Toderini had misunderstood this statement and therefore claimed that the *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr* had a second, non-existent edition.⁷⁰ In fact, a second edition of this book, together with the four maps and the chart, was only published in 1329/1911.⁷¹

65 Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 12.

66 Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 33–34.

67 Haji Khalifeh, *History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks*, transl. J. Mitchell, London, 1831; compare Soucek, *The History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks*, p. 5.

68 Y. Erdem, "Müteferrika Baskılarından Batı Dillerine Yapılan İlk Çeviriler" ["The First Translations from Müteferrika's Publications into Western Languages"], *Müteferrika*, 38, 2010, p. 57 (n. 2).

69 Krusiński, *Târîh-i seyyâh*, f. 3r.

70 Erdem, "Müteferrika Baskılarından Batı Dillerine Yapılan İlk Çeviriler", p. 59–61.

71 Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi esfâri'l-bihâr*, [Istanbul], 1329/1911; *Millî Kütüphanede Mevcut Arap Harfli Türkçe Kitapların Muvakkat Kataloğu* [Provisional Catalogue of Turkish Books in Arabic Script in the National Library], Vol. 1–2, Ankara, 1964–1968 (2nd ed.), p. 341, 723, 779, 1155, 1237, 1282, 1480; S. Özege, *Eski Harflerle Basılmış Türkçe Eserler Kataloğu* [Catalogue of Turkish Works Printed with the Old Letters], Vol. 1–5, Istanbul, 1971–1979, p. 400, 1293, 1719, 1741, 1743, 1750, 1753, 1880, 2004; M. Cunbur, D. Kaya (eds.), *Türkiye Basmaları Toplu Kataloğu, Arap Harfli Türkçe Eserler (1729–1928) / The Union Catalogue of Turkey's Printed Books, Turkish Publications in Arabic Letters*, Vol. 2, Ankara, 1995, p. 303. The 1293/1876–1877 reprint, mentioned by Seyfettin Özege, is not confirmed by any surviving copy; see Soucek, *The History of Maritime Wars of the Turks*, p. 5.

3.3 Judasz Tadeusz Krusiński, *Tārīḥ-i seyyāḥ der beyān-ı zuhūr-i Ağvāniyān ve sebeb-i inhidām-ı binā-i devlet-i şāhān-ı Şafeviyān / A History of the Traveler Describing the Emergence of the Afghans and the Reasons for the Destruction of the Foundations of the State of the Safavid Shahs*, translated by İbrahim Müteferrika, Istanbul, 1142/1729.

The format of the book is in-4°, the page size is 150 × 258 mm, and the text area is 100 × 160 mm. The pages have 21 or 22 lines. According to the colophon, the book was completed on *Şafer* 1, 1142/August 26, 1729.⁷² It consists of seven unnumbered leaves and 97 numbered leaves, containing the main text. The unnumbered folios include a preface by İbrahim Müteferrika (f. [1v–3r]), copies of Müteferrika's application asking for a license to print this book and of an imperial order (*hüküm*) granting this license (f. [3v]), as well as a table of contents (f. [4r–7v]). Like this publication, all the following ones – except *Grammaire turque* – were not supplied with errata tables. Simultaneously, also in 1142/1729–1730, a map of Iran, bearing Müteferrika's signature, was printed, probably as a supplement to this book.

As already mentioned, according to his preface, Müteferrika translated this book from Latin into Turkish, received an imperial order for its multiplication by means of “printed scripts” (*başma hutūtuyle*), and began printing it while the previous two publications were not yet completed.⁷³ According to the colophon, however, the translation was completed on *Zī'l-ḥicce* 1, 1141/June 28, 1729.⁷⁴ Therefore, only the translation process must have started while the second publication, which had been completed a month earlier, on May 29, was undergoing proofreading and its errata table was in preparation. The editor of the English translation of Clodius's Latin translation of Müteferrika's Turkish edition refers to Arthur Lumley Davids's *Grammar of the Turkish Language*, according to which because “an interruption occurred in the printing of the two first works, as they required correction”, as reported in their prefaces, İbrahim Müteferrika “undertook to translate Krusiński, for the purpose of its being put into the press, as the third work the printing of which was undertaken”. According to Davids, Müteferrika “much improved on the original work” and “corrected several errors in the chronology and events, which had crept into the edition he translated from”.⁷⁵

⁷² Krusiński, *Tārīḥ-i seyyāḥ*, f. 97v.

⁷³ Krusiński, *Tārīḥ-i seyyāḥ*, f. 3r.

⁷⁴ Krusiński, *Tārīḥ-i seyyāḥ*, f. 97v.

⁷⁵ Quoted from the English translation: *The Chronicles of a Traveller: or a History of the Afghan Wars with Persia, in the Beginning of the Last Century, from Their Commencement to the Accession*

Müteferrika indicated the title of the work in the preface, which otherwise does not appear on the opening page of the main text (Fig. 11).⁷⁶ Before the main text, İbrahim Müteferrika inserted also a note in order “not to remain concealed” (*hafî olmya ki*) that it was him who had translated this work from Latin into Turkish. However, he did not mention the author’s name.⁷⁷ In 1730, Holderman also wrote that İbrahim Müteferrika had translated this work.⁷⁸ In fact, according to Duverdiër, Holderman himself gave Müteferrika a manuscript copy of this work.⁷⁹ Holderman obviously possessed such a copy because he had translated the same work into French.⁸⁰ In his two Latin accounts dating from the 1730s and 1740s, Müteferrika acknowledged that the work was written by a Jesuit missionary, but again did not name him.⁸¹ As already stated, the author was Judasz Tadeusz Krusiński, who on his way back from Iran to Poland stayed for a while in Istanbul in 1727 and served Grand Vizier Damad İbrahim Pasha as an interpreter. In 1728 he was already back in his home country.⁸²

In the same Latin accounts, Müteferrika claimed that the text was printed after he had “translated it into Turkish and enriched it with reports on the subject that were sent daily to the palace”.⁸³ By “reports”, Müteferrika may have meant the account by Dürri Ahmed Efendi (d. 1722), who was sent as ambassador to Iran in 1720–1721.⁸⁴ It is what can also be inferred from a letter of the Marquis de Villeneuve. The letter is dated September 30, 1729, and reports that Müteferrika had sent “three copies of two books which he had printed, at the moment when their printing was completed”, and namely “a history of the revolutions of Persia,

of Sultan Ashruf, being a translation of the “Tareekh-i Seeah”, from the Latin of J. C. Clodius, transl. G. N. Mitford, London, 1840, p. xxv; compare A. L. Davids, *A Grammar of the Turkish Language*, London, 1832, p. lxix–lxx.

76 Krusiński, *Tārīḥ-i seyyāḥ*, f. 3r.

77 Krusiński, *Tārīḥ-i seyyāḥ*, f. 1r.

78 Omont, “Nouveaux documents sur l’imprimerie à Istanbul”, p. 9.

79 Duverdiër, “Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika”, p. 347.

80 Omont, “Nouveaux documents sur l’imprimerie à Istanbul”, p. 7.

81 Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 72, 97; Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 46, 49.

82 Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 68.

83 Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 72, 97; Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 46, 49.

84 F. R. Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri [Ottoman Ambassadors and Ambassadorial Reports]*, ed. B. S. Baykal, Ankara, 1968, p. 59–61.

composed from memoirs provided by the grand vizier, the other is a historical geography of the states of the grand lord, enriched with a few maps".⁸⁵

In 1734, Krusiński published a Latin translation of Dürri Ahmed Efendi's embassy account,⁸⁶ translated also into French in 1745.⁸⁷ In 1740, Krusiński published the same Latin translation along with a voluminous history of Iran.⁸⁸ According to Babinger, in the introduction of this book, Krusiński "contradicted İbrahim's claim and stated that he himself had produced the Turkish translation".⁸⁹ Babinger refers also to *Biographie Universelle*, which relates the following:

When Father Krusiński passed through Constantinople, returning from Persia, he made a translation into Turkish for İbrahim Pasha, the grand vizier of Ahmed III; and it was printed in Constantinople, in the printing press that this minister had founded: it bore the title *Tarykh-Seyah*, i.e., *Chronicon peregrinantis* [*Chronicle of a Traveler*], Constantinople, 1729, 1 vol., in quarto.⁹⁰

In addition, Babinger drew attention⁹¹ – as Toderini also did in the 1780s⁹² – to a letter dated July 20, 1730, and published along with Clodius's translation.⁹³ This letter claimed that İbrahim Müteferrika was commissioned

⁸⁵ Kunalalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 1. (1728–1731), Istanbul, 2019, p. 193–195; compare with *Mercure de France*, February 1730, p. 357–361.

⁸⁶ T. Krusiński, *Prodromus ad tragicam vertentis belli Persici Historiam, seu legationis à fulgida Porta ad Sophorum regem Szah Sultan Hussein anno 1720, expeditae autentica relation, quam redux è Perside Legatus Durri Effendi Turcarum Imperatori Achmed III in scripto consignavit*, Lviv, 1734; compare Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 13.

⁸⁷ Ahmet Dourry Efendy, *Relation de Dourry Efendy, ambassadeur de la Porte Othomane auprès du roi de Perse*, ed. L. M. Langlès, transl. Fienne, Paris, 1810; compare with Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 13 (n. 1).

⁸⁸ T. Krusiński, *Tragica Vertentis belli Persici Historia, per repetitas clades, ab anno 1711 ad Annum 1728 vum Continuata post Gallicos, Hollandicos, Germanicos ac demum Turcicos Authoris typos Auctior Authore Patre Thadaeo Krusinski Societatis Jesu Missionario Persico accessit ad eandem Historiam Prodromus iteratis typis subjectus*, Lviv, 1740.

⁸⁹ Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 13.

⁹⁰ *Biographie Universelle, ancienne et moderne*, Vol. 22, Paris, 1818, p. 581; compare with Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 13 (Babinger indicates a wrong page, 223).

⁹¹ Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 13.

⁹² Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 39–40.

⁹³ J. T. Krusiński, *Tārīḥ-i seyyāḥ, hoc est: Chronicon peregrinantis seu Historia ultimi belli Persarum cum Aghwanis gesti, a tempore primae eorum in regnum persicum irruptionis ejusque occupationis, usque ad Eschrefum Aghwanum, Persiae regem continuata, ex codice turcico, in officina typographica recenti constantinopolitana impresso, versa ac notis quibusdam illustrata, cum Tabula imperatorum familiae othmanicae, ex codice manuscripto turcico, in fine adjecta*, transl., ed. J. C. Clodius, Leipzig, 1731, p. [9–10].

by the Ottoman ministers to translate the French account, and to give a more complete account of the events, and to submit it to the court; that the account was verified by a Persian Khan, who was then a prisoner in that capital, and by other captives; and that when quite complete, it was printed in the type recently introduced into Turkey.⁹⁴

Claiming that Müteferrika “was certainly not a master” of the Latin language, Babinger insisted that the original Latin text was translated into Turkish by Krusiński himself.⁹⁵ However, as already discussed in the previous chapter, Müteferrika did master Latin quite well. A further analysis made by Recep Demir confirms that it was Müteferrika who translated the book.⁹⁶

As the long title indicates, the book contains a historical account of Iran under the rule of the Safavid dynasty from 1499 up to 1727, with special focus on the 1722 Afghan invasion that brought down the Safavid rule. The author of the book, the Jesuit missionary of Polish origin Judasz Tadeusz Krusiński, was a secretary of the bishop of Isfahan and an eyewitness of this invasion. He completed the book in 1727 while in Istanbul, on his way back from Iran. The book was first published in Latin,⁹⁷ and soon in French⁹⁸ and English translations.⁹⁹

İbrahim Müteferrika’s decision to print such a work showcases his editorial policy of publishing up-to-date information on current events. After the fall of the Safavids in 1722, the Ottomans undertook military campaigns across the Iranian territory. Despite early successes, the Ottomans were frequently defeated in the late 1720s, and one such failed campaign, as already stated in the previous chapter, led to the Patrona Halil rebellion in 1730. Undoubtedly, as this work was of special interest to the Ottoman ruling elite, Müteferrika printed it in quite a short period of time. As Rafikov and Recep Demir note, Müteferrika must have had great expectations for the sale of this work, based on its actuality, and therefore had printed more

94 Quoted from the English translation, *The Chronicles of a Traveller*, p. xxv.

95 Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 13.

96 N. Şimşir (ed.), *Judasz Tadeusz Krusinski'nin İran Seyahatnamesi [Judasz Tadeusz Krusinski's Iran Ambassadorial Report]*, Istanbul, 2013; J. T. Krusinski, *Târîh-i Seyyâh, Latinceden Osmanlı Türkçesine Çeviren: İbrahim Müteferrika [Târîh-i Seyyâh, Translated from Latin to Ottoman Turkish by İbrahim Müteferrika]*, ed. R. Demir, Ankara, 2016, p. 30–36; R. Demir, “İbrahim Muteferrika as a Translator in the Context of *Tarih-i Sayyah*”, in W. H. Taylor (ed.), *Turkey, Looking Behind and Before*, London, 2016, p. 190–195.

97 J. T. Krusiński, *Relation de mutationibus Regni Persarum*, Rome, 1727.

98 J. T. Krusiński, *Histoire de la dernière Révolution de Perse*, ed. J.-A. du Cerceau, Paris, 1728.

99 *The History of the Revolution of Persia Taken from the Memoirs of Father Krusinski, Procurator of the Jesuits at Ispahan, Done into the English from the Original, Just Published at Paris by Father Du Cerceau*, London, 1728.

copies than the print run of the two previous publications, i.e., 1,200 copies.¹⁰⁰ The price was also quite affordable. According to Holderman, the book cost 3 piasters,¹⁰¹ and according to Armain, 6 francs.¹⁰² Later, this price also dropped. According to Mütēferrika's 1146/1733–1734 Latin account, the “current selling price is 2 thalers”.¹⁰³ Mütēferrika's other Latin account, attached to Penckler's 1747 report, also indicates that “the current price is 2 thalers”.¹⁰⁴ Celsius's 1751 list confirms that the price was 2 piasters.¹⁰⁵ In 1735, Carleson reported that the price was 2 piasters and 20 *paras*, or 2,5 piasters.¹⁰⁶

The Mütēferrika edition soon attracted the attention of the European Orientalists. In 1731, Johann Christian Clodius, professor of Arabic at Leipzig University, published a translation into Latin of Mütēferrika's Turkish edition, as already stated.¹⁰⁷ In 1840, the above-mentioned English translation from Clodius's edition was published.¹⁰⁸ The Mütēferrika edition was reprinted in Istanbul in 1277/1860–1861.¹⁰⁹ It also received modern editions in Azerbaijani,¹¹⁰ Turkish,¹¹¹ English,¹¹² and Persian.¹¹³

100 Rafikov, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции*, p. 110; Şimşir (ed.), *Judasz Tadeusz Krusinski'nin İran Seyahatnamesi*; Krusinski, *Târih-i Seyyâh, Latinceden Osmanlı Türkçesine Çeviren: İbrahim Mütēferrika*, p. 39.

101 Omont, “Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à Istanbul”, p. 9.

102 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 753.

103 Mütēferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 72, 97.

104 Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomannicae”, p. 46, 49.

105 Akbulut, “İsveç Kraliyet Kütüphanesi'nde”, p. 234; Varanlıoğlu, “Latince Bir Belge”, p. 254, 259.

106 Carleson, *İbrahim Mütēferrika Basımevi*, p. 10.

107 *Târih-i seyyâh, hoc est: Chronicon peregrinantis*; compare with Erdem, “Mütēferrika Baskılarından Batı Dillerine Yapılan İlk Çeviriler”, p. 62–64.

108 *The Chronicles of a Traveller* (see the full reference on p. 94–95, n. 75).

109 *Târih-i 'Osmani, Birinci kısım: Târih-i Bosna der Zamân-ı Hekimzâde 'Alî Pâşâ, Târih-i Afğân*, Istanbul, 1277/1860–1861; compare with Krusinski, *Târih-i Seyyâh, Latinceden Osmanlı Türkçesine Çeviren: İbrahim Mütēferrika*, p. 28.

110 Y. T. Krusinski, *Xristian Səyyahın Tarixi: Səfəvilər dövlətinin süqutuna dair qiymətli ilkin mənbə* [*Chronicle of a Christian Traveler: A Valuable Source about the Fall of the Safavid State*], Baku, 1993 (2nd ed. 2017).

111 Şimşir (ed.), *Judasz Tadeusz Krusinski'nin İran Seyahatnamesi*; Krusinski, *Târih-i Seyyâh, Latinceden Osmanlı Türkçesine Çeviren: İbrahim Mütēferrika*.

112 J. T. Krusinski, *The History of the Late Revolutions in Persia: an Eyewitness Account of the Fall of the Safavid Dynasty*, ed. R. Matthee, London, 2016.

113 See Krusinski, *Târih-i Seyyâh, Latinceden Osmanlı Türkçesine Çeviren: İbrahim Mütēferrika*, p. 27.

3.4 Muhammad al-Su'udi, *Tārīḫü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî el-müsemma bi-Ḥadīs-i nev / History of the West Indies, Named Fresh News, Istanbul, 1142/1730.*

The format of the book is in-4^o,¹¹⁴ the page size is 150 × 210 mm, and the text area is 100 × 160 mm. The pages have between 20 and 23 lines. According to the colophon, the book was completed in the second third (*evāsiṭ*) of *Ramaẓān* 1142/ March 29–April 7, 1730.¹¹⁵ It consists of three unnumbered leaves with a preface (f. [2v–3v])¹¹⁶ and 91 numbered folios containing the main text, with the title placed on the opening page (Fig. 12). The print run was 500 copies, and the selling price was 2–3 thalers/piasters,¹¹⁷ or 6 francs.¹¹⁸ Celsius's 1751 list states that the price was 2 piasters.¹¹⁹

The surviving manuscript copies have different titles, and Müteferrika chose this one. While the author is not mentioned in the printed edition, in the two Latin accounts he stated that the author is assumed to be Kâtib Çelebi.¹²⁰ This assumption was probably made according to the manuscript copy used for the reproduction.¹²¹ However, Kâtib Çelebi did not compose this text but was one of its copyists.¹²² He also used several manuscript copies of this text while preparing his own cosmographical work titled *Cihānnumā*.¹²³ The information about the authorship of the *Tārīḫü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî* is conflicting. According to some scholars, the author was Muhammad al-Su'udi (d. 1591), while according to others it was either Muhammad

114 Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 73; Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 46, 49.

115 M. al-Su'udi, *Tārīḫü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî el-müsemma bi-Ḥadīs-i nev*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 91v.

116 See the English translation in T. D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Americana*, Wiesbaden, 1990, p. 345–348 (Appendix C).

117 Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 73, 98; Omont, “Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à Istanbul”, p. 9; Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 10; Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 46, 49.

118 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 753.

119 Akbulut, “İsveç Kraliyet Kütüphanesi'nde”, p. 234; Varanlıoğlu, “Latince Bir Belge”, p. 254, 259.

120 Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 72; Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 46, 49.

121 See Beydilli, “Müteferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası”, p. 48.

122 Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan 1644; T. Duran (ed.), *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî, veya, Hadis-i Nev / History of the West Indies Known as the New Hadith*, transcr. and transl. F. Yavuz et al., Istanbul, 1999, p. 16.

123 See G. Hagen, “Kâtib Çelebi and *Târîh-i Hind-i Garbî*”, *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 12, 1998, p. 101–115.

ibn Yusuf al-Harawi (d. 1542), or Seydi Ali Reis (1498–1563), or Kâtib Çelebi. The earliest extant manuscript copy of the work was presented to Sultan Murad III in 1583.¹²⁴ A facsimile of this copy, preserved in the Library of the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul,¹²⁵ along with a transcription and translations in modern Turkish and English, were published in 1987 and 1999.¹²⁶

Although the works of 16th-century Ottoman authors such as Piri Reis (ca. 1465–1553), Seydi Ali Reis, Tunuslu Hacı Ahmed, and Ali Macar Reis (ca. 1567) provided some information about the discovery of the American continents,¹²⁷ the work printed by the Müteferrika press remained perhaps the most detailed account of the New World until the 19th century¹²⁸ and was even reprinted in 1292/1875–1876, alongside other books on the subject, also printed in translations.¹²⁹

The book consists of three chapters. The first chapter describes the Old World based on its traditional division into seven climes, detailing oceans and seas (from the Atlantic Ocean to the China Sea) as well as major rivers (from the Nile and the Danube to the Indus). In this section, the book supplies a synopsis of the achievements of Islamic cosmology and geography. The second chapter is very short (two

124 See T. D. Goodrich, “The Search for the Sources of the Sixteenth-Century *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî*”, *Bulletin of Research in Humanities*, 85, 1982, p. 269–294; T. D. Goodrich, “XVI. Yüzyıla Ait *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî* Adlı Eserin Kaynakları ile İlgili Bir Araştırma” [“The Ottoman American Studies: A Study on the Sources of the 16th-Century Work Titled *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî*”], transl. H. G. Yurdaydın, *Bellekten*, 49, 1985, 195, p. 667–691; T. D. Goodrich, “*Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî*: an Ottoman Book on the New World”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 107, 1987, 2, p. 317–319; T. D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî and Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Americana*, Wiesbaden, 1990, p. 19–27; Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, p. 94; C. İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim [Science in the Ottoman Madrasas]*, Vol. 2, Istanbul, 1997, p. 260–262; R. Demir, M. Kılıç, “*Târîh-i Hind-i Garbî*’de Hint Okyanusu, Kızıldeniz ve Süveyş Kanalı ile İlgili Düşünceler” [“Thoughts on the Indian Ocean, Red Sea, and the Suez Canal in *Târîh-i Hind-i Garbî*”], in G. Eren (ed.), *Osmanlı*, Vol. 8, Ankara, 1999, p. 355–371; B. Tezcan, “The Many Lives of the First Non-Western History of the Americas: From the *New Report* to the *History of the West Indies*”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 40, 2012, p. 1–38.

125 Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan 1488.

126 al-Su’udi, *Târîhü'l-Hindî'l-garbi*; Duran (ed.), *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî*.

127 See İ. Daniş, “Yeni Dünya ve Osmanlı Coğrafyacıları: 16. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Coğrafya Eserlerinde Amerika Kıtasının Keşfine Dair Bilgiler” [“The New World and Ottoman Geographers: Information on the Discovery of the American Continent in the 16th-Century Ottoman Geographical Works”], in M. Ak, A. Üstüner (eds.), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Coğrafya ve Kartografya / Geography and Cartography in the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul, 2024, p. 304–312.

128 Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, p. 15; Daniş, “Yeni Dünya ve Osmanlı Coğrafyacıları”, p. 312–315.

129 See J. Strauss, “Nineteenth-Century Ottoman *Americana*”, in M. Hadjianastasis (ed.), *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination: Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey*, Leiden/Boston, 2015, p. 259–281.

pages only) and offers fresh insights into the Atlantic Ocean. The third chapter, which makes up two-thirds of the book, is dedicated to the discovery of America and the events that occurred on the newly conquered continents between 1492 and 1552, as well as the climatic conditions of that region. The chapter is further divided into two parts: one describes Central and South America, the other focuses on North America.

According to Thomas Goodrich, the first two chapters were based on Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish sources (some of which are explicitly cited in the text), while the third chapter was translated from Italian adaptations of mostly Spanish authors, although the text itself does not overtly refer to any Western sources.¹³⁰ In addition, noting that the printed edition was more detailed than the existing manuscripts, Goodrich assumed that Müteferrika had consulted more manuscripts. Müteferrika also corrected many of the geographical names, making the printed edition much more reliable than the manuscript copies.¹³¹

The Müteferrika edition was the first Ottoman Turkish illustrated printed book, containing 13 black-and-white woodcut engravings, as well as four maps. The engravings depict curious places, animals, birds, and plants, in some cases alongside people (Figs. 13–25).¹³² As noted by Toderini, the book was supplied with four geographical maps and an astronomical chart depicting the Ptolemaic geocentric system, produced “by the poor İbrahim”.¹³³ Müteferrika’s Latin accounts similarly claimed that the book had been provided with four geographical and cosmographical maps, namely: 1) a cosmological plan according to Claudius Ptolemy, prepared by İbrahim Müteferrika and drawn in 1142/1729–1730 (Fig. 26) ; 2) two unsigned charts of climes according to ancient and modern astronomy (Fig. 27); 3) an unsigned map of the two hemispheres (Fig. 28), reproduced from the second publication, *Tuḥfetü'l-kibâr* (Fig. 6); 4) an unsigned world map with the “ancient” and “new” continents (Fig. 29).¹³⁴ It seems that the aforementioned maps and charts were not

130 See Goodrich, “The Search for the Sources”, p. 269–294; Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, p. 31–38.

131 Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, p. 29.

132 al-Su‘udî, *Tārīḫü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî*, f. 15r, 38v, 46v, 49r, 53v, 55v, 64r, 73v, 79v, 86r, 87v, 89v, 91r.

133 Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 41.

134 Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomannicae”, p. 46, 49; Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 73, 98; [Goodrich], *Turcica, catalogue no. 484*, p. 9; Kut, Türe (eds.), *Yazmadan Basmaya*, p. 43–44; Princeton University, Firestone Library, Gotsen Children’s Library, 3134 Euro 18, <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9947192853506421>; <https://blogs.princeton.edu/cotsen/tag/turkish-books/> (accessed on November 15, 2024).

included in all copies.¹³⁵ In the 1780s, Toderini noted that “it is rare to find a clean and intact” copy. After having seen several “damaged” copies with “missing specimens of figures”, he eventually managed to purchase “a complete and perfect” copy.¹³⁶ The same maps and charts were reproduced and included among the forty maps and charts attached to one of Müteferrika's later publications – Kâtib Çelebi's *Cihānnümā* – this time, some with the signature of Ahmed al-Kırımı.

This book received a second edition, published in 1292/1875–1876,¹³⁷ and modern translations into English.¹³⁸

3.5 Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Abd Allah ibn Arabshah, *Tārīḥ-i Tīmūr Gürkān li-Nazmizāde Efendi / History of Tamerlane [Translated] by Nazmizade, translated by Nazmizade Hüseyin Murteza, Istanbul, 1142/1730.*

The format of the book is in-4^o,¹³⁹ the page size is 150 × 257 mm, and the text area is 100 × 160 mm. The pages have between 20 and 22 lines. According to the colophon, the book was completed on *Zī'l-ka'de* 1, 1142/May 18, 1730.¹⁴⁰ It consists of six unnumbered pages containing a preface (f. [1v–4r]) and a table of contents (f. [4v–6v]), alongside 129 numbered leaves containing the main text, with the title on the opening page (Fig. 30). A total of 500 copies of this book were printed and its selling price was 3 thalers/piasters,¹⁴¹ or 6 francs in the 1730s.¹⁴² In 1751, the price dropped to 2 piasters.¹⁴³

135 British Library, Asia, Pacific & Africa Department, Or:80.b.11 (two maps: the hemispheres and a world map), Or:80.b.7 (no maps and charts); NLS, OCD, O 336 (one chart); see also [Goodrich], *Turcica, catalogue no. 484*, p. 9.

136 Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 43–44.

137 M. al-Su'udi, *Hadīṣ-i Nev: Tārīḥ-i Hind-i Ğarbi*, Istanbul, 1292/1875–1876.

138 Muhammed b. Emir el-Hasan Sudi, *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî veya Hadis-i Nev / A History of the Discovery of America*, transl. S. Artemel, Ankara, 1987; Duran (ed.), *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî*.

139 Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 73, 99; Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 46, 49.

140 A. M. ibn Arabshah, *Tārīḥ-i Tīmūr Gürkān li-Nazmizāde Efendi*, transl. H. M. Nazmizade, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 129r.

141 Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 73, 99; Omont, “Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à Istanbul”, p. 9; Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 11; Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 46, 49.

142 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 752.

143 Akbulut, “İsveç Kraliyet Kütüphanesi'nde”, p. 234; Varanlıoğlu, “Latince Bir Belge”, p. 253, 258.

The book is a translation from Arabic into Turkish by Nazmizade Hüseyin Murteza (d. 1720/1723) of the *'Ajā'ib al-maqdūr fi navāib-i Tīmūr* (*The Wonders of Destiny Concerning the Calamities Generated by Tamerlane*) by Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Abd Allah ibn Arabshah (1392–1450).¹⁴⁴ Completed in 1435, Ibn Arabshah's work is an account of the life and rule of Tamerlane (d. 1405; r. 1370–1405), including his devastating conquests in Central Asia and the Middle East.¹⁴⁵ Before Müteferrika's edition, this work was printed with Arabic type and a Latin preface in 1636,¹⁴⁶ and in French translation in 1658.¹⁴⁷

Similarly to the *Tārīḥ-i seyyāḥ*, the Müteferrika edition was reprinted in 1277/1860–1861 with the slightly modified title *Tārīḥ-i Tīmürlenk*.¹⁴⁸

3.6 Ahmad ibn Hamdam Suhaili, *Tārīḥ-i Mıṣrı'l-*cedid* li-Süheyli Efendi; Tārīḥ-i Mıṣrı'l-*kadım* li-Süheyli Efendi / A History of Modern Egypt by Suhaili Efendi; A History of Ancient Egypt by Suhaili Efendi, Istanbul, 1142/730.*

The format of the book is in-4°,¹⁴⁹ the page size is 160 × 215 mm, and the text area is 100 × 160 mm. The pages have 21 or 22 lines. According to the colophon, the book was completed on *Zı'l-hicce* 1, 1142/June 17, 1730.¹⁵⁰ It was printed on French paper.¹⁵¹ The publication includes the Turkish translation of two works in Arabic by Ahmad ibn Hamdam (1562–1632), known also as Suhaili, under the following titles: *Tārīḥ-i Mıṣrı'l-*cedid* li-Süheyli Efendi* (*A History of Modern Egypt by Suhaili Efendi*), a historical account of events in Egypt between 921/1515–1516 (the years of the Ottoman conquest) and 1038/1628–1629, and *Tārīḥ-i Mıṣrı'l-*kadım* li-Süheyli Efendi* (*A History of Ancient Egypt by Suhaili Efendi*), an account of the historical events from the

144 See R. Şeşen (ed.), *Müslümanlarda Tarih-Coğrafya Yazıcılığı [History-Geography Writing among the Muslims]*, Istanbul, 1998, p. 318.

145 For a more detailed description, see Şeşen (ed.), *Müslümanlarda Tarih-Coğrafya*, p. 216.

146 A. ibn Arabshah, *Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-maqdūr fi akhbār Tīmūr / Ahmedis Arabsiadae, Vitae & rerum gestarum Timuri, qui vulgo Tamerlanes dicitur, historia*, ed. J. Golius, Leiden, 1636.

147 A. M. ibn Arabshah, *L'histoire du grand Tamerlan divisée en sept livres*, transl. P. Vattier, Paris, 1658.

148 *Tārīḥ-i Tīmürlenk li-Nazmizāde*, Istanbul, 1277/1860–1861.

149 Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 73, 99; Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 46, 49.

150 A. H. Suhaili, *Tārīḥ-i Mıṣrı'l-*cedid* li-Süheyli Efendi; Tārīḥ-i Mıṣrı'l-*kadım* li-Süheyli Efendi*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 51v.

151 Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 41.

creation of the world to the Ottoman conquest. The pages of each work were separately numbered. The first work consists of four unnumbered pages containing a preface (f. [1v–4r]) and 65 numbered leaves with the main text, with a title on the opening page (Fig. 31). The second work consists of 51 numbered leaves containing the main text, with a title on the opening page (Fig. 32). The author, who was a clerk of the local council in Cairo, translated these two works from Arabic into Turkish himself.¹⁵²

The book was printed in 500 copies and priced at 2–3 piasters,¹⁵³ or 9 francs.¹⁵⁴ In 1751, the price was still 3 piasters.¹⁵⁵ The publication was provided with an undated map of Egypt, titled *İklim-i Mısır (Climate of Egypt)*. This map is found either as an appendix to this book¹⁵⁶ or independently.¹⁵⁷

According to Rafikov, in printing these two works, Müteferrika's aim was to provide the reading public with detailed information about the province of Egypt, which was an important source of goods and income for the Ottoman state and army.¹⁵⁸ However, this publication may also have been related to the 1730 Egyptian mission of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, the father of Müteferrika's colleague Mehmed Said, and chief treasurer at the time.¹⁵⁹

In İbrahim Müteferrika's 1747 property inventory, the unsold copies of the second to the sixth publications were recorded together under the following shortened and modified titles: *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr, Ağvâniye* (i.e., *Târîh-i seyyâh*), *Yeni Dünya* (i.e., *Târîhü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî*), *Timûr*, and *Târîh-i Mısır*. They were likely recorded together because of their similar format (in-4^o), volume, and price. The total number of unsold copies (sewn and cut, some of them bound) was 1,114, and the estimated price of a copy was half a piaster. The same price of a printed (*bâşmâ*) *Târîh-i seyyâh* was recorded in the property inventory of a certain Bayrakdarzade Mecnun dated *Muḥarrem* 10, 1160/January 22, 1747. It was estimated at 50 aspers,

152 See Kabacalı, *Türk Kitap Tarihi*, p. 49–50; Şen, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Usûlü'l-Hikem*, p. 64.

153 Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 73; Omont, “Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à Istanbul”, p. 9; Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 11; Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 46, 49.

154 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 752.

155 Akbulut, “İsveç Kraliyet Kütüphanesi'nde”, p. 234; Varanlıoğlu, “Latince Bir Belge”, p. 254, 258.

156 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ur 180; University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet.Or.d.Turk.2; see also Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basımcı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 176; Sarıcaoğlu, “Harita (Osmanlı Dönemi)”, p. 215.

157 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Kart. C 6857; Diez A fol. 58, f. 5r; <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB000166B400000013> (accessed on October 18, 2024).

158 Rafikov, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции*, p. 118.

159 Z. Arıkan, “Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi”, in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 43, Istanbul, 2013, p. 552.

or approximately half a piaster.¹⁶⁰ Given the initial value of 3 piasters, the price of these publications dropped drastically within 17 years. On the other hand, out of a print run of 3,700 copies of all the five publications, less than one-third remained unsold until early 1747.

Erhan Afyoncu assumed that Müteferrika and Said reduced the print run of the later publications to 500 copies because of the disappointing sales figures of the second and third books, printed in 1,000–1,200 copies.¹⁶¹ They may have decided to decrease the print run of later publications on the estimate of how much each book would sell.

3.7 Nazmizade Hüseyin Murteza, *Gülşen-i Hulefâ li-Nazmizâde Efendi* / *The Rose Garden of the Caliphs by Nazmizade Efendi*, Istanbul, 1143/1730.

The format of the book is in-2^o,¹⁶² the page size is 185 × 300 mm, and the text area is 123 × 222 mm. Each page has 29 lines. According to the colophon, the book was completed on *Şafer* 1, 1143/August 16, 1730.¹⁶³ It consists of five unnumbered folios containing a preface (f. [1v–3v]) and a table of contents (f. [4r–5r]) and 130 numbered folios containing the main text with the title appearing on the opening page (Fig. 33). It was printed on paper manufactured in France.¹⁶⁴ According to Osman Ersoy, the selling price of the book, which had a print run of 500 copies, was 3 piasters.¹⁶⁵ Müteferrika's Latin accounts,¹⁶⁶ as well as Carleson's 1735 report,¹⁶⁷ mention the price of 4–5 thalers/piasters. By 1751, the price had remained almost the same, 5 piasters.¹⁶⁸ This equaled 15 francs in French currency.¹⁶⁹

The author of the text, Nazmizade Hüseyin Murteza, was the same person whose translation of the *Tārīḥ-i Tīmūr* was published as the fifth title of the Müteferrika

160 İMŞS, Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi, 96, f. 26v.

161 Afyoncu, "İbrâhim Müteferrika", p. 326.

162 Müteferrika, "Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu", p. 73, 100; Deréky, "Origo Typographiae Ottomannicae", p. 46, 49.

163 H. M. Nazmizade, *Gülşen-i Hulefâ li-Nazmizâde Efendi*, Istanbul, 1143/1730, f. 130r.

164 Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 41.

165 Ersoy, "İlk Türk Basımevi'nde Basılan Kitapların Fiyatları", p. 70.

166 Müteferrika, "Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu ve Başlangıcı", p. 73, 100; Deréky, "Origo Typographiae Ottomannicae", p. 46, 49.

167 Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 11.

168 Akbulut, "İsveç Kraliyet Kütüphanesi'nde", p. 234; Varanhoğlu, "Latince Bir Belge", p. 253, 258.

169 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 752.

press. As stated in the preface of the book, the work relates the history of the Abbasid dynasty and the Muslim governors of Baghdad who followed between 127–1130/744–1717, i.e., prior to the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Ahmed III.¹⁷⁰

Out of a total of 500 copies printed, 235 copies, with an estimated price of 2 piasters, were recorded as unsold in Müteferrika's 1747 property inventory. Two hundred and five of them were complete (sewn, cut, and partially bound), while the remaining thirty were incomplete. The book sold a little more than half of its print run, not achieving the better sales of previous releases.

The book was reprinted in 1305/1887–1888¹⁷¹ and has an edition in Modern Turkish, based on several surviving manuscript copies.¹⁷² In 1246/1830–1831, an appendix to this book was published in Baghdad.¹⁷³

3.8 Jean-Baptiste Holderman, *Grammaire turque ou Méthode courte & facile pour apprendre la langue turque; avec recueil de noms, de verbes, & des manières de parler les plus nécessaires a sçavoir; avec plusieurs dialogues familiers*, Constantinople [Istanbul], 1730.

The format of the book is in-4^o,¹⁷⁴ the page size is 160 × 210 mm, and the text area is 110 × 170 mm. Each page has 26 lines. Paper manufactured in France was used.¹⁷⁵ The book consists of eight unnumbered leaves, including a title page (f. [1r], Fig. 34), a dedication to Cardinal de Fleury (f. [2r–3r]), a preface (f. [4r–4v]), an introduction (f. [5r–8r]), 194 numbered pages containing the main text, and at the end six unnumbered pages, which comprise a table of contents (p. [195–200]) and two pages of an errata table (p. [201–202]).

Unlike the previous publications, the layout of this book is in a Western style. The earlier Müteferrika books, which imitated the layout of Islamic manuscripts as closely as possible, lacked a title page. Their titles and authors were placed either in

170 Nazmizade, *Gülşen-i Hulefâ*, f. [3b].

171 H. M. Nazmizade, *Gülşen-i Hulefâ*, n. p., 1305/1887–1888.

172 Nazmi-zâde Murteza, *Gülşen-i Hulefâ: Bağdat Tarihi 762–1717* [*Gülşen-i Hulefâ: History of Baghdad 762–1717*], ed. M. Karataş, Ankara, 2014.

173 R. Havi, *Tarih-i Devhatü'l-vüzerâ: Zeyl-i Gülşen-i Hulefâ*, ed. Muhammed Bakır el-Tiflisi, Baghdad, 1246/1830–1831.

174 Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 73, 100; Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 46, 49.

175 Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 41.

the preface, or at the top of the opening page of the main text. The place and date of publication were indicated in the colophons. *Grammaire turque* has a title page that gives the full title, as well as the place and year of publication. However, there is no mention of the author's name or the printing press anywhere in the book. As I have already mentioned, the grammar book was composed by the Jesuit missionary Jean-Baptiste Holderman. Louis de Villeneuve, the French ambassador to Istanbul at the time, stated that the author's name was not given because the book was dedicated to the French prime minister Cardinal de Fleury (1653–1743; in office 1726–1743).¹⁷⁶ The three-page dedication is signed anonymously by “his very humble and very obedient servant”,¹⁷⁷ but it was actually written by Villeneuve.¹⁷⁸ Notably, Müteferrika's Latin accounts state that the “author is anonymous”.¹⁷⁹ Except for the year, the exact date of the printing completion was not specified. However, in a letter dated August 5, 1730, Holderman wrote that Müteferrika was printing the book at that time.¹⁸⁰ According to information derived from the French archives, the printing process lasted from March to November 1730.¹⁸¹ Holderman died on November 13, 1730, and afterwards the book was completed under the supervision of Paul Eremia, an Ottoman Armenian based in Istanbul.¹⁸²

Holderman, then a professor at the *École des jeunes de langues* in Istanbul, wrote the first version of this book in 1726 to meet the needs of his students. They were trained as interpreters, and some of them would be appointed to the French embassy. Later on, Holderman revised and improved the manual together with Jean-Raymond Delaria, dragoman at the same embassy.¹⁸³ According to Saussure, it was Delaria who prepared the manual in consultation with Holderman.¹⁸⁴ The French preface to the published version states that the purpose of this book is to help French people who were in the Ottoman Empire for trade or other reasons to learn Turkish. The author also noted that it was difficult to learn Turkish from the

176 Duverdier, “Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika”, p. 345; L. Cassels, *The Struggle for the Ottoman Empire, 1717–1740*, London, 1966, p. 48.

177 Holderman, *Grammaire turque*, f. [3r].

178 Dipratu, “French Ambassador Marquis de Villeneuve”.

179 Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 73, 100; Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 46, 49.

180 Omont, “Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à Istanbul”, p. 6.

181 Duverdier, “Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika”, p. 345.

182 Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 95–96; Duverdier, “Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika”, p. 344–345; Kunalalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 1, p. 383; Dipratu, “French Ambassador Marquis de Villeneuve”.

183 Duverdier, “Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika”, p. 340.

184 Thály (ed.), *Lettres de Turquie*, p. 95.

Meniński dictionary and that, on the advice of İbrahim Müteferrika, he had added a list of frequently used Turkish expressions.¹⁸⁵

Franciszek Meniński (1623–1698) published his dictionary in Vienna in 1680, giving in three volumes the pronunciation of the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian words with transcription and their Latin, German, Italian, French, and Polish equivalents.¹⁸⁶ An additional volume of this dictionary, giving the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian equivalents of the Latin words, was printed in 1687.¹⁸⁷ The Meniński dictionary became the main reference work for the Western dragomans familiar with Oriental languages. For example, the Marquis de Villeneuve insisted that the interpreters at the French embassy in Istanbul be provided with this dictionary.¹⁸⁸ According to his property inventory, Müteferrika also owned a copy of the Meniński dictionary.¹⁸⁹ Hammer provided some clue as to how Müteferrika could have obtained this copy. Tavukçu Reis Mustafa Efendi (1688–1749), who was sent as an Ottoman emissary to the Habsburg court at Vienna in 1730, on the accession of Sultan Mahmud I to the throne, presented to his hosts a copy of the books printed at the Müteferrika press. In return, the Austrians presented Mustafa Efendi with a copy of the Meniński dictionary.¹⁹⁰ After the emissary returned to Istanbul, this dictionary was probably delivered to İbrahim Müteferrika. In fact, the exchange of books was a very common practice in Ottoman-Habsburg diplomatic and cultural relations.¹⁹¹

It should be reminded that French diplomats needed such a manual. The French ambassador Marquis de Bonnac, having become dissatisfied with the level of education at the *École des jeunes de langues*, sent some of the students to the Louis-le-Grand College in Paris. In his reports, Bonnac explained that the low level of the school in Istanbul was caused by the fact that the Meniński dictionary

185 Holderman, *Grammaire turque*, f. [4r].

186 F. M. Meninski, *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium turcicae, arabicae, persicae, Praecipuas earum opes à turcis peculiariter usurpatas continens nimirum Lexicon turcico-arabico-persicum*, Vienna, 1680.

187 F. M. Meninski, *Complementum Thesaurus linguarum orientalium, seu onomasticum latino-turcico-arabico-persicum*, Vienna, 1687.

188 Duverdiere, “Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika”, p. 341.

189 See Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni*, p. 140–141, 401.

190 J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Vol. 7, Pest, 1831, p. 413; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 4, Part 2, p. 516.

191 See Z. Barbarics-Hermanik, “Books as Means of Transcultural Exchange between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans”, in M. McLean, S. Barker (eds.), *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World*, Leiden/Boston, 2016, p. 105–123.

(together with its grammatical section) was outdated and rare, while other manuals and dictionaries of the Turkish language were of no use to beginners.¹⁹²

Babinger states that Müteferrika “agreed to print this book at the request of the French residents of Istanbul and therefore did not seek the grand signior’s permission to publish it, something he never failed to do”.¹⁹³ As already mentioned, non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman sultan did not need permission to print books for their own community. It is clear from the Marquis de Villeneuve’s letter, dated March 2, 1730, that Müteferrika “asked nothing from the King, but French letterforms, which were necessary for this printing, and that he would give me some Turkish type, so that their size would be proportionate and their appearance more pleasing”.¹⁹⁴ Villeneuve later noted that the locally produced Latin letters were of poor quality.¹⁹⁵ This is not surprising since, as discussed in the previous chapter, the Latin type was cast by people who did not speak French.¹⁹⁶ Based on this, Rafikov assumed that the Latin type was cast not in France, but in Istanbul.¹⁹⁷ Franz Babinger also claimed that the book was “the first French work printed in Constantinople and with letters cast there”.¹⁹⁸

In a letter dated May 10, 1730, the Marquis de Villeneuve, pointing out that “İbrahim Efendi is currently working on printing the Turkish and French grammar”, reported to the state secretary of France Comte de Maurepas that he had “made a deal with him [Müteferrika] under the eyes of Mr. Sevin, by which he obliged himself to provide me with 200 copies of this grammar for 500 piasters, which amounts to two and a half piasters for each copy”. The French ambassador believed that “this quantity at least was needed for the use of the children studying language in Paris and Constantinople, and to have a certain number of reserves, which you will keep, to replace those which will be worn out”. He also “made İbrahim Efendi calculate in advance 150 piasters, which he asked me to give him, to partly cover

192 R. Zaïmova, *Voyager vers l’«autre» Europe: Images françaises des Balkans ottomans, XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles*, Istanbul, 2007, p. 107–108.

193 Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 14.

194 Omont, “Documents sur l’imprimerie à Constantinople”, p. 188–189; Kunalalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 1, p. 236.

195 Kunalalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 1, p. 446–449; Dipratu, “French Ambassador Marquis de Villeneuve”.

196 Holderman, *Grammaire turque*, f. [4v]; compare Omont, “Nouveaux documents sur l’imprimerie à Istanbul”, p. 6.

197 Rafikov, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции*, p. 120.

198 Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 14.

the expenses he is obliged to incur daily for this printing".¹⁹⁹ In another letter, dated November 13, 1730, on the day when Holderman died, the Marquis de Villeneuve assured the Comte de Maurepas that Müteferrika will complete the printing of the book by the end of the same month and confirmed that he will receive "200 copies of this book in exchange for 500 piasters, part of which I had advanced to him".²⁰⁰ In January 1731, Villeneuve sent 100 copies to Versailles.²⁰¹ The French ambassador pointed out in a letter dated February 18, 1731, that "the printing press established in this country will have great difficulty in supporting itself" and therefore "the expenditure made for the printing of this book should be supported by the King". To this end, he "had it done in advance".²⁰² Villeneuve's correspondence shows that Müteferrika preferred to receive some money in advance in order to print this book despite his initial declaration that he only needed specimens of French letters.

In a letter dated August 5, 1730, Holderman wrote that the print run of the grammar would be 1,000 copies, the individual price 3 piasters, and the wholesale price 2,5 piasters,²⁰³ as mentioned in the above-cited letters of the Marquis de Villeneuve. In Müteferrika's Latin account of 1146/1733–1734, the selling price is shown as 3 thalers/piasters.²⁰⁴ The same price is stated in Carleson's 1735 report.²⁰⁵ However, in Müteferrika's Latin account attached to Penckler's 1747 report the price is shown as 1,5 piasters.²⁰⁶ This book is missing in Armain's list of 1747 and therefore no information about its price in French currency is known. However, Osman Ersoy, who quotes no source, states that the price was 40 francs.²⁰⁷

Holderman's grammar book is missing also in the list of the Müteferrika publications placed at the end of the second volume of Na'ima's *History*. According to Rafikov, Müteferrika deliberately omitted this publication in order not to provoke the reaction of the conservative Muslim religious circles against a book written by

199 Kunalalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 1, p. 295; Duverdier, "Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika", p. 344–345.

200 Kunalalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 1, p. 383.

201 See F. Tóth, "Les drogman et autres experts au service des ambassades à Constantinople au XVIII^e siècle", in É. Schnakenbourg, S. Jeannesson, F. Jesné (eds.), *Experts et expertises en diplomatie: La mobilisation des compétences dans les relations internationales du congrès de Westphalie à la naissance de l'ONU*, Rennes, 2018, p. 119–130.

202 Kunalalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 1, p. 469.

203 Omont, "Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à Istanbul", p. 6–7.

204 Müteferrika, "Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu", p. 73; 100.

205 Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 11.

206 Deréky, "Origo Typographiae Ottomannicae", p. 46, 49.

207 Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 42; Ersoy, "İlk Türk Basımevi'nde Basılan Kitapların Fiyatları", p. 70.

a non-Muslim like Holderman.²⁰⁸ Jale Baysal suggests the same reason, stating that “perhaps this book was not included in the list for fear of social pressure”.²⁰⁹

In İbrahim Müteferrika’s property inventory, only 84 bound copies of this book, called *Ḳrāmâtika*, were recorded as unsold, out of a print run of 1,000 copies, with an estimated selling price of a quarter of a piaster. Given these figures, one may conclude that – after the Vankulu dictionary – the Turkish grammar book proved to have been the second best-selling Müteferrika publication. Holderman’s work was indeed a highly sought-after book. According to the appendix of Saussure’s letter of 1732, dated after 1759, as there were no other similar manuals, this book was very useful for those who wanted to learn Turkish and therefore was very rare in the book market.²¹⁰ Toderini also wrote that this grammar book was very rare in the 1780s, as compared to other Müteferrika publications. He added that he had been able to find this book only “after a long time and much effort”.²¹¹

Holderman’s manual was reprinted in 2009.²¹²

3.9 İbrahim Müteferrika, *Uşûlü'l-ḥikem fî nizāmi'l-ümem / Reasonable Principles for the Organization of States, Istanbul, 1144/1732.*

The format of the book is in-4^o, the page size is 133 × 195 mm, and the text area is 80 × 142 mm. Each page has 19 lines. The volume consists of 48 numbered leaves of French paper.²¹³ According to the colophon, the book was completed in the second third (*evâstı*) of *Şa'bân* 1144/February 8–17, 1732.²¹⁴ Apart from the text of the treatise itself, there are no additional ones, such as a preface, a table of contents, etc. Unlike the previous publications, a printed decorative headpiece, with the title, is placed at the top of the opening page (f. 1v, Fig. 35). Similar or different variations of this decoration can be found in all of Müteferrika’s later publications. The print run was 500 copies. In the 1730s and 1740s, the selling price was one thaler/piaster,²¹⁵ or

²⁰⁸ Rafikov, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции*, p. 123.

²⁰⁹ Baysal, *Müteferrika'dan Birinci Meşrutiyete*, p. 58.

²¹⁰ Thály (ed.), *Lettres de Turquie*, p. 96.

²¹¹ Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 97.

²¹² J. B. D. Holderman, *Grammaire turque ou Méthode courte & facile pour apprendre la langue turque (1730)*, Whitefish, MT, 2009.

²¹³ Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 42.

²¹⁴ İ. Müteferrika, *Uşûlü'l-ḥikem fî nizāmi'l-ümem*, Istanbul, 1144/1732, f. 48v.

²¹⁵ Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 74; Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 12; Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 47, 49.

30 sous, in French currency.²¹⁶ According to Celsius's 1751 list, the price dropped to half a piaster.²¹⁷

İbrahim Müteferrika was the author of this treatise, dedicated to Sultan Mahmud I, who came to power after the 1730 Patrona Halil rebellion. Notably, it was the first work written by an Ottoman author to be printed during his lifetime. Müteferrika's Latin accounts showcase this book as the tenth publication of the press, and his compilation on magnetism *Füyüzât-ı Miknaṭısiye* as the ninth, although – according to its colophon – the latter was released a bit later, at the end of the same month.²¹⁸ The reverse order of publication shown in these accounts written by the author himself may indicate that the *Füyüzât-ı Miknaṭısiye* actually appeared earlier than the *Uşûlü'l-hikem*, contrary to the dates given in their colophons. This is just further evidence that these dates should be regarded as somewhat conventional.

As stated in the introduction, Müteferrika's purpose was to discuss the reasons lying behind the 1730 rebellion and to suggest to the Ottoman authorities pro-European military reforms that would eventually strengthen the state order and the army's discipline. Müteferrika claimed that in pursuing this aim he had used historical books in Latin and had been advised by foreign military officers. Neither the titles of these sources nor the names of the officers are mentioned.²¹⁹ Mikhail Meyer assumes that the treatise was probably written as early as 1725, during the reign of Sultan Ahmed III. Meyer's assumption is based on a report by Ivan Ivanovich Nepljuyev (1693–1773), the Russian ambassador in Istanbul at the time (in office 1721–1735). According to this report, in February 1725, Nepljuyev heard the news that an educated convert of Hungarian origin had presented a work to the grand vizier's secretary where he was emphasizing the importance of geography and the need for better army organization. Meyer suggests that the work in question was the same treatise as the one authored by İbrahim Müteferrika and published later; in 1732.²²⁰ Nepljuyev may have been referring to an anonymous memorandum (*lāyiha*) also written during the reign of Sultan Ahmed III and related to the same subject. Faik Reşit Unat assumes that it was written by Müteferrika again. However, Unat does not neglect the possibility that this memorandum was prepared by the Transylvanian prince Ferenc Rákóczi II or the French military engineer Rochefort,

216 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 753.

217 Akbulut, “İsveç Kraliyet Kütüphanesi'nde”, p. 234; Varanlıoğlu, “Latince Bir Belge”, p. 255, 259.

218 Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 74, 101; Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 47, 49.

219 Şen, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Uşûlü'l-Hikem*, p. 71–72, 124–126.

220 Meyer, *Османская империя в XVIII веке*, p. 177.

who resided in Istanbul in 1717.²²¹ Aleksandr Vitol also argued that the memorandum had been composed by İbrahim Müteferrika, based on the similarity of the ideas and the text in his published treatise.²²² If Nepljuyev's 1725 report and these assumptions are correct, then the 1730 rebellion may have prompted Müteferrika to revise and update an earlier text that he had already prepared before this event.

The *Uşûlü'l-ḥikem* was written in the so-called *naşihatnâme* (book of advice) form, one of the literary genres that leading Ottoman intellectuals and statesmen used when they suggested reforms. In contrast to the preceding *naşihatnâme* authors, Müteferrika did not plead for restoration of the state order as found in the time of Sultan Süleyman I, usually perceived as the ideal one, but insisted on adopting the modern achievements of the leading European countries in the field of state and military organization.²²³ In this context, Müteferrika's treatise introduced for the first time the term *nizâm-ı cedîd* ("new order"), which was later used for the new army unit recruited by Sultan Selim III, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

The treatise consists of three parts. In the first part, Müteferrika dwelled on the principles of state order and the place and role of the army in it. He pointed out that throughout history, human beings, as social beings, formed societies and therefore needed regulatory mechanisms prescribed by laws. Müteferrika briefly described the three main forms of state order: monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Then, he emphasized that states had been in constant conflict between themselves in order to gain new territories or to defend their own domains, and therefore the discipline and the strength of their armies had proved to be of crucial importance. Müteferrika criticized the Ottoman authorities for being completely ignorant about the principles of state order and the military achievements of the enemy Christian countries and suggested a new order (*nizâm-ı cedîd*) for the Ottoman army, to which the Christian military achievements should be applied.

This part of Müteferrika's treatise reads very much like *De l'esprit des lois* by Charles Montesquieu (1689–1755), written and published a little later, in 1748. In it, Montesquieu also underlined the natural law of humans to form societies whose relationships are regulated by laws. Then he discussed in detail – similarly to Müteferrika – the three proper forms of government, such as democracy (or republic), aristocracy, and monarchy, as well as the improper form of despotic

221 F. R. Unat, "Ahmed III Devrine Ait bir İslâhat Takriri" ["A Reform Proposal of the Ahmed III Period"], *Tarih Vesikaları*, 1, 1941, p. 107–121; compare with İ. Müteferrika, *Uşûlü'l-Hikem fî Nizâmi'l-Ümem: İnceleme, Metin* [*Uşûlü'l-Hikem fî Nizâmi'l-Ümem: Study, Text*], ed. C. Ünsal, Ankara, 2022, p. 75.

222 A. V. Vitol, *Османская империя (начало XVIII в.)* [*The Ottoman Empire (Beginning of the 18th Century)*], Moscow, 1987, p. 94.

223 Şen, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Uşûlü'l-Hikem*, p. 70.

government.²²⁴ İbrahim Müteferrika had seemingly summarized information on these issues from Western European sources, such as those used by Montesquieu. Coşkun Ünsal's analysis shows that Müteferrika relied also on Muslim sources, such as the works of Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406) and Kâtib Çelebi.²²⁵

In the second part, Müteferrika dwelled on the importance of geography for the improvement of the state and the army. The Marquis de Villeneuve's correspondence also stresses the neglect of geographical sciences in Muslim societies, the Ottoman Empire in particular. In 1729, when he received from Müteferrika a few copies of Kâtib Çelebi's *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr*, enriched with maps, Villeneuve stated the following:

Until now, geography had been absolutely neglected in this empire; perhaps the knowledge that the Turks will acquire of their own country through this reading will inspire them with the curiosity to know better than they do the situation and the extent of other states, and that this knowledge will give rise in them to the desire to become more enlightened about the interests of the Powers of Europe and Asia [...] The Turks had until now neglected this science, which they will perhaps cultivate in the future, if this first attempt makes them aware of its usefulness.²²⁶

The third part of Müteferrika's treatise suggested reforms that could be applied to the Ottoman army. The most important innovation, according to Müteferrika, was the use of firearms, as the Christian armies did, and the application of their military tactics. Müteferrika suggested using smaller military units, to make their commanding and cooperation easier, as well as military training provided by Christian military specialists, as Russia did.²²⁷ According to Coşkun Ünsal, Müteferrika may have used *Commentarii Bellici* (*Commentaries on War*), written in Latin in 1664 by the Austrian chief commander Raimondo Montecuccoli (1608–1681) and published

224 See C. de Montesquieu, *The Complete Works of M. de Montesquieu*, Vol. 1, Dublin, 1777, p. 1–23.

225 See Müteferrika, *Usûlü'l-Hikem fî Nizâmi'l-Ümem*, p. 68–74.

226 Kunalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 1, p. 193–194.

227 See N. Çavdar, Ü. Çelik, “İbrahim Müteferrika'nın ‘Usûlü'l-Hikem Fî Nizâmi'l-Ümem’ Adlı Eserine Göre Osmanlı Askerî Sisteminin Sorunları ve Çözüm Önerileri” [“Problems of the Ottoman Military System and Solution Suggestions According to İbrahim Müteferrika's ‘Usûlü'l-Hikem Fî Nizâmi'l-Ümem’”], in İ. Gökhan, H. Saraç, G. Özcan (eds.), *Lale Devri'nde Osmanlı Devleti ve Nevşehir*, Kayseri, 2018, p. 581–600.

in 1718.²²⁸ Moreover, Ünsal suggests that Müteferrika may have been the author of its Turkish translation, known as *Fününü'l-ḥarb* (*The Arts of War*).²²⁹

Sometimes the *Risâle-i İslâmiye*, which remained unpublished, is mistakenly identified with the *Uşûlü'l-ḥikem*. For instance, Süheyl Ünver claimed that an improved version of the *Risâle-i İslâmiye* had been printed in 500 copies in 1732.²³⁰ M. Esad Coşan, known also as Halil Necatioğlu, who published the *Risâle-i İslâmiye* in modern Turkish, investigated Ünver's claim and noted that he had not been able to find any copy of such a publication. He assumed, therefore, that Ünver had meant the *Uşûlü'l-ḥikem*.²³¹ Although Süheyl Ünver's claim was false, some later authors repeated it. For example, in an article published in July 2003, Mustafa Armağan followed Ünver's claim and wrongly concluded that "in fact, religious books were also printed in the first printing press".²³² Obviously, it was not the case.

While the autograph of the *Uşûlü'l-ḥikem* has not yet been found, numerous manuscript copies made after the printed version survive.²³³ Throughout the 18th century, the treatise attracted the attention of European specialists and was translated into French²³⁴ and Russian.²³⁵ The treatise is also available in modern

228 R. Montecuccoli, *Commentarii bellici Raymundi Sac. Rom. Imp. Principis Montecuccoli juncto artis bellicae systemate ex augustissimae bibliothecae authographo nunquam hactenus edito, Figuris Aeneis illustrati, cum privilegio Sac. Caes. Majestatis*, Vienna, 1718.

229 See Müteferrika, *Uşûlü'l-Hikem fî Nizâmi'l-Ümem*, p. 76–78.

230 S. Ünver, "İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Bilimsel Yönü ile Yayınlarındaki Özellikler" ["İbrahim Müteferrika's Scientific Pursuits and the Specificity of His Publications"], in *Basım ve Yayıncılığımızın 250. Yılı Bilimsel Toplantısı*, p. 2.

231 M. E. Coşan, *Matbaacı İbrâhîm-i Müteferrika ve Risâle-i İslâmiye*, Istanbul, 1993, p. 32–33.

232 M. Armağan, "Ah Bir Matbaa Erken Gelseydi!" ["If Only the Printing Press Had Come Earlier!"], *Toplum ve Düşünce*, 6, 2003, p. 19.

233 NLS, OCD, Or 2296 (copied in the second half of the 18th century); Princeton University, Firestone Library, Islamic Manuscripts, Robert Garret Collection, Manuscripts Division, Yahuda 5011, f. 19v–75v (copied in 1201/1786); for the manuscript copies preserved in Turkey, see Müteferrika, *Uşûlü'l-Hikem fî Nizâmi'l-Ümem*, p. 55–67.

234 I. Müteferrika, *Traité de la tactique ou méthode artificielle pour l'ordonnance des troupes, ouvrage publié et imprimé à Constantinople par Ibrahim officier Muteferrika de la Porte Ottomane, l'an de l'Hégira 1144*, transl. C. Réviczki, Vienna, 1769; I. Müteferrika, *Traité de la tactique ou méthode artificielle pour l'ordonnance des troupes, ouvrage publié et imprimé à Constantinople par Ibrahim officier Muteferrika de la Porte Ottomane, l'an de l'Hégira 1144*, transl. C. Réviczki, Paris, 1769; I. Müteferrika, *Traité de la tactique ou méthode artificielle pour l'ordonnance des troupes (1769)*, ed. F. Tóth, Paris, 2018; F. Tóth, "Egy magyar vonatkozású Keleti hadtudományi értekezés nyomában", *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 131, 2018, 3, p. 569–611; compare Erdem, "Müteferrika Baskılarından Batı Dillerine Yapılan İlk Çeviriler".

235 I. Müteferrika, *Изображение тактики, или искусный образ войск установления, обнаруженное и напечатанное в Константинополе на турецком языке Ибрагим*

editions, in transcription²³⁶ and modern Turkish.²³⁷ The latest critical edition was published in 2022.²³⁸

3.10 İbrahim Müteferrika, *Füyüzât-ı Mıknatısiye / The Benefits of Magnetism, Istanbul, 1144/1732.*

The format of this book is also in-4^o, the page size is 132 × 205 mm, and the text area is 80 × 142 mm. Each page has 19 lines. The book was printed on French paper²³⁹ and completed – according to the colophon – on *Ramazân* 1, 1144/February 27, 1732.²⁴⁰ It consists of 23 numbered folios, containing a preface, with a title inside a head-piece (f. 1v–6r, Fig. 36), and the main text (f. 6r–23v). Similarly to the *Uşûlü'l-hikem*, this publication lacks a table of contents. The print run was 500 copies, and the initial selling price was one piaster,²⁴¹ or 30 sous.²⁴² Later, the price dropped twice. According to Müteferrika's Latin account attached to Penckler's 1747 report, the price was half a thaler/piaster.²⁴³ The same price is also indicated in Celsius's 1751 list.²⁴⁴

The work deals with magnetism and the compass to help sailors in determining latitudes and longitudes. Its author, İbrahim Müteferrika, explains in the preface that it was his own translation into Turkish of a work published in Leipzig in 1721. He did not specify the original language but noted that he had obtained a copy of this publication through a merchant, whose name is not mentioned.²⁴⁵ In his Latin accounts, Müteferrika noted that he had edited and prepared for

Эфендием Муттеферриком Порты Оттоманской в 1144 году Эгирь, то есть год спустя после последнего возмущения и низвержения султана Ахмета в 1730 году приключившегося [Depiction of Tactics, or Skillful Image of the Army Establishment, Published and Printed in Constantinople in the Turkish Language by Ibrahim Efendi Müteferrika of the Ottoman Porte in the year 1144 of the Hegira, That is, a Year after the Last Outrage and Overthrow of Sultan Ahmed, Which Occurred in 1730], Saint Petersburg, 1777.

236 Şen, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Usûlü'l-Hikem*, p. 123–191.

237 İ. Müteferrika, *Milletlerin Düzeninde İtmi Usüller* [*Scientific Approaches to the Order of Nations*], ed. Ö. Okutan, Istanbul, 1990.

238 Müteferrika, *Usûlü'l-Hikem fi Nizâmi'l-Ümem*.

239 Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 42.

240 Müteferrika, *Füyüzât-ı Mıknatısiye*, f. 23v.

241 Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 12.

242 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 753.

243 Deréky, "Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae", p. 47, 49.

244 Akbulut, "İsveç Kraliyet Kütüphanesi'nde", p. 234; Varanlıoğlu, "Latince Bir Belge", p. 255, 259.

245 Müteferrika, *Füyüzât-ı Mıknatısiye*, f. 5v–6r.

publication this text “by taking sections from philosophical books and translating into Turkish large sections from a Latin pamphlet”.²⁴⁶ Niyazi Berkes,²⁴⁷ followed by other scholars,²⁴⁸ assumed that the original work had been authored by William Whiston (1667–1752),²⁴⁹ who was expelled from Cambridge for opposing the Trinitarian creed. Ferhat Özçep²⁵⁰ suggested that Müteferrika may also have used the book on magnetism written by Robert Norman in the 16th century, but published in 1720.²⁵¹ However, not only were Whiston’s and Norman’s texts in English, but comparative studies by Delio V. Proverbio²⁵² and Bekir H. Küçük²⁵³ convincingly demonstrated that it was precisely *Specimen Theoriae Magneticae*, written by Christoph Eberhard and published in Leipzig in 1720,²⁵⁴ that was used as the source for Müteferrika’s translation.

After the last page of the book, Müteferrika added a plate showing the declination of the compass needle. On the last page, he noted that this plate shows the declination of the compass needle as checked in Istanbul “at the time of [this] book” (*tārîh-i kitâbda*), i.e., 1144/1732, which was nearly 11,5 degrees from north to west.²⁵⁵ In fact, as Proverbio and Küçük also noted, this plate was based on a similar

246 Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu”, p. 74, 101; Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 46–47, 49.

247 Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, p. 46 (n. 37).

248 Ş. Demirel, “İbrahim Müteferrika’nın *Füyuzat-ı Mıknâtısiye* (Mıknâtısın Yararları) Adlı Kitabı” [İbrahim Müteferrika’s Book Titled *Füyuzat-ı Mıknâtısiye* (*The Benefits of Magnetism*)], *Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Atatürk’ün 100. Doğum Yılına Armağan Dergisi*, Ankara, 1982, p. 265–330; F. Sarıcaoğlu, “Cihannümâ ve Ebûbekir b. Behrâm ed-Dımeşkî – İbrahim Müteferrika” [*Cihannümâ* and Ebûbekir b. Behrâm ed-Dımeşkî – İbrahim Müteferrika], in M. S. Kütükoğlu (ed.), *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu’na Armağan*, İstanbul, 1991, p. 140–141.

249 W. Whiston, *The Longitude and Latitude Found by the Inclinator or Dipping Needle*, London, 1721.

250 F. Özçep, “Osmanlı ve Batı Kaynaklarına Göre Mıknatıslar, Pusulalar ve Yer Manyetizması Ölçümleri” [“Magnets, Compasses, and Earth Magnetism Measurements According to Ottoman and Western Sources”], *Dört Öge Felsefe ve Bilim Tarihi Yazıları*, 9, 2020, 17, p. 135–139; see also F. Özçep, “Terrestrial Magnetism in the Ottoman Empire”, *Earth Sciences History*, 37, 2018, 1, p. 1–24.

251 R. Norman, *The Newe Attractive, Shewing the Nature, Propertie, and Manifold Vertues of the Loadstone, with the Declination of the Needle, Touched Therewith, Under the Plaine of the Horizon*, London, 1720.

252 D. V. Proverbio, “‘Füyûzât-ı mıknâtısiye’ di İbrahim Müteferrika: per una revisione delle fonti”, in D. V. Proverbio, *Turcica Vaticana*, Vatican, 2010, p. 161–196.

253 Küçük, *Early Enlightenment in Istanbul*, p. 178–189.

254 Eberhard, *Versuch einer Magnetischen Theorie*.

255 Müteferrika, *Füyûzât-ı Mıknâtısiye*, f. 23v.

chart included in Eberhard's aforementioned *Specimen Theoriae Magneticae*.²⁵⁶ Müteferrika himself mentioned in his preface that the compass plate added to the translated text had been taken from the original source.²⁵⁷ He reproduced this plate in his following publication, Kâtib Çelebi's *Cihännümâ*, with a note, explaining that when the compass needle was checked in Istanbul, this time in 1145/1732–1733, it had shown a declination of nearly 11,5 degrees from north to west (Fig. 50).²⁵⁸ The plate followed Müteferrika's supplement to Kâtib Çelebi's text, in which he not only repeated what he had already said in his preface to the *Füyûzât-ı Mıknatısiye*, but also explained that experts equipped with compasses, an astrolabe, a quadrant, and other astronomical devices, determined in 1140/1727–1728 contradicting directions for the orientation of the Qibla niche²⁵⁹ in the mosque of Admiral Mustafa Pasha (d. 1730) in Istanbul.²⁶⁰ Much to Müteferrika's disappointment, the compass measurements were ignored in favor of these made with traditional devices.²⁶¹ Later, according to Müteferrika, enthusiasts invented a Qibla finder with a built-in compass needle and found that it had a declination of 11,5 degrees to west.²⁶²

Based on this explanation, Küçük suggests that by writing and publishing the *Füyûzât-ı Mıknatısiye*, Müteferrika wanted to show that the compass was a more accurate device.²⁶³ In its preface, Müteferrika assured his readers that the loadstone shows the Muslim the direction of the Qibla and helps navigate those who sail the seas.²⁶⁴ He also emphasized that the compass had been used in China and Europe for many centuries.²⁶⁵

256 Proverbio, “‘Füyûzât-ı mıknatısiyye’ di İbrahim Müteferrika”, p. 166–168; Küçük, *Early Enlightenment in Istanbul*, p. 184–186.

257 Müteferrika, *Füyûzât-ı Mıknatısiye*, f. 6r.

258 Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ*, between p. 65 and 66.

259 Qibla is the direction to Mecca and Medina, which is the direction of Muslim prayer.

260 For Admiral Mustafa Pasha's Mosque in Istanbul, see E. Atak, “Kaptan-ı Deryâ Kaymak Mustafa Paşa'nın İstanbul'daki İmar Faaliyetleri” [“The Construction Activities of Admiral Kaymak Mustafa Pasha in Istanbul”], *Tokat Gaziosmanpaşa Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi*, October, 2020, p. 168–181.

261 For the Ottoman traditional measurement devices used in cartography, see S. Bilgi, H. Ş. Selbesoğlu, M. Y. Bıyık et al., “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Kartografya ve Ölçme Aletleri” [“Cartography and Measurement Instruments in the Ottoman Empire”], in Ak, Üstüner (eds.), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Coğrafya ve Kartografya*, p. 3–53.

262 Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ*, p. 64–65; Hagen, Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography*, p. 83–84.

263 B. H. Küçük, “The Compass and the Astrolabe: Empiricism in the Ottoman Empire”, in S. Kenan, S. A. Somel (eds.), *Dimensions of Transformation in the Ottoman Empire from the Late Medieval Age to Modernity*, Leiden/Boston, 2021, p. 258.

264 Müteferrika, *Füyûzât-ı Mıknatısiye*, f. 1v.

265 Müteferrika, *Füyûzât-ı Mıknatısiye*, f. 2v–3r.

Müteferrika's translation of Eberhard's *Specimen Theoriae Magneticae* obviously attracted much attention, as many manuscript copies of the printed version survive.²⁶⁶ The text was also published in a modern Turkish edition.²⁶⁷

In İbrahim Müteferrika's property inventory, the last publications – *Uşûlü'l-ḥikem* and *Füyûzât-ı Mıknatısiye* – were recorded together with the penultimate publication, *Aḥvâl-i ğazavât der diyâr-ı Bosna* (*The State of Holy Wars in the Lands of Bosnia*), published in 1741. They were probably taken together because of their similar size and format. According to the inventory, a total of 240 bound copies, with an estimated price of a quarter of a piaster, remained unsold. As the book related to Bosnia was published after Na'ima's *History*, its print run is unknown. One may assume, however, that at least 500 copies were printed. Accordingly, the total print run of these three publications would reach 1,500 copies. It turns out that these books sold approximately five out of six copies. Therefore, it can be concluded that their commercial success was pretty good. It is difficult to estimate how much each book individually contributed to this success, but it is certain that even the lowest selling book in the range sold more than half of its print run. Considering that – similar to the other two publications – many manuscript copies of the printed *Aḥvâl-i ğazavât der diyâr-ı Bosna* have survived,²⁶⁸ it is obvious that at some point their printed versions became unavailable in the Ottoman book market.

3.11 Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitāb-ı Cihānnümā li-Kâtib Çelebi* / *The Book of the Mirror of the World by Kâtib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732.

The format of the book is in-2°, the page size is 190 × 305 mm, and the text area is 125 × 238 mm. Each page has 31 lines. According to the colophon, the book was completed on *Muḥarrem* 10, 1145/July 3, 1732.²⁶⁹ It was printed on paper of French or other western origin,²⁷⁰ with a print run of 500 copies. The book consists of 14 unnumbered leaves, with a preface (f. [1v–3r]) and a table of contents (f. [4r–14v]), as well as 698 numbered pages, including the main text, with a headpiece and a title beneath it (Fig. 37). It was supplemented with forty geographical

²⁶⁶ Princeton University, Firestone Library, Islamic Manuscripts, Robert Garret Collection, Manuscripts Division, Yahuda 5011, f. 79v–102r (copied in 1201/1786).

²⁶⁷ Demirel, “İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Füyuzat-ı Mıknatısiye (Mıknatısın Yararları) Adlı Kitabı”.

²⁶⁸ F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 277; Kastamonu İl Halk Kütüphanesi (Municipal Public Library of Kastamonu), 37 Hk 4047.

²⁶⁹ Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitāb-ı Cihānnümā*, p. 698.

²⁷⁰ Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 42.

and astronomical maps and charts (see Table 2 and figs. 38–77).²⁷¹ However, not all the copies hold the full set of maps and charts.²⁷² While in most copies they were placed at the same place, in some copies their position varies slightly.²⁷³ The maps and charts in some copies were additionally colored by hand,²⁷⁴ while others were left uncolored.²⁷⁵

The earliest lists prepared by Jean-Baptiste Holderman (1730) and İbrahim Muteferrika (1146/1733–1734) do not indicate the price of the book. However, as Carleson noted in 1735, the selling price of a copy with colored maps was 44 piasters.²⁷⁶ According to Armain's 1747 list, a bound copy was sold for 150 francs and an unbound one for 90 francs.²⁷⁷ Müteferrika's Latin account attached to Penckler's 1747 report says that the price was 30 thalers/piasters.²⁷⁸ Here, Müteferrika may have meant the price of a copy whose illustrations were not colored. Franz Babinger, citing a work by Christoph Wilhelm Lüdeke published in 1789, wrote that the selling price of an unbound copy with uncolored maps was 30 piasters.²⁷⁹ Similarly, showing no reference, Osman Ersoy also claimed that the price of an unbound copy

271 See Varanlıoğlu, "Latince Bir Belge", p. 251, 257; E. Zoss, "An Ottoman View of the World: The Kitab Cihannüma and Its Cartographic Contexts", in Gruber (ed.), *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition*, p. 194–219; compare with F. Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 2. (*İndeks*), Ankara, 2013, p. 56–60 (there are 52 maps and charts presented here, but they are actually arranged in forty sheets).

272 Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, p. 171; Watson, "İbrâhîm Müteferrika and Turkish Incunabula", p. 439; Princeton University, Firestone Library, Rare Books Division, 2070.46.349q (one of the two copies under this call number is missing five maps).

273 Compare with F. Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 1. (*Tipkibasım*), Ankara, 2009; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, 29870-C; Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, Ankara, B/585.

274 NLS, OCD, O II 159; Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, Ankara, B/585; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, 29870-C; Oxford University, Bodleian Library, Vet.Or.c.Turk.3; British Library London, Asia, Pacific & Africa Department, Or.80.a.10; Princeton University, Firestone Library, Rare Books Division, 2070.46.349q; I. Y. Krachkovskii, "Турецкий первопечатник Ибрахим Мютеферрика и его работы по географии" ["The First Turkish Printer İbrahim Müteferrika and His Works on Geography"], *Тюркологический сборник*, 1, 1951, p. 122; Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 81–83.

275 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Res/2 A.or.371; Széchény National Library Budapest, Manuscripts Reading Room and Early Printed Books Archive, App. H. 3142.

276 Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 11.

277 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 752.

278 Deréky, "Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae", p. 47, 50.

279 Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 16.

was 30 piasters.²⁸⁰ According to Celsius's 1751 list, the price of a copy with maps and charts increased to 50 piasters, while a copy without such items cost 30 piasters.²⁸¹

Scholars of the history of Ottoman printing agree that Kâtib Çelebi's *Cihânnümâ* was the most important and impressive book produced by the Müteferrika press.²⁸² Although it came out after the *Uşûlü'l-hikem* and *Füyûzât-ı Miknâtişiyе*, it seems that its printing process had already been started in 1730. Holderman's above-cited letter, written sometime between August 16 and November 13, 1730, provides a list of the Müteferrika publications that included the *Cihânnümâ*. According to this list, at that time it was to be the last and eighth book, following the seventh one, the *Gülşen-i Hülefâ*. Holderman stated that the *Cihânnümâ* would be released soon. Holderman also provided a brief description of its contents that matches the version released in 1732. For example, Holderman wrote that the theories of Claudius Ptolemy, Nicolaus Copernicus, and Tycho Brahé had been described in the book and that many maps had been added. Similarly, one of its maps, showing the cosmological plan according to Ptolemy and signed by Müteferrika himself, was dated 1142/1729–1730 (Fig. 42). In fact, it was simply reproduced from an earlier publication, the *Târîhü'l-Hindi'l-ğarbî* (Fig. 26).

It turns out, therefore, that the printing process of this voluminous book, along with the maps and charts, was close to completion in the last third of 1730, and that it was meant to be the eighth publication. In the meantime, however, Holderman's Turkish grammar book and Müteferrika's treatises on military reform and magnetism, i.e., three other books were released. The delay of the *Cihânnümâ* project may have been caused by İbrahim Müteferrika's preference to follow the Ottoman political agenda, more specifically the Patrona Halil rebellion. When the rebellion broke out in late September 1730, he was still printing Holderman's manual, which he completed in November 1730. Then, Müteferrika must have stopped his printing activity for a while and awaited the end of the political turmoil in 1731. It is important to note that the rebels executed Grand Vizier İbrahim Pasha, who supported and protected Müteferrika's printing efforts. In the meantime, Müteferrika composed the political treatise proposing reforms in the Ottoman army and published it at the beginning of 1732. Besides this treatise, he obviously worked simultaneously on the other treatise related to magnetism. It is unclear whether Müteferrika changed the sequence of his publishing projects on purpose, as assumed above, or if this shift

²⁸⁰ Ersoy, "İlk Türk Basımevi'nde Basılan Kitapların Fiyatları", p. 71–72.

²⁸¹ Akbulut, "İsveç Kraliyet Kütüphanesi'nde", p. 234; Varanlıoğlu, "Latince Bir Belge", p. 251, 257.

²⁸² Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, p. 170; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 4, Part 2, p. 516; Duverdier, "Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika", p. 336.

had some objective reason. Whatever the case might be, the three books were out before the *Cihānnümā* and enjoyed quite a good commercial success.

Although *Cihānnümā*'s printed edition was nearly finished in 1730, Müteferrika wrote in its preface that its reproduction by means of printing was suggested by Grand Mufti Damadzade Ebulhayr Ahmed Efendi (d. 1154/1741–1742), who took the office between February 24, 1732, and October 21, 1733. Müteferrika explained that he had visited the grand mufti before his admission to this post (*eyyām-ı hālīyelerinde bir gün*). The mufti had shared his view of the importance of printing for the enlightenment of society, and had therefore suggested that Kâtib Çelebi's geographical work, describing the countries from east to west, should be printed.²⁸³ Regarding the fact that – as Holderman's letter alludes – its printed version was nearing completion in 1730, the conversation between the two must have taken place before that. On the other hand, if this meeting took place when Damadzade Ebulhayr Ahmed Efendi was already holding the highest religious office – as Rafikov suggested²⁸⁴ – then Müteferrika may have secured the support of the newly appointed grand mufti by writing that the printing of the *Cihānnümā* was done at his suggestion, although its printing had seriously progressed in 1730.

However, a third explanation is also possible. Müteferrika may have temporarily delayed the *Cihānnümā* project, launched in 1730, and preferred to print three other books that were more in demand. Then, he may have visited the newly appointed grand mufti, who may have encouraged Müteferrika to finish the *Cihānnümā* project. Müteferrika also mentioned in the preface that Kâtib Çelebi's manuscript drafts (*müsveddât*) were sought after and provided to him on the instruction of the same grand mufti.²⁸⁵ These drafts were probably the same ones recorded as “the *Cihānnümā* drafts of Rumelia” (*Rümeli Cihānnümâsı müsveddâti*) in Müteferrika's 1747 property inventory.²⁸⁶ Rumelia was the name by which the Ottomans usually referred to their southeastern European domains.

The delay in *Cihānnümā*'s publication may also have been due to the length of time it took to prepare the numerous maps and charts, then to color them by hand, and finally to place them between the appropriate pages during the process of assembling and binding the codices. It should be noted that all the maps and charts were separately printed on single pages or spreadsheets without pagination. Once they were ready to be included in the main text, they were inserted between the

²⁸³ Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihānnümâ*, f. [2r–2v]; Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihānnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 2, p. 46.

²⁸⁴ See Rafikov, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции*, p. 129–130.

²⁸⁵ Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihānnümâ*, f. [2v].

²⁸⁶ See Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni*, p. 395.

pages. This time-consuming and labor-intensive process also reveal some inconsistencies. Some maps or charts were wrongly placed upside down, sometimes the place and order of their inclusion in the body of the text differed, and the way in which the spreadsheets were attached also varied: they were most often folded once and attached in the middle, but in some cases, they were attached to one side, and therefore folded several times to fit the size of the codex.

A substantial and voluminous geographical undertaking, the *Cihânnümâ* was written in the genre of cosmography, which was very popular in the Muslim world until well into the 18th century. However, Kâtib Çelebi's work drew from a vast range of sources and transcended the boundaries of its genre by emphasizing the importance of geographical knowledge for the state and society. In addition to offering a comprehensive description of various world regions, it provided practical and useful information on mathematical geography, cartography, economic geography, historical geography, as well as on social and cultural geography.²⁸⁷ Kâtib Çelebi's work attracted the attention of European Orientalists who produced French and Latin translations that remained unpublished.²⁸⁸ Regarding the importance of this work, Müteferrika states the following in the first supplement to the printed edition:

It would be a great shame for such an excellent book and agreeable compilation not to be published and made available and thus be lost and destroyed. This being the case, since I have acquired the oldest manuscript and deem it worthy of attention of those interested in the subject, I have taken pains to have it published in multiple copies of the Imperial Publishing House.²⁸⁹

Kâtib Çelebi prepared two draft versions of the *Cihânnümâ*. He began writing the first version in 1648, relying exclusively on Islamic sources. It was related to Europe and the European territories of the Ottoman Empire (generally known as Rumelia), and several manuscript copies have been preserved to this day.²⁹⁰ Among them is

²⁸⁷ See G. Hagen, "Introduction to *Cihânnümâ*", in Hagen, Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography*, p. 2–7, 12–16; M. Elibüyük, "Tarihi Coğrafya Bakımından Önemli Bir Kaynak: Cihannüma" ["An Important Source in Historical Geography: *Cihannüma*"], *Coğrafi Bilimler Dergisi*, 7, 2009, 2, p. 93–109.

²⁸⁸ Hagen, "Introduction to *Cihânnümâ*", p. 19.

²⁸⁹ Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ*, p. 2; Hagen, "Introduction to *Cihânnümâ*", p. 36.

²⁹⁰ See Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 2, p. 40–43; Hagen, "Introduction to *Cihânnümâ*", p. 13; G. Hagen, "El Yazmasının Kenarındaki Hayat: Cihânnümâ Müellif Hatları ve Coğrafyacının Atölyesine Bir Bakış" ["Life on Manuscripts Margins: A Look at *Cihânnümâ*'s Autographs and the Geographer's Workshop"], in B. Karlığa, M. Kaçar (eds.), *Doğumunun 400. Yıl Dönümünde Kâtip Çelebi*, Ankara, 2009, p. 175.

the so-called Vienna draft.²⁹¹ However, these copies are missing the introduction and the first two chapters of the first part, which provided general information about the Globe, oceans, and continents. The second part (from the fifth chapter onwards) describes the countries from west to east: Andalusia (Spain), Maghreb (the Western Mediterranean), Bosnia, Hungary, and Rumelia. Kâtib Çelebi intended to continue with the description of Anatolia, Venice, the Papal States, France, and the British Isles, but had to leave this project unfinished because of the scarcity of reliable European sources.

In due course, Kâtib Çelebi gained access to translations from Latin into Turkish, including substantial works like *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) and *Atlas Minor* by Gerardus Mercator. The access to the latter was facilitated by a French convert to Islam named Mehmed İhlâsi, who helped Kâtib Çelebi translate it.²⁹² Armed with these newfound resources, Kâtib Çelebi began writing a new draft in late 1654. This version incorporated extensive references to geographical works by Western authors.²⁹³ The first part of the second rendition described the Globe, the seas, and the continents, while the second part covered cities, rivers, mountains, roads, and countries, including discussions on newly found continents like America and Australia. Unlike the earlier version, the second one described the countries in the opposite direction, moving from Japan to Eastern Anatolia (the province of Van and its cities and fortresses). Influenced by European sources, Kâtib Çelebi not only adhered to the traditional division of the surface of the Earth into seven climes according to Ptolemy's theory but also organized descriptions by continents. Unfortunately, due to Kâtib Çelebi's death in

291 The autograph, preserved in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Mixt. 389, was translated into German: Mustafa Ben Abdalla Hadschi Chalfa, *Rumeli und Bosna, geographisch beschrieben*, transl. J. von Hammer, Vienna, 1812; see also Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 2, p. 35–36; A. Üstüner, “Klasik Çağ Sonrası Osmanlı Coğrafya Çalışmaları” [“Ottoman Geographical Studies after the Classical Age”], *TALİD: Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, 17, 2019, 33, p. 76; P. Emiralioğlu, “Cartographes et circulation des savoirs dans l’Empire ottoman au XVII^e siècle”, *Cartes & géomatique, Revue du Comité français de cartographie*, 251, 2023, p. 34; P. Emiralioğlu, “Cross-Cultural Exchange and Imperial Power: Ottoman Mappings of the World in the Seventeenth Century”, in Ak, Üstüner (eds.), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Coğrafya ve Kartografya*, p. 630–631.

292 See Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 2, p. 16–17; A. Üstüner, *Levâmi’u’n-Nûr (Metin-Değerlendirme) [Levâmi’u’n-Nûr (Text-Commentary)]*, Istanbul, 2017 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis); Kâtib Çelebi, *Levâmi’u’n-Nûr fi Zulmet-i Atlas Minor*, ed. A. Üstüner, H. A. Arslantürk, Ankara, 2017.

293 Ehrensward, Abrahamowitz, “Two Maps Printed by Ibrahim Müteferrika”, p. 55.

1657, the second draft (the so-called Topkapı/Istanbul draft²⁹⁴) also remained unfinished.²⁹⁵ Nevertheless, several manuscript copies survive.²⁹⁶

Despite the common practice of copying the two versions together, Müteferrika chose to print the second version first, using – as scholars assume – the Topkapı/Istanbul draft mainly.²⁹⁷ In the first supplement to the printed edition, Müteferrika states that in addition to the draft, “written in the author’s own hand” (*kendü hattıyla zafer-i yâb olduğumuz nüsha daği müsvedde yollu olub*), other manuscripts in public circulation were examined.²⁹⁸ He also states that he inserted “maps taken from recent geographical works” (*coğrafiyânın kütüb-i cedidelerinden ba’z menâfi ve eşkâl-i memâlikin ilhâkıyle*).²⁹⁹ It seems that one of these works was a manuscript copy of the *Cihânnümâ* completed on *Rebî’ülâhîr* 28, 1142/November 20, 1729, by a certain Mahmud bin Şeyh Abdullah, now preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.³⁰⁰ The copy includes 53 nicely drawn charts and maps, which are better replicas of those included in the Topkapı/Istanbul draft.³⁰¹ Moreover, most of them are closely reproduced in the 1732 published version. As for the text, the Paris manuscript follows the text in the draft, copying some of the original marginal notes written by Kâtib Çelebi himself as marginal notes again, while others were inserted into the main text. The Paris manuscript rarely omits some of the original marginal notes. Müteferrika, on the other hand, inserted most of the marginal notes into the main text of the printed edition and excluded those that were also excluded in the Paris manuscript. Considering the impressive similarity between the maps drawn

²⁹⁴ The autograph is preserved in the Topkapı Müzesi Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Revan 1624/I; see Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 2, p. 36; F. Sezgin, *Kâtip Çelebi’nin Esas Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ’sı ve Coğrafya Tarihî’ndeki Yeri* [*Kâtip Çelebi’s Essential Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ and Its Place in the History of Geography*], Istanbul, 2015.

²⁹⁵ See Hagen, “Introduction to *Cihânnümâ*”, p. 12–15; Hagen, “El Yazmasının Kenarındaki Hayat”, p. 175; Selen, “Cihânnümâ”, p. 123–133; Sarıcaoğlu, “Cihânnümâ ve Ebûbekir b. Behrâm ed-Dimeşkî”, p. 122–125; E. İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi / History of Geographical Literature during the Ottoman Period*, Vol. 1, Istanbul, 2000, p. 85–90; Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 2, p. 28–33; Üstüner, “Klasik Çağ Sonrası Osmanlı Coğrafya Çalışmaları”, p. 42–43; Emiralioğlu, “Cartographes et circulation des savoirs dans l’Empire ottoman”, p. 35–38; Emiralioğlu, “Cross-Cultural Exchange and Imperial Power”, p. 631–635.

²⁹⁶ See Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 2, p. 43–45.

²⁹⁷ Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 2, p. 47; Hagen, “Introduction to *Cihânnümâ*”, p. 18, 20.

²⁹⁸ Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ*, p. 2; Hagen, Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography*, p. 35–36.

²⁹⁹ Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ*, p. 3; Hagen, Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography*, p. 36.

³⁰⁰ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Département des manuscrits, Supplément turc 215.

³⁰¹ See Sezgin, *Kâtip Çelebi’nin Esas Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ’sı*.

in the Paris manuscript and the printed edition, it seems that Müteferrika used this manuscript extensively in addition to the Topkapı/Istanbul draft.

Müteferrika also intended to print a second volume based on the first draft (the Vienna draft), but it was never done,³⁰² although, as already mentioned, the “Rumelia drafts” were exactly recorded in his property inventory.³⁰³ One may assume that he favored the second version because it was based on more reliable sources, including European ones, and its structure was better organized as an atlas with maps.³⁰⁴ Nonetheless, Müteferrika corrected the spelling errors in this draft and changed some phrases. He also did not add to the printed version all the marginal notes present in the draft.³⁰⁵

As highlighted by numerous scholars,³⁰⁶ Müteferrika added “supplements by the publisher” (*tezyilü't-ṭābi'*),³⁰⁷ along with other minor notes³⁰⁸ and a detailed description of the Anatolian lands and the Arabian Peninsula made by Ebu Bekir bin Behram ed-Dimaşki (d. 1691).³⁰⁹ Dimaşki's text was a translation from Latin into Turkish of the *Atlas Maior* by Willem Janszoon Blaeu (1571–1638) and his son Johannes Blaeu.³¹⁰ In the first of his supplements, Müteferrika explained that as Kâtib Çelebi's work remained “uncompleted” (*noḳşân*), he thought it “appropriate to

302 Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 2, p. 47.

303 See Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni*, p. 395.

304 See Hagen, “Introduction to *Cihânnümâ*”, p. 16, 18–19.

305 Sarıcaoğlu, “Cihannümâ ve Ebûbekir b. Behrâm ed-Dimeşki”, p. 139–140; Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 2, p. 48, 50–51.

306 Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 2, p. 48–50; Hagen, “Introduction to *Cihânnümâ*”, p. 18; H. H. Koyunoğlu, “Kâtip Çelebi'nin Cihannümâ'sı ve bu Kitaba İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Yaptığı Eklmeler” [“Kâtip Çelebi's *Cihannümâ* and İbrahim Müteferrika's Supplements to this Book”], *Dicle Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 9, 2007, 2, p. 147–166; B. Yurtoğlu, *Katip Çelebi*, Ankara, 2009, p. 41–43; İ. Kalaycıoğulları, “İbrahim Müteferrika ve *Cihânnümâ*'ya Yaptığı Ekler” [“İbrahim Müteferrika and His Supplements to *Cihânnümâ*”], in T. Gökçe, M. Acıpinar, İ. Kokdaş et al. (eds.), *Uluslararası Kâtip Çelebi Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, İzmir, 2017, p. 176–186; İ. Kalaycıoğulları, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Yeni Bilim'in Türkiye'ye Girişi [İbrahim Müteferrika and the Introduction of New Science to Turkey]*, İstanbul, 2020, p. 103–159.

307 Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ*, p. 2–8, 10, 15–16, 20–21, 22–48, 58–59, 64–65, 404–406, 422, 432, 445, 451, 630, 697–698; Hagen, Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography*, p. 35–39, 40–41, 44–45, 48, 50–66, 75–77, 82–84, 330–331, 344, 349, 359, 363, 483, 528.

308 Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 2, p. 49.

309 Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ*, p. 422–698; Hagen, Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography*, p. 344–528.

310 The Turkish translation was titled *Nuşretü'l-İslâm ve'l-Sürûr fi Tahriir-i Aṭlas Majör (Islam's Support and Happiness in Editing Atlas Maior)*, see Sarıcaoğlu, “Cihannümâ ve Ebûbekir b. Behrâm ed-Dimeşki”, p. 129; İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi*, Vol. 1, p. 108–114; S. Brentjes, “On Two Manuscripts by Abû Bakr b. Bahrâm al-Dimashkî (d. 1102/1691) related to

insert some useful information and clarifications on points of geometry and natural science” (*ba’z hendesiyât ve tabi’yât tarîfleri takdîme sezâ görüleb*).³¹¹ In fact, out of all the 726 pages in the printed edition (14 folios without pagination), including Müteferrika’s introduction and contents, and 698 numbered pages, including Kâtib Çelebi’s and Dimaşki’s texts), the supplements and additions in question comprise 325 pages. Therefore – as Fikret Sarıcaoğlu suggested – it would be more accurate to consider this publication not simply a printed edition of *Cihännümâ*’s original text, but a printed edition supplemented by İbrahim Müteferrika.³¹²

In one of the supplements, Müteferrika, based on the writings of the French philosopher Edmond Pourchot (1651–1734),³¹³ provided information about the theories of astronomy divided at the time into three separate groups. In the first group, which he called “the astronomy of the ancient scholars” (*hey’et-i mütekkâddimîn*), he discussed the geocentric theories of Aristotle and Ptolemy, while in the second group he described the heliocentric system of Pythagoras (ca. 570–ca. 495 BC), Plato (427–348 BC), and Nicolaus Copernicus. In the third group, he included brief information about the views of Tycho Brahé. Defining the last two groups as “the astronomy of recent scholarship” (*hey’et-i müteahhîrîn*), Müteferrika noted that it would be useful to consider the existing theories. He stated that the geocentric theory had been accepted by everyone, including Muslim philosophers, while the views of the other two groups had been rejected. He also provided information about the compass.³¹⁴

İbrahim Müteferrika was not the first person to introduce the heliocentric theory of Copernicus into Ottoman literature. According to Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, Köse İbrahim Efendi of Zigetvar, who in the 17th century translated a work by the

W. and J. Blaeu’s *Atlas Maior*”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 40, 2012, p. 171–192; Emiralioğlu, “Cartographes et circulation des savoirs dans l’Empire ottoman”, p. 39–40.

311 Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ*, p. 2; Hagen, Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography*, p. 36.

312 Sarıcaoğlu, “Cihännümâ ve Ebûbekir b. Behrâm ed-Dimeşki”, p. 142.

313 Adivar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, p. 171.

314 See See Adivar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, p. 171; E. İhsanoğlu, “Introduction of Western Science to the Ottoman World: a Case Study of Modern Astronomy (1660–1860)”, in E. İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Transfer of Modern Science & Technology to the Muslim World: Proceedings of the International Symposium on “Modern Sciences and the Muslim World”. Science and Technology Transfer from the West to the Muslim World from the Renaissance to the Beginning of the XIXth Century (Istanbul 2–4 September 1987)*, Istanbul, 1992, p. 67–120; E. İhsanoğlu, *Büyük Cihad’dan Frenk Fodulluğuna [From the Great Jihād to Frankish Superiority]*, Istanbul, 1996, p. 158–163; İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi*, Vol. 1, p. 135; İ. Kalaycıoğulları, “İbrahim Müteferrika ve Yeni Astronomi” [“İbrahim Müteferrika and New Astronomy”], *Dört Öge Felsefe ve Bilim Tarihi Yazıları*, 6, 2017, 12, p. 187–220; B. H. Küçük, “İbrahim Müteferrika’s Copernican Rethoric”, in K. A. E. Enenkel, N. Hodson, S. Francen (eds.), *Translating Early Modern Science*, Leiden, 2017, p. 258–285.

French astronomer Noël Duret (1590–1650)³¹⁵ from Latin into Arabic and then into Turkish, with the title *Secenceliü'l-eflâk fî gâyeti'l-idrâk* (*The Mirror of the Celestial Sphere for the Purpose of Perception*), was the first Ottoman astronomer to provide information on the subject.³¹⁶ However, this translation did not become popular. As Avner Ben-Zaken noted, apart from Köse İbrahim Efendi and the chief astronomer (*müneccimbaşı*) Mehmed Çelebi (d. 1631), who approved the translation, no one else paid much attention to Duret's work. Ben-Zaken added that the number of manuscript copies of this translation was probably quite small and not as widespread as the printed edition of the *Cihännümâ*.³¹⁷

Müteferrika used the advantages of printing to popularize the heliocentric theory among the Ottomans. However, as emphasized by İhsanoğlu, he was still cautious in introducing this theory because it was criticized by some Muslim scholars. As İhsanoğlu remarked, Müteferrika, who, as a former Christian, was aware of the reactions against this theory in Christian countries, may have feared the same negative reaction from the Ottoman scholars.³¹⁸ A year later, in 1733, on the instruction of Sultan Ahmed III, Müteferrika translated from Latin into Turkish *Atlas Coelestis* written by the Dutch geographer and astronomer Andreas Cellarius. Müteferrika titled the translation differently: *Mecmû'a-i hey'etü'l-ḳadîme ve'l-cedîde* (*Compendium of Old and New Astronomy*), probably because he used the 1708 Amsterdam edition with the similar title.³¹⁹ In this version, Müteferrika also provided information about the heliocentric theory, but he was not as cautious as in the *Cihännümâ* edition, probably because – as İhsanoğlu assumes – the latter did not generate as much negative reaction as expected.³²⁰

315 N. Duret, *Novae Motuum Caelestium Ephemerides Richelianae*, Paris, 1641.

316 See E. İhsanoğlu, “Tanzimat Öncesi ve Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Bilim ve Eğitim Anlayışı” [“The Ottoman Understanding of Science and Education before and during the Tanzimat Period”], in H. D. Yıldız (ed.), *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, Ankara, 1992, p. 339; A. Ben-Zaken, “The Heavens of the Sky and the Heavens of the Heart: The Ottoman Cultural Context for the Introduction of Post-Copernican Astronomy”, *The British Journal for History of Science*, 37, 2004, 1, p. 1–28.

317 A. Ben-Zaken, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kopernik Sistemi” [“Copernicus's System in the Ottoman Empire”], in C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca (eds.), *Türkler*, Vol. 11, Ankara, 2002, p. 289–302.

318 E. İhsanoğlu, “Some Critical Notes on the Introduction of Modern Sciences to the Ottoman State and the Relation between Science and Religion up to the End of the Nineteenth Century”, in J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, E. van Donzel (eds.), *Comité international d'Études pré-ottomanes et ottomanes, VIIth Symposium, Cambridge, 1st–4th July 1984: Proceedings*, Istanbul/Paris/Leiden, 1987, p. 245–246; E. İhsanoğlu, “Tanzimat Öncesi ve Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Bilim”, p. 341; E. İhsanoğlu, *Büyük Cihad'dan Frenk Fodulluğuna*, p. 162–163.

319 Cellarius, *Harmonia Macrocosmica, seu Atlas universalis et novus*.

320 E. İhsanoğlu, *Büyük Cihad'dan Frenk Fodulluğuna*, p. 163–165.

At the end of the printed edition, Müteferrika expressed the hope of publishing a second volume that would cover Europe, Africa, and America, in order to complete the descriptions of the whole world, as the title *Cihânnümâ* (*Mirror of the World*) required.³²¹ Regrettably, this intention remained unfulfilled, possibly because it was hampered by a combination of technical challenges, as speculated by some authors, and the scarcity of reliable sources and adequate financial support, as suggested by others.³²² However, Müteferrika's failure to print the second volume could be attributed to his struggles in enhancing the first draft of the work. Kâtib Çelebi's dissatisfaction with his first draft stemmed from the absence of reliable Western sources, leading him to abandon the project. It is possible that Müteferrika considered enhancing the source text with "editor's supplements", incorporating additional information, as he did when publishing Kâtib Çelebi's second draft. There are indeed some indications that Müteferrika translated excerpts from Italian and French texts focused on specific European countries. Notable examples include *Storia Fiorentina* by Benedetto Varchi, published in 1721³²³ (of which Müteferrika had translated certain parts³²⁴), and a text on Germany attributed to the French renegade Claude Alexandre Comte de Bonneval (Humbaracı Ahmed Paşa).³²⁵

On the other hand, Müteferrika may have been disappointed with the sales returns for the first volume. In his property inventory of 1747, 186 completed and 63 incomplete copies were recorded, or 249 unsold books in total. Their estimated individual price was 16 piasters. After 1747, the book was sold at almost the same price,³²⁶ i.e., half of its initial price. Despite Toderini's claim that the *Cihânnümâ* was the most prized of the Müteferrika publications,³²⁷ according to the figures in the property inventory, the book sold only half of the print run. One may also assume that its price dropped almost by half because of the poor sales.

Nevertheless, due to its rich set of impressive maps and charts, *Cihânnümâ*'s printed edition attracted great interest and respect from the literati. In 1818, Matthias

321 Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ*, p. 698.

322 Sarıcaoğlu, "Cihannümâ ve Ebûbekir b. Behrâm ed-Dîmeşkî", p. 139; Ertuğ, *Basın ve Yayın Hareketleri*, p. 111.

323 Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*.

324 A manuscript copy of this translation is preserved in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Département des manuscrits, Supplément turc 1435 (1–3), f. 28r–29r.

325 A manuscript copy of this translation, dating from 1790, is preserved in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Diez A quart. 96.

326 İMŞS, Kısmet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi, 104, f. 49v–51r; Erünsal, Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahafılık ve Sahaflar*, p. 186–190.

327 Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 130.

Norberg's translation from Turkish into Latin was published.³²⁸ The printed edition received several facsimile editions³²⁹ and versions in modern Turkish,³³⁰ a full English translation,³³¹ as well as partial French³³² and German ones.³³³

3.12 Kâtib Çelebi [Mustafa bin Abdullah], *Taḳvīmü't-tevārīḥ li-Kâtib Çelebi / Chronological Tables by Kâtib Çelebi, Istanbul, 1146/1733.*

The format of the book is in-4^o,³³⁴ the page size is 170 × 290 mm, and the text area is 95 × 205 mm. Each page has 27 lines. According to the colophon, it was completed on *Muḥarrem* 1, 1146/June 14, 1733.³³⁵ French paper was used.³³⁶ The volume consists of six unnumbered leaves containing Kâtib Çelebi's biography (f. [1r–2v]), a preface (f. [3v–5r]), and a table of contents (f. [5v–6r]), and 247 numbered pages containing the main text, with a printed headpiece and a title beneath it (Fig. 78). 500 copies were printed. According to Armain's 1747 list, the selling price was 15 francs.³³⁷ Osman Ersoy clarified that this price was valid within the Ottoman borders, while the price in France was 38 francs.³³⁸ Again, Ersoy estimated the price of the book to be around 3 piasters in Ottoman currency,³³⁹ but Carleson's 1735 report stated that the price was 5 piasters.³⁴⁰ Müteferrika's Latin account of 1146/1733–1734 concludes

328 M. Norberg, *Geographia orientalis Gihan numa ex Turcico in Latinum versa*, London, 1818.

329 Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnüma (Müteferrika Tıpkı Basım) [Kitâb-ı Cihânnüma (The Müteferrika Facsimile)]*, Istanbul, 2008 (2nd ed. 2015); Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 1.

330 Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ (Sadeleştirilmiş Metin) [Cihânnüma Kâtib Çelebi (Simplified Text)]*, ed. B. Karlığa, S. Öztürk, Istanbul, 2010 (2nd ed. 2013).

331 Hagen, Dankoff (eds), *An Ottoman Cosmography*.

332 L. V. de Saint-Martin, *Description historique et géographique de l'Asie Mineure*, Vol. 2, Paris, 1852, p. 637–742; J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, "L'Afrique dans la cosmographie de Kâtib Çelebi", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 40, 2012, p. 121–170.

333 J. von Hammer, "Über die Geographie der asiatischen Türkei", *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, 13, 1821, p. 213–265, 14, 1822, p. 21–88; F. Sezgin, K. Ehrig-Eggert, E. Neubauer (eds.), *Kâtib Çelebi (Ḥâḡḡî Ḥalîfa) (d. 1067/1657) and the Cihân-nümâ*, Vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main, 2008.

334 According to Hammer, the format was *in quarto*, while according to Babinger it was a "small folio", see Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Vol. 7, p. 585; Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 16.

335 Kâtib Çelebi, *Taḳvīmü't-tevārīḥ*, p. 247.

336 Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 43.

337 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 752.

338 Ersoy, "İlk Türk Basımevi'nde Basılan Kitapların Fiyatları", p. 71.

339 Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 43.

340 Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 11.

with the description of this book, but it mentions no price.³⁴¹ His second Latin account attached to Penckler's 1747 report specifies the same price of 5 thalers/piasters,³⁴² as also indicated in Celsius's 1751 list.³⁴³

This book was the first Müteferrika publication achieved after the withdrawal of one of the partners in the printing venture – Said Efendi – in late 1732. This might be one of the reasons of why its publication took almost a year after the previous book came out in early July 1732. The other reason seems to be related to the fact that this project emerged only in early 1732. In the preface, Müteferrika states that he printed this work – as in *Cihännümâ's* case – again on the advice of Grand Mufti Damadzade Ahmed Efendi, who had emphasized before him the importance of history.³⁴⁴ As I mentioned above, Damadzade Ahmed Efendi occupied the office of grand mufti between February 24, 1732, and October 21, 1733.³⁴⁵

As Kâtib Çelebi stated in his autobiographical notes at the end of another work, titled *Mîzânü'l-ḥaḳḳ* (*The Balance of Truth*), he considered this work, which presented, in chronological order, the historical events from Adam to 1058/1648–1649, as an index to his Arabic book *Fezleke* (*A Concise History*), completed in 1051/1641–1642.³⁴⁶ While the events recorded in the *Takvîmü't-tevârih* were described in Persian, the introduction and some notes were written in Turkish.³⁴⁷ These chronological tables proved to be of practical use for a wider audience. This is evidenced by the numerous manuscript copies preserved in public collections, some of which have been published in facsimile and transcription.³⁴⁸ Kâtib Çelebi's work also drew the attention of the Western literati. By the end of the 17th century, several translations were produced: by Giovanni Battista Donado/Donà in Italian (partial translation, published in 1688),³⁴⁹ by Giovanni

341 Müteferrika, "Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu", p. 74–75, 102–103.

342 Deréky, "Origo Typographiae Ottomannicae", p. 47, 50.

343 Akbulut, "İsveç Kraliyet Kütüphanesi'nde", p. 234; Varanhoğlu, "Latince Bir Belge", p. 252, 258.

344 Kâtib Çelebi, *Takvîmü't-tevârih*, f. [4v–5r].

345 M. Guboglu, "Sultani ſi mari dregâtori otomani", *Hrisovul*, 7, 1947, p. 90; A. Altunsoy, *Osmanlı Şeyhülislâmları*, Ankara, 1972, p. 121.

346 Kâtip Çelebi, *Mîzanü'l-Hakk fî İhtiyari'l-Ahakk*, ed. O. Ş. Gökyay, İstanbul, 1980, p. 119; Lewis (ed., transl.), *The Balance of Truth by Kâtib Çelebi*, p. 142.

347 Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 16.

348 See Kâtip Çelebi, *Takvîmü't-Tevârih*, ed. S. Nurdan, Ankara, 2009 (2nd ed. 2022); O. S. Başar, *Kâtip Çelebi'nin Takvîmü't-Tevârih'i (Metin-İnceleme) [Katip Çelebi's Takvîmü't-Tevârih (Text-Analysis)]*, İstanbul, 2021 (unpublished M.A. thesis).

349 G. B. Donado, *Osservationi fatte della letteratura de Turchi*, Venice, 1688, p. 102–116 (*Tradutione della Tavolla de' Mufti, e Cadileschieri dell' Imperio Ottomano, scritta da Agi Celebi Mustafâ nel Libro intitolato: Tacvino delle memorie universalì*); compare with Y. Erdem, "Kâtib Çelebi'nin Matbu

Rinaldo Conte Carli (1646–1722), again in Italian (published in 1697),³⁵⁰ and by Antoine Galland in French (unpublished).³⁵¹

Müteferrika added to the printed edition a list of events that occurred from 1059/1649–1650 to 1144/1731–1732, prepared by Şeyhi Mehmed Efendi (1668–1731), and a list of events which took place in the following two years of 1145–1146/1732–1733, prepared by Müteferrika himself.³⁵² The “arrival of the art of printing and multiplying philological and scientific books in Istanbul” (*zuhûr-i şan‘at-ı tab‘ ve temsil-i kütüb-i edebîye ve hikemîye der İstânbûl*) is mentioned among the events of the year 1139/August 29, 1726–August 18, 1727.³⁵³

İbrahim Müteferrika’s 1747 property inventory recorded 195 complete and 31 incomplete copies of this book, or a total of 226 copies, which were sewn, cut, and partially bound. The estimated individual price was 2 piasters. In the property inventory of a certain Mektubi Abdurrahman Efendi dated *Rebî‘ü’laḥîr* 1, 1160/April 12, 1747, the price of a printed *Takvîmü’t-tevâriḥ* was 320 aspers,³⁵⁴ which were approximately equal to 3 piasters. Thus, it is obvious that the printed edition of this work of Kâtib Çelebi sold slightly better than the *Cihânnümâ* edition. This was probably because it was offered at a lower price.

The Müteferrika edition was reprinted in Istanbul in 1276/1859–1860³⁵⁵ and in Paris in 1291/1874–1875.³⁵⁶ The latter publication, which remained unfinished, was edited by the Ottoman intellectual Ali Suavi (1839–1878), who also prepared and added a list of events that took place between 1147/1734–1735 and 1277/1860–1861.³⁵⁷

Kitabı: İtalyanca Takvîmü-t Tevâriḥ” [“Kâtib Çelebi’s Printed Book: *Takvîmü-t Tevâriḥ* in Italian”], *Müteferrika*, 32, 2007, p. 40–41.

350 G. R. Conte Carli, *Chronologia historica, scritta in lingua Turca, Persiana, & Araba da Hazi Halifé Mustafá, e tradotta nell’Idioma Italiano da Gio. Rinaldo Carli, nobile Justinopolitano e dragomano della serenissima repubblica di Venezia*, Venice, 1697; compare with Erdem, “Kâtib Çelebi’nin Matbu Kitabı”, p. 37–40.

351 Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, p. 197.

352 Kâtib Çelebi, *Takvîmü’t-tevâriḥ*, p. 135–156; Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu ve Başlangıcı”, p. 75, 103; Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomannicae”, p. 47, 50; T. Gökbilgin, “Kâtib Çelebi’nin Kronolojik Eseri: Takvimüttevâriḥ” [“Kâtib Çelebi’s Chronological Work: *Takvimüttevâriḥ*”], in *Kâtib Çelebi: Hayatı ve Eserleri Hakkında İncelemeler*, Ankara, 1991, p. 101–119; A. Özcan, “Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi”, in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 39, Istanbul, 2010, p. 82–84.

353 Kâtib Çelebi, *Takvîmü’t-tevâriḥ*, p. 154.

354 İMŞS, *Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi*, 98, f. 79r.

355 Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü’t-tevâriḥ ve’l-aḥbâr*, Istanbul, 1276/1859–1860.

356 Kâtib Çelebi, *Takvîmü’t-tevâriḥ*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1291/1874–1875; compare with Erdem, “Kâtib Çelebi’nin Matbu Kitabı”, p. 36.

357 Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, p. 196–197.

The Latin translation of Kātib Çelebi's work made by Johann Jacob Reiske (1716–1774) was probably based on the Müteferrika edition.³⁵⁸

3.13 Mustafa Na'īma, *Tārīḥ-i Na'īmā / Na'īma's History*, Vol. 1–2, Istanbul, 1147/1734.

The format of the book is in-2^o,³⁵⁹ the page size is 200 × 330 mm, and the text area is 120 × 250 mm. Each page has 33 lines. French paper was used.³⁶⁰ According to the colophons, the first volume was completed in the second third (*evāsıt*) of *Muḥarrem* 1147/June 13–22, 1734,³⁶¹ and the second volume in the second third (*evāsıt*) of *Cemāzīyü'l-evvel* 1147/October 9–18, 1734.³⁶² The first volume consists of 12 unnumbered leaves containing a preface (f. [1v–2r]), an introduction to the history of Islamic and Ottoman statehood (f. [2v–6v]), a table of contents (f. [7r–12r]), and 701 numbered pages that comprise the main text with a headpiece and a title beneath it (Fig. 79). The second volume consists of three unnumbered leaves containing a table of contents (f. [1r–3v]), 711 numbered pages of main text, again with a headpiece and a title beneath it (Fig. 80), and 15 unnumbered leaves at the end (p. [713–741]), with a description of the rebellion against Sultan Mustafa II (1664–1703; r. 1695–1703) and his close associate Grand Mufti Mehmed Feyzullah Efendi (1639–1703; in office 1695–1703), which broke out in 1703 (the so-called *Vak'a-i Feyzullāh Efendi*), composed also by the author of the main text Mustafa Na'īma (1655–1716). At the end of the second volume is placed a list of twelve Müteferrika publications with their print runs (Fig. 81).³⁶³ 500 copies of each volume of Na'īma's *History* were printed. As pointed out in Müteferrika's Latin account attached to Penckler's 1747 report, the total number of pages reached 1,466 (actually, 1,472), and the price was 20 thalers/piasters for an unbound copy.³⁶⁴ The price recorded in the property inventory of Grand Mufti Hayatizade Mehmed Emin Efendi (d. 1747; in office 1746), dated *Muḥarrem* 15, 1161/January

358 See Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, p. 197.

359 Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 50.

360 Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 43–44.

361 Na'īma, *Tārīḥ-i Na'īmā*, Vol. 1, p. 701.

362 Na'īma, *Tārīḥ-i Na'īmā*, Vol. 2, p. 711.

363 Na'īma, *Tārīḥ-i Na'īmā*, Vol. 2, p. [741]; compare with Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 84–85.

364 Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 47, 50.

16, 1748, was 2,400 aspers,³⁶⁵ or approximately 20 piasters. The price, mentioned in Celsius's 1751 list, is 25 piasters.³⁶⁶ The price in French currency was 75 francs.³⁶⁷

In the preface to the printed edition of Kâtib Çelebi's *Taḳvîmü't-tevâriḥ*, Müteferrika stated that – again on the advice of Grand Mufti Damadzade Ahmed Efendi – he had envisaged publishing the official Ottoman historical account written by the court chronicler Mustafa Na'ima and its annexes (*zeyl*) written by the court chroniclers who followed, Mehmed Raşid (ca. 1670–1735) and Küçükçelebizade İsmail Asım.³⁶⁸ The first work, described by the grand mufti as rare and valuable, came out in 1734, while the annexes were published much later, in February 1741. It was Müteferrika's intention to bring all these works together by “connecting” and “completing” them, and his series of printed historical works was enriched by the next generations of printers.³⁶⁹

Although Na'ima originally titled his work *Ravzatü'l-hüseyn fî hulâsat-i aḥbâri'l-hâfîkayn* (*Hüseyn's Gardens of the Summary of News from the Orient and Occident*), in tribute to his patron Grand Vizier Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa (d. 1702; in office 1697–1702), who commissioned it,³⁷⁰ Müteferrika preferred to simplify its title as *Târiḥ-i Na'imâ*, or Na'ima's *History*. It is considered to be one of the most objective and reliable accounts of the history of the Ottoman state for the period between 981/1573–1574 and 1070/1659–1660. Apart from describing the events, the author also recommended reforms by taking Europe as a model.³⁷¹ As already mentioned, at the end of the book, Müteferrika added Na'ima's account of the 1703 rebellion of the janissaries in Istanbul, known as the *Vaḳ'a-i Feyzullâh Efendi*,

365 İMŞS, Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi, 108, f. 49v–51r.

366 Akbulut, “İsveç Kraliyet Kütüphanesi'nde”, p. 235; Varanlıoğlu, “Latince Bir Belge”, p. 250, 256.

367 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 751.

368 Kâtib Çelebi, *Taḳvîmü't-tevâriḥ*, f. [5v].

369 See A. Başaran, “İttisal ve İstikmal: Osmanlı Kroniklerinin Matbaa Serüveni” [“Connecting and Completing: The Printing Adventure of Ottoman Chronicles”], in Z. Atçıl, E. Asil, C. Atabaş (eds.), *Osmanlı'da İlm-i Tarih*, Istanbul, 2023, p. 373–410.

370 M. M. Aktepe, “Amcazâde Hüseyin Paşa”, in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 3, Istanbul, 1991, p. 9.

371 For a detailed analysis of Na'ima's *History*, see R. Murphey, “Ottoman Historical Writing in the Seventeenth Century: A Survey of the General Development of the Genre after the Reign of Sultan Ahmed I (1603–1617)”, *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 13, 1993–1994, p. 277–311; Z. Arslantürk, *Naïma'ya Göre XVII. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Toplum Yapısı [The 17th-Century Ottoman Social Structure According to Na'ima]*, Istanbul, 1997; Naïmâ Mustafa Efendi, *Târiḥ-i Na'imâ (Ravzatü'l-Hüseyn fî hulâsat-i aḥbâri'l-hâfîkayn)*, ed. M. İpşirli, Vol. 1, Ankara, 2007, p. ix, xvi–xx.

or the Edirne Incident, which led to the deposition of Sultan Mustafa II and the murder of the influential Grand Mufti Mehmed Feyzullah Efendi.³⁷²

Mustafa Akbulut, who published Carleson’s 1735 report, wondered why it did not refer to the 1734 publication of Na‘īma’s *History*.³⁷³ However, a closer look shows that in this report Carleson described his first stay in Istanbul between March and August 1734. At this time, only the first volume was completed. In fact, Carleson referred to this publication, presumably its second volume, by stating that “a work is still being printed and is said to be ready soon”. Carleson clarified that the book is about the reign of the Ottoman sultans up to Sultan Mahmud I and that Müteferrika, with a few assistants, used the manuscript copy kept in the Palace Library to prepare the work for printing, shortening it from 300 volumes to only two.³⁷⁴

In fact, Carleson’s account is noteworthy because it showcases the behind-the-scenes process of the preparation of a book for printing at the Müteferrika press. It turns out that for this publication Müteferrika used a manuscript copy preserved in the Palace Library, established by Sultan Ahmed III in 1719.³⁷⁵ The same copy was also included in the catalogue of this library prepared secretly by a local scribe on the instruction of Giambattista Toderini in 1786. In fact, there is no other available catalogue of this library,³⁷⁶ except for the one in the second volume of Toderini’s three-volume work on Ottoman literature, published in Italian in 1787.³⁷⁷

Compared to the previously printed editions of Kâtib Çelebi’s works, the edition of Na‘īma’s *History* sold much better. İbrahim Müteferrika’s 1747 property inventory records 77 complete and 35 incomplete copies, or 112 unsold copies in total. Thus, almost four-fifths of the print run of 500 copies were sold. The estimated price, recorded in the property inventory, was 15 piasters.

372 F. Başar, “Ünlü Vekainameci Naima ve Muasırları” [“The Renowned Chronicler Na‘īma and His Contemporaries”], *Tarih ve Medeniyet*, 40, 1997, p. 39; transcription of this account is provided in Arslantürk, *Na‘īma’ya Göre XVII. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Toplum Yapısı*, p. 159–194.

373 Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 13–14.

374 Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 12.

375 For the preserved manuscript copies of this work, see M. Aktepe, “Naimâ Tarihinin Yazma Nüshaları Hakkında” [“About the Manuscripts of Na‘īma’s *History*”], *Tarih Dergisi*, 1, 1949, p. 35–52.

376 Compare N. Bayraktar, “Yazma ve Basma Kütüphane Fihristleri” [“Manuscript and Printed Library Catalogues”], *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları*, 21, 1982, p. 127–159.

377 See Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 2, Venice, 1787, p. xxx (*Catalogo della Libreria del Serraglio trasportato da Constantinopoli a Venezia dall’abate Giambattista Toderini nell’anno MDCCCLXXXVI*).

The Müteferrika edition was reprinted twice in Istanbul, in 1259/1843–1844³⁷⁸ and 1280–1283/1863–1867.³⁷⁹ An abridged version with selected paragraphs was released in Ottoman Turkish in 1927.³⁸⁰ Swedish and English translations of the Müteferrika edition were published in 1822³⁸¹ and 1832,³⁸² respectively. It has been also published in modern Turkish³⁸³ and in transcribed version.³⁸⁴

3.14 Mehmed Raşid, *Tārīḥ-i Rāşid Efendi / Raşid Efendi's History, Vol. 1–3; Küçükçelebizade İsmail Asım, Tārīḥ-i Çelebizāde Efendi / Çelebizade Efendi's History, Istanbul, 1153/1741.*

The format of the book is in-2°, the page size is 195 × 305 mm, and the text area is 130 × 250 mm. Each page has 33 lines. It was printed on French paper.³⁸⁵ According to the colophons, the volumes were completed on *Zî'l-ḥicce* 1, 1153/February 17, 1741.³⁸⁶ The first volume consists of 15 unnumbered leaves containing a quasi-title page (f. [1v], Fig. 82), a preface (f. [2v–3v]), and a table of contents (f. [4r–15v]), and 277 numbered leaves with the main text (Fig. 83); the second volume consists of nine unnumbered leaves containing a quasi-title page (f. [1v]), a table of contents f. [2r–9v], and 194 numbered leaves with the main text; the third volume consists of two unnumbered leaves with a table of contents (f. [1r–2v]) and 114 numbered leaves with the main text. The third volume also contains the account of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi's 1720–1721 embassy to France (f. 82v–92r).

378 M. Na'ima, *Tārīḥ-i Na'imā*, [Istanbul], 1259/1843–1844.

379 M. Na'ima, *Tārīḥ-i Na'imā*, [Istanbul], 1280/1863–1864; M. Na'ima, *Tārīḥ-i Na'imā*, [Istanbul], 1281–1283/1864–1867.

380 A. Canib (ed.), *Na'imā Tārīḥi*, Ankara, 1927.

381 M. Norberg, *Turkiska rikets Annaler; sammandragne ur dess egna Urkunder*, Härnösand, 1822, Vol. 2; compare Erdem, “Müteferrika Baskılarından Batı Dillerine Yapılan İlk Çeviriler”, p. 74.

382 M. Naima, *Annals of the Turkish Empire, from 1591 to 1659 of the Christian Era*, transl. C. Fraser; Vol. 1, London, 1832; compare Erdem, “Müteferrika Baskılarından Batı Dillerine Yapılan İlk Çeviriler”, p. 74.

383 Na'imâ Mustafa Efendi, *Na'imâ Tarihi [Na'ima's History]*, ed. Z. Danışman, Vol. 1–6, Istanbul, 1967–1969.

384 Na'imâ Mustafa Efendi, *Tārīḥ-i Na'imâ (Ravzatü'l-Hüseyn fi hulâsati ahbâri'l-hâfikayn) [Na'ima's History (Ravzatü'l-Hüseyn fi hulâsati ahbâri'l-hâfikayn)]*, ed. M. İpşirli, Vol. 1–4, Ankara, 2007 (2nd ed. 2014).

385 Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 43–44.

386 M. Raşid, *Tārīḥ-i Rāşid Efendi*, Istanbul, 1153/1741, Vol. 1, f. 277r; Vol. 2, f. 194r; and Vol. 3, f. 114v; Küçükçelebizade, *Tārīḥ-i Çelebizāde Efendi*, f. 158v.

There are similarly printed headpieces, with the title below, at the top of the opening pages of the main text of the three volumes. Except for Holderman's *Grammaire turque*, it was in this publication that Mütefferrika used some kind of a title page for the first time. However, this page could be defined as a quasi-title page because its layout resembled only partly the typical title page of European printed books. In contrast to the previous publications in which the information about the place and year of printing was provided in their colophons, following the model of manuscript copies, in this work, this information was shown not only in the colophon but also in this quasi-title page. However, this page does not contain the title of the work. As already mentioned, the title is present on the opening pages of the volumes. Instead of a title, the quasi-title page contained the names of Sultan Mahmud I, Grand Vizier Nişancı Ahmed Pasha (d. 1753; in office 1740–1742), and Grand Mufti Seyyid Mustafa Efendi (1679–1745; in office 1736–1745), known also as Feyzullahefendizade, with their highly elaborate honorary titles placed in three circular shapes.³⁸⁷ This quasi-title page was inserted in the first volume, which was bound separately, and in the second volume, bound together with the third volume.

The court chronicler Mehmed Raşid described the events that took place between 1071/1660–1661 and 1134/1721–1722. As seen from the date of completion of its printing, February 17, 1741, Mehmed Raşid's three-volume supplement to Na'ima's *History* came out six years after Na'ima's book (1734). However, it seems that the printing process started immediately after Na'ima's *History*, since according to Kundmann's book, which provides brief information about the output of the Mütefferrika press until 1734, Raşid's chronicle was "in print".³⁸⁸ It is obvious that the completion of this book was much delayed, perhaps because of Mütefferrika's intensive involvement in Ottoman diplomacy and administration in the second half of the 1730s.

The printed edition of the second supplement, prepared by Küçükçelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, which presents an account of the events that took place between 1135/1722–1723 and 1141/1728–1729, was also completed on February 17, 1741.³⁸⁹ The volume consists of five unnumbered leaves, containing a table of contents (f. [1r–5v]), and 158 numbered leaves with the main text, adorned with a printed headpiece and the title below (Fig. 85). This volume is missing a quasi-title page. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this supplement provides information on the establishment of the Mütefferrika press (f. 119r–120r).

³⁸⁷ For the contents of these honorary titles, see Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis*, p. 46–60.

³⁸⁸ Kundmann, *Rariora naturae et artis*, col. 719–728.

³⁸⁹ Küçükçelebizade, *Tārīḥ-i Çelebizāde Efendi*, f. 158v.

According to a *fermān* issued in the second third (*evāsıtı*) of *Rebī'ü'l-evvel* 1154/May 27–June 5, 1741, the price of a set of unbound copies of both Raşid's *History* and Küçükçelebizade's *History* was to be 30 piasters, while a set of their bound copies was priced at 40 piasters. The sultan's order decreed that these copies should not be sold or bought below or above these prices.³⁹⁰ The two supplements had separate prices in French currency. The selling price of Raşid's *History* was 90 francs for an unbound copy and 120 francs for a bound one, while the price of Küçükçelebizade's *History* was 45 francs.³⁹¹ Müteferrika's Latin account attached to Penckler's 1747 report mentions only Raşid's *History* with a price of 20 thalers/piasters.³⁹² According to Celsius's 1751 list, the price of the three volumes of Raşid's *History* was 30 piasters, 40 piasters for a set of bound copies,³⁹³ and Küçükçelebizade's *History* was priced at 15 piasters.³⁹⁴

However, Celsius was not entirely correct, because he obviously mentioned the price set by the above-mentioned 1741 sultanic order for both supplements. Celsius's claim that the individual price of Küçükçelebizade's *History* was 15 piasters may have been true for the price of the two supplements altogether. It is what one can infer from İbrahim Müteferrika's 1747 property inventory which mentions only Raşid's *History* with the estimated price of 16 piasters. The unsold copies of Küçükçelebizade's *History* were probably counted and recorded together with the copies of Raşid's *History* because they were released on the same day, and a price was fixed for a set of them. In other words, the two supplements were sold together, as the aforementioned sultanic order indicates, although, when it comes to the price, it mentions Raşid's *History* only. As survived copies show, the two supplements were bound together.³⁹⁵ It is evident that both Müteferrika himself, as the publisher, and his contemporaries viewed these printed supplements not as two separate books, but as the same edition. This is also evident from the absence of the above-mentioned quasi-title page in the printed edition of Küçükçelebizade's *History*. Toderini's book of 1787³⁹⁶ and Alexius Horányi's book of 1792, which refers to

390 BOA, A.DVNS.MHM.d, 147, p. 466 (doc. 1624); Refik, *Hicrî Onikinci Asır'da İstanbul Hayatı*, p. 152–153; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 364–365.

391 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 752.

392 Deréky, "Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae", p. 47, 50.

393 Varanhoğlu, "Latince Bir Belge", p. 250, 256.

394 Akbulut, "İsveç Kraliyet Kütüphanesi'nde", p. 235; Varanhoğlu, "Latince Bir Belge", p. 251, 257.

395 NLS, OCD, O II 150b; IRCICA Kütüphanesi, İstanbul, 956.1073/ME.T; Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, Ankara, B/588.

396 Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 183–194.

Toderini's work,³⁹⁷ also describe the two supplements as the same edition. Therefore, unlike the previous scholarship claims, Raşid's *History* and Küçükçelebizade's *History* should not be considered two separate publications but one.³⁹⁸ Likewise, the total number of the Müteferrika publications should be counted as sixteen, as in Toderini's and Horányi's works,³⁹⁹ and not seventeen. Müteferrika's Latin account attached to Penckler's 1747 report also describes sixteen publications, although the fifteenth was erroneously listed as *Lisânü'l-'Arab (The Arabic Language)*, as will be discussed later.⁴⁰⁰ Celsius's 1751 list also includes sixteen Müteferrika publications. However, it describes Raşid's *History* and Küçükçelebizade's *History* as two separate books,⁴⁰¹ while Holderman's *Grammaire turque* is missing. An article published in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* in 1848 also notes that Müteferrika "had not been able to print more than sixteen works".⁴⁰²

İbrahim Müteferrika's 1747 property inventory records 260 complete and 46 incomplete copies, i.e., a total of 306 unbound copies of Raşid's *History* (wrongly recorded as 311 in the document), at the estimated individual price of 16 piasters. However, in Grand Mufti Hayatizade Mehmed Emin Efendi's property inventory of January 16, 1748, the price of the three volumes of Raşid's *History* was estimated to be 4,000 aspers,⁴⁰³ or approximately 33 piasters, i.e., nearly the same as was the initial price fixed by sultanic order. Similarly, the price of the two volumes of Raşid's *History* that were donated to the library of the madrasa founded by İbrahim bin Mahmud in Amasya in 1796 was 35 piasters.⁴⁰⁴

Although the print run of these two supplements is unknown, it can be estimated that at least 500 copies were printed.⁴⁰⁵ If this is correct, it turns out that Raşid's and Küçükçelebizade's supplements sold a little more than a third of their print run from early 1741 until Müteferrika's demise in early 1747.

397 A. Horányi, *Nova memoria hungarorum et provincialium scriptis editis notorum*, Vol. 1, Pest, 1792, p. 144–145.

398 Compare [Goodrich], *Turcica, catalogue no. 484*, p. 14.

399 Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 21–202; Horányi, *Nova memoria hungarorum et provincialium*, Vol. 1, p. 141–146.

400 Deréky, "Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae", p. 47, 50.

401 Akbulut, "İsveç Kraliyet Kütüphanesi'nde", p. 235; Varanlıoğlu, "Latince Bir Belge", p. 250–251, 256–257.

402 *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, new series, 9, 1848, 211, p. 44.

403 İMŞŞ, Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi, 104, f. 49v–51r.

404 B. Yediylüdz, *Institution du Vaqf au XVIII^e siècle en Turquie: Étude socio-historique*, Ankara, 1985, p. 345.

405 Compare [Goodrich], *Turcica, catalogue no. 484*, p. 14.

The two supplements were again reprinted together; this time in three volumes, in Istanbul in 1281–1282/1864–1866,⁴⁰⁶ followed by a modern critical edition with transcription.⁴⁰⁷ A Swedish translation of the Müteferrika edition was also published in 1822.⁴⁰⁸

3.15 Ömer Bosnavi, *Aḥvāl-i ğazavāt der diyār-ı Bosna / The State of Holy Wars in the Lands of Bosnia, Istanbul, 1154/1741*.

The format of the book is in-4°, the page size is 150 × 258 mm, and the text area is 80 × 160 mm. Each page has 21 lines. According to the colophon, the book was completed on *Muḥarrem* 1, 1154/March 19, 1741.⁴⁰⁹ The book consists of 62 numbered leaves containing the main text, with a title inserted in a headpiece (f. 1v–62r; Fig. 86), and a postscript by İbrahim Müteferrika (f. 62r–62v). No quasi-title page is present.

The name of the author, Ömer Bosnavi, is mentioned in the postscript. Except for the fact that he was born in Bosnia and served as a Muslim judge (kadi), no other information about the author is provided.⁴¹⁰ Also known as Novljanin, he participated in battles in Bosnia that took place during the Ottoman-Habsburg War of 1736–1739⁴¹¹ and later described them in the said work. In his postscript, Müteferrika indicated that after consulting other sources, he made some corrections to the original manuscript and then printed it.⁴¹²

There must have been a great deal of interest in this highly topical book, because, as mentioned above, a very small number of unsold copies of this publication were recorded in Müteferrika's 1747 property inventory. The selling price of this book, which achieved a good commercial return despite the short time it was on sale, was 6 francs in French currency.⁴¹³ The property inventory shows an

406 *Târîh-i Râşid, Târîh-i Çelebizâde Efendi*, ed. Kemal Efendi, Istanbul, 1281–1282/1864–1866.

407 Râşid Mehmed Efendi, Çelebizâde İsmail Âsım Efendi, *Târîh-i Râşid ve Zeyli [Târîh-i Râşid and Its Supplement]*, ed. A. Özcan, Y. Uğur, B. Çakır et al., Istanbul, 2013.

408 Norberg, *Türkiska rikets Annaler*, Vol. 3; compare with Erdem, “Müteferrika Baskılarından Batı Dillerine Yapılan İlk Çeviriler”, p. 75.

409 Bosnavi, *Aḥvāl-i ğazavāt der diyār-ı Bosna*, f. 62v.

410 Bosnavi, *Aḥvāl-i ğazavāt der diyār-ı Bosna*, f. 62r; compare with Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, p. 276 (n. 247).

411 Tinjak, “İnkunabule iz štamparije İbrahim Müteferrike”, p. 186 (n. 100).

412 Bosnavi, *Aḥvāl-i ğazavāt der diyār-ı Bosna*, f. 62r–62v; compare with Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 196; Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 17.

413 Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 753.

estimated price of a quarter of a piaster. Celsius's list 1751 indicates that the price was 2 piasters.⁴¹⁴

It can be estimated that at least 500 copies of this book were printed.⁴¹⁵ The fact that many manuscripts were copied from the printed version⁴¹⁶ clearly indicates that this book was very popular and later became rare. One of the earliest manuscript copies, completed by a certain Cardonne in Salonica in December 1742, is also accompanied by a French translation made by the same.⁴¹⁷ The Müteferrika edition was reprinted twice in Arabic script in Istanbul in 1277/1860–1861⁴¹⁸ and 1293/1876–1877.⁴¹⁹ German, English, and Bosnian translations were released in 1789,⁴²⁰ 1830,⁴²¹ and 1994,⁴²² respectively. Two modern Turkish editions were also published.⁴²³

3.16 Hasan Shu'uri, *Lisānū'l-'Acem [Feraheng-i Şu'ūrī] / The Persian Language, Vol. 1–2, Istanbul, 1155/1742.*

The format of the book is in-2^o,⁴²⁴ the page size is 205 × 323 mm, and the text area is 130 × 250 mm. Each page has 33 lines. According to the colophons, the two volumes were completed on Şa'bān 1, 1155/October 1, 1742.⁴²⁵ The first volume consists of two unnumbered leaves, including a quasi-title page (f. [1r], Fig. 87), a “key”

414 Akbulut, “İşveç Kraliyet Kütüphanesi'nde”, p. 235; Varanlıoğlu, “Latince Bir Belge”, p. 254, 259.

415 Compare [Goodrich], *Turcica, catalogue no. 484*, p. 14.

416 Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, p. 277.

417 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Département des manuscrits, Supplément turc 930, see <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc942339> (accessed on January 19, 2025); compare with R. Budak, *The Bosnian Frontier (1737–1739): A Case Study on Ömer Bosnavi's Work (Ahvâl-i Gazavât der Diyâr-ı Bosna)*, Istanbul, 2014 (unpublished M.A. thesis), p. 5 (n. 18).

418 *Târîh-i 'Osmâni, Birinci kısım: Târîh-i Bosna der Zamân-ı Hekîmzâde 'Alî Pâşâ; Târîh-i Afğân.*

419 *Târîh-i Bosna der Zamân-ı Hekîmzâde 'Alî Pâşâ*, Istanbul, 1293/1876–1877.

420 *Die Kriege in Boßnien, in den Feldzügen 1737, 1738 und 1739, beschrieben von dem zu Novi in Boßnien bestellt gewesenen gelehrten Kadi Omer Effendi*, transl. J. N. Dubsky, Vienna, 1789; compare with Erdem, “Müteferrika Baskılarından Batı Dillerine Yapılan İlk Çeviriler”, p. 76.

421 *History of the War in Bosnia during the Years 1737-8 and 9*, transl. C. Fraser, [London], 1830.

422 O. Novljanin, A. Hadžinesimović, *Odrana Bosne 1736–1739: dvije bosanske kronike [The Defense of Bosnia 1736–1739: Two Bosnian Chronicles]*, transl. F. Nametak, L. Hadžiosmanović, Zenica, 1994; reprinted in 2010 together with another work, see O. Novljanin, A. Hadžinesimović, *Ljetopisi [Annals]*; Yusuf Livnjak, *Putopis [Travelogue]*, Sarajevo, 2010.

423 Ö. Bosnavî, *Bosna Savaşları [The Battles in Bosnia]*, ed. M. Açıkgözoğlu, Istanbul, 1977; Ö. Bosnavî, *Tarih-i Bosna der Zaman-ı Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa [History of Bosnia during the Time of Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa]*, ed. K. Su, Ankara, 1979.

424 Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomannicae”, p. 48, 50.

425 H. Shu'uri, *Lisānū'l-'Acem [Feraheng-i Şu'ūrī]*, Istanbul, 1155/1742, Vol. 1, f. 454v, Vol. 2, f. 451r.

(*miftāh*) for the use of the dictionary (f. [2r]), and a table of contents (f. [2r–2v]), and 454 numbered leaves with the main text adorned with a headpiece with the title below (Fig. 88). The second volume consists of two unnumbered leaves, including a quasi-title page (f. [1r]) and a table of contents (f. [2r]), and 451 numbered leaves with the main text adorned again with a headpiece and the title below.

As in the printed version of Raşid's *History*, the quasi-title page includes the honorary titles of Sultan Mahmud I, Grand Vizier Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha (1689–1758; in office 1742–1743), and Grand Mufti Feyzullahafendizade Seyyid Mustafa Efendi, placed in three circles, the year and place of publication.

The original Persian title of the two-volume Persian-Turkish dictionary by Hasan Şu'uri (d. 1105/1693–1694) was *Farhang-i Şu'urî va al-musammât bi-Navâl al-fuzalâ va Lisân al-'ajam* (*Şu'uri's Dictionary Named Gift to the Eminent Men and the Persian Language*), while for the printed edition Müteferrika preferred to shorten and modify it as the *Lisânü'l-'Acem* (*The Persian Language*).

The price of an unbound copy of this voluminous dictionary was 120 francs in French currency, while the price of a bound copy was 150 francs.⁴²⁶ İbrahim Müteferrika's Latin account attached to Penckler's 1747 report mentions no price.⁴²⁷ Müteferrika's 1747 property inventory recorded 344 complete and 65 incomplete copies, mentioned as the *Luğat-ı Ferheng-i Şu'urî*, or a total of 409 unbound copies, each priced at 20 piasters. If we assume that the print run of this publication was also 500 copies,⁴²⁸ we can see that it was very difficult to sell this book – it sold less than a mere 100 copies in five years or so.

The first volume was reprinted in 1314/1896–1897.⁴²⁹ Müteferrika's printed version has also received a modern Turkish edition.⁴³⁰

3.17 Müteferrika's Failed and Uncertain Publications

3.17.1 Other Dictionaries

Besides the sixteen books that İbrahim Müteferrika succeeded in printing between 1727 and 1742, initially together with Said Efendi, he also had other publication projects whose printing failed for various reasons. As I already mentioned, Müteferrika

⁴²⁶ Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Vol. 1, p. 752.

⁴²⁷ Deréky, "Origo Typographiae Ottomannicae", p. 48, 50.

⁴²⁸ Compare [Goodrich], *Turcica, catalogue no. 484*, p. 14.

⁴²⁹ *Ferheng-i Şu'urî*, Vol. 1, Istanbul, 1314/1896–1897.

⁴³⁰ Şu'uri Hasan Efendi, *Ferheng-i Şu'urî: Lisânu'l-'Acem*, ed. O. Yılmaz, Istanbul, 2019.

announced in the *Cihānnumā* edition the idea of publishing its second volume. However, this project failed because of the absence of a manuscript draft of satisfactory quality. Similarly, shortly before his death in early 1747 he had prepared an addendum of his third publication, *Tārīḥ-i seyyāh*. This time it seems that lack of time or his death prevented him from carrying out this project.

In addition to Holderman's *Grammaire turque*, Müteferrika thought of publishing a Turkish-French dictionary. As stated in Holderman's letter of August 5, 1730, it was found necessary to also include in the projected dictionary Latin and Arabic words.⁴³¹ The Marquis de Villeneuve strived to help Müteferrika realize this project, but he ultimately failed due to Holderman's death and the lack of capable scholars and suitable dictionaries.⁴³² Villeneuve also insisted that better Latin type be brought from France and used in the printing of this dictionary instead of the poor locally produced Latin type used to print the *Grammaire turque*. However, such type was never brought in.⁴³³

Another failed project was the multilingual French-Italian-Greek-Latin-Turkish-Arabic-Persian dictionary prepared by the Capuchin father Romain, who also lived in Galata, Istanbul, and served as superintendent of the *École des jeunes de langues*. According to the French Orientalist Louis-Mathieu Langlès (1763–1824), only the first sheet (format in-2°) of this dictionary was printed in 1730 in “the press of the Ottoman Porte”. Langlès gives its title as *Dictionnaire français, italien, grec vulgaire, latin, turc, arabe et persan, enrichi tant de l'explication des mots français et des exemples convenables pour une plus grande intelligence de ces mots, que d'un très-grand nombre de phrases turkes tirées des plus célèbres auteurs dans cette langue, pour donner à connoître avec facilité la propriété, la force et l'application des mots soit arabes, soit turks, soit persans; fait dans le collège des Capucins de Constantinople, par les soins et sous la direction du R. P. Romain, de Paris, conseiller des missions de Grèce et préfet des jeunes-de-langues de France. A Constantinople, de l'imprimerie de la Porte Othomane, 1730*. He also notes that he possessed a copy of “this extremely rare specimen” in which “the Greek words were replicated by hand, for want of types in this language”.⁴³⁴ The project was eventually abandoned in late 1732 because Villeneuve was not satisfied with the linguistic quality of Romain's

431 Omont, “Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à Istanbul”, p. 7.

432 Kuneralp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 1, p. 146, 383, 469, 542, 591; Duverdiar, “Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika”, p. 345–347; Dipratu, “French Ambassador Marquis de Villeneuve”.

433 Dipratu, “French Ambassador Marquis de Villeneuve”.

434 L.-M. Langlès (ed.), *Diatribes de l'ingénieur Séid Moustapha, sur l'état actuel de l'art militaire, du génie et des sciences à Constantinople*, Paris, 1810, p. 9–10; compare with Y. Erdem, “Doğubilimci Langlès'in Notlarında Türkiye Matbaacılığıyla İlgili Bilgiler” [“Information on Turkish Printing in

dictionary, and perhaps also because of the lack of Greek type.⁴³⁵ Carleson's 1735 report, which states that Müteferrika was considering the printing of a large dictionary of the most widely used languages in Europe and Asia, probably refers to the same project.⁴³⁶ Toderini also mentioned it.⁴³⁷ Villeneuve disapproved of the printing of another Turkish-French dictionary, this time prepared by François Barouth, a librarian at the royal library in Paris who was in Istanbul between 1733 and 1735.⁴³⁸

Afterwards, in the late 1730s and early 1740s, Müteferrika thought of publishing an Arabic-Turkish-Latin dictionary. He was to prepare the Latin part himself.⁴³⁹ In his Latin account attached to Penckler's 1747 report Müteferrika described as the fifteenth publication of his press not Bosnavi's book, but probably the same dictionary under the title *Lisānū'l-'Arab (The Arabic Language)*. He pointed out that "the grand sultan had supplied 30,000 thalers in advance for this work, with the condition that he should receive 1,000 pieces for the prepaid 60 purses, or 30,000 thalers". He also specified that the book should consist of 1,200 leaves and was thus priced at 30 thalers/piasters per copy.⁴⁴⁰ Similar information was published in a Leipzig newspaper in 1736, quoted by Gotthold Weil. According to this information, the sultan encouraged Müteferrika's printing venture by offering him "60 purses of thalers, but also demanding 1,000 copies of the printed books in return".⁴⁴¹ This ongoing dictionary project was obviously near completion in 1736, after Na'ima's *History* was completed in 1734, but it seems that the 1736–1739 Ottoman-Habsburg War and Müteferrika's involvement in its political background prevented him from finishing it. For the time being, no surviving copy of such a publication is known.

Also in the 1730s, Villeneuve thought of publishing the French translation of the Persian-Turkish dictionary *Tuhfe-i Şahidi (Şahidi's Gift)* by İbrahim Şahidi (1470–1550), which was again prepared by the Capuchin father Romain together

the Orientalist Langlès's Notes"], *Kebikeç*, 1, 1995, p. 21–25; Erdem, *Müteferrika'nın İzinde*, p. 23–26; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 105–106.

435 Duverdier, "Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika", p. 346; Dipratu, "French Ambassador Marquis de Villeneuve".

436 Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 12.

437 Toderini, *Letteratura tuchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 202–203; compare with Kun, "İbrâhim Müteferrika", p. 900.

438 Duverdier, "Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika", p. 346–347; Dipratu, "French Ambassador Marquis de Villeneuve".

439 Duverdier, "Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika", p. 347.

440 Deréky, "Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae", p. 47, 50.

441 G. Weil, "Die ersten Drucke der Turken", *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 24, 1907, p. 59; compare with Rafikov, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции*, p. 124.

with the students of the *École des jeunes de langues*. Villeneuve suggested that it be printed either in Istanbul or in Paris, but this project also remained unrealized.⁴⁴²

3.17.2 The Qibla Device Leaves

In a recently published study, Thoralf Hanstein argued that the leaves used in a circular device for finding the Qibla direction could have been printed at the Müteferrika press in 1151/1738–1739. The device, called *Qıblenüma-i âfâkı* (*Qibla Finder*), was invented by Pietro (Bedros/Petros) Baron (Baronian/Baronyan), an Armenian who served the Dutch and Sicilian ambassadors in Istanbul between 1725–1765, or possibly earlier. The depiction of Mecca, the map and the rulers of the device were prepared by Mıgırdıç Galatavi (Fig. 89), the same person who prepared the engraving for some of the maps printed by Müteferrika.⁴⁴³ According to Hanstein, Baron was well known to İbrahim Müteferrika⁴⁴⁴ and may have had Galatavi make these illustrations and print them at the press. Since Müteferrika does not mention this in his Latin account attached to Penckler's 1747 report, nor is it mentioned in his property inventory, it seems that the leaves for this device were printed on Baron's demand. Given Müteferrika's previous debate on the accuracy of the compass as compared to the astrolabe and the other traditional devices, he may also have strongly supported Baron's device, which also contained a compass. In fact, such devices were not uncommon in the Ottoman Empire, or at least in its capital. According to Evliya Çelebi, in the middle of the 17th century there was a guild of 45 Qibla specialists in Istanbul who worked with compasses to indicate the correct Qibla direction (*eşnâf-ı püsülacıyân ya'nî kıble-nümâcıyân*). They had 18 workshops equipped with compasses and Qibla finders.⁴⁴⁵

3.17.3 Title Pages

It is worth mentioning also that Yahya Erdem wrote a very interesting article on 18th-century books which, according to their title pages, were printed in Istanbul, but in fact were printed in Western Europe. One of them, *L'Homme aux trente-six fortunes, ou le Français à Constantinople & ailleurs*, was purportedly printed by

⁴⁴² Dipratu, "French Ambassador Marquis de Villeneuve".

⁴⁴³ Hanstein, *A New Print by Müteferrika*, p. 27–28.

⁴⁴⁴ Hanstein, *A New Print by Müteferrika*, p. 18–19.

⁴⁴⁵ Kahraman, Dağlı (eds.), *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Book 1, Vol. 2, p. 502.

“İbrahim, the printer of the grand mufti”. The year of publication is given as 1147, according to the Muslim calendar (i.e. 1734–1735), but the Christian Gregorian year was given as 1769. Erdem defined this publication as a fake Müteferrika edition among many other books that were allegedly published in Istanbul.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁶ See Y. Erdem, “18. Yüzyılda Avrupa’da Basılan Constantinople Rumuzlu Kitaplar” [“Books Indicated as Printed in Constantinople but Printed in Europe in the 18th Century”], *Müteferrika*, 5, 1995, p. 17–41; Erdem, *Müteferrika’nın İzinde*, p. 196, 200.

4 Müteferrika's Art of Printing

4.1 Was Müteferrika's Press a Commercial Success or a Failure?

The analysis of the sales figures of all the sixteen Müteferrika publications cannot be definitive. On the one hand, the print run of thirteen of them is known. Twelve publications with their print run were indicated in the thirteenth publication, the *Tārīh-i Na'īmā*, or Na'īma's *History*. The *Grammaire turque* is missing in this list, but its print run is known from French sources. The print run of the last three publications remains unknown. On the other hand, in İbrahim Müteferrika's property inventory, information about the number of unsold copies of only half of these publications is individually given, while information about the other half is combined in two groups. Therefore, both the print run and the number of unsold copies are known for the following six works: the Vankulu dictionary, *Gülşen-i Hulefā*, *Cihānnümā*, *Taḳvīmü't-tevārīh*, *Grammaire turque*, and *Tārīh-i Na'īmā*. While the print runs of Raşid's and Küçükçelebizade's *Histories* and the *Lisānü'l-'Acem* are unknown, it can be estimated that they were printed in 500 copies each. The number of their unsold copies is also given in the inventory. The number of unsold copies of the *Tuhfetü'l-kibār*, *Tārīh-i seyyāh*, *Tārīh-i Mısr*, *Tārīhü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî*, *Tārīh-i Tımür*, on the one hand, and the *Uşülü'l-hikem*, *Füyüzât-ı Miḳnaṭısiye*, and *Aḫvāl-i ğazavāt*, on the other, are given in two groups, and the print run of each of them is known, except for the last one, *Aḫvāl-i ğazavāt*.

One may also expect that the earlier Müteferrika publications, which were sold over a longer period between 1729 and 1746, would have sold better. However, İbrahim Müteferrika's property inventory reveals a different story. According to the inventory, the unsold copies of some later publications such as the *Cihānnümā*, Na'īma's and Raşid's *Histories* and the *Lisānü'l-'Acem* were not in a condition suitable for sale. They were unbound, unpolished and without borders. The copies of earlier publications such as the *Taḳvīmü't-tevārīh*, *Gülşen-i Hulefā*, *Tārīh-i Mısr*, *Tārīh-i Tımür*, *Tārīh-i seyyāh*, *Tārīhü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî*, and *Tuhfetü'l-kibār* were sewn and cut but only partially bound, while the unsold copies of the *Grammaire turque*, *Uşülü'l-hikem*, *Füyüzât-ı Miḳnaṭısiye*, and *Aḫvāl-i ğazavāt* were all bound. Together with the Vankulu dictionary, these five books proved to be bestsellers. They were followed by books such as the *Tārīh-i Mısr*, *Tārīh-i Tımür*, *Tārīh-i seyyāh*, *Tārīhü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî*, and *Tuhfetü'l-kibār*. Except for Na'īma's *History*, the publications of the works of Kâtib Çelebi, Nazmizade Hüseyin Murteza, Mehmed Raşid, and Küçükçelebizade İsmail Asım sold half.

In his letter dated February 21, 1732, Saussure stated that the sale figures of the books printed by Müteferrika were very unsatisfactory. In a later addendum

to this letter, made after 1759, Saussure claimed that after Müteferrika's demise many unsold copies of his publications had been inherited by his heirs, who in turn had no idea what to do with them, they "hated" them, and eventually decided not to continue the printing enterprise.¹ Saussure's claim implies that the commercial results of the press were rather poor. This considered, some early scholars of Ottoman printing argue that Müteferrika did not earn much from his printing press, and that although he was initially wealthy, by the end of his life he was too poor to pay his workers and support his family.²

Although Saussure was a contemporary of the early operation of the printing press, he was no longer in Istanbul at the time of İbrahim Müteferrika's death and was not an eyewitness of the state of the press. In Müteferrika's property inventory dated April 1, 1747 (see Addendum 2), 2,976 unsold copies of his publications are recorded.³ This figure suggests that the situation was much better than the pessimistic one presented by Saussure. Although the print run of all the sixteen publications was estimated at around 12,000,⁴ 12,500,⁵ 12,700⁶ or even 13,200,⁷ I believe that these estimates are somewhat exaggerated. The total print run of the twelve publications listed at the end of the second volume of Na'ima's *History* is 8,200 copies,⁸ and this figure includes the total number of copies of the two volumes of the Vankulu dictionary and Na'ima's *History*. Therefore, when recalculated, the print run of the said twelve publications would be 7,200 copies. When the print run of 1,000 copies of the *Grammaire turque*, which is missing from the list, is added, the figure rises again to 8,200. If one assumes that Müteferrika printed 500 copies of each of his last three publications, the print run of all sixteen publications would have reached 9,700 copies. As I already mentioned, the number of the unsold copies recorded in Müteferrika's property inventory was nearly 3,000. In other words, in the seventeen-year period between 1729 and 1746, Müteferrika

1 Thály (ed.), *Lettres de Turquie*, p. 95–96; compare Karácson, "İbrahim Müteferrika", p. 184–185.

2 See A. V. Simonffy, *İbrahim Müteferrika*, transl. F. Yener, Ankara, 1945, p. 21.

3 İMŞŞ, Kısmet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi, 98, f. 40v; Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni*, p. 402.

4 L. Hopp, "İbrahim Müteferrika (1674/75?–1746): Fondateur de l'imprimerie turque", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 29, 1975, 1, p. 108.

5 Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Vol. 7, p. 585; Ersoy, "İlk Türk Basımevi'nde Basılan Kitapların Fiyatları", p. 69, 76; Koloğlu, *Basımevi ve Basının Gecikme Sebepleri*, p. 57; Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 18.

6 Ş. Ergürebüz, *Matbaacılık Tarihi [History of Printing]*, Izmit, 1947, p. 46; Ertuğ, *Basın ve Yayın Hareketleri Tarihi*, p. 116.

7 Watson, "İbrâhîm Müteferrika and Turkish Incunabula", p. 436.

8 Na'ima, *Târîh-i Na'imâ*, Vol. 2, p. [741].

was able to sell approximately two-thirds of the total print run. In fact, some of the copies were not sold but presented to foreign diplomats and royal courts. For example, Müteferrika prints were presented to the Austrian court in 1730,⁹ to the Russian tsar in 1731,¹⁰ to the Swedish court in 1735,¹¹ and to the French court in 1741–1742 (during the embassy of İbrahim Müteferrika's former partner Said Efendi).¹² However, the number of the complementary copies was too small to affect the sold/unsold proportion.

To juxtapose, the sale of Baron's device *Qıblenümā-i āfākī*, whose leaves were supposedly printed at the Müteferrika press in 1151/1738–1739, was much less successful. 500 copies of it may have been printed, as it was the usual print run of most of the Müteferrika publications. However, according to Toderini, after Baron's dismissal from the post of dragoman in 1765, 400 copies of his device were auctioned.¹³ According to Kadi İbrahim's property inventory recorded upon his demise in 1777, 100 copies of the 1169–1170/1756 second edition of the Vankulu dictionary – out of a presumably 500-copy print run – remained unsold.¹⁴ That is, in nearly twenty years, the second edition sold four-fifths of its run, while Müteferrika's edition sold out the whole print run in less than twenty years (1729–1747).

According to Müteferrika's property inventory, the selling rights of the books printed by him were transferred to his underage daughter Ayşe. Soon, on August 8, 1747 – through her custodian, Müteferrika's wife Hadice – she sold 20 more copies.¹⁵ Later, in 1755, Stefanaki, a Greek bookseller in Istanbul, bought a bulk quantity of 767 copies of “Turkish printed historical books” (*Türkî başma tevārîh kitâbı*), presumably Müteferrika publications, from Ayşe and Hadice. In 1757, Stefanaki sold these books to the Greek printer Panayot, son of Hacı Kiriakos, whose name appears in a Karamanlidika book printed in 1760. Panayot printed some Armenian books as well.¹⁶

9 Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Vol. 7, p. 413; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 4, Part 2, p. 516.

10 Meyer, *Османская империя в XVIII веке*, p. 184.

11 Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 8.

12 Timur, “Matbaa, Aydınlanma ve Diplomasi: Said Mehmed Efendi”, p. 59.

13 Hanstein, *A New Print by Müteferrika*, p. 27–28.

14 Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 69–71.

15 See S. Karahasanoğlu, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Başarısını/Başarısızlığını Yeniden Gözden Geçirmek ya da İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Terekesinin Tespitine Katkı” [“Revising the Success/Failure of the Ottoman Printing Press, or a Contribution to the Identification of İbrahim Müteferrika's Property”], *Journal of Turkish Studies / Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları*, 33, 2009, 1, p. 319–328.

16 Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 119–121.

Thus, some ten years after İbrahim Müteferrika's demise, 767 copies of his publications related to history were first purchased by a Greek bookseller and then sold to a Greek printer. One may speculate whether these two Greeks were interested only in the books printed by Müteferrika that were dealing with history. No matter how many Müteferrika books were available and what their topic was, it seems that non-Muslims like these two Greeks were allowed to, or at least hoped to sell such works printed in the Turkish language in Arabic script. As the Greek printer Panayot, son of Hacı Kiriakos, printed Karamanlidika books in Greek script for the Turkish-speaking Orthodox Greeks, it seems that he might have imagined that he could sell these books to them, because if not the script, at least the language was accessible to them. On the other hand, he may have sold them to educated Phanariot families, who could speak eloquent Turkish,¹⁷ or to Western European scholars, bibliophiles and libraries. For example, according to the English traveler Adam Neale, during the reign of the Habsburg Empress Maria Theresa (1717–1780; r. 1740–1780), the director of the imperial library in Vienna, Gottfried van Swieten (1733–1803; in office 1777–1803), bought from “the Oriental press of İbrahim Effendi at Constantinople every work that was printed”.¹⁸ As the press was not active at the time, he may have obtained these works from booksellers. Whatever the case may be, the Müteferrika books were definitely in circulation not only among Muslim but also non-Muslim readers.

So, it seems that despite the impressive 1755 deal, Müteferrika's wife and daughter still owned about 2,000 copies of his publications. The same year, on February 1, the English ambassador to the Porte James Porter reported to *Philosophical Transactions* that the copies of the Müteferrika publications “are not many, and are now very dear and scarce; few even to be bought”. The individual maps also were “not to be found but in private hands”.¹⁹

Contrary to what might be expected, and to Müteferrika's claims in his 1726 treatise on the means of printing, the price of his publications appears to have remained quite high not only after his death, but also all along the operation of the printing press. For example, while the average value of the manuscripts recorded in Müteferrika's property inventory was 383 aspers or approximately 3 piasters, the average price of his publications was initially around 11 piasters, and the average price recorded in the property inventory was approximately 7 piasters. This suggests that the early Ottoman Turkish printed books were at least twice as

17 See N. Shafir, “Phanariot Tongues: The Mavrokordatos Family and the Power of the Turkish Language in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire”, *Oriente Moderno*, 101, 2021, p. 181–220.

18 Neale, *Travels through Some Parts of Germany, Poland, Moldavia, and Turkey*, p. 99.

19 Porter, “Queries sent to a Friend in Constantinople”, p. 105.

expensive as an average manuscript. The fact that the value of a horse recorded in Müteferrika's property inventory was exactly the same as the price of the Vankulu dictionary, 4,800 aspers, or 40 piasters (see Table 1), may seem surprising by today's standards, but it is important to keep in mind that some of the publications were quite sizeable, two- or three-volume dictionaries or historical works, on the one hand, and the manuscript copies of these works were much more expensive than the printed version, on the other.

Osman Ersoy states that the prices of the Müteferrika publications were so high that they were unaffordable not only for the public, but even for high-ranking statesmen.²⁰ This high price certainly affected sales. As Saussure's letter of 1732 states, the earlier Müteferrika publications did not sell well in the beginning, and this made Müteferrika set a very high price for them.²¹ On the other hand, due to the initial problematic sale, the price of some publications subsequently dropped, as evidenced by the writings of Carleson, Holderman, and Müteferrika, as well as by various property records. There are interesting developments in the prices of the Vankulu dictionary and Raşid's *History*, for example. Their price dropped for a while but increased again towards 1747–1748. These price variations were probably the result of Müteferrika's own decision to reduce their price to attract more customers. Discounts also meant that the official prices, set by imperial edicts, were not strictly adhered to. This was probably not an illegal practice, because according to the impressions of Charles White (1793–1861) from his journey to Istanbul in 1844, the prices of manuscripts and printed books were not fixed, and the printers initially sold the books at a certain price, and later, as at British book auctions, the prices of these books were determined in accordance with the market conditions. He also noted that in the 1840s not only were the prices of manuscripts high, but also “the commonest printed books are double their relative value in Europe”, a situation which resulted from “the monopoly of printing, and from the limited number of copies”.²²

The limited print run could indeed keep the prices higher than expected, but it also could be assessed depending on whether it had met the existing demand. Osman Ersoy emphasized that the print run of the Müteferrika publications was very small and compared it to a handful of sand thrown into the sea or a teaspoon full of water given to a patient dying of thirst.²³ However, when compared

20 Ersoy, “İlk Türk Basımevi'nde Basılan Kitapların Fiyatları”, p. 76.

21 Thály (ed.), *Lettres de Turquie*, p. 95.

22 C. White, *Three Years in Constantinople or Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1844*, Vol. 2, London, 1846, p. 156; compare with Erdem, “Sahhaflar ve Seyyahlar: Osmanlı'da Kitapçılık”, p. 725.

23 Ersoy, “İlk Türk Basımevi'nde Basılan Kitapların Fiyatları”, p. 76.

to the print run of the 15th-century European incunabula, it becomes clear that the print run of the Müteferrika publications was quite normal. While the 15th-century European presses printed between 150 and 1,500 copies of a book, in the 18th century they usually released between 2,000 and 3,000 copies. Moreover, many of the early European printing presses went bankrupt after printing one or two titles.²⁴ The print run of the Arabic-type Christian liturgical texts printed either in the Romanian Principalities or in the Middle East throughout the 18th century is generally unknown, except for a book printed in Iași in 1,500 copies by the Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch. Its foreword reads that this number would enable the book to be “disseminated freely among Christians”.²⁵ Obviously, it is partly true that the Müteferrika publications had modest print runs even compared to their Arabic Christian counterpart. However, the Arabic-type Christian books were printed to meet the liturgical needs of the Arabic-speaking Christian minorities in the Ottoman Empire, while the Müteferrika press was not allowed to print Muslim religious texts, and its output was not intended to meet the religious needs of the vast Muslim population of the Empire. It was meant to meet the scholarly needs of a rather limited Ottoman Muslim elite.²⁶

As we can grasp from his property inventory, Müteferrika was not able to sell the whole output during his lifetime. It is also obvious that he did not make a great profit, if any, of his printing enterprise. According to the inventory, the unsold copies of his publications and the printing equipment constituted about 80 % of the estimated value of his assets. The remaining 20 % pertained to his house, where the print shop was also located, three female slaves, and non-luxury household goods (see Table 1).²⁷ It means that Müteferrika had invested the greater portion of his income in his printing venture, on the one hand, and, considering the conditions of his time, such a venture required relatively large amounts of money, on the other. As already discussed in previous chapters, the printing ventures of Müteferrika's followers, Kadi İbrahim and Kadi Ahmed, in the late 1740s and 1750s, and Mehmed Raşid and Ahmed Vasıf, in the 1780s and 1790s, were perhaps even less profitable. Müteferrika's and Raşid's partners relinquished the printing venture quite soon. Whatever the reasons for their abandonment might be, one may assume that they were also disappointed by the initial returns. Then again, the enterprise relied on

24 See L. Febvre, H.-J. Martin, *L'apparition du livre*, Paris, 1958, p. 307–312; B. Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 25–26.

25 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 161–162.

26 See H. Yüksel, “Zamanın Tekeline Çomak Sokmak: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Toplumsal Yanlıklar ve Matbaa” [“Breaking the Monopoly of Time: Social Biases and the Printing Press in the Ottoman Empire”], *Kültür ve İletişim / Culture and Communication*, 15 (1), 2012, 29, p. 91–128.

27 See Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni*, p. 142–147.

the efforts of a single person. This situation raises the question of whether they were able to cover their investments and gain any profit. At first, Mütefferrika had to rely on the financial support of his partner Mehmed Said Efendi, and then, when the latter was no longer able to support the venture, the two of them borrowed money from the state treasury in 1140/1727–1728 to print the Vankulu dictionary.²⁸

Mütefferrika's and his followers' uncertain commercial success was partly caused by the specific subject matter of the books they printed. Evidently, the potential readership was also an important factor. As John L. Flood states,

Printing was essentially a speculative enterprise. The identity of the reader, the end-user, now became an unknown factor, which made estimating print runs and publishing printed books a hazardous enterprise [...] Because the profit on each additional copy sold is high, there is a strong temptation to print an excessive number.²⁹

Flood also adds that “success depended on knowing the market, what was likely to sell where”.³⁰ Most Muslim book owners owned, and most booksellers traded mostly religious literature, mainly in Arabic, and specimens of poetry in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish. Among the religious books, the most popular were, naturally, the Qur’ān, a small collection of the most popular Qur’ānic suras, entitled *En’ām-ı Şerif* after the sura *En’ām* (*The Camel*), the religious poem *Muhammediye*, written by Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed (d. 1451) in 1444, a biography of the prophet Muhammad in verse, the *Vaşiyetnâme* (*Testament*) of Mehmed Birgivi (1522–1573), a book of religious dogmas and practice, as well as the *Delâ’ilü’l-ḥayrât* (*Guide to Benevolent Deeds*) by the Moroccan Islamic mystic and scholar Muhammad Sulaiman al-Jazuli (d. 1465). As for history and geography books, the most popular were again those about Islamic history: the *Tārīḫü’r-rūsül ve’l-mülük* (*History of the Prophets and Rulers*) of al-Tabari (839–923), which narrated the life of Muhammad and the emergence and development of the early Islamic state, and pilgrims’ accounts of the journey to Mecca. The pre-Islamic Iranian historical poem *Shāhnâme* by Ferdowsi (d. 1020) and the legendary poem *Ḥamzanâme* by Hamzavi (late 14th c.) were also among the readers’ favorites. Dictionaries, on the other hand, were very rarely recorded, even in booksellers’ property inventories. As for the constitution of the reading public itself, it was mainly men of religion (*‘ulemā*), scholars and students,

²⁸ BOA, İE.ML, 123/11612.

²⁹ J. L. Flood, “Volentes Sibi Comparare Infrascriptos Libros Impressos...”. Printed Books as a Commercial Commodity in the Fifteenth Century”, in K. Jensen (ed.), *Incunabula and Their Readers: Printing, Selling and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century*, London, 2003, p. 141–142.

³⁰ Flood, “Volentes Sibi Comparare Infrascriptos Libros Impressos...”, p. 145.

administrative and military officials, and sometimes traders and craftsmen. In terms of gender, men considerably prevailed over women.³¹

In particular, I have studied the property inventories of Istanbul's ruling class (*askerî*) from 1724–1747, when exactly Müteferrika printed maps and books, and could identify only 335 individuals who owned more than three books.³² While this does not indicate the actual number of book owners, it shows that the potential readership was quite limited given the relatively low degree of literacy.³³ In his 1732 letter that I have mentioned above, Saussure states that the Müteferrika publications sold poorly because there were not many Turks who could read.³⁴ Holderman writes the same thing in his letter of August 5, 1730.³⁵ The allegedly limited potential readership has led many scholars to argue that there was in fact no real need for a press in the Ottoman Empire to print books for the local Muslims until well into the 18th century, although this view has recently been challenged.³⁶ Keeping in mind that Müteferrika was restricted to print non-religious books only and he was keen to publish texts on less popular branches of learning and those less esteemed by Muslim scholarly tradition, such as history, geography, and physics,³⁷ neither his

31 See N. Hanna, *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, Syracuse, NY, 2003, p. 94–96; O. Sabev, “Private Book Collections in Ottoman Sofia, 1671–1833 (Preliminary Notes)”, *Études balkaniques*, 39, 2003, 1, p. 34–82; O. Sabev, “18. Yüzyıl Diyarbakır’ında Kitap Sahipliği” [“Book Ownership in 18th-Century Diyarbakır”], in B. Yediyıldız, K. Tomenendal (eds.), *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Diyarbakır / Diyarbakır in the Ottoman Era*, Ankara, 2008, p. 153–157; O. Sabev, “Balkanlarda Osmanlı Kitapçılığı: 18. Yüzyılda Bir Sahafın Kitapları” [“Ottoman Book Trade in the Balkans: The Books of an 18th-Century Bookseller”], in *XV. Türk Tarih Kongresi Ankara: 11–15 Eylül 2006. Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, Vol. 4, Part 3. (*Osmanlı Tarihi – C*), Ankara, 2010, p. 1809–1853; O. Sabev, “Okuyan Taşralı Bir Toplum: Rusçuk Müslümanlarının Kitap Sevgisi (1695–1786)” [“Provincial Readership: The Love of Books of Muslims of Ruse (1695–1786)”], in A. Çaksu (ed.), *Balkanlar’da İslam Medeniyeti Uluslararası Üçüncü Sempozyum Tebliğleri, Bükreş, Romanya, 1–5 Kasım 2006*, Vol. 2, Istanbul, 2011, p. 575–607.

32 This is the outcome of a research on the records of the Archive of the Istanbul Mufti (İstanbul Müftülüğü Şeriye Sicilleri) that I conducted in 2002.

33 See M. Shefer-Mossensohn, *Osmanlı’da Bilim: Kültürel Yaratı ve Bilgi Alışverişi [Science in the Ottoman Empire: Cultural Formation and Knowledge Exchange]*, transl. K. Oğuz, Istanbul, 2018, p. 100–116.

34 Thály (ed.), *Lettres de Turquie*, p. 95.

35 Omont, “Nouveaux documents sur l’imprimerie à Istanbul”, p. 6.

36 S. Çalışkan, “Olmayanı Okumamak – İlk Türk Matbaası Üzerine” [“Not Discussing What Does Not Exist – On the First Turkish Printing Press”], *Dünya İnsan Bilimleri Dergisi*, 2, 2023, p. 305–325.

37 See İ. Çakın, “Müteferrika Matbaası’nın Düşündürdükleri ve Avrupa’da Basımcılığın Etkileri: Gelecek İçin Geçmiş Anlamak” [“The Implications of the Müteferrika Press and the Effects of Printing in Europe: Understanding the Past for the Future”], *Bilgi Dünyası*, 5, 2004, 2, p. 153–167; H. Karateke, “Seyahatname’deki Popüler Dinî Eserler” [“Popular Religious Works in the

own estimation nor our expectations of his potential readership should be exaggerated. In fact, in the 1840s and 1850s, the print runs of *Divans* and madrasa textbooks were usually 1,200 copies, while the highly sought-after manuals of Arabic grammar (*şarf*) and syntax (*nahv*) were printed in 2,400 copies.³⁸ Even in the 19th century, however, books printed in more than 2,000 copies were exceptional.³⁹ Taking this into account, one should not be too critical of the print run of Müteferrika's publications. As is already clear from his property inventory, if he had printed more copies, he certainly would not have been able to sell all of them.

When the famous Ottoman calligrapher Osman Zeki Bey (d. 1884) printed the Qur'an in the 1870s and 1880s in a single print run of 6,000 copies, he and his sons made a fortune from its sale.⁴⁰ The same was also true for other 19th-century Ottoman printers such as Karahisari el-Hac Ali Rıza Efendi and his sons, who printed mostly religious books in the 1850s and 1860s and enjoyed much more financial prosperity.⁴¹ In fact, Karahisari el-Hac Ali Rıza and his sons were also booksellers, and therefore well aware of the demands of the book market.⁴² As J. R. Osborn argues, the Müteferrika press symbolized "the tactical adoption of print technology". According to his clarification,

Tactical adoption did not imply a replacement of scribal production. Müteferrika did not print popular works, nor did he aspire to. Rather, his tactical adoption targeted books that were not in wide circulation at the time. The Ottoman scribal community adequately addressed

Seyahatname"], in H. Aynur, H. Karateke (eds.), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nin Yazılı Kaynakları*, Ankara, 2012, p. 200–239; Sabev, *Waiting for Müteferrika*, p. 44–56; E. Muhacı, "Osmanlıda Okuma Gelenekleri ve Kültürü Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme" ["An Evaluation on Reading Traditions and Culture in the Ottoman Empire"], *Kütüphane, Arşiv ve Müze Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 4, 2023, 2, p. 201–216.

³⁸ See Y. S. Karakışla, "Osmanlı Kitap Tarihinde Bir Katkı: Osmanlı Devlet Arşivi'nde Bulunan, Kitap ile İlgili Bazı Belgeler (1844–1854)" ["A Contribution to Ottoman Book History: Some Documents Related to Books in the Ottoman State Archives (1844–1854)"], *Müteferrika*, 14, 1998, p. 41–59.

³⁹ J. Strauss, "Les livres et l'imprimerie à Istanbul (1800–1908)", in P. Dumont (ed.), *Turquie: Livres d'hier, livres d'aujourd'hui*, Strasbourg/Istanbul, 1992, p. 5.

⁴⁰ Kuran-Burçoğlu, "Matbaacı Osman Bey", p. 101–102.

⁴¹ See O. Sabev, "İki Örnek Işığında Osmanlı Matbaacılarının Maddi Durumu (İbrahim Müteferrika ve Seyyid Mustafa Esad Efendi)" ["Material Status of the Ottoman Printers in Light of Two Examples (İbrahim Müteferrika and Seyyid Mustafa Esad Efendi)"], in M. Öztürk, A. Aksın (eds.), *İkinci İktisat Tarihi Kongresi Bildirileri – 2 (Elazığ, 24-25 Haziran 2010)*, Elazığ, 2013, p. 701–755; Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaftık ve Sahaflar*, p. 244–247.

⁴² See M. Erken, *Geç Osmanlı Döneminde Matbaa ve Kitap Yayıncılığı (1857–1888)* [*Printing and Book Publishing in the Late Ottoman Period (1857–1888)*], İstanbul, 2023 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis), p. 212.

Ottoman needs for classic and popular texts, and it continued to fulfil these needs until the middle of the nineteenth century [...].⁴³

The question of who bought the Müteferrika publications also deserves special attention. Notably, his customers were mostly high-ranking officials in the Ottoman administration, as well as high-ranking Muslim religious functionaries, who obviously also had the financial means to acquire the more expensive publications of the press. The fact that there were many Muslim functionaries among Müteferrika's customers clearly shows that the Ottoman religious class was not prejudiced against the printing press and its output. The French students of the *École des jeunes de langues* were also very much interested in Müteferrika's output. They have done partial or complete translations of at least six of Müteferrika's publications.⁴⁴

İbrahim Müteferrika decided what to print, after consulting the grand mufti and perhaps other authorities. He also edited the selected works by correcting errors in the manuscript copies he used to reproduce, preparing and adding supplements, figures, and maps. He sometimes replaced the original titles of the works with shortened or altered titles that he felt were more appropriate and appealing to potential readers. He was also the author or translator of some of the books he printed. In this way, Müteferrika appears to have been a printer, publisher, editor, and author, like most of early European printers.

Perhaps the most important of Müteferrika's goals regarding his printing venture was to convey up-to-date and useful information through the means of the printing press. He also could be considered an "idea entrepreneur", i.e., someone who introduced and disseminated new ideas to Ottoman society.⁴⁵ He expanded the horizons of Ottoman Muslim readership by publishing works related not only to Ottoman Muslim history and geography, but also to the history and geography of neighboring and more distant countries, and even continents. In the preface to the *Gülşen-i Hulefâ*, Müteferrika explained the importance of history in the following way:

The knowledge of history certainly makes [man] more prudent, improves management, strengthens thinking, supports intention, frees the knower of history when in captivity, makes him careful when free, and protects him from unwanted external pressures. [History] arms with patience and perseverance against hardship and violence, gives impetus in important

⁴³ See J. R. Osborn, "The Ottoman System of Scripts and the Müteferrika Press", in S. Reese (ed.), *Manuscript and Print in the Islamic Tradition*, Berlin/Boston, 2022, p. 61–88.

⁴⁴ Boogert, "The Sultan's Answer to the Medici Press", p. 286–288.

⁴⁵ A. K. Aslan, "An Ideational Analysis on the Impact of the First Printing House in the Ottoman Society: İbrahim Muteferrika as an 'Idea Entrepreneur'", in *ECREA 2018 Book of Abstracts, 7th European Communication Conference, 31.10–3.11.2018, Lugano/Switzerland*, Lugano, 2018, p. 126–127.

matters, strengthens the heart, makes the difficult easy, and acquaints the pillars of the state, rulers and sultans, as well as the governors of lands and nations, viziers and high officials, with the life of the ancestors and the history of mankind. If they follow in the footsteps of righteous predecessors and avoid lack of knowledge while conquering cities, ruling slaves, caring for subjects, ensuring the welfare of the country, defending the army, collecting revenues for the treasury, and leading the state in times of war and battle, and in other important matters, then their government will endure, their subjects will enjoy prosperity, the treasury will be full, their country will prosper, their army will be strong, and their enemies will be defeated.⁴⁶

In the *Uşûlü'l-ḥikem*, on the other hand, Mütefferrika highlighted the importance of geographical knowledge. This treatise was greatly inspired by Kâtib Çelebi's *Cihānnumā*, as a comparative study of both works shows.⁴⁷ In the second chapter of the treatise, Mütefferrika emphasized the crucial role that geography played in enhancing statecraft and military affairs. He pointed out that the comprehensive understanding of the geographical features of the enemy territories and their populations is of paramount importance in the Muslims' holy war (Jihad). Moreover, Mütefferrika insisted that by engaging with geographical works, one can better comprehend the history of various peoples, gaining insight into precisely where and under what conditions they live. According to him, statesmen should have an understanding of the diverse peoples living around the Globe, because geography is like a mirror that reflects the world. Mütefferrika emphasized that the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) and the subsequent invasion of vast territories were made possible by the Christian rulers' deep knowledge of geography. According to Mütefferrika, an awareness of geography, including information about the countries, roads, passes, rivers, and sea routes, would have strengthened the Muslim rulers and increased the chance of success in their military campaigns. Geography would have also played a significant role not only in locating other Muslim countries but also in fostering collaboration with them. Mütefferrika underlined that not only the theoretical part of geographical science is of particular importance, but also its practical part, the drawing and pragmatic use of maps. Therefore, he stressed the importance of creating maps and reproducing them through the printing technology. This approach would not only facilitate military and state affairs but also help to accurately define interstate borders during diplomatic negotiations.⁴⁸

Another important aspect of Mütefferrika's printing endeavor was the language of his publications. Except the *Taḳvīmü't-tevārīḥ* (mostly in Persian) and *Grammaire*

⁴⁶ Nazmizade, *Gülşen-i Hulefâ li-Nazmizâde Efendî*, f. [2v–3r].

⁴⁷ See Yurtoğlu, *Katip Çelebi*, p. 68–78.

⁴⁸ See Mütefferrika, *Milletlerin Düzeninde İlmi Usüller*, p. 63–72; İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim*, Vol. 2, p. 236–239; Kalaycıoğulları, *İbrahim Mütefferrika ve Yeni Bilim'in Türkiye'ye Girişi*, p. 74–82.

turque (in French), all the works he chose to print were in the Ottoman Turkish language. Consequently, Müteferrika filled in a gap in the Ottoman book market not only in terms of subject but also in terms of language, because manuscripts on religion and law were basically written in Arabic, and the mystical works and poetry in Persian. It seems that he intentionally offered books in the Ottoman Turkish language so they would be of practical use for the targeted readership.

In conclusion, the question of whether the Müteferrika press was a success or a failure can be answered differently, and even contradictorily, depending on the preferred perspective. However, if we evaluate the first Ottoman Turkish printing press in a long-term perspective, there is no doubt that İbrahim Müteferrika was an innovator who paved the way for the formation of an Ottoman Muslim print culture.

4.2 Müteferrika's Path from a Scribal Culture to a Print Culture

The transition from scribal culture to print culture in early modern Europe (1450–1789)⁴⁹ was undoubtedly a difficult and slow process. The renowned researcher of the history of European printing Elizabeth Eisenstein suggested that printing was an “agent of change” due to which a “communications revolution” took place.⁵⁰ According to her, the advent of printing made it possible for “more nature to be transferred to a book”, the forgotten world of the ancients to be better known, and secret religious knowledge to become generally available.⁵¹ After all, Eisenstein summed up, the seemingly chaotic emergence of modern Western culture owes much to printing.⁵² Many researchers also tend to view the advent of printing as a revolutionary act in the world of Islam.⁵³

Rab A. Huston, for his part, while appreciating Eisenstein's ideas, noted that printing had undoubtedly changed the way of thinking and indirectly played an important role in the economic, social, and political development in early modern times, but that its effect was neither immediate, nor direct and definite. Changes occurred slowly and were dependent on the given social, economic and political

49 I follow the periodization offered by M. E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe 1450–1789*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 2013.

50 E. L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, Cambridge, 1979, p. 44.

51 Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, p. 687.

52 Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, p. 704.

53 See Hanebutt-Benz, Glass, Roper (eds.), *Sprachen des Nahen Ostens*; A. Ayalon, *The Arabic Print Revolution: Cultural Production and Mass Readership*, Cambridge, 2016.

context. He emphasized that printing developed gradually, that its true potential was not manifested for about a century, and that it was not fully developed until well into the 18th century.⁵⁴ Jacques le Goff also emphasizes that initially printing satisfied a limited elite of literati and that only as a result of the Counter-Reformation this “art in a contested form, perhaps, but with educational and apostolic intentions, would want to bring the people to cultural life”.⁵⁵ Brian Richardson notes that the transition from manuscripts to printed books was an “evolutionary process”.⁵⁶ As an element of this evolution, manuscript copies of printed books were even more frequently achieved. Obviously, the complex and long transition from manuscript culture to print culture was not a one-way process but a process which involved simultaneously applied scribal and printing modes of production and reproduction of texts.⁵⁷

By “communications revolution”, however, Eisenstein meant not a change that occurred with a single event, but a “long revolution” – in Raymond Williams’s definition⁵⁸ – that is, a long-term process of breaking with the past, whose results gradually became clear.⁵⁹ In a recent article, J. R. Osborn dwelled on Raymond Williams’s concept of the “long revolution” and its usefulness with regard to the question why Ottoman Turkish printing was introduced so late. He argued that “the usefulness of Williams’s model is its extended duration. Ottoman print adoption does not appear ‘delayed’ in a long revolution model”. Given this methodological framework, Osborn stated that “the Müteferrika press introduced both a new genre of state-oriented text, as well as a new ‘style of script’ (i.e. movable type) with which to represent these novel texts”. Moreover – Osborn insists – Ottoman Muslim

54 R. A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education, 1500–1800*, London/New York, 1988, p. 160–163.

55 J. le Goff, *Les intellectuels au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1985, p. 187.

56 Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy*, p. 9.

57 See D. McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830*, Cambridge, 2005; A. Blair, “Reflections on Technological Continuities: Manuscripts Copied from Printed Books”, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 91, 2015, 1, p. 7–33; C. D. Bahl, S. Hanß (eds.), *Scribal Practice and the Global Cultures of Colophons, 1400–1800*, Cham, 2022; S. Brockstieger, P. Schweitzer-Martin (eds.), *Between Manuscript and Print: Transcultural Perspectives, ca. 1400–1800*, Berlin/Boston, 2023.

58 See R. Williams, *The Long Revolution*, London, 1992.

59 See E. L. Eisenstein, “The Fifteenth Century Book Revolution, Some Causes and Consequences of the Advent of Printing in Western Europe”, in *Le Livre dans les sociétés pré-industrielles: Actes du premier colloque international du Centre de recherches néohelléniques*, Athens, 1982, p. 57–76; E. L. Eisenstein, “From Scriptoria to Printing Shops: Evolution and Revolution in the Early Printing Book Trade”, in K. E. Carpenter (ed.), *Books and Society in History: Papers of the Association of College and Research Libraries Rare Books and Manuscripts Preconference, 24–28 June, 1980*, Boston, Massachusetts, New York/London, 1983, p. 29–42.

handwritten script variation was standardized through the movable type.⁶⁰ In fact, Osborn's thinking raises the question of how İbrahim Müteferrika overcame the typographic challenges of the specific Arabic script.

4.2.1 The Typographic Challenges of Arabic Script

In his 1726 treatise on the means of printing, Müteferrika described printing as just “a writing style among writing styles” (*kitâbet envâinden bir nev'-i kitâbetden ibâretdir*). He even referred to “the obvious possibility that books produced through the art of printing [...] could be calligraphical ones” (*fenn-i başmada huşûle gelen kütübün [...] hüsn-i haţţ olmağa imkân derkâr olduğundan*).⁶¹ In the colophon of the *Ah vâl-i ğazavât der diyâr-ı Bosna* (printed in 1741), Müteferrika pointed out that “the copies of this book were made numerous through the new way of writing granted by the art of printing in order to become complete, supplemented, and useful to the public” (*işb  mecellede cem' ve derc ve fevâidini ta'mim i in kalem-i nev-i haţţ-ı fenn-i tıb 'at ile n şhaları tevfir olundu*).⁶² As Thomas Milo notes, the term *haţţ*, used in Müteferrika's above-cited texts, denoted not only calligraphy, or “beautiful writing”, but any kind of writing, even typographic one.⁶³ This considered, Müteferrika tried not only to convince his potential readership that printing provided just another style of script, even a calligraphical one, but also tried to demonstrate this in practice. In fact, when typography was first introduced in Europe, it was similarly perceived as a “mechanical kind of writing”.⁶⁴

From a typographic point of view, the Arabic script was as important as all other aspects of the adoption of printing by the ruling Ottoman elite and the Muslim intellectual circles. One aspect of this issue was the so-called “script grammar”. The term refers to – as J. R. Osborn puts it – “the consistent structures formed by written elements to represent meaningful messages”. In the case of Arabic script grammar, most graphemes – consisting of vertical and horizontal strokes and dots – connect cursorily in a particular way from right to left and thus form “shared shapes or letter blocks”. In J. R. Osborn's words, “the layering of signs constructs a

⁶⁰ See Osborn, “The Ottoman System of Scripts and the Müteferrika Press”.

⁶¹ al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şihâh-ı Cevheri*, Vol. 1, f. [7r]; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi ve Müteferrika Matbaası*, p. 3.

⁶² Bosnavi, *Ah vâl-i ğazavât der diyâr-ı Bosna*, f. 62v.

⁶³ T. Milo, “Arabic Typography”, in L. Edzard, R. E. de Jong (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics online*, Leiden, 2011, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1570-6699_eall_EALL_SIM_000043 (accessed on July 22, 2024).

⁶⁴ M. McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*, Toronto, 1962, p. 108.

two-dimensional space of meaningful relationships”.⁶⁵ Thomas Milo explains that the different styles of Arabic writing have not only shapes, but also script rules of their own.⁶⁶

Therefore, in the Arabic script, words and sentences are not just a linear sequence of letters, or as Thomas Milo puts it, “writing Arabic involves more than just lining up letters”, because the Arabic letters could be connected not only horizontally, but also vertically to form letter blocks or graphic units.⁶⁷ They are visual entities or codes which are fixed and perceived as such. Marshall McLuhan wrote that “no Chinese scribe or reader could make the mistake of ignoring the form of writing itself, because his written character does not separate speech and visual code in our way”.⁶⁸ The same is true of any Arabic-speaking scribe or reader. Printing with movable type had no option but to create isolated typefaces for individual Arabic letters. This allowed the reproduction of the content but not the exact design of the Arabic script,⁶⁹ or the correct horizontal and vertical connectivity of the Arabic letters, which required not only linear, as in other writing systems, but also cascading typesetting.⁷⁰ This shortcoming caused, according to Milo, the reluctance of the Ottoman authorities to adopt typesetting and printing in Arabic script.⁷¹ McLuhan asserts the same in connection with Chinese script.

That printing from movable types was an event nearly related to the earlier technology of the phonetic alphabet is a fact that has been a main reason for studying all these centuries that preceded Gutenberg. Phonetic script was the indispensable prelude. Thus, Chinese ideographic script proved a complete block against the development of print technology [with movable type] in their culture.⁷²

The advent of Gutenberg's movable printing technology was undeniably linked to writing systems. Some of them, such as the Latin, Hebrew, Armenian, and Cyrillic scripts, were more adaptable to this technology. However, the cursive nature of the Arabic script presented difficulties in terms of connecting the letters and the availability of many more letterforms than other scripts required. This complexity

65 Osborn, *Letters of Light*, p. 23–24.

66 Milo, “Arabic Typography”.

67 See T. Milo, “Arabic Script and Typography: A Brief Historical Overview”, in J. D. Berry (ed.), *Language, Culture, Type: International Type Design in the Age of Unicode*, New York, 2002, p. 114, 120.

68 McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, p. 77.

69 Osborn, *Letters of Light*, p. 92.

70 Milo, “Arabic Typography”.

71 Milo, “Arabic Script and Typography”, p. 121.

72 McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, p. 152.

challenged the punchcutters, typesetters, and typesetters.⁷³ The problem became even more visible when dealing with a non-Semitic language such as Ottoman Turkish, whose written form happened to be Arabic, in an Islamic context. The challenging adaptation of the Arabic script to the Turkish language, which resulted in an inadequate representation of certain Turkish vowels and consonants, was always recognized by the Turkish-speaking Muslim intellectuals of the Ottoman time. In his famous 17th-century travelogue, Evliya Çelebi, for example, made remarkable efforts to vocalize his Turkish text, including dialectical forms, to avoid mispronunciation. He added letters to the vocalization that were otherwise not needed and used the following four Arabic letters interchangeably: *z* (ز), *ẓ* (ذ), *z̤* (ظ), and *z̥* (ض), which are pronounced differently in Arabic, but the same in Turkish. The same was true for other letters that are different in Arabic but sound the same in Turkish.⁷⁴ At the time of Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Pasha, when the Müteferrika press was founded, the proper pronunciation of the Arabic letter *z̤* (ظ) became an important issue in the Ottoman madrasas.⁷⁵ Not only in the Ottoman case, but also in general, the Arabic writing system is characterized by special issues such as the vocalization of graphemes where short vowels are not indicated. This has led to a constant need to develop the orthographic system, since its inception.⁷⁶

The introduction of printing, even if late, was considered an important step for the dissemination of knowledge and the development of education. However, it made the problematic adaptation of the Arabic script to the Turkish language even more obvious. The early presses that printed Turkish texts in Arabic script, operating in Istanbul throughout the 18th century, had limited print runs and impact, but in parallel with the boom of Ottoman printing in the 19th century, leading intellectuals began to openly articulate this problem and suggested reforming the Arabic script into a non-cursive one, to facilitate the printed reproduction of Ottoman Turkish texts. These intellectuals, who had already become the typical “typographic man”, in McLuhan’s phrase, stressed the need for such a reform by invoking two reasons: first, the traditional Arabic script did not fully correspond to the Turkish phonetics and morphology, and second, the cursive nature of this script presented many difficulties when reproduced in print.

73 See J. M. Bloom, *Paper before Printing: The History and Impact of Paper in Islamic World*, New Haven, 2001, p. 218; R. Breugelmans, J. J. Witkam, *The Arabic Type Specimen of Franciscus Raphelengius's Plantinian Printing Office (1595)*, Leiden, 1997, p. xi–xii.

74 See Dankoff, *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis*, p. 27–38.

75 Cevdet, *Tārīḥ-i Cevdet*, Vol. 1, p. 62; compare with Karlığa, “Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi'nin Yeni Bulunan Bir Fizik Kitabı Tercümesi”, p. 324–325.

76 See Kh. I. H. Semaan, “A Linguistic View of the Development of the Arabic Writing System”, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 61, 1967, p. 22–40.

In the 1860s and 1870s, voices were heard among the Ottoman Muslim intellectuals calling for a reform of the Arabic script, or even its replacement with a more convenient one. İbrahim Şinasi (1826–1871), who was a publisher and the editor-in-chief of two newspapers in the 1860s, played a pioneering role in simplifying both the Turkish language and the Arabic script. He invented a linear system of movable type including around 120 letterforms, i.e., much less than the approximate figure of 600 letterforms used in the cascading typesetting. Although his invention reduced not only the number of letterforms, but also the expenses, time, and labor involved in the printing process, it was considered far from “exquisiteness in printing”.⁷⁷ Other intellectuals, such as Münif Pasha (1830–1910) and Celal Nuri (1881–1938), drew attention to the difficulty of adapting the Arabic writing system to printing with movable type.⁷⁸ In 1879, a special committee was formed by the Council of Public Education to replace the cursive Arabic script with a non-cursive script, i.e., a writing system that did not require a connection between the Arabic graphemes. However, this attempt was unsuccessful.⁷⁹ In 1909, new ideas were proposed to reduce the number of Arabic letters. In 1914, the so-called “Enver Pasha orthography” (*Enver Pâşâ imlâsı*), based on the Arabic script but without letter connection, was experimented in printing.⁸⁰

The problems of adapting the Arabic writing system to the peculiarities of the Turkish language and printing technology were detailed in an account written by İhsan Sungu shortly after the adoption of the Latin alphabet in 1928. He pointed out that unlike the Latin alphabet, which helped the development of Western printing, the Arabic alphabet proved to be an obstacle to the development of Ottoman Turkish printing. The excessive number of Arabic graphemes, caused by the different variants at the beginning, middle, and end of words, increased the number of boxes used for each letterform, and the cost, and also made the typesetters' work more difficult.⁸¹ These technical problems also determined the significant spread

77 Ö. Özkal, O. Yazıcıgil, “Ottoman Typography towards Modernization: Private Presses, Mass Media and a New Perception of Typographic Production”, unpublished paper presented at the *Face Forward Conference*, December 11–12, 2015, Dublin, https://www.academia.edu/43242191/Ottoman_Typography_towards_Modernisation_Private_Presses_Mass_Media_and_a_New_Perception_of_Typographic_Production?email_work_card=view-paper (accessed on December 9, 2024), p. 5–6; Ö. Özkal, “Ottoman Foundations of Turkish Typography: A Field Theory Approach”, *Design Issues*, 34, 2018, 3, p. 73.

78 Topdemir, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 30–32.

79 İskit, *Türkiye’de Neşriyat Hareketleri*, p. 90.

80 [A. Erzi], “Basım”, in *Türk (İnönü) Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 5, fasc. 37–38, Ankara, 1951, p. 336; İskit, *Türkiye’de Neşriyat Hareketleri*, p. 145–146.

81 See İskit, *Türkiye’de Neşriyat Hareketleri*, p. 182–183.

of lithography in the 19th century, not only within the Ottoman Empire but also in other Muslim societies, for example in South Asia, where it even dominated the less widespread printing with movable type.⁸²

The problem of printing in Arabic was a preoccupation not only of Ottoman society in the second half of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century, but of the Arab world in general. The Royal Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo held a special conference in 1936 and announced a competition for projects to reform the Arabic script, scheduled for application in 1945. The reason for the planned reform was to increase literacy, among others. Some of the projects proposed replacing Arabic with Latin or adding letters to the traditional Arabic alphabet to indicate short vowels, while others proposed changing the Arabic letters so that they were written separately within a word, rather than linked. Although none of these projects were adopted, the very fact that the Arabic script needed to be reformed in order to make it easier to print and control, in general, is indicative of the reality of the problematic nature of Arabic typography.⁸³

As it was quite difficult to achieve the above-mentioned complete forms of Arabic script by means of movable type, which is suitable only to achieve a mere sequence of connected letterforms, Müteferrika tried to overcome this imperfection by implementing xylography, when it came to titles – all of them in the Arabic or Persian languages, despite the fact that the text of the books was in Turkish – and the Islamic invocation, *basmala* (Tk. *besmele*). He preferred to place both in woodblocks that allowed him to more accurately imitate their handwritten appearance in manuscripts, so as to observe the readers' habits, expectations, and aesthetic taste. The perfect visual appearance of the title was as important as that of the *basmala*, because the latter was the only expression in his publications in which the Arabic word for God – *Allāh* – was used. The invocation reads: "In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful". Because of the religious sensitivity of his readers and customers, it was important for Müteferrika that the word *Allāh* appeared in print not as a distorted typeset, but as close as possible to its generally and historically accepted written form, according to the Arabic script grammar. Therefore, for the woodcut reproductions of titles and the *basmala*, Müteferrika used the *thuluth* style (Tk. *sülüs*),⁸⁴ which the Muslim scribes used extensively in headings and titles

82 F. Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print", *Modern Asian Studies*, 27, 1993, 1, p. 239–240.

83 See H. S. AbiFarès, *Arabic Typography: A Comprehensive Sourcebook*, London, 2001, p. 73–77; K. A. Schwartz, "The Official Urge to Simplify Arabic Printing: Introduction to Nadim's 1948 Memo", in Reese (ed.), *Manuscript and Print in the Islamic Tradition*, p. 89–96.

84 Gencer, "İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of Printed Manuscript", p. 168.

(Figs. 3 and 12).⁸⁵ Müteferrika also reproduced with woodcut printing, and in the same *thuluth* style, the phrase “let it be done accordingly” (*mucibince ‘amel oluna*) placed above the text (reproduced with *naskh* type) of Ahmed III’s 1727 *fermān* that granted him the printing privilege, which he reproduced in the front matter of the Vankulu dictionary (Fig. 2). As Radu Dipratu notes, Müteferrika “reproduced a manuscript feature with differentiated script into his printed version of the *fermān*, signaling to readers that this venture was personally approved by the sultan [...]”.⁸⁶

The aim of the visual similarity of the printed versions of the titles, the Islamic invocation and the imperial edict with their traditional manuscript appearance, which Müteferrika was able to achieve not through the typeset but with woodblock engraving, was to obtain the readers’ trust in the books printed with the newly introduced technology. After all, it was a matter of sensitivity on the part of the reading public towards both the contents and the form of the written word and the illustration. Similarly, the titles and invocations of the Arabic books printed by the Medici press in the late 16th century,⁸⁷ as well as those in the Arabic-type Christian texts printed in the 18th and 19th centuries, were also reproduced with woodblock engravings and followed manuscript patterns (Fig. 90).⁸⁸ It is unknown who prepared the woodblocks for Müteferrika. In any case, his or their task was very similar to the task of those who prepared the manuscript-like stone blocks for the lithographical reproduction of Arabic-type texts in the 19th century. They were called “printing calligraphers”,⁸⁹ a definition which may sound paradoxical at first sight, but perfectly corresponds to what Henri-Jean Martin has called “calligraphic typography” (*typographie calligraphique*).⁹⁰ Moreover, calligraphers were

⁸⁵ Osborn, *Letters of Light*, p. 53; Milo, “Arabic Typography”.

⁸⁶ Dipratu, “Ottoman Endorsements of Printing”, p. 56–57.

⁸⁷ Balagna, *L'imprimerie arabe en Occident*, p. 39; [al-Idrisi], *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fi ikhtirāq al-āfāq*; Ibn Sina, *Kitāb al-Qānūn fi al-ṭibb*; [Euclid], *Kitāb Tahrir Uşul li-Üqtidis*.

⁸⁸ See Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, figs. 12, 17, 19, 34, and 44; Petrova, “Toward the History of Arabic Printing in the Orient”, p. 34–35, 37 (figs. 1, 2, and 4); Conidi, *Arabic Types in Europe and the Middle East*, p. 483, 495–496; D. Glass, *Malta, Beirut, Leipzig and Beirut Again: Eli Smith, the American Syria Mission and the Spread of Arabic Typography in 19th Century Lebanon*, Beirut, 1998, plates 3, 4, 5, 9, and 10.

⁸⁹ M. Erken, “Taş Üstüne Yazı Yazmak: Osmanlı’da Matbaa Hattatlığı (1831–1928)” [“Writing on Stone: Printing Calligraphy in the Ottoman Empire (1831–1928)”], *Fatih Sultan Mehmet İlmî Araştırmalar İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Dergisi*, 21, 2023, p. 173–208; A. Başaran, “Reconsidering the Role of Ulema and Scribal Actors in the Ottoman Transition from Manuscript to the Printed Medium”, *Divân*, 28, 2023, 54, p. 98–100.

⁹⁰ H.-J. Martin, *La naissance du livre moderne: Mise en page et mise en texte du livre français (XIV^e–XVII^e siècles)*, Paris, 1999, p. 353; compare with O. Bouquet, “Un ancien régime typographique:

commissioned to create patterns of Arabic letters that were cast afterwards as type-faces by typefounders.⁹¹

For the fonts of the running text, Müteferrika reproduced the *naskh* script,⁹² which maintained its role in the post-Müteferrika Ottoman Turkish book and newspaper production.⁹³ As J. R. Osborn correctly notes, the choices of font “dress a text for an intended audience”, while “styles of script indicate particular uses and different genres of written messages”.⁹⁴ The Qur’ān, in particular, was copied with scripts whose size and appearance were appropriate for its sacredness and glory.⁹⁵ Initially, two major groups of Arabic script – the overtly geometric and bold-shaped Kufic style and the cursive and slimmer *naskh* style – were associated with Qur’ān copying and secular writings for everyday use, respectively.⁹⁶ Subsequently, the *naskh* style also became dominant in copying the Qur’ān.⁹⁷ Therefore, Müteferrika’s choice of a particular style – the *naskh* – among the variety of Arabic scripts is an important issue that has recently received the scholars’ close attention.⁹⁸ Müteferrika’s preference was in a way predetermined. First, it was a dominant style, or, as J. R. Osborn puts it, “*naskh* operated as the Times New Roman of the Ottoman era”.⁹⁹ Second, for the same reason, Müteferrika’s predecessors in Arabic typography, such as the Western printers of Arabic Christian liturgical texts, the Qur’ān or classical Arabic Islamic texts,¹⁰⁰ and the Arabic Christian presses in the

Culture manuscrite, société graphique et ponctuation turque ottomane”, *Annales, Histoire, Sciences sociales*, 67, 2020, 2, p. 88, 99.

91 Başaran, “Reconsidering the Role of Ulema”, p. 94–97.

92 E. İhsanoğlu, H. Aynur, “Yazmadan Basmaya Geçiş: Osmanlı Basma Kitap Geleneğinin Doğuşu (1729–1848)” [“The Transition from Manuscript to Print: The Genesis of the Ottoman Printed Book Tradition (1729–1848)”], *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 22, 2003, p. 251; Osborn, *Letters of Light*, p. 118; Özkal, Yazıcıgil, “Ottoman Typography towards Modernization”, p. 2.

93 See O. Yazıcıgil, “Osmanlı Matbuatının Sekiz Punto Nesih Yazı Karakteri ve Türk Hurufat Yapımcısı Mehmed Emin Efendi” [“The Eight-point Naskh Typeface of the Ottoman Printing Press and the Turkish Typefounder Mehmed Emin Efendi”], *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, 31, 2022, p. 567–602.

94 Osborn, *Letters of Light*, p. 16–17.

95 Osborn, *Letters of Light*, p. 18–19.

96 Osborn, *Letters of Light*, p. 19–20.

97 Osborn, *Letters of Light*, p. 40.

98 See O. Yazıcıgil, “The Genealogy of Ottoman Naskh Typefaces and Their Use in Turkish and Arabic Printing and Publishing from 1729 to 1928”, in T. Nemeth (ed.), *Arabic Typography: History and Practice*, Salenstein, 2023, p. 155–227.

99 Osborn, *Letters of Light*, p. 46, 55.

100 Osborn, *Letters of Light*, p. 87, 92; Conidi, *Arabic Types in Europe and the Middle East*, p. 405; Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, 111 B 9 ([Euclid], *Kitāb Taḥrīr Uṣūl li-Ūqlīdis*); NLS, OCD, O II 160 (Ibn Sina, *Kitāb al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*).

Romanian Principalities and the Middle East had already applied the same script.¹⁰¹ Even though, as J. R. Osborn remarks, “when applied to Arabic text, movable type was unable to replicate the expected form of literate and scribal *naskh*”.¹⁰² As the scholars of Arabic typography note, the Arabic typefaces that were used either in Europe or in the Middle East had a specific “foreign” or “European” appearance (due to the European background of their personnel).¹⁰³ Thomas Milo calls these typefaces “Eurabic”.¹⁰⁴

In his 1726 treatise on the means of printing, Müteferrika referred to the Western printed publications of Arabic Islamic texts as being unwelcome in the Islamic world not only for the numerous typos and grammatical errors they contained but also for using the so-called “*Maghribī* script” (*Mağrib ḥaṭṭı*).¹⁰⁵ The type used by Paganino and Alessandro Paganini to print the Qur’ān in 1537–1538 also resembled the manuscript *Maghribī* style.¹⁰⁶ Müteferrika referred to this Arabic script variety, popular in the Maghreb, i.e., the Western part of the Arab world (Morocco and Andalusia), which had extended horizontal features and had evolved from the angular Kufic script. It was distinct from the script varieties widely used in the Middle East and known as *Mashriqī* (i.e., Eastern) – *naskh* and *thuluth*.¹⁰⁷ It was the *Maghribī* script that was first used in printing, not only because of the geographical closeness between its area of application and that of the first presses in Western Europe to print with Arabic type, but perhaps also because its distinct horizontal appearance was more suitable for linear typesetting (Figs. 91 and 94). However, it did not meet the aesthetic requirements of the local population in the Middle East. Referring to the specific Arabic script rules, Carsten Niebuhr, who travelled to Istanbul and then to Egypt and Yemen in the 1760s, described this situation in the following way:

101 Conidi, *Arabic Types in Europe and the Middle East*, p. 495.

102 Compare Osborn, *Letters of Light*, p. 101.

103 Conidi, *Arabic Types in Europe and the Middle East*, p. 7, 485.

104 T. Milo, “Arabic vs. Eurabic – Part 1: The Role of Dutch Arabic Typography in Middle Eastern Printing”, unpublished paper presented at the *AtypI* Conference, Reykjavik, September 14–18, 2011, https://www.academia.edu/1817385/Arabic_vs_Eurabic_Part_1_The_r%C3%B4le_of_Dutch_Arabic_Typography_in_Middle_Eastern_Printing (accessed on July 12, 2024).

105 al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şihâh-ı Cevherî*, Vol. 1, f. [7v]; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 356.

106 Conidi, *Arabic Types in Europe and the Middle East*, p. 269.

107 See N. van den Boogert, “Some Notes on Maghribi Script”, *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, 4, 1989, p. 30–43; U. Bongianino, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West: Maghribi Round Scripts and the Andalusi Identity*, Edinburgh, 2022.

There are no printers here, and the Muslims are unlikely to introduce them any time soon. Not, as Europeans are inclined to say, because the priests and scribes, who stab each other in the back, are against it, but because the letters hanging together, placed one above the other and intertwined, look much more beautiful when they are well written than when they are printed. Especially when the Arab printers are no more competent than those we have in Europe. I have shown printed books to Arabs from the East, but they have found them hard to read. That is why the printing press of Ibrahim Effendi was soon established in Constantinople.¹⁰⁸

Indeed, contemporary Western sources underlined the superior typographic quality of the Müteferrika publications. On May 8, 1728, *Mercurii Relation* communicated a report from Vienna, dated April 24, 1728, conveying that the editors had “received a sheet from the newly established printing press in Constantinople, which is widely admired for the purity of the paper and the letters”.¹⁰⁹ In 1729, Bachstrom brought to Kundmann several specimen pages of the Vankulu dictionary, at that time still in print, which demonstrated a good typographic quality.¹¹⁰

The post-Müteferrika printers were allegedly incapable of achieving this quality during the second half of the 18th century. In November 1784, Giambattista Toderini, while visiting the printing press of Mehmed Raşid and Ahmed Vasif, who used the presses and the type of the Müteferrika press, saw that the fonts cast in the Müteferrika period were already deformed, so new fonts were cast, but they were not as beautiful as the old ones.¹¹¹ It seems that this was precisely why, as Ahmed Cevdet notes, the publications of Mehmed Raşid and Ahmed Vasif were not “errorless and clean like the printed books of the first printer İbrahim Müteferrika”.¹¹²

In the early 19th century, the French Orientalist Louis-Mathieu Langlès noted that “the Arabic characters, executed by the care of the same Ibrahim, imitate writing very well, although they have limited themselves to the absolutely indispensable ligatures, so as not to make the [typesetter’s] case too large”.¹¹³ As Osborn states, Müteferrika and his Jewish typesetter Yona attempted to create a *naskh* typeface that was as close as possible to the Ottoman scribal *naskh*. “Although European types – Osborn claims – often included variants for select letters, the Müteferrika typeface displays contextual and variant forms unlike any Arabic types

108 C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Kopenhagen, 1772, p. 215–216; compare with Koloğlu, *Basımevi ve Basının Gecikme Sebepleri*, p. 42.

109 *Mercurii Relation*, 19, May 8, 1728, p. 2.

110 Kundmann, *Rariora naturae et artis*, col. 712–714; compare with Babinski, *World Literature in Practice*, p. 389.

111 Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 226–227.

112 Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Vol. 1, p. 76.

113 Langlès (ed.), *Diatribes de l'ingénieur Séid Moustapha*, p. 11.

previously cast in Europe or elsewhere”.¹¹⁴ Echoing this observation, Özlem Özkal and Onur Yazıcıgil note that “its internal skeleton conforms to the script grammar that could be observed in the manuscripts”.¹¹⁵ According to Emanuela Conidi, the same approach was applied in the Arabic typeface of the Aleppo press (1706–1711), which was similar to the *naskh* style used by the Syrian Christian copyists.¹¹⁶ Conidi underlines also the close connection between the Müteferrika typeface and the manuscript tradition in the Middle East:

Despite exhibiting flaws in its technical execution, Müteferrika's typography reflects the influence of direct contact with Islamic writing culture (e.g. access to script expertise and Ottoman calligraphy), achieving a superior quality than earlier Arabic type from Europe. However, his contribution went well beyond the accomplishment of his type, representing a turning point for the development of indigenous Arabic typography.¹¹⁷

Given the remarks above, one may compare two different publications of one and the same text, namely, Ibn Arabshah's work titled *'Ajā'ib al-maqdūr fi navāib-i Tīmūr* (*The Wonders of Destiny Concerning the Calamities Generated by Tamerlane*). It was first printed in Arabic script in Leiden in 1636,¹¹⁸ and then by Müteferrika in 1730.¹¹⁹ Indeed, the comparison between the designs of the Arabic script of the two publications reveals that Müteferrika's typeface differed from the Western one (*Maghribī* script) and was much closer to the manuscript styles spread in the Levant (Figs. 91 and 92). One may also easily notice that the typeface used in the Arabic-type books printed in the Romanian Principalities in the early 18th century resemble the typeface of Western publications, the Leiden publication of Ibn Arabshah included (Figs. 90 and 91). When the Bucharest and Snagov publications of Arabic liturgical texts (Fig. 90) are juxtaposed with such texts printed later in Aleppo or Beirut, it indeed appears – as Emanuela Conidi states – that the design of the Arabic typeface used in Aleppo followed the manuscript letter style in the Middle East.

It seems, however, that the superior typographic quality demonstrated by the Müteferrika publications did not fully satisfy book lovers. Titus Nemeth makes the following point:

114 Osborn, *Letters of Light*, p. 118.

115 Özkal, Yazıcıgil, “Ottoman Typography towards Modernization”, p. 2.

116 Conidi, *Arabic Types in Europe and the Middle East*, p. 495.

117 E. Conidi, “An Approach to the Study of Arabic Foundry Type”, in Nemeth (ed.), *Arabic Typography*, p. 515–523.

118 Ibn Arabshah, *Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-maqdūr fi akhbār Tīmūr*.

119 Ibn Arabshah, *Tārīḥ-i Tīmūr Gürkân li-Nazmizāde Efendi*.

Although Müteferrika's typography was significantly better than any Arabic letterpress print that had been produced before, it remained far removed from the aesthetic norms of Ottoman manuscript practice. The column is too wide, interlinear space is insufficient, lines are poorly aligned, individual letterforms lack definition, and numerous sorts are smudged with ink. In combination these aspects result in overly dense, dark, and cluttered pages, and the text gives a patchy, irregular impression that does not invite to read. Comparing Müteferrika's edition to a contemporaneous manuscript shows that the type lacks the even rhythm, has none of the forward-leaning dynamism, and, crucially, is significantly less clear than the handwritten text.¹²⁰

Özlem Özkal and Onur Yazıcıgil also note that the calligraphic quality of the Müteferrika publications “might be poor due to the inconsistency or rather the lack of stroke modulation”, although their typeface design conformed to Arabic script grammar.¹²¹ Similar observations were already made some two centuries ago. François Baron de Tott (1733–1793) relates that the Müteferrika press could not prove perfection in “liaisons”, it was held in contempt, and İbrahim closed the print shop.¹²² By “liaisons”, François de Tott must have meant the connections between Arabic letters and their fusion in letter blocks, which were always problematic in printing with movable type. In the middle of the 19th century, Jean-Henri-Abdolonyme Ubicini (1818–1884) also drew attention to that problem, especially in terms of the competition with the calligraphically copied manuscripts.¹²³ It was not until 1797 that the Ottoman Armenian typesetter Araboğlu Bogos/Boghos Arabyan (1742–1835) cast new *naskh* type for the Mühendishane press to replace the worn out Müteferrika's type. Arabyan's typeface was considered by contemporaries “equal to the quality of fine writing”.¹²⁴ Only in 1866, however, another Ottoman Armenian typesetter, Mühendisöğlü Ohannes/Hovhannes Mühendisyan (1810–1891), succeeded in reproducing the *naskh* style according to “the demanding standards of the Islamic calligraphic tradition”,¹²⁵ thus becoming known as the Gutenberg of the East.¹²⁶ His typeface was based on the handwriting style of the prominent Ottoman statesman and calligrapher Mustafa İzzet Efendi (1801–1876) and – as Özkal and

120 T. Nemeth, “Overlooked: The Role of Craft in the Adoption of Typography in the Muslim Middle East”, in Reese (ed.), *Manuscript and Print in the Islamic Tradition*, p. 38.

121 Özkal, Yazıcıgil, “Ottoman Typography towards Modernization”, p. 2.

122 F. de Tott, *Mémoires du Baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tartares: Nouvelle édition revue, corrigée & augmentée*, Part 1, Maastricht, 1786, p. 118.

123 J.-H. A. Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie ou tableau statistique, religieux, politique, administratif, militaire, commercial, etc. de l'Empire ottoman, depuis le Khatti-Cherif de Gulhané (1839)*, Part 1: *Les Ottomans*, Paris, 1853, p. 245.

124 Yazıcıgil, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Nesih Hattının Tipografik Evrimi*, p. 141–142; Özkal, Yazıcıgil, “Ottoman Typography towards Modernization”, p. 3.

125 Milo, “Arabic Script and Typography”, p. 122.

126 Yazıcıgil, “Osmanlı Matbuatının Sekiz Punto Nesih Yazı Karakteri”, p. 570–571 (n. 8).

Yazıcıgil assert – “displayed an unprecedented quality of stroke modulation, elegance of letterform and adherence to the script grammar that surpassed the previous models”. However, his design required more letterforms and proved too expensive for most printers. Therefore, he developed a new hybrid system that combined linear and cascading connection of letters, which became more applicable.¹²⁷ Even so, as Lucy Garnett (1849–1934) reports, by the end of the 19th century Turks still preferred the elegantly written manuscripts to the printed books, and so, the practice of copying manuscripts remained widespread.¹²⁸ As Nadia Al-Bagdadi puts it,

The persistence of manuscript culture throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has to be read as tangible manifestation of one of the special aspects of the Arabic book, namely its irreproducible *aura* [...] An aura that stemmed from the aesthetic dimensions of the book, which derived from the Arabic style of cursive handwriting, the art of calligraphy and ornamentation, as well as from the quality of the materials used for a book, the paper and the leather for binding it.¹²⁹

Al-Bagdadi concludes that “with the introduction of printing in the early eighteenth century, specific characteristics of the Arabic book, namely, the aura of the book, slowly began to disappear”.¹³⁰ Indeed, although Müteferrika succeeded in printing books with a typeface that was much more legible and pleasing than that of previous Western publications of Arabic-type texts, the liaisons between the letters in the books he printed were not always perfect, and sometimes the connection is visually missing, probably because of the uncontrollable shifting of the sorts during the repeated pressure. This imperfection is much more visible in his later publications, when the type seems slightly spoiled. Similarly, Müteferrika was not completely successful in reproducing the one text in Latin script that he ever printed and was not able to satisfy the standards of European printing. In the preface to the *Grammaire turque*, Holderman explains that the Latin type was cast in Istanbul especially for this publication by “people who did not know French”. Therefore – he admitted – “in spite of the care we took to observe everything, we were not able to produce this work in perfection”.¹³¹ The Marquis de Villeneuve, the French ambas-

127 Özkal, Yazıcıgil, “Ottoman Typography towards Modernization”, p. 4–8.

128 Quoted after Erdem, “Sahhaflar ve Seyyahlar: Osmanlı’da Kitapçılık”, p. 728; see also E. Sezer-Aydınlı, *A Manuscript Community in Ottoman Istanbul (18th–19th Centuries): Heroic Stories, Social Profiles, and Reading Space*, Berlin, 2022 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis).

129 Al-Bagdadi, “From Heaven to Dust”, p. 89.

130 Al-Bagdadi, “From Heaven to Dust”, p. 104.

131 Holderman, *Grammaire turque*, f. [4v].

sador at the time, also noted the poor quality of the locally produced Latin letters.¹³² Langlès was equally disappointed, stating that that “the Roman characters, which do not even have italics, are not comparable to the Turkish or rather Arabic characters executed by the care of the same Ibrahim”.¹³³ In a recent article, Olivier Bouquet pointed out the misalignment of Latin characters in the *Grammaire turque*.¹³⁴ It is not surprising, therefore, that an errata table was added at the end of the book.¹³⁵ The only other occasions when similar errata tables were included were the first two Müteferrika publications, in whose preparation the typesetters obviously experienced difficulties, as they were entering a new field of work – printing in Arabic script.

As already explained, the Arabic script rules were a challenge for printing in Arabic, which turned out to be a difficult task and, in a sense, an impractical endeavor, first, because it required many more letterforms than other scripts, and second, because these forms needed to be perfectly connected to each other not only horizontally, but also vertically.¹³⁶ As a consequence, the typesetting process took much longer and, on top of it, the result was not always satisfactory, thus leaving little room for the claim that printing is a better way of duplicating texts than copying by hand. Undoubtedly, calligraphy was a supreme Islamic art¹³⁷ that made the successful introduction of printing technology to the Islamic world a hard task. When lithography was introduced to the Muslim readership in the 19th century, it proved to be much more satisfying on aesthetic grounds.¹³⁸ In any case, Müteferrika did his best to overcome the typographic challenges of the cursive Arabic script and also pursued his readers' and customers' appreciation by sticking to the traditional manuscript layout.

4.2.2 Müteferrika's Layout Experiments

As Kalin Yanakiev stated, manuscripts were seen as a combination of two equally important elements: the text and its “body”, i.e., the codex. The latter was perceived

132 Kunalalp (ed.), *Les Rapports de Louis-Sauveur Marquis de Villeneuve*, Vol. 1, p. 446–449; Dipratu, “French Ambassador Marquis de Villeneuve”.

133 Langlès (ed.), *Diatribes de l'ingénieur Séid Moustapha*, p. 10–11.

134 Bouquet, “Un ancien régime typographique”, p. 92–93.

135 Holderman, *Grammaire turque*, p. [201–202].

136 AbiFarès, *Arabic Typography*, p. 94–95; W. Chappell, *A Short History of the Printed Word*, London, 1972, p. 38; Bouquet, “Un ancien régime typographique”, p. 99–103.

137 See U. Derman, N. M. Çetin (eds.), *The Art of Calligraphy in the Islamic Heritage*, Istanbul, 1998.

138 See Robinson, “Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print”.

as the “home” of the written word. Medieval scribes paid attention not only to the content of the text, but also to its form. For them, letters were not merely graphic signs through which knowledge and ideas are conveyed, but also “a plastic structure and a monument” to be modelled. Moreover, the setting in which the text resided had to have architectural features, obtained by placing, in the front matter, a frontispiece with a representation of arches and columns. In this way, the written word received a “shelter” and a “home”. On the other hand, the arch illuminated on the frontispiece served symbolically as a “gate” or an “entryway” to the contents of the codex. In other words, manuscript illumination had not only an aesthetic meaning but also a philosophical meaning.¹³⁹

The same was true of the Islamic manuscript tradition.¹⁴⁰ Handwritten texts were usually framed with borders and “roofed” with a decorative headpiece whose shape resembled the ornate gateways of the monumental public buildings in the Islamic world.¹⁴¹ The written word was comfortably settled in its “home” and thus visually perceived by the one who held its medium, the codex. This headpiece decoration invited the reader to enter the world of the written word just as the faithful Muslim enters the courtyard of a mosque through its gateway. Likewise, the shape of many headpieces resembled the design of the plastered and painted decoration on the top of the *mihrāb* niches in mosques, oriented towards the Qibla. Therefore, in the traditional Islamic illumination (*tezhib*), the headpieces were called *sarlawh* (Tk. *serlevha*), *‘unwān* (Tk. *‘unvān*),¹⁴² or *mihrābiye*.¹⁴³

How did İbrahim Müteferrika attempt to adhere to the manuscript layout through typographic means? As Yasemin Gencer notes, the first three Müteferrika publications were “rather Spartan in appearance”.¹⁴⁴ They did not have highlighted

139 See K. Yanakiev, “Средновековната книга като ‘дом’ на словото” [“The Medieval Book as the ‘Home’ of the Word”], *Filosofski pregled*, 3, 1991, p. 92–101; see also D. A. Bland, *History of Book Illustration: The Illuminated Manuscript and the Printed Book*, London, 1958; C. de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, Boston, 1986; J. J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work*, New Haven/London, 1992.

140 See D. Diringier, *The Book before Printing: Ancient, Medieval and Oriental*, New York, 1982.

141 See D. Hill, O. Grabar, *Islamic Architecture and Its Decoration A. D. 800–1500*, London, 1967, p. 83; R. H. Ünal, *Osmanlı Öncesi Anadolu-Türk Mimarisinde Taçkapılar [Gates in Pre-Ottoman Anatolian-Turkish Architecture]*, Izmir, 1982; Ş. Çakmak, *Erken Dönem Osmanlı Mimarisinde Taçkapılar (1300–1500) [Gates in Early Ottoman Architecture (1300–1500)]*, Ankara, 2001.

142 Déroche (ed.), *Manuel de codicologie*, p. 246; F. Déroche, *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script*, London, 2006, p. 239.

143 F. Rukancı, “Yazma Eserlerde Fiziksel Niteleme” [“The Physical Description of Manuscripts”], *Erdem*, 63, 2012, p. 186.

144 Gencer, “İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of Printed Manuscript”, p. 172.

standalone titles.¹⁴⁵ Instead, Müteferrika mentioned the titles either in the prefaces he personally composed, or in the applications he submitted in order to obtain a printing permission. The lack of a standalone title certainly made it difficult for the potential buyers to know exactly which book they were buying. Müteferrika's initial practice of mentioning the title in the preface was not a very marketable approach when offering multiple copies of the same work through the medium of print. In fact, he may have been thinking of placing standalone titles, as he left some space at the top of the opening pages of his first three publications (Figs. 3, 5, and 11). It can be assumed that, for some reason, he did not have the title woodcuts ready in time to place them as presumably intended and therefore had no choice but to leave these spaces blank.

If this was not originally intended, the inertia of the scribal culture may have come into play here. In the manuscript age, you either copied a particular work yourself, hired a scribe, or simply bought it from a bookseller. In this case, there was usually no need to clearly identify the text by title and/or author. The user/owner of the manuscript copy was specific enough, and the copied text was identified either by oral tradition, memory, or by the additional insertion of the title and/or author's name somewhere in the copy – either on the first or opening page, or on one of the three edges of the codex. In book printing, however, a particular printed text was marketed and distributed in multiple copies, and the customer/end-user was *a priori* unknown, anonymous. This new type of printer-book-reader relationship required a greater degree of clear and unambiguous identification of the text, which was subject to a mass type of book exchange. As McLuhan remarked, “we shall see that just as print was the first mass-produced thing, so it was the first uniform and repeatable ‘commodity’”.¹⁴⁶ The printed book now needed a title, just as the mass-produced commodity needed a label, so that the buyer could identify it.

Müteferrika seems to have recognized this, and his fourth and following publications have a woodcut title placed above the text on the opening page. This gave his publications a recognizable label in the book market. The initial omission of the title may have been due to his inexperience or enthusiasm, and thus certain details, though essential, such as the title, escaped his notice. Indeed, the first three publications were prepared for printing at the same time (they were published between January 31 and August 26, 1729) and it was only in the fourth book (released between March 29 and April 7, 1730), printed under calmer circumstances, that this deficiency was corrected. This omission is also puzzling because there was already a model – the publications of the Medici press, which not only had standalone titles,

145 İhsanoğlu, Aynur, “Yazmadan Basmaya Geçiş”, p. 234–235.

146 McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, p. 125.

but even title pages on which titles and authors' names appear. It is unclear why Müteferrika did not follow this model from the outset. Instead, he followed the tortuous path of endless visual experimentation. Perhaps he was afraid to introduce such a radical change in the layout of printed texts, which could have caused a kind of cultural shock in the readers' minds and book lovers accustomed to the manuscript tradition.

The style of the standalone titles in his fourth and following publications, together with the *basimala* formula, developed, according to Gencer, from a "rather bland" to "a more fluid and detailed one", following "the general trend of the press moving toward producing more elaborate and aesthetically pleasing books" (Figs. 79 and 88).¹⁴⁷ However, this process was not consistent and did not follow a one-way path. The first two publications had printed borders on the pages that present the main text – while pages containing additional texts such as prefaces, tables of contents and errata, etc., did not – whereas the following publications do not have such borders and look even more "Spartan". The statement in Müteferrika's property inventory that the unbound copies of his publications found at his death were without borders indicates that such borders were drawn by hand, as is evident in some of the surviving copies,¹⁴⁸ either before they were placed on the book market¹⁴⁹ or after they were purchased by end-users. Only the first two Müteferrika publications had printed borders, and those who recorded these copies apparently expected the copies of the remaining publications to have similar borders as well. The typographic reproduction of such borders or lines seems to have presented Müteferrika with some difficulties, as is evident in the printed edition of Kâtib Çelebi's *Takvîmü't-tevârih*, or *Chronological Tables*. In its manuscript reproductions, the texts describing individual events are usually inserted in boxes and tables, as the title of the work suggests.¹⁵⁰ In Müteferrika's printed version, however, the text is continuous and only two pages contain tables.¹⁵¹ This arrangement can be considered less practical than that of the manuscript copies, since it did not make it easier and quicker for the end-users to find certain events and the corresponding years in which they were interested in or wished to consult. This less than practical arrangement may also have had a negative impact on sales of this publication.

¹⁴⁷ Gencer, "İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of Printed Manuscript", p. 172.

¹⁴⁸ Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, Ankara, B/586.

¹⁴⁹ See Karahasanoğlu, "Osmanlı Matbaasının Başarısını", p. 322.

¹⁵⁰ See Başar, *Kâtip Çelebi'nin Takvîmü't-Tevârih'i*, p. 285–310.

¹⁵¹ Kâtib Çelebi, *Takvîmü't-tevârih*, p. 11, 26.

Equally, the first seven publications do not have decorative headpieces on the opening page. As mentioned above, the space at the top of these pages, which was left blank either to fill in the title or simply to follow the manuscript layout, allowed customers to commission the illumination of a headpiece (Fig. 3). Many surviving copies have such headpieces additionally drawn by hand in the style of the traditional illumination.¹⁵² As Jan Just Witkam notes in a similar case involving the reproduction of the Qur'ān by using mixed media, lithography and hand illumination, “though printed, it gives it the outward appearance of a handwritten book”.¹⁵³ The copy of the Vankulu edition preserved in the National Library in Sofia, bought directly from the Müteferrika press by El-Hac Mehmed bin Ago Mustafa es-Samakovi in 1143/1730–1731, was subsequently illuminated with a headpiece and gold-plated borders on the first pages that present the preface and the imperial edict, as well as on the opening page of the main text (Fig. 3).¹⁵⁴ Later handmade decorations can also be seen in other preserved copies of the Müteferrika publications.¹⁵⁵ The eighth publication, *Grammaire turque*, had a Western style layout, with a title page and decorative elements such as headpieces and vignettes (Fig. 34).¹⁵⁶ As for the ninth publication, *Uşûlü'l-ḥikem*, published in 1732, i.e., three years after the first publication, Müteferrika started by placing a decorative woodcut-engraved headpiece on the opening page, thereby doing his best to follow the tradition of Oriental manuscript illumination and please the aesthetic taste of his customers (Fig. 35).¹⁵⁷ In doing so, he apparently tried to overcome *ad hoc* some of the shortcomings of his earlier publications.

The design of the woodcut headpiece introduced in the *Uşûlü'l-ḥikem* (Fig. 35) was used also in the *Aḥvâl-i ğazavât der diyâr-ı Bosna* (Fig. 86). A slightly different variant of this headpiece was used in the *Füyûzât-ı Miḳnâtısiye* (Fig. 36). In the two

152 See Ç. Derman, “Osmanlılarda Tezhip Sanatı” [“Illumination Art of the Ottomans”], in E. İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Osmanlı Devleti ve Medeniyeti Tarihi*, Vol. 2, Istanbul, 1998, p. 487–491; Z. Tanındı, “Osmanlı Sanatında Tezhip” [“Illumination in Ottoman Art”], in G. Eren (ed.), *Osmanlı*, Vol. 11, Ankara, 1999, p. 120–125; H. Aksu, “Türk Tezhib Sanatının Süsleme Unsurları” [“Decorative Elements of Turkish Illumination Art”], in G. Eren (ed.), *Osmanlı*, Vol. 11, Ankara, 1999, p. 131–145.

153 J. J. Witkam, “A Qur'ān of Mixed Media: Tabriz 1258 (1842–1843)”, *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, 3, 2012, p. 235.

154 NLS, OCD, O II 175.

155 IRCICA Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, 962/SÜ.T.

156 İhsanoğlu, Aynur, “Yazmadan Basmaya Geçiş”, p. 237; Gencer, “İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of Printed Manuscript”, p. 172, 175.

157 İhsanoğlu, Aynur, “Yazmadan Basmaya Geçiş”, p. 235; M. A. Akkaya, *Türk Beşikdevri Basmalarında Yazma Kitap Geleneğinin Etkileri ve İç Kapağın Gelişimi* [The Impact of the Manuscript Book Tradition on Turkish Incunabula and the Development of the Front Matter], Istanbul, 2003 (unpublished M.A. thesis), p. 118.

designs, the title of the book was inserted in the headpiece. The format of these three books was in-4°, and this was probably the practical reason for using the same or a similar woodcut headpiece matrix. In the *Cihānnümā*, the *Histories* of Na'ima, Raşid, and Küçükçelebizade, and the last book, *Lisānü'l-'Acem*, Müteferrika used another design, the same for all four books (Figs. 37, 83, 85, and 88). The design of these three variants was of the *mihrābiye* type. In the *Takvīmü't-tevārīh* he used a fourth design, differing from the other ones (Fig. 78). In particular, its resemblance to the shape of the arch of the gate leading to the central courtyard of the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul (Fig. 93) testifies to the functional similarity – as already discussed – between the decorative headpieces on the opening pages of the text body and the richly decorated arches of Muslim shrines. In the last two designs, the title is placed beneath the headpiece. Like the *basmala* formula, these printed headpieces attest to Müteferrika's adherence to the scribal tradition. They were also visual elements with more or less religious connotations, although he and his partner Said Efendi were not allowed to print religious texts. However, as in the case of the *mihrābiye* niches in some private residences,¹⁵⁸ their aesthetic significance prevailed. Another visual element with an explicit religious connotation is included in one of the charts appended to the printed edition of Kātib Çelebi's *Cihānnümā*. The chart contains a schematic representation of a minaret (Fig. 40)¹⁵⁹ and illustrates a section of Kātib Çelebi's text where the minaret is not mentioned as a religiously associated architectural element but because of its extreme height, which makes it possible to demonstrate the sphericity of the Earth by means of various experiments.¹⁶⁰ As known, minarets were the tallest architectural structures in the Islamic world at the time.

In some copies of the Müteferrika publications, the black-and-white printed headpieces were additionally colored by hand, apparently at the initiative of their owners (Figs. 37 and 88).¹⁶¹ Standalone maps, as well as maps and charts included in books, became also subject of additional coloring by hand. Therefore, the surviving copies of the same book, map, or chart are either black and white as originally

¹⁵⁸ See İ. H. Karabulut, "Mardin Evlerinde Mihrabiye Formlu İki Niş" ["Two Niches with Mihrabiye Form in Mardin Houses"], *Artuklu İnsan ve Toplum Bilim Dergisi*, 6, 2021, 2, p. 88–108.

¹⁵⁹ Kātib Çelebi, *Kitāb-ı Cihānnümā*, between p. 19 and 20.

¹⁶⁰ Kātib Çelebi, *Kitāb-ı Cihānnümā*, p. 21; Hagen, Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography*, p. 48–49.

¹⁶¹ NLS, OCD, O II 159 (*Kitāb-ı Cihānnümā*), p. 1; O II 150a (*Tārīh-i Rāşid Efendî*), f. 1v; O II 17 (*Lisānü'l-'Acem*), f. 1v–2r; IRCICA Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, 491/5539435/FA; Oxford University, Bodleian Library, Vet.Or.c.Turk.3 (*Kitāb-ı Cihānnümā*); İhsanoğlu, Aynur, "Yazmadan Basmaya Geçiş", p. 224–227.

printed (Fig. 9),¹⁶² or additionally colored.¹⁶³ Even in the same copy some maps and charts could be colored by hand, while other left in black and white.¹⁶⁴ The same is true also for the woodcut illustrations of the *Tārīhü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî*. In some copies they were left uncolored,¹⁶⁵ while in other copies they were additionally colored by hand.¹⁶⁶ In his publications, Müteferrika did not use red ink to highlight headings, subheadings, and invocations, as was done in some Arabic Christian books (Fig. 90). An article published in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* in 1848 claimed that a copy of Holderman's Turkish grammar "with each leaf of a different color is still in existence".¹⁶⁷ As all Müteferrika's books were printed with black ink only, this claim may not have referred to the color of the printed text, but to the color of the paper. In fact, the bodies of some surviving copies consist of leaves of various color hues, such as yellowish, greenish, and even light purple.¹⁶⁸

Except for the French manual *Grammaire turque*, the main text of all Müteferrika publications ends not only with the colophon (*hâtime*) composed by the author of the text himself, as reproduced from the manuscript copy, but also with a printer's colophon. Sticking to scribal practice again,¹⁶⁹ both printed colophons imitate the triangular or the inverted pyramid form of the manuscript ones (*cul-de-lampe*) by progressively narrowing the line of justification (Fig. 4). As was the case with 15th-century European incunabula, these printed colophons, whose contents were

162 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Kart. C 6857 (map of Egypt); NLS, OCD, O II 127 (map of the Gulf of Venice and the Adriatic Sea), O II 159 (*Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ*); Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Res/2 A.or.371 (*Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ*); Széchényi National Library Budapest, Manuscripts Reading Room and Early Printed Books Archive, App. H. 3142 (*Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ*). See also F. Özdemir, "The Use of Pictures in Printed Books in the First Turkish Printing House", *Asian Journal of Arts, Culture and Tourism*, 3, 2021, 2, p. 32, 41.

163 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Diez A fol. 58, f. 5r (map of Egypt); Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, ALB Port 249,2 (map of Iran); Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, Ankara, H/0319 (map of the Gulf of Venice and the Adriatic Sea); Széchényi National Library Budapest, Manuscripts Reading Room and Early Printed Books Archive, App. H. 3150 (*Tuhfetü'l-kibâr*); Özdemir, "The Use of Pictures in Printed Books", p. 32, 35, 38, 41.

164 British Library, London, Asia, Pacific & Africa Department, Or.80.a.10 (*Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ*); Princeton University, Firestone Library, Rare Books Division, 2070.46.349q (*Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ*).

165 NLS, OCD, O 336 (*Tārīhü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî*).

166 Gencer, "İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of Printed Manuscript", p. 177, 185 (Indiana University, Lilly Library, DR 403.M825).

167 *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, New Series, 9, 1848, 211, p. 44.

168 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, 29870-C; Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, Ankara, A II/1216, B/586.

169 See R. Şeşen, "Esquisse d'une histoire du développement des colophons dans les manuscrits musulmans", in F. Déroche, F. Richard (eds.), *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, Paris, 1997, p. 189–221; Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, p. 180.

already discussed in the previous chapters, indicate where and when the edition was published, as well as the printing press or the printer. Although the main text was in Ottoman Turkish, the printer's colophons were inserted in the Arabic language.¹⁷⁰ Given the fact that the titles of the Müteferrika publications were mostly in Arabic and sometimes partly in Persian, and the colophons also in Arabic, one can suggest that this approach gave the publications, which otherwise contained texts in Ottoman Turkish, a framework that also made them look like a typical manuscript not only in terms of their visual but also their "linguistic" appearance.

In some of the latest publications, these colophons coexist with quasi-title pages. Such pages, inserted in the *Histories* of Raşid and Küçükçelebizade (Fig. 82) and Hasan Şu'uri's Persian-Turkish dictionary (Fig. 87), were Müteferrika's last layout innovation. However, these pages can only be provisionally regarded as "title" pages, because they do not contain the author's name and the title of his work. The title itself appears on the opening page of the main text, as in the Islamic manuscript tradition, where the title often appeared on the recto of the first leaf, but also on its verso – the opening page – as part of a decorative frieze. However, it is not always visible, and only the *basmala* invocation appears on the opening page.¹⁷¹ In many cases, the title or the name of the author was written on one of the three edges of the codices rather than on their spine because they were usually placed on shelves not vertically but horizontally, one over another, forming a pile. This practice, which is very similar to the pictorial painting on the edges of some books in early modern Western Europe, made it possible to identify the books when searching for them.

Instead of these primary features of the title page, Müteferrika placed on these quasi-title pages the eloquent titles (*elkâb*) describing the virtues and qualities of the sultan, grand vizier, and grand mufti, separately inserted in three circles that form a pyramidal composition, with one circle resting on the other two. He also placed at the top of the page the statement that "this noble copy was printed by imperial decree" (*ṭubi'at hazi-hi al-nuşḥati'ş-şerife fi 'ahd-ı hümayün*), and the place and year of publication at the bottom. It is fair to ask why Müteferrika did this. While the real title page has the function of identifying the text and its author, in this case the aim seems to have been different. This quasi-title page was not intended to tell potential customers and readers who the author was, or what the work was about, but to inform them that the printing of this book had been authorized by high decree. The impression remains that Müteferrika's main aim in introducing such a page was to boost the readers' confidence in his latest publications, which were not selling

170 İhsanoğlu, Aynur, "Yazmadan Basmaya Geçiş", p. 247–248.

171 Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, p. 311, 317.

as well as he would have liked. In fact, in inventing the circular design of this quasi-title page, Müteferrika seems to have followed the popular model of the so-called *hilye-i şerîf*. This was either a text or a calligraphic tablet describing the virtues and qualities of Prophet Muhammad. In the artistic model created by the renowned Ottoman calligrapher Hafız Osman (d. 1698), Muhammad's virtues were placed in a large central circle accompanied by four smaller circles, containing the names of his four so-called Rashidun khalifs. Müteferrika even imitated the small floral motifs that divided the eloquent phrases describing each virtue (Figs. 82 and 84).¹⁷²

Müteferrika's innovation was continued by the following generations of printers. His rather unusual woodcut quasi-title page was used once again in the second edition of the Vankulu dictionary published in 1169–1170/1756, i.e., after Müteferrika's death, by his successors in the printing venture Kadi İbrahim Efendi and Kadi Ahmed Efendi.¹⁷³ A similar, but not identical layout can be seen in the output of the following printing press, run by Mehmed Raşid and Ahmed Vasif in the late 18th century by means of Müteferrika's printing equipment. Although the *elkâbs* were not placed in circular shapes, they still had distinct rhomboid (*baklava*), hexagonal, or tree-like shapes, which were highlighted by additional manuscript framing.¹⁷⁴

According to Yasemin Gencer, the Müteferrika publications followed “a shaky yet clear path not away from the manuscript form but toward it”.¹⁷⁵ However, it was just partly true because Müteferrika's layout experiments went in both directions. Some clung to manuscript tradition, while others moved toward a print culture. He placed printed borders in the first two publications and then he stopped doing so. On the other hand, in the fourth and following publications he introduced stand-alone titles not on a separate title page but on the opening page of the main text, and in the ninth and the following publications he introduced woodcut decorative headpieces. Except for the *Grammaire turque*, all the other publications lack real title pages. However, the fourteenth and the last, sixteenth, publications present

172 See M. U. Derman, “Hilye–Hat”, in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 18, İstanbul, 1998, p. 47–51.

173 al-Jawhari, *Luğat-ı Vankülü*, Vol.1, İstanbul, 1169/1756; Kut, Türe (eds.), *Yazmadan Basmaya*, p. 70.

174 Kut, Türe (eds.), *Yazmadan Basmaya*, p. 73, 76, 78, 80, 85; B. Yaman, K. Gündüz, “İbrahim Müteferrika Matbaası'nda Basılan Eserlerin Kitap Sanatları Açısından İncelenmesi” [“A Study of the Works Printed in İbrahim Müteferrika's Printing Press in Light of Book Arts”], *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 9, 2014, 10, p. 1148–1149; K. Gündüz, 18. *Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti'nde Basılan Eserlerin Kitap Sanatları Bakımından İncelenmesi* [A Study of the Works Printed in the Ottoman State in the 18th Century in the Context of the Book Art], Isparta, 2014 (unpublished M.A. thesis), p. 88–94.

175 Gencer, “İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of Printed Manuscript”, p. 178.

quasi-title pages which visually resemble normal title pages. However, in terms of the information they provide about the book, the only similarity are the details related to the place and year of publication, while the most indicative features of the title page, the title and the name of author, are curiously missing.

This inconsistency is evident also in the way the printed sheets of the codices were compiled. Only the first two publications, as well as the eighth publication, were supplied with errata tables. In some copies, these tables were placed in different places. It could appear either at the beginning of the volume or at the end.¹⁷⁶ In some copies, the errata tables are missing.¹⁷⁷ The same is also true for the place of the tables of contents. In some copies they are also missing.¹⁷⁸ Some additional texts that are appended to the main text, such as in Na'ima's *History*, for example, are alternatively placed in different copies.¹⁷⁹ Some pages containing maps and charts were inserted upside down.¹⁸⁰ The large-scale maps and charts of most copies of the *Cihännümā* were usually folded down the middle into two facing pages and fastened to the other pages in the middle,¹⁸¹ while in other copies, these maps and charts were inserted between the pages containing text on their left or right side and folded twice or several times in order to fit the size of the codex.¹⁸² Although this kind of insertion can be assumed to be less frequent than the first one, it is still important evidence of the different approaches applied in the Mütefferika press when visual materials were to be inserted in the body text. As for the correct composition of the leaves in Mütefferika's publications, which contain only text or text with images inserted, no similar inaccuracy is observed, simply because he used catchwords (Ar. *ta'qib*) placed below the bottom lines, as in the scribal tradition.¹⁸³ Again, in accordance with this tradition,¹⁸⁴ the text begins on the verso side of the first leaf.

176 NLS, OCD, O II 175 (*Şihāh*, Vol. 1); Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, Ankara, B/582 (*Şihāh*, Vol. 2); Kut, Türe (eds.), *Yazmadan Basmaya*, p. 36 (*Şihāh*, Vol. 1); Princeton University, Firestone Library, RBSC off-site storage, 2070.46.391.11 (*Tuḥfetü'l-kibār*).

177 NLS, OCD, O II 127 (*Tuḥfetü'l-kibār*); compare Kut, Türe (eds.), *Yazmadan Basmaya*, p. 38.

178 NLS, OCD, O II 175 (*Şihāh*).

179 Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, Ankara, B/1925-2; NLS, OCD, O II 13 (*Tārīḥ-i Na'imā*), Vol. 2.

180 British Library, London, Asia, Pacific & Africa Department, Or.80.b.7 (*Tārīḥü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî*), Or.80.a.10 (*Kitāb-ı Cihännümā*, chart of the division of the Globe into zones and two charts of climes according to ancient and modern astronomy); NLS, OCD, O II 159, (*Kitāb-ı Cihännümā*, map of the Arctic and Antarctic regions).

181 NLS, OCD, O II 159 (*Kitāb-ı Cihännümā*); British Library, London, Asia, Pacific & Africa Department, Or.80.a.7 (*Kitāb-ı Cihännümā*).

182 British Library, London, Asia, Pacific & Africa Department, Or.80.a.10 (*Kitāb-ı Cihännümā*).

183 Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, p. 97.

184 Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, p. 237.

The inconsistency of the Müteferrika publications, both in the layout and in the composition of the body of the text, reflects the initial stage of the introduction of printing to the Ottoman Muslims, when everything was not fully set up and different strategies were pursued in order to meet the expectations of the book market, the tastes of the reading public, and the reality as a whole. In general, not only did the Müteferrika publications follow the manuscript layout, but this would be more or less true even for the later 18th- and 19th-century Ottoman printed books.¹⁸⁵ Therefore, according to Meral Alpay, despite certain European influences on the layout, the books printed between 1729 and 1927 could be regarded as incunabula.¹⁸⁶ Yasemin Gencer echoes this assessment in an even more convincing way, by defining the Müteferrika publications as just “printed manuscripts”¹⁸⁷ – a definition used before her by Ulrich Marzolph in relation to the early Iranian printed books produced in the 19th century, either by typography or by lithography.¹⁸⁸ Incunabula printed in Europe before the late 15th century also lacked title pages, but had colophons, while the typeface resembled the Gothic script, which was the most popular script at the time. Moreover, printed books were sometimes additionally colored by hand in order to resemble manuscripts.¹⁸⁹

One of the most characteristic features of the non-unidirectional transformation of attitudes toward the printed book, a new medium of knowledge transfer in Europe, was the reproduction of printed books by copying them by hand.¹⁹⁰ Sometimes, printed editions that were copied by hand included even an imitation of the printed headpieces, as the one in a manuscript copy of *Смачму Хрүсмову*

185 İhsanoğlu, Aynur, “Yazmadan Basmaya Geçiş”, p. 255; H. Aynur, “Arap Harfli Türkçe Basılı Kitaplarda İçkapağın Gelişimi: 1826–1923” [“The Development of the Front Matter of the Turkish Printed Books in Arabic Script: 1826–1923”], in E. Balta, Y. Dedes, E. N. İşli et al. (eds.), *Yücel Dağlı Anısına “Geldi Yücel, Gitti Yücel Bir Nefes Gibi...”*, Istanbul, 2011, p. 79–101; H. Türkmen, “Üsküdar Matbaası’nda Basılan Eserler Bibliyografyası” [“Bibliography of the Books Printed in the Üsküdar Press”], in İ. B. İstekli (ed.), *220. Yılında Üsküdar Matbaası*, Istanbul, 2023, p. 169–247.

186 M. Alpay, “Türkçe Basma Kitapların Beşik (Incunabel) Devri” [“The Incunable Period of the Turkish Printed Books”], *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, 5, 1972–1973, p. 587–599.

187 Gencer, “İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of Printed Manuscript”, p. 156.

188 See U. Marzolph, “Early Printing History in Iran (1817–ca. 1900), Part I: Printed Manuscript”, in Hanebutt-Benz, Glass, Roper (eds.), *Sprachen des Nahen Ostens*, p. 249–268.

189 See Febvre, Martin, *L'apparition du livre*, p. 122, 133; H. D. L. Vervliet, “Printing in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries”, in H. D. L. Vervliet (ed.), *The Book through Five Thousand Years*, London/New York, 1972, p. 378; G. Cole, “The Historical Development of the Title Page”, *The Journal of Library History*, 6, 1971, 4, p. 303–316; M. M. Smith, *The Title-Page: Its Early Development 1460–1510*, London/New Castle, 2000.

190 Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, p. 51.

(*The Passion of Christ*) printed at the press of the Pochaiv Monastery in Ukraine in the 18th century.¹⁹¹ The same practice has been observed in an Ottoman context. In a handwritten copy of the *Uşûlü'l-ḥikem* preserved in the National Library in Sofia,¹⁹² the headpiece was not reproduced, but the unknown copyist simply duplicated the colophon of the printed version¹⁹³ and changed the date. Instead of the publication date, *Evāsıt-ı Şa'bān* 1144/February 8–17, 1732, he wrote *Evāsıt-ı Şa'bān* 1145/January 27–February 4, 1733.¹⁹⁴ Mihaila Stajnova assumes that the new date indicates the completion of the handwritten copy.¹⁹⁵ Based on the watermarks of the paper, it can be estimated that the copy was done in the first half of the 18th century. The copyist not only duplicated the printed version but also added a six-leaf, or twelve-page addendum about the Ottoman army and war tactics.¹⁹⁶ It is unclear whether the copyist himself was the author of this addendum.

This manuscript copy was handwritten soon after the text appeared in print, while the Müteferrika press was still in operation and the printed version was obviously still available. It seems that in these formative years of Ottoman Muslim printing, the printed text was not yet considered to be standardized. Even after it was printed, the text was still perceived as a composition that could not only be copied by hand but could also be commented on by inserting marginal notes,¹⁹⁷ as well as be edited, modified, and supplemented. In this early phase, the printed text was still considered to be an integral part of the scribal culture rather than the forerunner of a new print culture. The latter, with its distinctive features, had still to wait to become dominant over manuscript tradition.

The above-mentioned manuscript copy of the *Uşûlü'l-ḥikem* was not an exception. Other manuscript copies of the *Uşûlü'l-ḥikem* and *Füyūzāt-ı Mıknatısiye*, made in 1786, are now preserved in the Firestone Library at Princeton University.¹⁹⁸ Manuscript copies of the *Uşûlü'l-ḥikem* are also preserved in public libraries in Istanbul.¹⁹⁹ Many handwritten copies of the printed version of the *Aḥvāl-i ğazavāt*

191 Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, Tbilisi, RAR 578.

192 NLS, OCD, Or. 2296.

193 Müteferrika, *Uşûlü'l-ḥikem fi niẓāmi'l-ümem*, f. 48v.

194 NLS, OCD, Or. 2296, f. 35v.

195 M. Stajnova, *Османските библиотеки в българските земи XV–XIX век [The Ottoman Libraries in Bulgarian Lands 15th–19th Century]*, Sofia, 1982, p. 53.

196 NLS, OCD, Or. 2296, f. 36r–41v.

197 Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, Ankara, B/586.

198 Princeton University, Firestone Library, Islamic Manuscripts, Robert Garret Collection, Manuscripts Division Y 5011, f. 19v–75v, f. 79v–102r.

199 İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, İstanbul, TY 6944, TY 6994, TY 6997; Atatürk Kitaplığı, İstanbul, Belediye Yazmaları, O-49.

also survive.²⁰⁰ Other notable examples are the manuscript copies made after the printed version of the *Cihännümâ*,²⁰¹ as well as of Na'ima's *History*.²⁰² Notably, a handwritten copy of Müteferrika's treatise on the means of printing is preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.²⁰³

Some copies of the Müteferrika publications also have additional notes written on the page margins. This practice followed the typical layout of the Islamic manuscripts, consisting of a main text (*matn*), as well as commentaries (*sharḥ*), supra-commentaries or glosses (*ḥāshiya*), and additions or continuations (*takmila*) to the main text, all written in the margins of manuscript folios.²⁰⁴ To this end, margins, especially the lateral ones, were left wide enough to provide space for marginal notes. The layout of the Müteferrika publications also incorporated such wide margins, exactly as the manuscript tradition required. One can see such handwritten notes and drawings even in the margins of some maps produced by Müteferrika. For example, some copies of the map of the Mediterranean Sea and the Black Sea appended to the *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr* (1729), also reprinted in the *Cihännümâ* (1732), contain not only handwritten marginal notes and toponyms, but also hand-drawn images of rivers (Figs. 7 and 52).²⁰⁵ The clear difference between the place and the actual course of rivers, visible in the manuscript additions, highlights the variation of the new elements and provides an important piece of information added by those who used these printed maps.

In the printed edition of the *Cihännümâ*, İbrahim Müteferrika preferred not to reproduce all the marginal notes of the manuscript draft he used, perhaps because he considered them unimportant.²⁰⁶ He also inserted his own additions,

200 Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, p. 277; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Département des manuscrits, Supplément turc 930; Kastamonu İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 37 Hk 4047.

201 See Selen, "Cihannümâ", p. 122; İhsanoğlu, Aynur, "Yazmadan Basmaya Geçiş", p. 224; Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 2, p. 45–46.

202 Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 324–327.

203 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. oct. 2245 – 3, f. 21r–33v.

204 See A. Q. Ahmed, M. Larkin, "The *Hāshiya* and Islamic Intellectual History", *Oriens*, 41, 2013, p. 213–216; A. Gürbüz, S. Kim, J. Miller, "Commentary and Multilingualism in the Ottoman Reception of Texts: Three Perspectives", in A. Goodman, S. C. Akbari (eds.), *Practices of Commentary: Medieval Traditions and Transmissions*, Leeds, 2023, p. 171–194; A. T. Şen, "Authoring and Publishing in the Age of Manuscripts: The Columbia University Copy of an Ottoman Compendium of Sciences with Marginal Glossing", *Philological Encounters*, 5, 2020, p. 353–377; B. Açıllı (ed.), *Osmanlı Kitap Kültürü: Cârullah Efendi Kütüphanesi ve Derkenar Notları [Ottoman Book Culture: Carullah Efendi's Library and Marginal Notes]*, 2nd ed., Istanbul, 2020.

205 NLS, OCD, O II 127 (*Tuhfetü'l-kibâr*); <https://biblio.com.au/book/tuhfet-ul-kibar-fi-esfar-bihar/d/903263183#gallery-5> (accessed on June 25, 2023).

206 Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 2, p. 48, 50–51.

but did not follow the typical layout of the manuscript *sharhs*, which were usually inserted as notes in the margins. He preferred to incorporate them into the main text by noting that these were printer's additions. This approach could be the result of a technological difficulty in adding text as marginalia in printed form, although some 15th-, 16th-, and 17th-century European printed books do contain printed notes on their margins, which imitate their manuscript sources.²⁰⁷ For example, the layout of a 17th-century European publication of the Latin translation along with the original Persian text of an Islamic work on astronomy obviously reproduced the layout of the manuscript copy used together with the original appearance of its margins (Fig. 94).²⁰⁸ In fact, in Europe, with the advancement of printing and the wider circulation of printed books at the expense of manuscripts, the practice of writing glosses on the margins disappeared. The manuscript layout was designed as to provide wide margins around the text in order to allow the user enough space to write additional commentaries or glosses, while the layout of printed books did not allow this. In the course of time, the printed book became a monolithic unit that could hardly be transformed and altered in terms of volume or contents.²⁰⁹ As Elizabeth Eisenstein noted, printing led to the standardization of manuscript texts.²¹⁰ A similar process took place in the Ottoman context. To quote J. R. Osborn, "as Ottoman society slowly shifted from a manuscript-dominant to a printing-dominant textual system, stylistic and scribal variety interfaced with printed standardization."²¹¹

Similar to European practice,²¹² it was not exceptional that the first or last pages in survived copies of printed books were torn out, for various reasons, and replaced with pages copied by hand from the printed version to restore the original text. For example, the last three pages of the *Takvīmūt-tevārīh* held by the Islamic Research Institute Library of McGill University in Montreal were hand copied.²¹³ Some of the missing pages at the beginning and the end of two printed copies of

207 See <https://www.earlyprintedbooks.com/feature/printed-marginalia/> (accessed on July 5, 2024).

208 C. Hardy, J. Greaves (eds.), *Anonymus Persa de siglis Arabum & Persarum astronomicis*, London, 1648; G. Roper, "Manuscripts and Printing in the Spread of Muslim Science", <https://muslimheritage.com/manuscripts-and-printing/> (accessed on July 5, 2024).

209 See M. A. Rouse, "Backgrounds to Print: Aspects of the Manuscript Book in Northern Europe of the Fifteenth Century", in M. A. Rouse, R. H. Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, Notre Dame, IN, 1991, p. 449–466.

210 See E. L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, 2005, p. 42–91.

211 Osborn, "The Ottoman System of Scripts", p. 84.

212 For example, see O. S. "Pickering, Manuscript Replacement of Leaves in a Copy of Thielman Kerver's Printed Sarum Hours of 1497", *Scriptorium*, 46, 1992, 1, p. 62–66.

213 Watson, "İbrāhīm Müteferrika and Turkish Incunabula", p. 440.

the *Tārīḥ-i seyyāḥ* preserved in the IRCICA Library in Istanbul were replaced with handwritten copies.²¹⁴ This practice is similar to the modern practice of replacing missing pages with photocopies or printouts.

4.3 The Controversial Nature of Müteferrika's Illustrations

The *Tārīḥü'l-Hindî'l-ġarbî*, published in 1730, was the only Müteferrika publication to include illustrations – 13 black-and-white woodcuts – of animals, birds, and plants specific to America, as well as of human figures (Figs. 13–25).²¹⁵ Thomas Goodrich noted that the printed engravings closely followed the style and composition of miniatures in the late 16th-century copy of this work (preserved in the library of the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul),²¹⁶ some of them following Western models.²¹⁷ Baki Tezcan argues that the book and its illustrations – like the European reaction to the “discovery” of America – represented what was creatively imagined rather than actually observed, because the New World was really far away and perfectly satisfied the Ottoman curiosity for wonders.²¹⁸ Animals such as camels, crocodiles, and others are also depicted on the map of Egypt, printed by Müteferrika in 1142/1730. The map, along with the animal illustrations, were a close copy of the map of Egypt (1658) made by Ioannes Janssonius (1588–1664).²¹⁹

Rafikov argued that İbrahim Müteferrika must have disregarded the Sharia prohibition on depicting humans and animals, and wondered how Müteferrika could have disregarded such a ban without any punishment. Rafikov drew attention to Toderini's claim that some copies of the printed edition of the *Tārīḥü'l-Hindî'l-ġarbî* were with “damaged or missing specimens of figures”,²²⁰ and explained that such distorted copies are the result of a reaction by the Muslim clerics who did their best

214 IRCICA Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, 955.03/KR.T (*Tārīḥ-i seyyāḥ*).

215 al-Su'udi, *Tārīḥü'l-Hindî'l-ġarbî*, f. 15r, 38v, 46v, 49r, 53v, 55v, 64r, 73v, 79v, 86r, 87v, 89v, 91r.

216 See the facsimile edition: Duran (ed.), *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî*, f. 18b, 49b, 59b, 62a, 62b, 68b, 71a, 80a, 93b, 101a, 109a, 110b, 113a, 114b.

217 See Goodrich, “The Search for the Sources”, p. 269–294; Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, p. 55–57.

218 Tezcan, “The Many Lives of the First Non-Western History of the Americas”, p. 9; see also Özdemir, “The Use of Pictures in Printed Books”, p. 33–34.

219 [Goodrich], *Turcica, catalogue no. 484*, p. 16; see Janssonius's map of Egypt at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Aegypti_Recentior_Descriptio_-_Aegyptis_%26_Turcis_Elchibith;_Arabibus_Mesre_%26_Misri,_Hebraeis_Mitsraim.jpg (accessed on September 19, 2024).

220 Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 43.

to protect the Sharia.²²¹ In fact, the leaves with illustrations may have been deliberately torn out in order to be sold as separate works of art, as was the case with some of the maps that accompanied Müteferrika's publications. On the other hand, the leaves with illustrations of nude female figures (Fig. 13) may indeed have been torn out or damaged by scandalized readers. This is something that allegedly happened to some manuscripts containing human images, as suggested by an incident that took place in Bitlis in the 1650s. This was reported by Evliya Çelebi as "a strange and comic case", in which a janissary belonging to "the hypocritical, fanatical and pederastic sect of the followers of Kadızade", acquired at auction a richly illustrated manuscript copy of Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāme*. On returning to his tent, however, he was shocked to see that the copy contained miniatures, and in his indignation, following the general attitude that painting was "forbidden according to his belief", he scraped out the eyes of the depicted human figures with a knife, making holes and damaging the leaves. He left only one image intact, which resembled the face of his beloved son. Although he tried to return the manuscript to the auctioneer, the governor and the kadi of Bitlis ordered that the culprit not only pay the price he had bid for the manuscript but also be whipped and expelled from the camp.²²²

Evliya Çelebi's story also suggests that the ban on depicting humans and animals in Islamic art was a matter of balance between more conservative and more liberal circles. In fact, this alleged prohibition was based not on the Qur'an itself but on some hadiths, and was not observed in the miniature art that was widespread in the Islamic world, including the Ottoman Empire.²²³ Ottoman miniature art adopted and developed the traditions prevalent in the lands ruled by the Umayyads, Abbasids, Fatimids, and especially the Uighurs, Sassanids, Ilkhanids, and Seljuks.²²⁴ It was again Evliya Çelebi who stated in his travel book that there

221 Rafikov, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции*, p. 115–116.

222 Dankoff, *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis*, p. 294–299; compare with Kahraman, Dağlı (eds.), *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Book 4, Vol. 1, p. 341–343.

223 See O. Keskiöglü, "İslâm'da Tasvîr ve Minyatürler" ["Portrayal and Miniatures in Islam"], *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 9, 1961, p. 11–23; T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam: A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture*, New York, 1965, p. 1–40; M. And, *Turkish Miniature Painting: the Ottoman Period*, Istanbul, 1982, p. 13; A. M. Issa, *Painting in Islam: Between Prohibition and Aversion*, Istanbul, 1996.

224 See İ. Binark, "Türkler'de Resim ve Minyatür Sanatı" ["Painting and Miniature Art among the Turks"], *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 12, 1978, p. 271–290; And, *Turkish Miniature Painting*; I. R. Al-Faruqi, "Figurative Representation and Drama: Their Prohibition and Transfiguration in Islamic Art", in A. Issa, T. Ö. Tahaoglu (eds.), *Islamic Art: Common Principles, Forms and Themes, Proceedings of the International Symposium Held in Istanbul in April 1983*, Damascus, 1989, p. 261–269; Z. Tanındı, *Türk Minyatür Sanatı [Turkish Miniature Art]*, Ankara, 1996; J. M. Bloom, "The Introduction of Paper to the Islamic Lands and the Development of the Illustrated Manuscript", *Muqarnas*, 17, 2000, p. 17–23.

was a guild of illustrators in Istanbul that numbered forty people and had four workshops, but noted that they had no spiritual teacher (*pîr*) “because our religion forbids painting”. He also explained that when the Prophet conquered the fortress of Khaybar,²²⁵ he took as a trophy a flag with the image of a lion on it. Then the Prophet forbade all images except that image. Evliya Çelebi stated that despite this prohibition, many illustrators in Anatolia depicted – obviously, in the manuscript copies of the *Hamzanâme* – the battle scenes of Hamza, mounted on horseback, “as if he were alive”.²²⁶ However, such images were only present in a limited number of illuminated manuscripts. Toderini appended an extended text, which he had composed, about the alleged Qur’anic prohibition of the depiction of figures of men and animals. In it, he argued that such images were perceived dangerous as they “could lead simple people to idolatry”. However, Toderini reminded that “sometimes the court disagrees with the religious functionaries in various points of law, so again in this matter”. Yet, he assured, if some Ottoman dignitaries had any paintings, they looked at them secretly and privately.²²⁷

It seems that these dignitaries also owned illustrated European printed books. According to Evliya Çelebi, the impressively rich book collection of Abdal Khan, the Kurdish governor of Bitlis who fled in 1655 because of the Ottoman campaign against him, included “two hundred European printed books”, including *Mappa Mundi* (in Evliya Çelebi’s expression *Papamunța*),²²⁸ Mercator’s *Atlas Minor* and Ptolemy’s *Geographia* (or *Cosmographia*),²²⁹ as well as books on astronomy and

225 The early Muslim community that gathered around the Prophet Muhammad conquered Khaybar from its Jewish inhabitants in 628.

226 Kahraman, Dağlı (eds.), *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Book 1, Vol. 2, p. 615.

227 Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 45–74.

228 This is a collection of medieval European maps of the world; see D. Woodward, “Medieval *Mappaemundi*”, in J. B. Harley, D. Woodward (eds.), *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 1: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, Chicago/London, 1987, p. 286–370.

229 Claudius Ptolemy and his work *Cosmographia* were the main authority in the field of cosmography in the Islamic world, the Ottoman Empire in particular. It became well known in Europe only during the Renaissance, after a manuscript copy had been brought from Constantinople to Florence by the Byzantine scholar Manuel Chrysoloras in the late 14th century. This work was first printed in Ulm in 1482. For further details, see S. Roberts, *Printing a Mediterranean World: Florence, Constantinople, and the Renaissance of Geography*, Cambridge, MA/London, 2013, p. 15–44; G. Saliba, “A Sixteenth-Century Arabic Critique of Ptolemaic Astronomy: The Work of Shams al-Dîn al-Khafri”, *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 25, 1994, 1, p. 15–38; G. Hagen, “Ptolemaeus Triumphans, or: Maps, Knowledge, and Ottoman Patronage”, in R. Haug, S. Judd (eds.), *Islam on the Margins: Studies in Memory of Michael Bonner*, Leiden, 2023, p. 235–267; A. Üstüner, M. Çinar, “Fatih Sultan Mehmed Devri Haritaları ve Ptolemaios” [“Maps of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror’s Period and

medicine, containing “pictures of the New World and of this Old World, topographical maps, woodcuts of the various medicinal plants and herbs, and engravings of the various organs of the human body as seen dissected. Everyone was most lifelike”. The governor also had “two hundred remarkable albums of Persian and European drawings and paintings”.²³⁰ Also in the 17th century, the production of Ottoman albums increased significantly.²³¹

In the case of illustrated printed books, however, even with a relatively small print run of 500 copies, they provided much wider access to such a controversial art. As in the case described by Evliya Çelebi, this also provoked the indignation of some conservative readers, who deliberately damaged the printed images in some of Müteferrika's books. One of the two copies of the *Cihānnümā* preserved in the Firestone Library at Princeton University is quite revealing of the sensitivity of some readers. The faces of all the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures, as well as the private parts – though not explicitly depicted – of naked human bodies depicted on an astronomical map that represents the constellations (Fig. 95, compare with fig. 43), were deliberately scratched off by someone who was presumably outraged by such images, which were considered inappropriate or at least controversial in Islam.²³² Ünver Rüstem convincingly identified the Western source of this map, namely, the first volume of *La science des personnes de cour, d'épée et de robe* by De Chevigny (1707–1752), first published in Paris in 1706, and then reprinted several times in Amsterdam.²³³ One can, for example, see similar depictions of constellations as semi-naked female human figures in a 1747 manuscript copy of the Turkish translation of the *İkdü'l-cümân fi târih-i ehli'l-zamân* (*The Pearl Necklace of Human History*), a cosmographical work by Bedreddin Ayni (d. 1451).²³⁴ Not to mention the existence of many 18th-century Ottoman manuscripts containing

Ptolemy”], in H. T. Topaloğlu, B. Yürtalan, M. S. Bilgin (eds.), *Din ve Coğrafya Sempozyumu II: 4/10. Asır Sonrası İslam Coğrafyacılığının Tarihsel Gelişimi*, Çorum, 2024, p. 447–470.

230 Dankoff, *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis*, p. 292–293; compare with Kahraman, Dağlı (eds.), *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Book 4, Vol. 1, p. 340.

231 See Emine Fetvacı, “Enriched Narratives and Empowered Images in Seventeenth-century Ottoman Manuscripts”, *Ars Orientalis*, 40, 2011, p. 243–266.

232 Princeton University, Firestone Library, Rare Books Division, 2070.46.349q (the two copies of the *Kitâb-ı Cihānnümā* are catalogued under one and the same call number).

233 De Chevigny, H. Ph. de Limiers, *La science des personnes de cour, d'épée et de robe*, ed. P. Massuet, Vol. 1, Part 1, Amsterdam, 1752, foldout opposite p. 206; compare Ü. Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism: An Eighteenth-Century Printed Ottoman Atlas and the Turn to Baroque”, *Ars Orientalis*, 51, 2021, p. 212.

234 S. Bağcı, F. Çağman, G. Renda et al., *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı [Ottoman Pictorial Art]*, Istanbul, 2006, p. 272 (figs. 232 and 233).

miniatures of erotic scenes with naked figures and exposed private parts.²³⁵ The boom in erotic literature and illustration during this century could be seen as a response to the moral stagnation that had prevailed under the influence of the conservative Kadızadeli movement in the 17th century. In the context of these fluctuations between moral purity and more liberal views, attitudes toward the depiction of human and animal figures in Islamic art could range from outright rejection to tacit approval and individual rather than public endorsement. As already noted above, the circulation of manuscripts containing such depictions remained limited to an elite that could afford to commission such expensive illuminations, whereas similar images of naked human and animal figures, multiplied by printing, presumably had a much wider circulation among the Muslim reading public. In this case, the publicity was one of the advantages, but also one of the disadvantages, of printing.

4.4 Müteferrika's Cartographic Workshop

As I have stated in the first chapter, in terms of printing texts in Arabic script, the Müteferrika press was not the first in the Ottoman Empire. However, it was the first to print *maps* in Arabic script not only in the East, but also in the West. Besides books, Müteferrika extensively printed geographical maps and cosmographical charts, either as separate sheets or as appendices to books. As already discussed, his intellectual pursuits were primarily centered around history, geography, and cartography. This is evidenced both by the many geographical works, maps, and atlases that he kept in his home and by the fact that he personally drew maps, which earned him the title of a “draftsman” and “geographer”. It is indicative of Müteferrika's keen interest in geography and cartography that he also translated geographic and cosmographic works.

4.4.1 Maps Printed as Separate Sheets

In the Latin accounts of his printing activities of 1146/1733–1734 and 1747, Müteferrika mentioned that he had printed as separate sheets the maps of Iran,

²³⁵ See T. Artan, I. C. Schick, “Ottomanizing Pornotopia: Changing Visual Codes in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Erotic Miniatures”, in F. Leoni, M. Natif (eds.), *Eros and Sexuality in Islamic Art*, Farnham, 2013, p. 164–174.

the Black Sea, and Egypt.²³⁶ The maps of the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea, the last in the list attached to Carleson's report of 1735, were probably not different from the maps mentioned by Müteferrika.²³⁷ Although no Ottoman document has been found so far to confirm this, some authors claim that Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Pasha, soon after he took up his office in 1718, granted Müteferrika the privilege of operating a press for map printing.²³⁸ Indeed, a woodblock matrix of a map of the Sea of Marmara (195 × 485 mm) precisely dates from that period, 1132/1719–1720 (Fig. 96). Apparently, İbrahim Müteferrika submitted a preliminary copy of this map to the grand vizier, although no surviving copy has been found so far.²³⁹ The map was prepared according to the Western European standards of map making.²⁴⁰ On the upper left corner, an image depicts a coat of arms featuring a crescent, cannons, and spears. Its design bears a resemblance to the heraldic signs used by the Christian dynasties.²⁴¹ However, Müteferrika's design seems to be unique. He did not use the same or similar coats of arms in any of his subsequent maps, perhaps because this innovation inspired by western models was not well accepted by the Ottoman ruling elite. It was not until Raşid Efendi's last three publications on warfare in the late 18th century, during the reign of Sultan Selim III, that other variants of the coats of arms appeared.

Müteferrika printed at least three more individual maps afterwards, engraved this time on copper plates. The first one was a *Nautical Chart (Portolan) of the Black Sea (Bahriye-i Bahr-ı Siyâh)*, 660 × 990 mm), printed in 1137/1724–1725 with the aim of facilitating voyages on this sea and showcasing the capabilities of the printing press (Fig. 97). The unsigned map was also presented to the grand vizier.²⁴² It resembles Western maps, such as the 1574 portolan of the Black Sea by Diogo Homem

²³⁶ Müteferrika, "Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu ve Başlangıcı", p. 73, 100; Deréky, "Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae", p. 48, 50.

²³⁷ Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi*, p. 12.

²³⁸ Duverdier, "Savary de Brèves et İbrahim Müteferrika", p. 330; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 143; Sarıcaoğlu, "Harita (Osmanlı Dönemi)", p. 215.

²³⁹ Sungu, "İlk Türk Matbaasına Dair Yeni Vesikalar", p. 10; Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 34–35; Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 31, 37; Üçsu, "İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Haritacılık Çalışmalarına Bir Bakış", p. 206–207.

²⁴⁰ Özü, "Türk Haritacılık Tarihinde İlk Baskı Haritaları", p. 257–258.

²⁴¹ K. Özdemir, *Osmanlı Arması [Ottoman Coats of Arms]*, İstanbul, 1997, p. 72–73; Üçsu, "İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Haritacılık Çalışmalarına Bir Bakış", p. 207.

²⁴² See Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 35–36; Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 37; Ehrensvärd, Abrahamowitz, "Two Maps Printed by İbrahim Müteferrika", p. 59; Özdemir, *Osmanlı Haritaları*, p. 145–150; A. Üstüner, "Cartographic Representation of the Western Black Sea Region in Ottoman Cartography", in Ak, Üstüner (eds.), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Coğrafya ve Kartografya*, p. 78–80; Özü, "Türk Haritacılık Tarihinde İlk Baskı Haritaları", p. 259–260.

(1521–1576),²⁴³ as well as some mid-16th-century Ottoman portolans also based on Western models.²⁴⁴ The previously mentioned *Map of Iran (Memālik-i İrān)*, size: 480 × 580 mm) bears İbrahim Müteferrika's signature and is dated 1142/1729–1730 (Fig. 98).²⁴⁵ As already stated in the previous chapter, this map was likely crafted for inclusion in the 1729 printed publication of Judasz Tadeusz Krusiński's account of Iranian history *Tārīḥ-i seyyāh*. Müteferrika's fourth individual map, *Clime of Egypt (İklīm-i Mısr)*, 395 × 495 mm), was unsigned and undated (Fig. 99),²⁴⁶ and likewise attached to some copies²⁴⁷ of the *Tārīḥ-i Mısr* printed by Müteferrika in 1142/1730. When inserted into this book, the map was folded several times to fit the smaller size of the book. Following Western models,²⁴⁸ the map is West–East oriented. According to Thomas Goodrich, the map was based on Ioannes Janssonius's map of Egypt (1658), as already mentioned above.²⁴⁹

It seems that some maps that were originally included in Müteferrika's printed books were later also extracted and used as separate sheets. Such maps, now preserved in the Austrian National Library in Vienna²⁵⁰ and the library of the Turkish Historical Society in Ankara,²⁵¹ as well as a recently auctioned map of Africa, included in the printed edition of *Cihānnümā*,²⁵² provide grounds for this conclusion. It is worth considering that many more of the appended maps may have been torn out, as many maps are missing from the surviving copies of these printed books. According to some Ottoman records, after Müteferrika's death, the maps and charts of *Cihānnümā* were sold separately by his heirs.²⁵³

243 See https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1574_Portolan_chart_of_the_Black_Sea_and_the_Sea_of_Marmara_by_Diogo_Homem.jpg (accessed on September 19, 2024).

244 See Üstüner, “Cartographic Representation of the Western Black Sea Region”, p. 63–64.

245 Kut, Türe (eds.), *Yazmadan Basmaya*, p. 26–27; Özür, “Türk Haritacılık Tarihinde İlk Baskı Haritalar”, p. 261–262.

246 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Kart. C 6857 and Diez A fol. 58, f. 5r.

247 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ur 180; University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet.Or.d.Turk.2; see also Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 176; Sarıcaoğlu, “Harita (Osmanlı Dönemi)”, p. 215; Özür, “Türk Haritacılık Tarihinde İlk Baskı Haritalar”, p. 262–263.

248 Rafikov, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции*, p. 118.

249 [Goodrich], *Turcica, catalogue no. 484*, p. 16; see Janssonius's map of Egypt at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Aegypti_Recentior_Descriptio_-_Aegyptis_%26_Turcis_Elchibith;_Arabibus_Mesre_%26_Misri,_Hebraeis_Mitsraim.jpg (accessed on September 19, 2024).

250 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, 29920-C, 29928-C, ALB kleinPort 277-2, ALB Port 248,15.

251 Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, Ankara, H/0319.

252 See *Catalogue August 2021*, München, 2021, lot 18.

253 Karahasanoğlu, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Başarısını”, p. 323

Some authors suggest that the individual maps were probably printed in small runs, perhaps not exceeding 500 copies.²⁵⁴ However, considering that the map of Iran was produced in the same year as Krusiński's account of Iranian history and was probably intended for inclusion in this book, its print run may have mirrored the 1,200 copies of the book itself. It should be noted, however, that unlike the books printed by Müteferrika, including those with maps, of which many copies, and even complete sets of all the publications are now preserved in various public libraries and private collections, far fewer copies of the individual maps have survived, some sold at auctions (see Table 3).²⁵⁵ Perhaps this is because a single sheet could disappear more easily than a bound book.

Another opinion is that the models of some maps printed by Müteferrika – the maps of the Black Sea (1137/1724–1725) and of Iran (1142/1729–1730) – were brought by his business partner, Mehmed Said Efendi, from Paris.²⁵⁶ According to a report from Istanbul, dated November 19, 1726, and released on January 18, 1727, by the *Gazette de France*, the owners of the print shop planned to have “engraved in the near future a collection of maps which he [Said Efendi] has brought from Paris, most of them by the late Sire de L'Isle, and afterwards he will publish those drawn by Arabs and Persians”.²⁵⁷

However, some authors claim that Müteferrika did not use as models for the preparation of his own maps the *Atlas Nouveau* of Guillaume de l'Isle (1675–1726) but instead atlases authored by other Western cartographers, such as the *Neuer Atlas* of Johann Baptist Homann (1664–1724), the *Atlas Nouveau* of Alexis-Hubert Jaillot (1632–1712), including some maps of Nicolas Sanson, the *Atlas Maior* of Willem Blaeu and his son Johannes Blaeu, as well as maps drawn by other Flemish or Dutch cartographers like Gerardus Mercator, Jodocus Hondius (1563–1612), and Ioannes Janssonius.²⁵⁸ Additionally, other researchers argue that some of Müteferrika's

254 Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 36–38; Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 37; Ehrensvärd, Abrahamowitz, “Two Maps Printed by Ibrahim Müteferrika”, p. 66.

255 See https://gerlachbooks.com/index.php?title=Ibrahim+M%C3%BCteferrika+Complete+set+of+all+17+titles+printed+by+M%C3%BCteferrika+between+1729+and+1742+plus+additional+4+titles+printed+posthumously+on+his+printing+press+%281756+-+1786%29&art_no=RAR_116 (accessed on October 28, 2024); https://gerlachbooks.com/index.php?title=Ibrahim+M%C3%BCteferrika%3A+Bahriye-i+Bahr-i+Siyah+%28Naval+Chart+of+the+Black+Sea%29&art_no=MAP_103 (accessed on October 28, 2024).

256 Yılmaz, “Müteferrika Matbaasının Kurucu Kadrosu”, p. 35; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 157–160; Kut, Türe (eds.), *Yazmadan Basmaya*, p. 26.

257 *Gazette de France*, 3, January 18, 1727, p. 25–26; compare *Journal des Scavans* (Amsterdam edition), 81, April 1727, p. 550–551; Omont, “Documents sur l'imprimerie à Constantinople”, p. 186.

258 Ehrensvärd, Abrahamowitz, “Two Maps Printed by Ibrahim Müteferrika”, p. 57–58; F. Sarıcaoğlu, “Osmanlılarda Harita” [“The Map among the Ottomans”], in H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek,

maps – particularly those depicting the Black Sea (1137/1724–1725) – were created relying on earlier maps drawn by 16th- and 17th-century Ottoman Muslim geographers and cartographers such as Ali Macar Reis, Seyyid Nuh (ca. 1650), and Dimaşki.²⁵⁹

James Porter, the English ambassador to the Porte between 1747 and 1762 and a fellow of the Royal Society, reported to its journal *Philosophical Transactions* on February 1, 1755, that Müteferrika printed “three or four” maps: “one of Persia, one of the Bosphorus, and one of the Euxinus, or the Black Sea”. He indirectly highlighted their neatness by noting that “all our maps of these countries are extremely imperfect and incorrect”.²⁶⁰ Conversely, certain maps created by Müteferrika garnered significant acclaim. The reproduction of Müteferrika’s map of the Black Sea in Russian (ca. 1740) and French versions (1768)²⁶¹ serves as a testament to the quality and reliability of his printed maps and charts.

4.4.2 Maps and Charts Appended to Books

The printed edition of the *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr* includes four unsigned geographical maps that present the following: 1) the two hemispheres, representing the Old World and the New World (Fig. 6, it was reproduced again in two later Müteferrika publications: the *Târîhü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî* and the *Cihännümâ*); 2) the Mediterranean Sea and the Black Sea (Fig. 7); 3) the Aegean islands belonging to the Ottoman state

S. Koca (eds.), *Türkler*, Vol. 11, Ankara, 2002, p. 310; Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 158–160, 172–174; Özdemir, *Osmanlı Haritaları*, p. 150–152; Üçsu, “İbrahim Müteferrika’nın Haritacılık Çalışmalarına Bir Bakış”, p. 208–210, 225–226, 228–229; [Goodrich], *Turcica, catalogue no. 484*, p. 16; Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism”, p. 192, 196.

259 Ehrensvärd, Abrahamowitz, “Two Maps Printed by İbrahim Müteferrika”, p. 60; Kaan Ucsu, “Bahriyye-i Bahr-i Siyah’, 1724–1725: İbrahim Müteferrika’s Map of the Black Sea and Its Copies in the Bibliothèque nationale de France”, *IMCOS Journal*, 156, 2019, p. 33; compare with A. Üstüner, “Osmanlı Coğrafya Kaynaklarında Eflak-Boğdan (15–17. Yüzyıl)” [“Wallachia-Moldavia in Ottoman Geographical Sources (15th–17th Century)”], *Karadeniz İncelemeleri Dergisi / Journal of Black Sea Studies*, 28, 2020, p. 422; F. Sarıcaoğlu, “Karadeniz’in İlk Osmanlı Basma Haritası” [The First Ottoman Printed Map of the Black Sea], in F. Sarıcaoğlu, *Piri Reis’den Örfî Paşa’ya Osmanlı Tarihi Haritaları ve Tarihi Coğrafya Eserleri*, İstanbul, 2015, p. 193–194; Üçsu, “İbrahim Müteferrika’nın Haritacılık Çalışmalarına Bir Bakış”, p. 216–217.

260 Porter, “Queries sent to a Friend in Constantinople”, p. 105.

261 Üçsu, “İbrahim Müteferrika’nın Haritacılık Çalışmalarına Bir Bakış”, p. 219; Ucsu, “Bahriyye-i Bahr-i Siyah”, p. 35; A. Angelov, “Шабла върху първата османска печатна карта на Ибрахим Мютеферика” [“Shabla on the First Ottoman Printed Map by İbrahim Müteferrika”], <https://www.maritime.bg/87288/> (accessed on February 28, 2023).

(Fig. 8); 4) the Gulf of Venice and the Adriatic Sea with its islands and adjacent coasts (Fig. 9).²⁶² The last three maps were also included in the *Cihānnümā*. John Eames was surprised that “these maps have the degrees of latitude, but not of longitude, marked upon the sides”.²⁶³ Also attached is an unsigned chart of two compass roses (Fig. 10).²⁶⁴ While Hasan Ertuğ assumes that these maps and charts were prepared by İbrahim Müteferrika,²⁶⁵ Rafikov speculates that they were prepared by Ahmed al-Kırımı and Mıgırdıç Galatavi, who prepared some of the maps and charts appended to Kâtib Çelebi's *Cihānnümā*.²⁶⁶ In fact, the four maps and the compass chart were reproduced in the latter publication, the map of the two hemispheres being this time signed by Ahmed al-Kırımı. According to Kundmann, however, the maps appended to the *Tuḥfetü'l-kibâr* were manufactured by a Viennese engraver who was persuaded by “a Turkish Jew to go to Constantinople”, while a converted Spanish priest proofread them.²⁶⁷ The maps of the Mediterranean Sea and the Black Sea may have been based on a similar one made by the French cartographer Alain Manesson Mallet, published in 1683.²⁶⁸ The map showing the two hemispheres may have been based on the corresponding map in the 1722 Amsterdam edition of *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* by Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704).²⁶⁹

As noted by Toderini, the *Tārîḫü'l-Hindi'l-ğarbî* contained four geographical maps and an astronomical chart depicting the Ptolemaic geocentric system, produced “by the poor İbrahim”.²⁷⁰ Müteferrika's Latin accounts of his output similarly claims that the book was equipped with the following geographical and cosmographical maps: 1) a cosmological plan according to Ptolemy, prepared by İbrahim al-Coğrafi and drawn in 1142/1729–1730 (Fig. 26); 2) two unsigned charts of the climes according to ancient and modern astronomy (Fig. 27); 3) an unsigned map of the two hemispheres (Fig. 28), which was reproduced from the second Müteferrika publication, the *Tuḥfetü'l-kibâr* (Fig. 6); 4) an unsigned world map with

²⁶² Princeton University, Firestone Library, Rare Books Division, 2070.46.391.11 (*Tuḥfetü'l-kibâr*); [Goodrich], *Turcica, catalogue no. 484*, p. 7; Kut, Türe (eds.), *Yazmadan Basmaya*, p. 38.

²⁶³ Eames, “A Short Account”, p. 340.

²⁶⁴ Princeton University, Firestone Library, Rare Books Division, 2070.46.391.11 (*Tuḥfetü'l-kibâr*); [Goodrich], *Turcica, catalogue no. 484*, p. 7; Kut, Türe (eds.), *Yazmadan Basmaya*, p. 38.

²⁶⁵ Ertuğ, *Basın ve Yayın Hareketleri Tarihi*, p. 105.

²⁶⁶ Rafikov, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции*, p. 109.

²⁶⁷ Kundmann, *Rariora naturae et artis*, col. 720; Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, p. 12.

²⁶⁸ See S. Çalık (ed.), *18. Türk Tarih Kongresi Haritalarla Tarihe Yolculuk: Sıddık Çalık Koleksiyonu [The 18th Turkish Congress of History, a Journey to History by Means of Maps: Sıddık Çalık Collection]*, Ankara, 2018, p. 15–16.

²⁶⁹ See <https://catalogue.nla.gov.au/catalog/938033> (accessed on September 12, 2024).

²⁷⁰ Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Vol. 3, p. 41; compare with Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, p. 40.

the “ancient” and “new” continents (Fig. 29).²⁷¹ In the manuscript copy that served as a basis for the printed edition, there are three maps and charts which represent the two hemispheres and the Globe featuring the seven climes according to Ptolemy's theory.²⁷² All the printed maps, except the first one, fit the size of the printed edition. The first map was larger and had to be folded to fit the smaller size of the book, as in the copy preserved in the Princeton University Firestone Library.²⁷³ The same maps and charts were reproduced and included in a later Müteferrika publication – Kâtib Çelebi's *Cihānnümā* (Figs. 42, 47, 51, and 55). In the latter, the second and third maps enclosed in the *Tārīhü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî* are already signed by Ahmed al-Kırımı (Figs. 47 and 51). The third and fourth maps in the *Cihānnümā* were enriched with additional images as well (Figs. 51 and 55). According to Goodrich, the maps and charts were reproduced in accordance with the geographical knowledge of Müteferrika's time.²⁷⁴ In this way, he had updated, if not the main text written in the 16th century, at least the appended maps and charts.

Müteferrika's printed edition of the *Cihānnümā* – as he states in his Latin account attached to Penckler's 1747 report – was enriched with forty sheets of geographical maps and charts:²⁷⁵ 37 within Kâtib Çelebi's text and three more maps in Dimaşki's text. As emphasized by Gottfried Hagen, it serves as “a summa of the Islamic geographical tradition and the first Muslim adaptation of the early modern atlas as the scientific representation of the world”.²⁷⁶ For this reason, Müteferrika's publication became the first printed Ottoman atlas.²⁷⁷

The Topkapı/Istanbul draft of the *Cihānnümā* includes 47 maps and charts, whereas Dimaşki's autograph lacks maps. Accordingly, Müteferrika chose not to reproduce all of the maps and charts present in Kâtib Çelebi's autograph. Some of the maps and charts in both the manuscript and the printed version are linked to the same location or cosmographical theory, while others do not align.²⁷⁸ However, even those maps and charts in the printed version that correspond to the manuscript

271 Deréky, “Origo Typographiae Ottomanicae”, p. 46, 49; Müteferrika, “Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu ve Başlangıcı”, p. 73, 98; [Goodrich], *Turcica, catalogue no. 484*, p. 9; Princeton University, Gotsen Children's Library, European 18 3134 (*Tārīhü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî*); Kut, Türe (eds.), *Yazmadan Basmaya*, p. 43–44.

272 Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, p. 55; Duran (ed.), *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî*.

273 Princeton University, Firestone Library, Gotsen Children's Library, 3134 Euro 18, <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9947192853506421> (accessed on November 15, 2024).

274 Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, p. 29.

275 Varanlıoğlu, “Latince Bir Belge”, p. 251, 257.

276 Hagen, “Introduction to *Cihānnümā*”, p. 1.

277 Özdemir, *Osmanlı Haritaları*, p. 158.

278 See Hagen, Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography*, p. x–xii.

version are not pure replicas. In choosing to create entirely new maps and charts for the printed edition, Müteferrika must have been motivated by the inadequate quality of the cartographical images in Kâtib Çelebi's autograph. As some authors claim, the latter were "free-hand drawings"²⁷⁹ rather than genuine manuscript maps, and they "were the products of a cartographic dilettante, and in no way comparable to the maps made by his [Kâtib Çelebi] professional contemporaries in Europe".²⁸⁰ Therefore, Müteferrika preferred to incorporate more elaborate, up-to-date maps in the printed edition.²⁸¹

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, in the first of his supplements to Kâtib Çelebi's text, Müteferrika states that he inserted "maps taken from recent geographical works".²⁸² Obviously, one of these works was a manuscript copy of the *Cihännümâ* completed on *Rebî'ülâhîr* 28, 1142/November 20, 1729, and preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.²⁸³ Most of the maps and charts included in the Paris manuscript, which are better replicas of those included in the Topkapı/Istanbul draft,²⁸⁴ are closely reproduced in the 1732 printed edition: in some cases, Müteferrika combined in one chart several ones from the Paris copy, and in other cases he merely replicated some of the maps of the Paris copy and added to them title boxes, compass images, and sometimes the engraver's name (see Table 2). While some charts and maps in the manuscript copy were inserted into the text, in the printed version the same images were printed on separate leaves, which were later inserted between the other pages because of the existing limitations of printing technology at the time. Moreover, some of the maps and charts appended to the 1729 printed versions of the *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr* and *Târihü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbi* and later reproduced in the *Cihännümâ* (1732), are also very similar to the corresponding maps and charts drawn in the said 1729 manuscript (Figs. 6, 28, 51 and 100, see also Table 2). The similarity between the images of the Paris copy and the Müteferrika publications is so impressive that one is inclined to think that this was precisely the

279 S. Brentjes, "Mapmaking in Ottoman Istanbul between 1650 and 1750: A Domain of Painters, Calligraphers or Cartographers?", in C. Imber, K. Kiyotaki, R. Murphey (eds.), *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West*, Vol. 2, London/New York, 2005, p. 126.

280 G. Hagen, "Kâtib Çelebi's Maps and the Visualization of Space in Ottoman Culture", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 40, 2012, p. 293.

281 See also N. A. Ayyubi, "Contributions of Muslim Turks to Geography", *Belleten*, 51, 1987, 199, p. 73.

282 Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ*, p. 3; Hagen, Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography*, p. 36.

283 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Département des manuscrits, Supplément turc 215.

284 See Sezgin, *Kâtib Çelebi'nin Esas Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ'sı*; Hagen, Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography*, p. x-xii.

manuscript at the printer's disposal while preparing the maps and charts for the printed versions of these works.

Most of the other maps and charts in the printed *Cihānnümā* were drawn by directly following Western models. Ünver Rüstem was able to identify the Western source of the first chart, the armillary sphere, centered on the Earth, which was engraved by Ahmed al-Kırımı (Fig. 38), like Johann Baptist Homann's *Atlas von hundert Charten* (Nuremberg, 1712) and *Grosser Atlas über die ganze Welt* (Nuremberg, 1731).²⁸⁵

The most impressive of these images is probably the sixth: the celestial chart depicting the two hemispheres with the constellations, engraved by Mıgırđıç Galatavi (Figs. 43 and 95). As already stated, Ünver Rüstem persuasively identified its Western source in the French encyclopedia *La science des personnes de cour; d'épée et de robe*, published in 1706.²⁸⁶ However, the image of a large multistorey building placed below and partially between the two hemispheres was based on another Western source, namely, the 1729 *Atlas Maior* of Reiner Ottens (1698–1750), more specifically, the image of the Kassel Observatory depicted in 1714 by Johann Gabriel Doppelmayr (1677–1750).²⁸⁷

Furthermore, various maps and charts included in the *Cihānnümā* were reprinted from previous Müteferrika prints, such as the *Tuhfetü'l-kibār, Tārīhü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî*, and *Füyüzât-ı Miknaṭısiye*, as already noted (see Table 2). Over time, it appears that some of the copper plates used for the printed edition of the *Cihānnümā* vanished. This is revealed by the fact that the printing equipment acquired from the property of İbrahim Müteferrika following his demise in early 1747 included 37 “copper *Cihānnümā* plates” (*bakır Cihānnümā eşkalleri*).²⁸⁸

It seems that Müteferrika did print most of the maps he personally drew. However, the *Map of the Ottoman Empire and the Clime of Asia (Memālik-i 'Oşmāniye ve İklîm-i Āsya)*, of which two cloth copies are preserved in the library of the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul²⁸⁹ and in the Austrian State and Military Archive in Vienna,²⁹⁰ was presumably drawn by him in 1139/1726–1727 but remained unprinted.²⁹¹ Although some authors claim that this map was in fact

285 Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism”, p. 207, 220 (fig. 35).

286 Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism”, p. 212.

287 Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism”, p. 214–215, 223 (fig. 38).

288 Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 98.

289 Topkapı Müzesi Sarayı Kütüphanesi, İstanbul, Hazine Koleksiyonu, 447.

290 Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna, E a 178.

291 Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, p. 168–171; A. T. Karamustafa, “Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans”, in Harley, Woodward (eds.), *The History*

printed,²⁹² it was not originally intended for printing. Its large size (Istanbul copy: 1,500 × 2,100 mm; Vienna copy: 1,800 × 2,200 mm) indicates that it was probably hung on a wall or placed on the floor. The dimensions of the other maps printed by Müteferrika were much more suitable to the size of the printing presses available at the time.

In contrast to the maps present in manuscript copies of the geographical works that he printed, which were presumably drawn in calligraphy workshops rather than by professional mapmakers, Müteferrika organized his print shop to function as a professional cartographic workshop, perhaps along with other similar pre-existing workshops that produced maps by hand. Notably, the first Ottoman vocational school for mapmakers was not opened until the late 19th century.²⁹³

According to a report from Genoa dated March 15, 1731, and published in the Saturday supplement (*Sambstägige Extra-Zeitungen*) of *Mercurii Relation's* issue of April 14, 1731, there were six presses in the Müteferrika press, four for books and two for maps.²⁹⁴ This information was confirmed by Holderman,²⁹⁵ whose grammar of the Turkish language was printed on demand at the same press in 1730. These claims seem credible, especially considering that two “wooden geographical presses” (*iki ağaç coğrafiye destgâhları*) were part of the printing equipment bought by the brothers Kadi İbrahim, Kadi Ahmed, and Halil on April 4, 1747, from the property of İbrahim Müteferrika, after his demise.²⁹⁶

The personnel of this cartographic workshop included İbrahim Müteferrika himself and his fellow mapmakers Ahmed al-Kırımı and Mıgırđıç Galatavi. The latter two engraved eighteen of the forty maps and charts of the printed edition of the *Cihännümâ*, while two were drawn and signed by İbrahim Müteferrika himself. Everything seems to indicate that Müteferrika, who identified himself both as a member of the *müteferrika* corps and as a geographer and a draftsman, was the leading figure. Upon examining the accompanying texts in the map featuring İçel, Karaman, Anatolia, and Sivas in the printed edition of Kâtib Çelebi's *Cihännümâ*, it becomes apparent that Müteferrika likely created, if not all, then at least some of

of *Cartography*, Vol. 2, Book 1: *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, Chicago/London, 1992, p. 225–226.

292 Özdemir, *Osmanlı Haritaları*, p. 148.

293 See D. Geçili, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Harita Çizimi Mektebi” [“The Mapmaking School in the Ottoman State”], *Mersin Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü e-Dergisi*, 3, 2020, 2, p. 177–190.

294 *Mercurii Relation (Sambstägige Extra-Zeitungen)*, 6, April 14, 1731, p. 4; almost the same information could be found in *Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savans de l'Europe*, 6, January-February-March 1731, 1, p. 237; see also Hanstein, *A New Print by Müteferrika*, p. 8.

295 Omont, “Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à Istanbul”, p. 10.

296 Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, p. 98.

the templates of the maps and charts. Subsequently, Ahmed al-Kırımî and Mıgırdıç Galatavi took on the task of engraving these designs onto copper plates. An outstanding resemblance can be seen between the 1142/1729–1730 individual map of Iran, created and signed by Müteferrika (Fig. 98), and the Iran map engraved by Ahmed al-Kırımı and annexed to the 1732 printed edition of the *Cihānnümā* (Fig. 71). The 1747 property inventory, unlike records for other workers at the Müteferrika press, does not mention the names of these two engravers.²⁹⁷ Following the publication of the maps and charts they engraved for the 1732 printed edition of the *Cihānnümā*, no additional information is available about them, except for the later identification of Mıgırdıç Galatavi as the engraver of the images of the Qibla finder developed by Pietro Baron and printed in 1151/1738–1739.

The maps produced in this cartographic workshop varied in type and quality. The initial map created by Müteferrika in 1132/1719–1720 that represented the Sea of Marmara is only known through the preserved woodblock matrix, which reveals that it was rather schematic. In contrast, all subsequent maps were engraved on copper plates, resulting in greater detail and elaboration. Most of these maps not only outline the countries and regions but also showcase topographical features like mountains and hills. Additionally, they include depictions of characteristic animals, such as camels and crocodiles in the map of Egypt, and highlight rivers within the depicted areas. Latitudes and longitudes are shown on the world maps, encompassing the eastern and the western hemispheres, poles, and continents (visible in the *Cihānnümā* in the maps of Europe, Africa, Asia, North and South America). Many maps feature cartouches in Baroque style, suggesting their preparation followed Western models (Johannes Blaeu's *Atlas Maior*, in particular), as Ünver Rüstem's recent study demonstrates.²⁹⁸ Moreover, Rüstem underlines the following:

[These cartouches] relate to a much broader context that renders them still more resonant as case studies: they anticipate by almost a decade the emergence of an analogous building style – the Ottoman Baroque – that would revolutionize the architecture of Istanbul and usher in a far-reaching transformation of the Empire's visual culture.²⁹⁹

Emphasizing that – similar to the fact that this new architectural style was introduced by artists of Greek and Armenian origin – these Baroque cartouches were applied by an Armenian engraver, Mıgırdıç Galatavi, Ünver Rüstem considers

297 İMŞS, *Kısmet-i Askeri Mahkemesi*, 98, f. 40r; Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni*, p. 403.

298 See Rüstem, "Mapping Cosmopolitanism", p. 195–196.

299 Rüstem, "Mapping Cosmopolitanism", p. 190.

this novelty as “a generative stage in, rather than an ancillary byproduct of, the Ottomans’ turn to the Baroque”.³⁰⁰ However, he claims that some of these cartouches are an Ottoman interpretation, embedding traditional abstract and vegetal ornamentation (in Ahmed al-Kırımı’s cartouches, in particular) rather than a close imitation of the Western Baroque designs, while others (achieved mostly by Mıgırdıç Galatavi) are closer to their Western counterparts.³⁰¹ Stating that the Baroque-like design of these cartouches was not “a functional necessity or inevitability”, Rüstem suggests that – perhaps encouraged by Müteferrika – “Ahmed and Mıgırdıç were eager to go beyond the minimal requirements of their task by contributing something of their own”.³⁰²

İbrahim Müteferrika used printing technology to make geographical books and maps accessible to a broader audience. However, the print run of 500 copies each, while seemingly modest by Western standards and not fully sold during his lifetime, far exceeded the number of available manuscript copies of such texts and images.³⁰³ More significantly, Müteferrika provided the public with up-to-date information that undoubtedly broadened the Ottoman understanding of geography and cartography.

300 Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism”, p. 190.

301 Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism”, p. 196–198.

302 Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism”, p. 199, 205.

303 Compare Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi Esfârî'l-bihâr* (2018 edition), p. 48–59; Hagen, “El Yazmasının Kenarındaki Hayat”; Brentjes, “Mapmaking in Ottoman Istanbul between 1650 and 1750”.

5 Conclusions

The first Ottoman Muslim printing press and its driving force, İbrahim Müteferrika, have always created complicated understanding of their ambiguous success/failure. In an attempt to overcome this complexity, historians and intellectuals have searched for the reasons behind the delay and perhaps not so unconvincing start, according to the traditional historiographical interpretation, but rather the unconvincing continuation of the first Ottoman Muslim printing press. Various factors have been pointed out, such as the opposition of conservative religious functionaries, manuscript copyists and calligraphers, the lack of a real need for this innovation and of capable people to take on the realization of this idea, the specificity of the Arabic writing system, and so on.

Wahid Gdoura assessed the introduction and development of Ottoman Muslim printing in the context of the “long debate” (*le long débat*) between the “traditionalists” and the “innovators”. Gdoura divides this process into three periods: 1) from the mid-15th century, when printing with movable type was introduced in Europe, until 1588; 2) from 1588 to 1727; and 3) from 1729, when the first Müteferrika book appeared, until the end of the 18th century. Gdoura accepts that the first period was dominated by the “conservative party” (*parti conservateur*), which opposed the printing press. The second period began with Sultan Murad III’s *fermân* of 1588, which allowed Arabic-type books printed in Western Europe to be imported and sold on Ottoman soil by foreign merchants, and ended with Sultan Ahmed III’s *fermân* of 1727, which allowed the Müteferrika press to operate. According to Gdoura, the edict of 1588 was a sign of agreement between the opponents and supporters of printing, but after that the debate between the two parties occasionally flared up. In the third period, after the closure of the Müteferrika press in the late 1740s, the “conservative party” regained the upper hand and printing activity came to a standstill between 1756 and 1784.¹

Although not everyone would agree with Gdoura’s conceptualization, it is quite obvious that the introduction of printing in the Ottoman Muslim milieu was not an easy and smooth process. Printing was not banned, however. It was perceived as a “strange art” (*şan’at-ı garîbe*) rather than an unwonted innovation in religious matters (*bid’a*). This moderate attitude left the door open to its adoption. Not surprisingly then, its main agent, İbrahim Müteferrika, was able to persuade the high-ranking Ottoman officials to endorse and support his printing project. This first step turned out to be a decisive and irrevocable one. Not all Muslim religious functionaries can be blamed for not supporting the art of printing. Many of

1 Gdoura, *Le début de l’imprimerie arabe*, p. 83–122.

them owned books in Arabic script, even printed by Western European presses. Prominent religious functionaries were proofreaders at the Mütferrika press, and the grand mufti advised him on what to print.

The copyists were probably far more “responsible” for the delay and difficulties of introducing printing into the Ottoman Muslim milieu. A number of contemporaries of the Mütferrika press and the period immediately following its closure have stated that it was the army of copyists and the concern of the Ottoman authorities for the welfare of their guild that were the main factors behind the late introduction of printing. Initially, copyists may have been genuinely opposed to the opening of the printing press. They could not have known that printing would not threaten them. The influence of printing before its introduction was evaluated against the background of the already developed European printing. But the Ottoman Muslims, and perhaps the Europeans themselves, living in the first half of the 18th century, were completely unaware of the difficult and slow start of printing in Europe almost three centuries earlier. In fact, as Topdemir pointed out,² the print runs and circulation of the Mütferrika publications was so limited that it did not really threaten the livelihood of Ottoman copyists and calligraphers, and manuscript copying continued well into the late 19th century. Finally, the transition from manuscript culture to print culture witnessed the coexistence and interrelation of the two.

When Mütferrika’s idea of introducing printing was already in the air – in the early 1720s – he and his partner in the venture, Said Efendi, as well as their supporters at the Ottoman court, seemed to be quite enthusiastic. İbrahim Mütferrika hoped to enrich libraries with printed books, and Said Efendi intended to establish other printing presses in important provincial centers. Their printing endeavor aroused great curiosity among European literati, who for centuries had been astonished at the lack of printing in the Islamic world. They tried to explain this lack by suggesting that conservative Muslim society was not eager to adopt Western technologies and that the Ottoman authorities protected the livelihood of the numerous manuscript copyists. Once printing had been endorsed by the Ottoman ruling elite, European literati had great expectations for its future production, hoping that many ancient manuscripts, presumably preserved in the sultan’s seraglio, would also be printed and thus made available to a wider reading public. They emphasized the grand mufti’s initial reluctance to allow printing among Muslims and his subsequent retreat as a result of the grand vizier’s threat. Although no available Ottoman source openly discusses this opposition, it can easily be read between the lines of what Mütferrika wrote in 1726. He declared that he would only print

2 See Topdemir, *İbrahim Mütferrika ve Türk Matbaacılığı*, p. 27–39.

books on secular subjects, and this intention may have been based on his unspoken attempt to circumvent the obvious obstacles related to Muslim bias and/or fear of printing religious books.

Perhaps it was no accident that Ottoman Muslim printing was introduced by a person like İbrahim Müteferrika. A convert to Islam with European and Christian roots, he embodied a cultural symbiosis that combined the values of two civilizations – the Christian European one with a developed print culture and the Muslim Oriental one with a rooted manuscript culture. A person like him, already well acquainted with print culture, would be much more enthusiastic about introducing it to a milieu that did not know it. The reason for this delay lies in the fact that it was only in the first half of the 18th century that İbrahim Müteferrika appeared as an “unusual person” (*personnages hors du commun*) – in the words of Sinan Kunalp³ – who set out to establish a printing press, thus breaking the Ottoman Muslim stereotypes of the time.

But again, it seems a fortunate historical coincidence that Müteferrika appeared at a time when Ottoman Muslim society itself was much more receptive to such eccentric ideas. If the Tulip Age saw spectacular and expensive court ceremonies and celebrations, the construction of magnificent palaces imitating Western architectural styles, and the cultivation of lavish gardens of fragrant tulips, it seems that a printing press, although invented by infidels, would have been more enthusiastically supported.

İbrahim Müteferrika, a layman with no outstanding skills in printing, made his first attempts at printing in 1719, assisted by Yona, an experienced Jewish printer and typesetter. Later, around 1724, they were joined by Mehmed Said Efendi, who had been impressed by the art of printing while accompanying his father on an embassy to France in 1720–1721. Said supported İbrahim mainly financially. After two years, in 1726, the money ran out, and conservative circles and manuscript copyists alike were disturbed by this new printing venture, so Müteferrika wrote a treatise on the art of printing, in which he explained that it was merely a variant of manuscript copying of books. He applied to the authorities for permission to print, in view of the opposition that had arisen, and asked for financial support. Müteferrika and Said hold important positions in the central administration – İbrahim was a court steward and a diplomat, and Said was a clerk at the grand vizier’s correspondence office and the son of a high-ranking bureaucrat. So, in the summer of 1727, the two, without Yona, perhaps despite his claims, received a *fermān* to legalize the printing press. If there had been no objections, it may not have been necessary to obtain a

3 S. Kunalp, “Les débuts de l’imprimerie à Istanbul au XVIII^e siècle”, in Dumont (ed.), *Turquie: Livres d’hier, livres d’aujourd’hui*, p. 3.

special permit. Such permits had not been granted to non-Muslim printers in the Empire until at least the mid-19th century. In 1728, İbrahim and Said also received financial assistance in the form of a loan from the state treasury. Getting the loan would not have been difficult, as Said's influential father held the keys to this treasury. Subsequently, in late 1732, Said left the joint venture and İbrahim continued to print individually, if not until his death in January 1747, then at least until 1742, when his last book appeared. Yona and probably his sons helped İbrahim until his death. Foreign factors also played role in the opening and functioning of the printing house – skilled printers were probably brought from the Habsburg domains or France, presses were taken from Istanbul Armenians or imported from France, paper was also imported from France. A study of the watermarks on the paper used in Müteferrika's printed books shows that most of them were printed on paper of French rather than Venetian origin, although the latter was widely used in Ottoman bureaucracy and manuscript copying. This may have been related to the alleged French involvement in the establishment and operation of the Müteferrika press.

In this relatively welcoming environment, between 1727 and 1742, Müteferrika printed sixteen books, some of them quite large. In terms of contents, these publications followed the framework set out in his treatise on the means of printing, Sultan Ahmed III's edict granting a printing privilege, and Grand Mufti Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi's *fatwa* on the permissibility of printing. Ten Müteferrika publications were historical works. Two more publications, such as the *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr* and *Târîhü'l-Hindi'l-ğarbî*, were a mixture of information on history and geography. The *Cihännümâ*, the most magnificent product of the printing press, was a voluminous work of cosmography and geography. While one of the publications was about magnetism, i.e., dealing with physics, Müteferrika's own work, titled *Uşûlü'l-hikem*, was a book proposing European-inspired reforms for the improvement of the Ottoman army. He also printed a number of maps and charts, either separately or as appendices to these books. Other large printing projects failed. Müteferrika bypassed the main domain of the copyists – the duplication of religious texts – and preferred to print historical, geographical, cosmographical and lexicographical works. Some of the publications were his own choice, others were suggested by the grand mufti or printed on demand, such as Holderman's *Grammaire turque* and perhaps Baron's *Qibla Finder*. Müteferrika also changed his original plans according to the agenda of the time. While the publication of the *Cihännümâ* was well underway in 1730, he preferred to interrupt it for a while, for objective or subjective reasons, and to compose, by translating and compiling Western sources, and then publish in 1732 two essays on the necessity of military improvement and on magnetism. Both texts were required by current events. It was only after their publication, with which Müteferrika tried to present his arguments as soon as possible and thus keep his essays up to date, that he returned to the completion of the previous project.

Was İbrahim Müteferrika really successful in what he invested much of his wealth and his soul in? The commercial success of the Müteferrika press depended on two important factors: firstly, the subject of the texts printed and their relevance to the demands of the book market; and secondly, the relationship of these books to the manuscript layout tradition and their acceptance by readers. In terms of subject matter, as the press was forbidden to print religious texts, its publications covered fields that were less popular with the Muslim readership of the time. Probably Müteferrika's most marketable publications were the dictionaries and grammar books, as his property inventory shows. According to it, Müteferrika managed to sell about two-thirds of his output in seventeen years. This may be seen as a moderate commercial success, but it should be borne in mind that subsequent generations of printers who continued to use Müteferrika's presses and type were even less successful in marketing their books.

His commercial success obviously also depended on the design of an entirely new product, the printed Ottoman Turkish book in Arabic script. Insisting that printing was just another way of writing, Müteferrika opted for a new style of Arabic script that was closer to the most popular script in the Eastern part of the Muslim world, *naskh*, and avoided the repetition of the Maghribī style used in the Western publications of Arabic texts, whether Christian or Muslim. Müteferrika's Eastern version of the *naskh* style seems to have been more faithful to the specific script grammar of the Arabic language, and it made his publications much more acceptable to his readership. Movable type was far from being able to reproduce the organic nature of handwritten texts in Arabic script accurately and perfectly. Müteferrika attempted to print at least the titles and the *basmala* invocation in woodblocks, in order to come as close as possible to their typical appearance in the manuscripts. This was particularly important for the printed reproduction of the word Allah in the *basmala*, as Müteferrika wanted to do everything possible to avoid distorting this sensitive word by imperfect printing.

Müteferrika also tried to follow other features of the manuscript layout. In his books he included printed headpieces, borders and printer's colophons. He even experimented with a brand new "title" page, which contained information about the place and year of publication, but no title at all. Instead of the title of the book, the greater part of this page was taken up by three circles containing the honorary titles of the sultan, grand vizier, and grand mufti of the time, with the explanation that they allowed the book to be printed. Obviously, Müteferrika was more concerned with gaining the trust of his readers by emphasizing that his publications were authorized than with identifying them by a proper title page, which would make them more recognizable in the book market.

On the other hand, Müteferrika did not hesitate to reproduce human and animal images in some of his books and maps, despite the alleged Muslim bias against such

images. As some surviving copies of his books show, not all of his readers approved of his daring and tried to erase some parts of these images considered to be inappropriate and offensive. In terms of typographical quality, Müteferrika was probably most successful with the maps he printed. Although most of them were close replicas of Western sources, with only the Latin inscriptions replaced by Arabic ones, their quality was good enough to impress not only the local readership but also specialists abroad, so much so that some of his maps were later reproduced in French and Russian versions.

Müteferrika's printing venture was a one-act play whose spectators did not forget what they had seen when they left the theatre. On the contrary, they developed a taste for the art of printing, albeit slowly and over time. Ottoman Muslim society gradually became convinced of the benefits of printing. It brought a far greater dynamism to the process of spreading ideas through the power of the written word. No matter how small the print run, a printed book reached many more readers in a much shorter time than a manuscript and its limited number of copies. Printing technology also made the written word more relevant. New information, knowledge and ideas now had faster and more direct access to readers, and thus greater influence on the formation of individual and mass culture, personal worldviews and public opinion. In the 19th century, the newly developed typographic mind even led to the idea of reforming the Arabic script to make it more suitable for printing.

İbrahim Müteferrika and his pioneering role in the history of Ottoman Turkish printing are still a source of inspiration today. As this book and its extended bibliography show, the Müteferrika press not only deserves immense scholarly interest, but continues to attract attention in various ways. In 1993, Istanbul booksellers initiated the publication of the scholarly journal *Müteferrika*, while in 2013, the municipal government of Yalova, Turkey, established a Paper Museum named after him.⁴ In 2021–2022, Margareta Aslan, a professor at the Institute of Turkish and Central Asian Studies at Babeş-Bolyai University, founded in Cluj-Napoca, Müteferrika's hometown, an Exhibition and Documentation Center and an Academy of Cultural Diplomacy named after him, and organizes symposia dedicated to him. Recently, a project aiming to digitize Ottoman Turkish printed texts in Arabic script chose the name of Müteferrika to introduce its goals and activities.⁵ His outstanding

4 <https://www.yalova.bel.tr/tarihi-merkez/ibrahim-muteferrika-kagit-muzesi/7> (accessed on February 8, 2025).

5 <https://www.muteferrika.com/> (accessed on February 8, 2025).

personality also inspired some novelists and playwrights to fictionalize his life and printing endeavors in plays⁶ and novels.⁷

The fact that İbrahim Müteferrika is still such a remarkable source of inspiration is not surprising, as his boundless enthusiasm for printing motivated many people. It is true that Ottoman Muslim society hesitated for a long time before making its first journey into the world of the printed books, but despite its doubts and wanderings, thanks to his unprecedented determination and inspiring motivation, people of the past discovered and people of today continue to discover its enchanting fragrance and charm.

6 J. Baysal, *Cennetlik İbrahim Efendi (İbrahim Efendi Oyunu) [İbrahim Efendi in Paradise (The İbrahim Efendi Play)]*, Istanbul, 1992.

7 S. Kâmuran, *Macar: Tefrika-i Müteferrika [The Hungarian: The Story of Müteferrika]*, Istanbul, 2010.

Addendum 1

Comprehensive Record of Müteferrika's Printed Works

A.1 BOOKS

1. *Tercüme-i Şihâh-i Cevherî [Luġat-i Vānķūlu] / Translation of al-Jawhari's Şihâh*

Authors: Abu Nasr Ismail ibn Hammad al-Jawhari (d. 1010), Mehmed bin Mustafa el-Vani, or Vankulu (d. 1592)

Place: Koşantiniye [Istanbul]

Publisher: Dārü't-ṭibā'ati'l-ma'mûre [İbrahim Müteferrika and Mehmed Said]

Date: *Receb* 1, 1141/January 31, 1729

Subject: Philology, Lexicography (Arabic-Turkish dictionary)

Language: Arabic, Ottoman Turkish

Format: in-2°

Page size: 220 × 330 mm

Text area: 145 × 255 mm

Lines on page: variable, 33 or 34

Paper: French manufacture

Print run: 500 copies of each volume

Price: 35 piasters (unbound copy), 40 piasters (bound copy)

Contents:

Vol. 1:

f. [1v]–[2r] – preface by İbrahim Müteferrika (title indicated on f. 2r)

f. [2v]–[3r] – *fermān* of Sultan Ahmed III

f. [3r] – *fatwa* of Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi

f. [3v]–[5r] – assessments (*takrîz*) by 16 leading Ottoman jurists

f. [6r]–[8r] – *Vesîletü't-ṭibā'a* by İbrahim Müteferrika

f. [8v] – biography of al-Jawhari

f. [9r] – biography of Vankulu

f. [10r] – “key” (*miftāh*) for the use of the dictionary

f. [10r]–[12v] – table of contents of vol. 1

f. [13r]–[13v] – table of contents of vol. 2

p. 2–666 – main text with printed borders, without title

p. 666 – colophon

Vol. 2:

p. 2–755 – main text with printed borders, without title

p. 755 – colophon

f. [757–761] – errata tables of the first and second volumes

Later editions:

2nd – Abu Nasr Ismail al-Jawhari, *Luğat-ı Vānkūlu*, Vol. 1–2, Istanbul: Dārü’ṭ-ṭibā’ati’l-ma’mūre [Kadi İbrahim Efendi and Kadi Ahmed Efendi], 1169–1170/1756 (500 copies).

3rd – Abu Nasr Ismail al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şiḫāh-i Cevheri* [*Luğat-ı Vānkūlu*], Vol. 1–2, [Istanbul:] Dārü’ṭ-ṭibā’ati’l-cedīde, 1217–1218/1802–1803 (800 copies).

Modern editions:

Vankulu Mehmed Efendi (Mehmed b. Mustafâ el-Vânî), *Vankulu Lüğati*, ed. Mustafa Koç, Eyyüp Tanrıverdi, Istanbul, Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2014.

2. *Tuhfetü’l-kibâr fi esfâri’l-bihâr* / *Gift of the Nobles Regarding Naval Campaigns*

Author: Kâtib Çelebi [Mustafa bin Abdullah] (1609–1657)

Place: Koştantîniye [Istanbul]

Publisher: Dārü’ṭ-ṭibā’ati’l-ma’mūre [İbrahim Müteferrika and Mehmed Said]

Date: *Z’l-ka’de* 1, 1141/May 29, 1729

Subject: Geography, History (Ottoman maritime history)

Language: Ottoman Turkish

Format: in-4°

Page size: 175 × 260 mm

Text area: 122 × 192 mm

Lines on page: 25

Paper: French manufacture

Print run: 1,000 copies

Price: 2 or 3 piasters

Contents:

f. [1v–2v] – preface by İbrahim Müteferrika (title indicated on f. 2v)

f. [3r–3v] – assessments (*taḳrîz*) by four leading Ottoman jurists

f. [4r–5v] – table of contents

f. [6v–7r] – table of distances on continents, seas and oceans, table showing different measurements of distances on land and water

f. 1v–75r – main text with printed borders, without title

f. 75r – colophon

f. [76r–77v] – errata table

Maps and charts (copperplate):

1. Two hemispheres representing the Old World and the New World, 312 × 217 mm, 2 pages, unsigned; reproduced in the *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*.

2. Mediterranean and Black seas, 300 × 205 mm, 2 pages, unsigned; reproduced in the *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*.

3. Aegean Sea with the islands, 310 × 215 mm, 2 pages, unsigned; reproduced in the *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*.

4. Adriatic Sea and the Gulf of Venice, 305 × 218 mm, 2 pages, unsigned; reproduced in the *Kitāb-ı Cihānnumā li-Kātib Çelebi*.

5. Two compass roses with the names of the wings (*Şekl-i Pusula*), 310 × 211 mm, 2 pages, unsigned.

Later editions:

2nd – Kātib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi esfâri'l-bihâr*, [Istanbul]: Maṭba'a-i Bahriye, 1329/1911.

Modern editions (based on manuscript copies):

Kâtip Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi Esfâri'l-bihâr (Deniz Savaşları Hakkında Büyüklere Armağan)*, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay, Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1973.

Kâtip Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi Esfâri'l-bihâr (Deniz Savaşları Hakkında Büyüklere Armağan)*, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay, Istanbul: Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser, 1980.

Kâtip Çelebi, *Deniz Savaşları Hakkında Büyüklere Armağan (Tuhfetü'l-Kibâr fi Esfâri'l-Bihâr)*, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay, Istanbul: Kabalıcı, 2007.

Kâtip Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-Kibar fi-Esfâri'l-Bihar*, ed. İdris Bostan, Ankara: Denizcilik Müsteşarlığı, 2008.

Kâtip Çelebi, *The Gift to the Great Ones on Naval Campaigns*, ed. İdris Bostan, Ankara: Prime Ministry Undersecretary for Maritime Affairs, 2008.

Kâtip Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi Esfâri'l-bihâr*, ed. İdris Bostan, Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 2018.

Published translations:

Haji Khalifeh, *History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks*, transl. James Mitchell, London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1831 (in English).

Svatopluk Soucek (transl., ed.), *The History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks by Kâtip Çelebi*, Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2012 (in English).

3. *Tārīḥ-i seyyāḥ der beyân-ı zuhūr-i Ağvāniyān ve sebeb-i inhidām-ı binā-i devlet-i şāhān-ı Şafeviyān / A History of the Traveler Describing the Emergence of the Afghans and the Reasons for the Destruction of the Foundations of the State of the Safavid Shahs*

Author: Judasz Tadeusz Krusiński (1675–1756)

Contributor: İbrahim Müteferrika (ca. 1670–1747)

Place: Koşantiniye [Istanbul]

Publisher: Dārü't-ṭibā'ati'l-ma'mûre [İbrahim Müteferrika and Mehmed Said]

Date: Şafer 1, 1142/August 26, 1729

Subject: History (account of the Safavids' reign in Iran from 1499 up to 1727, and of the 1722 Afghan invasion in Iran)

Language: Ottoman Turkish

Format: in-4°

Page size: 150 × 258 mm

Text area: 100 × 160 mm

Lines on page: variable, 21 or 22

Paper: French manufacture

Print run: 1,200 copies

Price: 3 piasters

Contents:

f. [1v–3r] – preface by İbrahim Müteferrika (title indicated on f. 3r)

f. [3v] – order by Sultan Ahmed III and application by İbrahim Müteferrika

f. [4r–7v] – table of contents

f. 1r – note by İbrahim Müteferrika, explaining that he is the translator of the book

f. 1v – 97v – main text without title

f. 97v – colophon

Later editions:

2nd – *Tārīḫ-i ‘Osmāni, Birinci kısım: Tārīḫ-i Bosna der Zamān-ı Hekīmzāde ‘Alī Pāšā; Tārīḫ-i Afġān*, Istanbul: Takvīmḫāne-i ‘Āmire Maṭba‘ası, 1277/1860–1861.

Modern editions:

Nahide Şimşir (ed.), *Judasz Tadeusz Krusinski'nin İran Seyahatnamesi*, Istanbul: Post Yayınevi, 2013.

Judasz Tadeusz Krusinski, *Tārīḫ-i Seyyāh, Latinceden Osmanlı Türkçesine Çeviren: İbrahim Müteferrika*, ed. Recep Demir, Ankara: Grafiker, 2016.

Earlier editions:

Tadeusz Juda Krusiński, *Relation de mutationibus Regni Persarum*, Rome, 1727 (in Latin).

Tadeusz Juda Krusiński, *Histoire de la dernière revolution de Perse*, ed. Jean-Antoine du Cerceau, Paris: Briasson, 1728 (in French).

Juda Tadeusz Krusiński, *The History of the Revolution of Persia Taken from the Memoirs of Father Krusinski, Procurator of the Jesuits at Ispahan, Done into the English from the Original, Just Published at Paris by Father Du Cerceau*, London: J. Pemberton, 1728 (in English).

Published translations:

Juda Tadeusz Krusiński, *Tārīḫ-i seyyāh, hoc est: Chronicon peregrinantis seu Historia ultimi belli Persarum cum Aghwanis gesti, a tempore primae eorum in regnum persicum irruptionis ejusque occupationis, usque ad Eschrefum Aghwanum, Persiae regem continuata, ex codice turcico, in officina typographica recenti constantinopolitana impresso, versa ac notis quibusdam illustrata, cum Tabula imperatorum familiae othmanicae, ex codice manuscripto turcico, in fine adjecta*, transl., ed. Johann Christian Clodius, Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, 1731 (in Latin).

Juda Tadeusz Krusiński, *The Chronicles of a Traveller: or a History of the Afghan Wars with Persia, in the Beginning of the Last Century, from Their Commencement to the Accession of Sultan Ashruf, being a translation of the “Tareekh-i-Seeah”, from the*

Latin of J. C. Clodius, transl. George Newnham Mitford, London: James Ridgeway, 1840 (in English).

Y. T. Kruşinski, *Xristian Səyyahın Tarixi: Səfəvilər dövlətinin süqutuna dair qiymətli ilkin mənbə*, Baku: Kitab Klubu, 1993 (2nd ed. 2017), (in Azerbaijani).

Judas Taddeus Krusinski, *The History of the Late Revolutions in Persia: An Eyewitness Account of the Fall of the Safavid Dynasty*, ed. Rudi Matthee, London: Tauris, 2016 (in English).

4. *Tārīhü'l-Hindi'l-ğarbī el-müsemma bi-Ḥadīs-i nev / History of the West Indies, Named Fresh News*

Author: Muhammad al-Su'udi (d. 1591)

Place: Koşantiniye [Istanbul]

Publisher: Dārü't-ṭibā'ati'l-ma'mūre [İbrahim Müteferrika and Mehmed Said]

Date: *Evāsıt-ı Ramazān* 1142/March 29–April 7, 1730

Subject: Geography, History (account of the conquest and the geographical characteristics of North and South America)

Language: Ottoman Turkish

Format: in-4°

Page size: 150 × 210 mm

Text area: 100 × 160 mm

Lines on page: variable, between 20 and 23

Paper: French manufacture

Print run: 500 copies

Price: 2 or 3 piasters

Contents:

f. [1v–3v] – preface by İbrahim Müteferrika

f. 1v–91v – main text with title

f. 91v – colophon

Illustrations (woodcuts): 13 black-and-white engravings on f. 15r, 38v, 46v, 49r, 53v, 55v, 64r, 73v, 79v, 86r, 87v, 89v, 91r

Maps and charts (copperplate):

1. Cosmological plan according to Ptolemy, 324 × 300 mm, signed by İbrahim Müteferrika and dated 1142/1729–1730, 2 p.; reproduced in the *Kitāb-ı Cihānnümā li-Kātib Çelebi*.

2. Two charts of climes according to ancient and modern astronomy, 280 × 205 mm, unsigned, 2 p.; reproduced in the *Kitāb-ı Cihānnümā li-Kātib Çelebi* and signed by Ahmad al-Kırımı.

3. Two hemispheres representing the Old and the New World, 312 × 217 mm, unsigned, 2 p.; this map was reproduced from the second Müteferrika edition

Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi esfâri'l-bihâr, reproduced again in the *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*.

4. World map with the “ancient” and “new” continents, 310 × 215 mm, unsigned, 2 p.; reproduced in the *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*.

Later editions:

2nd – Muhammad al-Su‘udi, *Ḥadîş-i Nev: Târîh-i Hind-i Ğarbî*, Istanbul: Maṭba‘a-i Ṭophâne-i ‘Âmire, 1292/1875–1876.

Modern editions and translations (based on manuscript copies):

Muhammed b. Emir el-Hasan Sudi, *Tarih-i Hind-i Ğarbî veya Hadis-i Nev / A History of the Discovery of America*, transl. Süheyla Artemel, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1987.

Tülay Duran (ed.), *Tarih-i Hind-i Ğarbî, veya, Hadis-i Nev / History of the West Indies Known as the New Hadith*, transc., Turkish transl. Fuat Yavuz, Ayhan Özyurt, Tevfik Temelkuran, English transl. Robert Bragner, Istanbul: Tarihi Araştırmalar Vakfı, 1999.

5. *Târîh-i Timûr Gürkân li-Nazmîzâde Efendi / History of Tamerlane [Translated] by Nazmizade*

Author: Ahmad ibn Abdullah ibn Arabshah (d. 1450)

Contributor: Nazmizade Hüseyin Murteza (d. 1720/1723)

Place: Koşantîniye [Istanbul]

Publisher: Dârü’l-ṭibâ‘ati’l-ma‘mûre [İbrahim Müteferrika and Mehmed Said]

Date: *Zîl-ka‘de* 1, 1142/May 18, 1730

Subject: History (account of Tamerlane’s reign between 1370 and 1405 and his devastating conquests in Asia and the Middle East)

Language: Ottoman Turkish

Format: in-4°

Page size: 150 × 257 mm

Text area: 100 × 160 mm

Lines on page: variable, between 20 and 22

Paper: French manufacture

Print run: 500 copies

Price: 3 piasters

Contents:

f. [1v–4r] – preface by İbrahim Müteferrika

f. [4v–6v] – table of contents

f. 1v–129r – main text with title

f. 129r – colophon

Later editions:

2nd – *Târîh-i Timûrlenk li-Nazmîzâde*, Istanbul: Cerîdehâne Maṭba‘ası, 1277/1860–1861.

6. *Tārīḥ-i Mıṣrı'l-cedīd li-Süheyli Efendi; Tārīḥ-i Mıṣrı'l-ḳadīm li-Süheyli Efendi / A History of Modern Egypt by Suhaili Efendi; A History of Ancient Egypt by Suhaili Efendi*

Author: Ahmad ibn Hamdam (1562–1632) known as Suhaili

Place: Ḳoṣtaṅṅiniye [Istanbul]

Publisher: Dārü't-ṭibā'ati'l-ma'müre [İbrahim Müteferrika and Mehmed Said]

Date: *Zī'l-ḥicce* 1, 1142/June 17, 1730

Subject: History (account of the historical events in Egypt from the creation of the world to the Ottoman conquest in 1517 and then between 1517 and 1629)

Language: Ottoman Turkish

Format: in-4°

Page size: 160 × 215 mm

Text area: 100 × 160 mm

Lines on page: variable, 20 or 21

Paper: French manufacture

Print run: 500 copies

Price: 2 or 3 piasters

Contents:

f. [1v–4r] – preface by İbrahim Müteferrika

f. 1v–65v – main text of *Tārīḥ-i Mıṣrı'l-cedīd li-Süheyli Efendi* with title

f. 65v - colophon

f. 1v–51v – main text of *Tārīḥ-i Mıṣrı'l-ḳadīm li-Süheyli Efendi* with title

f. 51v – colophon

Map (copperplate): Clime of Egypt (*İḳlīm-i Mıṣır*), unsigned, 395 × 495 mm

7. *Gülşen-i Ḥulefā li-Nazmizāde Efendi / The Rose Garden of the Caliphs by Nazmizade Efendi*

Author: Nazmizade Hüseyin Murteza (d. 1720/1723)

Place: Ḳoṣtaṅṅiniye [Istanbul]

Publisher: Dārü't-ṭibā'ati'l-ma'müre [İbrahim Müteferrika and Mehmed Said]

Date: *Şafer* 1, 1143/August 16, 1730

Subject: History (account of the Abbasids' reign and the following Muslim governors in Baghdad between 744 and 1717)

Language: Ottoman Turkish

Format: in-2°

Page size: 185 × 300 mm

Text area: 123 × 222 mm

Lines on page: 29

Paper: French manufacture

Print run: 500 copies

Price: 4 or 5 piasters

Contents:

f. [1v–3v] – preface by İbrahim Müteferrika

f. [4r–5r] – table of contents

f. 1v–130r – main text with title

f. 130r – colophon

Later editions:

2nd – Nazmizade Hüseyin Murteza, *Gülşen-i Hulefâ*, n. p., 1305/1887–1888.

Modern editions (based on manuscript copies):

Nazmi-zâde Murteza, *Gülşen-i Hulefâ: Bağdat Tarihi 762–1717*, ed. Mehmet Karataş, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014.

8. *Grammaire turque ou Méthode courte & facile pour apprendre la langue turque; avec recueil de noms, de verbes, & des manieres de parler les plus necessaires a sçavoir; avec plusieurs dialogues familiers*

Author: Jean-Baptiste Holderman (1694–1730)

Place: Constantinople [Istanbul]

Publisher: [İbrahim Müteferrika and Mehmed Said]

Date: 1730

Subject: Philology (grammar manual of the Turkish language in French)

Language: French, Ottoman Turkish

Format: in-4°

Page size: 160 × 210 mm

Text area: 110 × 170 mm

Lines on page: 26

Paper: French manufacture

Print run: 1,000 copies

Price: 2,5 or 3 piasters

Contents:

f. [1r] – title page

f. [2r–3r] – dedication to Cardinal de Fleury (1653–1743)

f. [4r–4v] – preface

f. [5r–8r] – introduction

p. 1–194 – main text

p. [195–200] – table of contents

p. [201–202] – errata table

Later editions:

Jean Baptiste D. Holderman, *Grammaire turque ou Méthode courte & facile pour apprendre la langue turque (1730)*, Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2009 (reprint).

9. *Uşûlü'l-hikem fî nizâmi'l-ümem / Reasonable Principles for the Organization of States*

Author: İbrahim Müteferrika (ca. 1670–1747)

Place: Koşantiniye [Istanbul]

Publisher: Dârü't-tıbâ'ati'l-'âmire, İbrahim Müteferrika

Date: *Evâsıt-ı Şa'bân* 1144/February 8–17, 1732

Subject: Politics, Military affairs (proposal of military reforms in the Ottoman Empire)

Language: Ottoman Turkish

Format: in-4°

Page size: 133 × 195 mm

Text area: 80 × 142 mm

Lines on page: 19

Paper: French manufacture

Print run: 500 copies

Price: 1 piaster

Contents:

f. 1v–48v – main text with title and printed headpiece

f. 48v – colophon

Modern editions:

Adil Şen (ed.), *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Usûlü'l-Hikem fî Nizâmi'l-Ümem*, Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1995.

İbrahim Müteferrika, *Milletlerin Düzeninde İlmi Usüller*, ed. Ömer Okutan, Istanbul: MEB, 1990.

İbrahim Müteferrika, *Usûlü'l-Hikem fî Nizâmi'l-Ümem: İnceleme, Metin*, ed. Coşkun Ünsal, Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi (TÜBA), 2022.

Published translations:

İbrahim Müteferrika, *Traité de la tactique ou méthode artificielle pour l'ordonnance des troupes, ouvrage publié et imprimé à Constantinople par Ibrahim officier Muteferrika de la Porte Ottomane, l'an de l'Hégira 1144*, transl. Charles Réviczki, Vienna: Jean-Tom. de Trattner, 1769 (in French).

İbrahim Müteferrika, *Traité de la tactique ou méthode artificielle pour l'ordonnance des troupes, ouvrage publié et imprimé à Constantinople par Ibrahim officier Muteferrika de la Porte Ottomane, l'an de l'Hégira 1144*, transl. Charles Réviczki, Paris, 1769 (in French).

İbrahim Müteferrika, *Traité de la tactique ou méthode artificielle pour l'ordonnance des troupes (1769)*, ed. Ferenc Tóth, Paris: Institut de stratégie comparée, 2018 (in French).

İbrahim Müteferrika, *Изображение тактики, или искусный образ войск установления, обнародованное и напечатанное в Константинополе на*

турецком языке Ибрагим Эфендием Муттеферриком Порты Оттоманской в 1144 году Эгирь, то есть год спустя после последнего возмущения и низвержения султана Ахмета в 1730 году приключившегося, Saint Petersburg, 1777 (in Russian).

10. *Füyüzât-ı Mıknatısiye / The Benefits of Magnetism*

Author: İbrahim Müteferrika (ca. 1670–1747)

Place: Koşantıniye [Istanbul]

Publisher: Dārü't-ṭibā'ati'l-‘āmire, İbrahim Müteferrika

Date: *Ramażân* 1, 1144/February 27, 1732

Subject: Physics (account of magnetism and the compass device)

Language: Ottoman Turkish

Format: in-4°

Page size: 132 × 205 mm

Text area: 80 × 142 mm

Lines on page: 19

Paper: French manufacture

Print run: 500 copies

Price: 1 piaster

Contents:

f. 1v–6r – preface by İbrahim Müteferrika with title and printed headpiece

f. 6r–23v – main text

f. 23v – colophon

Chart: f. [24v–25r] – a black-and-white copperplate engraving depicting the deviation of the compass needle detected in Istanbul in 1144/1731–1732, unsigned, 1 p.; the same engraving was included in the *Tuḥfetü'l-kibār fi esfāri'l-bihār* and reproduced again in the *Kitāb-ı Cihānnümā li-Kātib Çelebi*.

Modern editions:

Şahap Demirel, “İbrahim Müteferrika’nın Füyuzat-ı Mıknatısiye (Mıknatısın Yararları) Adlı Kitap”, *D.T.C.F. Atatürk’ün 100. Doğum Yılına Armağan Dergisi*, Ankara, 1982, p. 265–330.

11. *Kitāb-ı Cihānnümā li-Kātib Çelebi / The Book of the Mirror of the World by Kātib Çelebi*

Authors: Kātib Çelebi [Mustafa bin Abdullah] (1609–1657), Ebu Bekir ed-Dımaşki (d. 1691)

Contributor: İbrahim Müteferrika (ca. 1670–1747)

Place: Koşantıniye [Istanbul]

Publisher: Dārü't-ṭibā'ati'l-‘āmire [İbrahim Müteferrika]

Date: *Muḥarrem* 10, 1145/July 3, 1732

Subject: Geography, Astronomy (cosmographic account of Asia and Asia Minor)

Language: Ottoman Turkish

Format: in-2°

Page size: 190 × 305 mm

Text area: 125 × 238 mm

Lines on page: 31

Paper: French manufacture

Print run: 500 copies

Price: 30 piasters (unbound copy, probably without maps and charts), 50 piasters (bound copy with maps and charts)

Contents:

f. [1v–3r] – preface by İbrahim Müteferrika

f. [4r–14v] – table of contents

p. 2–421 – main text by Kâtib Çelebi with title and printed headpiece

p. 422–698 – addendum by Ebu Bekir ed-Dimaşki

p. 698 – colophon

Maps and charts (copperplate):

1. Armillary sphere, 175 × 240 mm (signed by Ahmed al-Kırımı, 1 p.)

2. Geometrical figures, 160 × 236 mm (unsigned, 1 p.)

3. Earth's sphericity, 162 × 236 mm (signed by Ahmed al-Kırımı, 1 p.)

4. Cosmological plan, 300 × 195 mm (unsigned, 2 p.)

5. Cosmological plan according to Ptolemy, 324 × 300 mm (signed by İbrahim Müteferrika and dated 1142/1729–1730, 2 p.; the same chart is also included in the *Tārīhü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî el-musemmî bi-Ḥadîs-i nev*)

6. Celestial chart, 340 × 250 mm (signed by Mıgırđıç Galata, 2 p.)

7. Shapes of the heavenly spheres, 170 × 265 mm (signed by Ahmed al-Kırımı, 1 p.)

8. Heliocentric system after Copernicus and Tycho Brahé, 167 × 265 mm (unsigned, 1 p.)

9. Division of the Globe into zones, 165 × 235 mm (unsigned, 1 p.)

10. Three tables of climes, distances and horizons, 165 × 235 mm (signed by Ahmed al-Kırımı, 1 p.)

11. Two charts of climes according to ancient and modern astronomy, 280 × 205 mm (signed by Ahmed al-Kırımı, 2 p.; the same charts are also included in the *Tārīhü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî el-musemmî bi-Ḥadîs-i nev*)

12. Wind roses and compass, 167 × 240 mm (signed by Mıgırđıç Galata, 1 p.)

13. Compass and deviation of the magnetic arrow in the west direction as seen in 1145/1732–1733 in Istanbul, 171 × 250 mm (unsigned, 1 p.; the same chart is included also in the *Fuyüzât-ı Miknâtısiye*)

14. The two hemispheres representing the Old World and the New World, 312 × 217 mm (signed by Ahmed al-Kırımı, 2 p.; included also in the *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi esfâri'l-bihâr* and *Tārīhü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbî el-musemmî bi-Ḥadîs-i nev*)

15. Mediterranean and Black Seas, 300 × 205 (unsigned, 2 p.; included also in the *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi esfâri'l-bihâr*)
16. Adriatic Sea and the Gulf of Venice, 305 × 218 (unsigned, 2 p.; included also in the *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi esfâri'l-bihâr*)
17. Aegean Sea with the islands, 310 × 215 (unsigned, 2 p.; this map is included in the *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi esfâri'l-bihâr*)
18. World map with the “ancient” and “new” continents, 310 × 215 mm (unsigned, 2 p.; this map is included in the *Târîhü'l-Hindi'l-garbi el-musemmi bi-Ḥadîs-i nev*)
19. Europe, 150 × 195 (unsigned, 1 p.)
20. Africa, 150 × 195 (unsigned, 1 p.)
21. Asia, 150 × 195 (unsigned, 1 p.)
22. North and South Americas, 150 × 195 (unsigned, 1 p.)
23. Arctic and Antarctic regions, 170 × 240 (unsigned, 1 p.)
24. Japan, 127 × 165 (unsigned, 1 p.)
25. New Guinea, 165 × 205 (signed by Ahmed al-Kırımı, 1 p.)
26. East Indies, 140 × 245 (unsigned, 1 p.)
27. East Indies, 350 × 270 (signed by Mıgırđıç Galatavi, 2 p.)
28. Molucca, 170 × 227 (signed by Ahmed al-Kırımı, 1 p.)
29. Sumatra, 145 × 170 (unsigned, 1 p.)
30. Borneo and Philippines, 153 × 203 (unsigned, 1 p.)
31. South China, 145 × 190 (unsigned, 1 p.)
32. North China, 350 × 252 (signed by Mıgırđıç Galatavi, 2 p.)
33. India, 350 × 265 (signed by Mıgırđıç Galatavi, 2 p.)
34. Iran, 350 × 267 (signed by Ahmed al-Kırımı, 2 p.)
35. Transoxiana, 350 × 267 (signed by Mıgırđıç Galatavi, 2 p.)
36. Azerbaijan, 167 × 188 (unsigned, 1 p.)
37. Caucasus, 350 × 266 (signed by Ahmed al-Kırımı, 2 p.)
38. Arabian Peninsula, 350 × 265 (signed by Ahmed al-Kırımı, 2 p.)
39. İçel, Karaman, Anatolia and Sivas, 345 × 260 (signed by Mıgırđıç Galatavi and İbrahim Müteferrika, 2 p.)
40. The Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, 340 × 245 (unsigned, 2 p.)

Modern editions:

Fikret Sarıcaođlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Vol. 1 (Tıpkıbasım), Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2009 (facsimile edition).

Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnüma (Müteferrika Tıpkı Basım)*, İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A. Ş., 2008 (facsimile edition).

Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnüma Kâtib Çelebi (Müteferrika Tıpkı Basım)*, İstanbul: Boyut Yayınları, 2015 (facsimile edition).

Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ (Sadelerştirilmiş Metin)*, ed. Bekir Karlıđa, Said Öztürk, İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A. Ş., 2010 (adaptation).

Kâtib Çelebi, *Cihânnüma Kâtib Çelebi (Sadeleştirilmiş Metin)*, ed. Bekir Karlığa, Said Öztürk, Istanbul: Mahya Yayınları, 2013 (adaptation).

Published translations:

Faut Sezgin, Karl Ehrig-Eggert, Eckhard Neubauer (eds.), *Kâtib Çelebi (Hâğğî Halifa) (d. 1067/1657) and the Ğihân-nümâ*, Vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 2008 (in German).

Gottfried Hagen, Robert Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography: Translation of Cihânnüma by Kâtib Çelebi*, transl. Ferenc Csirkés, John Curry, Gary Leiser, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2022 (in English).

Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, “L’Afrique dans la cosmographie de Kâtib Çelebi”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 40, 2012, p. 121–170 (in French).

Louis Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Description historique et géographique de l’Asie Mineure*, Vol. 2, Paris: Arthus Bertrand, Libraire de la Société de géographie, 1852, p. 637–742 (in French).

Matthias Norberg, *Geographia orientalis Gihan numa ex Turcico in Latinum versa*, London: Literis Berlingianis, 1818 (in Latin).

12. *Taḳvîmü’t-tevârîḥ li-Kâtib Çelebi / Chronological Tables by Kâtib Çelebi*

Authors: Kâtib Çelebi [Mustafa bin Abdullah] (1609–1657), Şeyhi Mehmed Efendi (1668–1731), İbrahim Müteferrika (ca. 1670–1747)

Place: Koşaḫniye [Istanbul]

Publisher: İbrahim Müteferrika

Date: *Muḫarrem* 1, 1146/June 14, 1733

Subject: History (chronological tables of the historical events from Adam’s time to 1733)

Language: Persian, Ottoman Turkish

Format: in-4°

Page size: 170 × 290 mm

Text area: 95 × 205 mm

Lines on page: 27

Paper: French manufacture

Print run: 500 copies

Price: 5 piasters

Contents:

f. [1r–2r] – biography of Kâtib Çelebi

f. [3v–5v] – preface by İbrahim Müteferrika

f. [5v–6r] – table of contents

p. 2–247 – main text with title and printed headpiece

p. 247 – colophon

Later editions:

2nd – Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü't-tevârih ve'l-ahbâr*, Istanbul: Takvîmhâne-i 'Âmire Maṭba'ası, 1276/1859–1860.

3rd – Kâtib Çelebi, *Takvîmü't-tevârih*, Vol. 1, Paris: Ali Suavi, 1291/1874–1875.

Modern editions (based on manuscript copies):

Kâtîp Çelebi, *Takvîmü't-Tevârih, indeksli tıpkıbasım*, ed. Semiha Nurdan, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2022 (facsimile).

Published translations:

Giovanni Battista Donado, *Osservationi fatte della letteratura de Turchi*, Venice: Andrea Poletti, 1688, p. 102–116 (in Italian).

Giovanni Rinaldo Conte Carli, *Chronologia historica, scritta in lingua Turca, Persiana, & Araba da Hazi Halifé Mustafá, e tradotta nell'Idioma Italiano da Gio. Rinaldo Carli, nobile Justinopolitano e dragomano della serenissima repubblica di Venezia*, Venice: Andrea Poletti, 1697 (in Italian).

13. *Târih-i Na'îmâ | Na'îma's History*

Author: Mustafa Na'îma (1655–1716)

Place: Koşantîniye [Istanbul]

Publisher: İbrahim Müteferrika

Date: *Evâsıt-ı Muḥarrem* 1147/June 13–22, 1734 (vol. 1), *Evâsıt-ı Cemâzîyü'l-evvel* 1147/October 9–18, 1734 (vol. 2)

Subject: History (account of the historical events in the Ottoman Empire between 1574 and 1660)

Language: Ottoman Turkish

Format: in-2°

Page size: 200 × 330 mm

Text area: 120 × 250 mm

Lines on page: 33

Paper: French manufacture

Print run: 500 copies

Price: 20 piasters (unbound copy)

Contents:

Vol. 1:

f. [1v–2r] – preface by İbrahim Müteferrika

f. [2v–6v] – introduction to the history of Islamic and Ottoman statehood by İbrahim Müteferrika

f. [7r–12r] – table of contents

p. 2–701 – main text with title and printed headpiece

p. 701 – colophon

Vol. 2:

f. [1r–3v] – table of contents

p. 2–711 – main text with title and printed headpiece

p. 711 – colophon

p. [713–741] – addendum by Mustafa Na'ima relating the 1703 rebellion against Sultan Mustafa II (1664–1703; r. 1695–1703) and his close associate Grand Mufti Feyzullah Efendi (1639–1703; in office 1695–1703)

p. [741] – list of books printed by İbrahim Müteferrika

Later editions:

2nd – Mustafa Na'ima, *Tārīḥ-i Na'imā*, [Istanbul]: [Maṭba'a-i 'Āmire], 1259/1843–1844.

3rd – Mustafa Na'ima, *Tārīḥ-i Na'imā*, [Istanbul]: Maṭba'a-i 'Āmire, 1280/1863–1864.

4th – Mustafa Na'ima, *Tārīḥ-i Na'imā*, [Istanbul]: Maṭba'a-i 'Āmire, 1281–1283/1864–1867.

5th – Canib, Ali (ed.), *Na'imā Tārīḥī*, [Ankara]: Ma'arif Vekāleti, 1927.

Modern editions:

Na'imā Mustafa Efendi, *Na'imā Tarihi*, ed. Zuhuri Danişman, Vol. 1–6, Istanbul: Zuhuri Danişman Yayınevi, 1967–1969 (adaptation).

Na'imā Mustafa Efendi, *Tārīḥ-i Na'imā (Ravzatü'l-Hüseyn fî hulâsati aḥbâri'l-hâfikayn)*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli, Vol. 1–4, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007, 2nd ed. 2014 (transcription).

Published translations:

Annals of the Turkish Empire, from 1591 to 1659 of the Christian Era, transl. Charles Fraser, Vol. 1, London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1832 (in English).

Matthias Norberg, *Turkiska rikets Annaler; sammandragne ur dess egna Urkunder*, Vol. 2, Härnösand: Jonas Svedbom, 1822 (in Swedish).

14. *Tārīḥ-i Rāşid Efendi; Tārīḥ-i Çelebizāde Efendi / Raşid Efendi's History; Çelebizade Efendi's History*

Authors: Raşid Mehmed (c. 1670–1735); Küçükçelebizade İsmail Asım (d. 1760)

Place: Koşantiniye [Istanbul]

Publisher: İbrahim Müteferrika

Date: *Zî'l-ḥicce* 1, 1153/February 17, 1741

Subject: History (account of the historical events in the Ottoman Empire between 1660 and 1729).

Language: Ottoman Turkish

Format: in-2°

Page size: 195 × 305 mm

Text area: 130 × 250 mm

Lines on page: 33

Paper: French manufacture

Print run: [500 copies]

Price: 30 piasters (unbound copy), 40 piasters (bound copy)

Contents:

Tārīḥ-i Râşid Efendi

Vol. 1:

f. [1v] – title page (without title)

f. [2v–3v] – preface by İbrahim Müteferrika

f. [4r–15v] – table of contents

f. 1v–277r – main text with title and printed headpiece

f. 277r – colophon

Vol. 2:

f. [1v] – title page (without title)

f. [2r–9v] – table of contents

f. 1v–194r – main text with title and printed headpiece

f. 194r – colophon

Vol. 3:

f. [1r–2v] – table of contents

f. 1v–114v – main text with title and printed headpiece

f. 114v – colophon

Tārīḥ-i Çelebizâde Efendi

f. [1r–5v] – table of contents

f. 1v–158v – main text with title and printed headpiece

f. 158v – colophon

Later editions:

2nd – *Tārīḥ-i Râşid, Tārīḥ-i Çelebizâde Efendi*, ed. Kemal Efendi, Istanbul: Matba‘a-i ‘Âmire, 1281–1282/1864–1866.

Modern editions:

Râşid Mehmed Efendi, Çelebizâde İsmail Âsım Efendi, *Târih-i Râşid ve Zeyli*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan, Yunus Uğur, Baki Çakır et al., Istanbul: Klasik, 2013.

Published translations:

Matthias Norberg, *Turkiska rikets Annaler, sammandragne ur dess egna Urkunder*, Vol. 3, Härnösand: Jonas Svedbom, 1822 (in Swedish).

15. *Aḥvâl-i ğazavât der diyâr-ı Bosna / The State of Holy Wars in the Lands of Bosnia*

Author: Ömer Bosnavi/Novljanin (first half of the 18th century)

Place: Koştantiniye [Istanbul]

Publisher: [İbrahim Müteferrika]

Date: *Muḥarrem* 1, 1154/March 19, 1741

Subject: History (account of the battles in Bosnia during the 1736–1739 Ottoman-Austrian War)

Language: Ottoman Turkish

Format: in-4°

Page size: 150 × 258 mm

Text area: 80 × 160 mm

Lines on page: 21

Paper: French manufacture

Print run: [500 copies]

Price: [1 piaster]

Contents:

f. 1v–62r – main text with title and printed headpiece

f. 62r–62v – postscript by İbrahim Müteferrika

f. 62v – colophon

Later editions:

2nd – *Tārīḥ-i ‘Oṣmāni, Birinci kısım: Tārīḥ-i Bosna der Zamān-ı Hekīmzāde ‘Alī Pāṣā, Tārīḥ-i Afğān*, Istanbul: Ceridehāne Maṭba‘ası, 1277/1860–1861.

3rd – *Tārīḥ-i Bosna der Zamān-ı Hekīmzāde ‘Alī Pāṣā*, Istanbul: Süleymān Efendi Maṭba‘ası, 1293/1876–1877.

Modern editions:

Bosnavî Ömer, *Bosna Savaşları*, ed. Mehmet Açıkgözoğlu, Istanbul: Ötüken, 1977 (adaptation).

Ömer Bosnavi, *Tarih-i Bosna der Zaman-ı Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa*, ed. Kâmil Su, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1979 (transcription).

Published translations:

Die Kriege in Boßnien, in den Feldzügen 1737, 1738 und 1739, beschrieben von dem zu Novi in Boßnien bestellt gewesenen gelehrten Kadi Omer Effendi, transl. Johann Nepomuk Dubsy, Vienna: Johann David Hörling, 1789 (in German).

History of the War in Bosnia during the Years 1737-8 and 9, transl. Charles Fraser, [London], 1830 (in English).

Omer Novljanin, Ahmed Hadžinesimović, *Obrana Bosne 1736–1739: dvije bosanske kronike* [*The Defense of Bosnia 1736–1739: Two Bosnian Chronicles*], transl. Fehim Nametak, Lamija Hadžiosmanović, Zenica: Islamska pedagoška akademija, 1994.

Omer Novljanin, Ahmed Hadžinesimović, *Ljetopisi* [*Annals*]; Yusuf Livnjak, *Putopis* [*Travelogue*], Sarajevo: BZK Preporod, 2010.

16. *Lisānū’l-‘Acem* [*Ferheng-i Şu’urī*] / *The Persian Language* [*Shu’uri’s Dictionary*]

Author: Hasan Shu’uri (d. 1105/1693–1694)

Place: Koşantiniye [Istanbul]

Publisher: Dārū’ṭ-ṭibā’ati’l-ma’müre [İbrahim Müteferrika]

Date: *Şa’bān* 1, 1155/October 1, 1742

Subject: Philology, Lexicography (Persian-Turkish dictionary)

Language: Persian, Ottoman Turkish

Format: in-2°

Page size: 205 × 323 mm

Text area: 130 × 250 mm

Lines on page: 33

Paper: French manufacture

Print run: [500 copies]

Price: [20 piasters]

Contents:

Vol. 1:

f. [1r] – title page (without title)

f. [2r] – “key” (*miftāḥ*) for the use of the dictionary

f. [2r–2v] – table of contents

f. 1v–454v – main text with title and printed headpiece

f. 454v – colophon

Vol. 2:

f. [1r] – title page (without title)

f. [2r] – table of contents

f. 1v–451r – main text with title and printed headpiece

f. 451r – colophon

Later editions:

2nd – *Ferheng-i Şu‘urî*, Vol. 1, Istanbul: Cemāl Efendi Maṭba‘ası, 1314/1896–1897.

Modern editions:

Şu‘urî Hasan Efendi, *Ferheng-i Şu‘urî: Lisânu’l-Acem*, ed. Ozan Yılmaz, Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2019.

A.2 MAPS

1. [Sea of Marmara]

Author: [İbrahim Müteferrika (ca. 1670–1747)]

Place: [Istanbul]

Publisher: [İbrahim Müteferrika]

Date: 1132/1719–1720

Language: Ottoman Turkish

Size: 195 × 485 mm

Medium: woodcut

2. *Baħriye-i Baħr-ı Siyāh / Nautical (Portolan) Chart of the Black Sea*

Author: [İbrahim Müteferrika]
Place: [Istanbul]
Publisher: [İbrahim Müteferrika]
Date: 1137/1724–1725
Language: Ottoman Turkish
Size: 660 × 990 mm
Medium: copperplate

3. *Memālik-i İrān / Lands of Iran*

Author: İbrahim Müteferrika (ca. 1670–1747)
Place: [Istanbul]
Publisher: [İbrahim Müteferrika]
Date: 1142/1729–1730
Language: Ottoman Turkish
Size: 480 × 580 mm
Medium: copperplate

4. *İklīm-i Mıṣır / Clime of Egypt*

Author: [İbrahim Müteferrika (ca. 1670–1747)]
Place: [Istanbul]
Publisher: [İbrahim Müteferrika]
Date: [1142/1730]
Language: Ottoman Turkish
Size: 395 × 495 mm
Medium: copperplate

Addendum 2

Inventory of İbrahim Müteferrika's Assets Recorded on April 1, 1747 (Excerpts)

İstanbul Müftülüğü Şeriye Sicilleri, Kısmet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi, register 98

[f. 39r]

The late printer İbrahim Efendi, son of Abdurrahman, who lived in the Mismari Şuca neighborhood near the holy mosque of Sultan Selim Khan, God's mercy be upon him, in the protected city of Istanbul, passed away before [this date]. His legitimate heirs are his wife Hadice Hatun, daughter of Abdullah, and his underage daughter Ayşe. His inheritance consists of eight shares, one of which is for the said wife and the remaining seven for the said daughter as his sole direct heir. After [the above] was established, the inheritance was inventoried and divided at the request and with the assistance of the court-appointed superintendent, the pride of the kadis, İbrahim Efendi, son of El-Hac Ali, and Halil Efendi, son of Maksud, legally authorized by the said Hadice Hatun, daughter of Abdullah, mother of the said Ayşe, and her court-appointed guardian. The following is an inventory of the inheritance of the said deceased [written] on *Rebii'l-evvel* 20, 1160.¹

[f. 40r]

Only the said Ayşe will have the right to sell the books printed by the said late İbrahim Efendi and mentioned below, for her own benefit, at approximate prices, after having fully bound, bordered, gilded and finished those which are incomplete. This was reported by impartial Muslims who were well informed about the case, after the printed books, which were kept in a stone room in a place called Tophane, adjacent to the holy mosque of the late Sultan Selim Khan, peace and mercy of God be upon him, were arranged and sorted. The following is an inventory of the books by title, prepared with the assistance of the [court-appointed] guardian, the aforementioned Hadice Hatun, and the superintendent [Kadi İbrahim Efendi].

Three hundred and forty-four complete but unbound and unpolished copies, without borders, of the *Shu'uri Dictionary*,² and sixty-five incomplete copies, making a total of four hundred and nine copies of the *Dictionary*, at twenty piasters each – [a total of] 8,180 piasters.

1 April 1, 1747.

2 *Shu'uri, Lisānū'l-'Acem*.

Seventy-seven complete but unbound and unpolished copies without borders of the *Tārīḥ* of Na'ima Efendi,³ and thirty-five incomplete copies, resulting in a total of one hundred and twelve copies of Na'ima, fifteen piasters each, [a total of] 1,680 piasters.

Two hundred and sixty complete but unbound and unpolished copies, without borders, of the *Tārīḥ* of Raşid Efendi,⁴ and forty-six incomplete copies, totaling three hundred and eleven⁵ copies of the *Tārīḥ* of Raşid Efendi, sixteen piasters each, [a total of] 4,976 piasters.

One hundred and eighty-six complete but unbound and unpolished copies, without borders, of the *Cihānnümā*,⁶ and sixty-three incomplete copies, totaling two hundred and forty-nine copies of the *Cihānnümā*, each sixteen piasters, [a total of] 3,986⁷ piasters.

One hundred and ninety-five sewn, cut, and partly bound complete copies of the *Tārīḥ-i Takvīm* by Kâtib Çelebi,⁸ and thirty-one incomplete copies, totaling two hundred and twenty-six copies of the *Tārīḥ-i Takvīm*, two piasters each, [a total of] 452 piasters.

Two hundred and five sewn, cut, and partly bound complete copies of the *Gülşen-i Hulefâ*,⁹ and thirty incomplete copies, making a total of 235 pieces of the *Gülşen-i Hulefâ*, two piasters each, [a total of] 470 piasters.

One thousand one hundred and fourteen sewn, cut, and partly bound complete copies of the *Tārīḥ-i Mışır*,¹⁰ *Ağvâniye*,¹¹ *Timür*,¹² *Yeni Dünyâ*,¹³ and *Tuḥfetü'l-kibâr*¹⁴ altogether, half a piaster each, [a total of] 557 piasters.

Two hundred and forty bound and complete [copies of the] *Nizâmiye*,¹⁵ *Miknâtişiye*,¹⁶ and *Bosna*,¹⁷ each a quarter of a piaster, [a total of] 60 piasters.

3 Na'ima, *Tārīḥ-i Na'imâ*.

4 Raşid, *Tārīḥ-i Râşid Efendi*; Küçükçelebizade, *Tārīḥ-i Çelebizâde Efendi*.

5 In fact, 306.

6 Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihānnümâ*.

7 In fact, 3,984.

8 Kâtib Çelebi, *Takvîmü't-tevârîḥ*.

9 Nazmizade, *Gülşen-i Hulefâ*.

10 Suhailî, *Tārīḥ-i Mışırî' l-cedid li-Süheyli Efendi*; *Tārīḥ-i Mışırî' l-ḳadîm li-Süheyli Efendi*.

11 Krusiński, *Tārīḥ-i seyyâḥ*.

12 Arabshah, *Tārīḥ-i Timür Gürkân*.

13 al-Su'udi, *Tārīḥü'l-Hindî' l-ğarbî*.

14 Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuḥfetü'l-kibâr*.

15 Müteferrika, *Uşûlü'l-ḥikem*.

16 Müteferrika, *Füyüzât-ı Miknâtişiye*.

17 Bosnavi, *Aḥvâl-i ğazavât der diyâr-ı Bosna*.

Eighty-four bound and complete [copies of the] *Ḳrāmātīḳa*,¹⁸ each a quarter of a piaster, [a total of] 21 piasters.

The Vankulu dictionary,¹⁹ 40 piasters.

Total [value of the printed books]: 20,422 piasters.

¹⁸ Holderman, *Grammaire turque*.

¹⁹ al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şiḫâḥ-ı Cevherî*.

Addendum 3

Tables

Tab. 1: İbrahim Müteferrika's Assets According to the 1747 Inventory

Asset	Amount	Price in aspers	Percentage of assets value
Books printed by the Müteferrika press	2,981 (the correct number is 2,976)	2,450,640 (20,422 piasters)	77,2
House	1	300,000 (2,500 piasters)	9,4
Printing equipment		84,000 (700 piasters)	3
Concubines	3	72,000	2
Books in personal possession	136	71,048	2
Printing paper		56,160	1,7
Furniture and bedding	58	54,071	1,7
Clothes	36	37,262	1,2
Various devices	7	14,178	0,4
Cash		13,200	0,4
Kitchen utensils	24	11,639	0,4
Horse	1	4,800	0,2
Weapons	2	2,340	0,07
Household goods		1,200	0,04
Horse harnesses	5	1,130	0,03
TOTAL		3,173,668 (26,447 piasters)	

Tab. 2: Charts and Geographical Maps Attached to the Printed Edition of *Cihānnumā* (1732)²⁰

No	Map/Chart	Engraver	Place between the pages	Presence in other Müteferrika publications	Concordance with MS Turc 215 dated 1729
1	Armillary sphere	Ahmed al-Kırımı	[27/28]		
2	Geometrical figures		7/8		
3	Sphericity of the Earth	Ahmed al-Kırımı	19/20		
4	Cosmological plan		21/22		17v
5	Cosmological plan after Ptolemy	İbrahim al-Coğrafi, 1142/1729–1730	25/26	<i>Tārīḫü'l-Hindi'l-ğarbī</i>	17v
6	Celestial chart	Mıgırdiç Galatavi	27/28		
7	Shapes of the heavenly spheres	Ahmed al-Kırımı	33/34		
8	Heliocentric system after Copernicus Heliocentric system after Tycho Brahé		47/48		
9	Division of the Globe into zones		49/50		19v, 22v, 23v, 31r, 62r
10	Chart of climes according to ancient astronomy Table of climes according to modern astronomy	Ahmed al-Kırımı	51/52	<i>Tārīḫü'l-Hindi'l-ğarbī</i>	21v
11	Table of climes Table of distances Chart of horizons	Ahmed Kırımı	51/52		21v, 24r, 25r
12	Wind roses and compass	Mıgırdiç Galatavi	59/60		25v, 26r, 26v

²⁰ As presented in the facsimile edition: F. Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihānnumâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, vol. 1 (*Tipkibasım*), Ankara, 2009.

No	Map/Chart	Engraver	Place between the pages	Presence in other Müteferrika publications	Concordance with MS Turc 215 dated 1729
13	Compass rose Deviation of the magnetic arrow to the west as seen in 1145/1732 in Istanbul		65/66	<i>Füyüzât-ı Miķnaṭsiye</i>	
14	Eastern hemisphere (Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australia) Western hemisphere (Americas and New Guinea)	Ahmed al-Kırımı	71/72	<i>Tuḥfetü'l-kibār; Tārīḫü'l-Hindi'l-ġarbī</i>	33r
15	Mediterranean Sea, Black Sea		75/76	<i>Tuḥfetü'l-kibār</i>	
16	Adriatic Sea, Gulf of Venice		77/78	<i>Tuḥfetü'l-kibār</i>	
17	Aegean Sea with the islands		77/78	<i>Tuḥfetü'l-kibār</i>	
18	World map with the “ancient” and the “new” continents		95/96	<i>Tārīḫü'l-Hindi'l-ġarbī</i>	63v
19	Europe		99/100		48r
20	Africa		101/102		51r
21	Asia		103/104		52r
22	North America, South America		113/114		55v
23	Arctic and Antarctic regions		119/120		60r, 61v
24	Japan		125/126		64v
25	New Guinea	Ahmed al-Kırımı	129/130		68v
26	East Indies		131/132		70r
27	East Indies	Mıgırdıç Galatavi	133/134		73r
28	Molucca	Ahmed al-Kırımı	135/136		76r
29	Sumatra		143/144		78r
30	Borneo and Philip-pines		145/146		79v

No	Map/Chart	Engraver	Place between the pages	Presence in other Müteferrika publications	Concordance with MS Turc 215 dated 1729
31	South China		153/154		87v
32	North China	Mıgırđıç Galatavi	165/166		106r
33	India	Mıgırđıç Galatavi	195/196		116r
34	Iran	Ahmed al-Kırımı	289/290		161r
35	Transoxiana	Mıgırđıç Galatavi	347/348		210r
36	Azerbaijan		389/390		224r
37	Caucasus	Ahmed al-Kırımı	407/408		
38	Arabian Peninsula	Ahmed al-Kırımı	483/484		
39	İçel, Karaman, Anatolia, and Sivas	Mıgırđıç Galatavi; drawn by İbrahim Tophanevi	629/630		
40	The Golden Horn and the Bosphorus		671/672		

Tab. 3: Müteferrika's Printed Works Preserved in Public Libraries and Archives

Nr.	Title in Arabic script	Transcribed title & year	Library & no. of copies	Call number(s)
A. Books				
1	ترجمهء صحاح جوهرى	<i>Tercüme-i Şihâh-i Cevherî</i> [<i>Luğat-i Vānķūlu</i>], 1729	AL – 2	Bel_Osm_B.00031/01; Bel_Osm_B.00031/02
			BANL – 1	Cors. 120.H.5-6
			BC – 1	LL.XI.5-6
			BL – 2	Or.80.a.5; 758.k.7
			BnF – 1	FRBNF30344840
			BSB – 1	2A.OR.425-1 (542a)
			GHB – 3	O-55; O-56; O-116
			HU – 1	yt7_w1861_728s_v1-METS
			IRCICA – 1	A413.9435/VA
			IULL – 1	DR 403 .M82215
			LICHA – 1	773.016
			LU – 1	844 A 21-22
			MGU – 1	PJ6620J382187 1729
			NLA – 5	06 Mil EHT A 29410; 06 Mil EHT A 29411; EHT 1971 B 7; 06 Mil EHT B 210; 06 Mil EHT B 1033
			NLS – 3	O II 175
			ÖNB – 2	303445-D; 20992-D.1; 20992-D.2
			PU – 1	2256.498 1729q
			SNL – 1	App. H. 3252
			THS – 1	B/582
			YU – 1	Fo84 T32 +1729
2	تحفة الكبار في اسفار البحار	<i>Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fî esfâri'l-bihâr</i> , 1729	AL – 1	Bel_Osm_O.00018
			BANL – 1	Cors.101.H.5
			BL – 1	Or.80.a.11
			BnF – 1	FRBNF30567619

Nr.	Title in Arabic script	Transcribed title & year	Library & no. of copies	Call number(s)
			GHB – 1	O-3780
			HU – 2	Gibb 4838.336.5; 004633483_HUL-METS
			IRCICA – 1	359./009561/KA
			IULL – 1	DR 403 .M823
			LU – 2	852 C 26; 849 B 13
			LICHA – 1	768.409
			MGU – 1	DR451 K37 1729
			NLS – 1	O II 127
			OUL – 1	MM 16 Jur.
			ÖNB – 1	29928-C
			PU – 1	2070.46.391.11
			SB – 5	Ui 518; Ui 518a; Ui 518b; Ui 518c; Pq 2851
			SNL – 1	App. H. 3150
			THS – 1	A II/1208
			YU – 1	Ftb91 m972 +1729
3	تاریخ سیاح در بیان ظهور اغوانیان و سبب انهدام بناء دولت شهان صفویان	<i>Tārīḫ-i seyyāḥ der beyān-ı zuhūr-i Ağvāniyān ve sebeb-i inhidām-ı binā-i devlet-i şāhān-ı Şafeviyān, 1729</i>	AL – 1	Bel_Osm_O.00573
			BANL – 1	Cors.101.H.23
			BAV – 1	R.G. Or. IV.570
			BC – 1	MM.XIII.93
			BL – 4	Or.80.b.1; Or.80.b.3; 758.e.9; 758.e.11
			BnF – 1	FRBNF39368966
			GHB – 1	O-2670
			IRCICA – 1	955.03/KR.T
			IULL – 1	DR 403 .M82415
			LICHA – 1	712.914
			LU – 1	847 D 30
			MGU – 1	DS293 K9187 1729
			MU – 1	10315

Nr.	Title in Arabic script	Transcribed title & year	Library & no. of copies	Call number(s)
			NLA – 7	06 Mil EHT A 890; 06 Mil NE 76; 06 Mil EHT A 44075; EHT 1978 A 35; 06 Mil EHT A 27282; 06 Mil EHT A 40294; 06 Mil EHT A 42542
			OUL – 3	Vet.Ore.Turk.1; Vet. Ore.Turk.2; Old Library - Arch.B.I.4.12
			ÖNB – 1	21183-B
			PU – 1	2070.529.389
			SNL – 1	App. H. 3106
			THS – 2	A/1649; A/4569
			YU – 2	Ftb86; Fk86
4	تاريخ الهند الغربي المسمى بحدیث نو	<i>Tārīḥū'l-Hindī'l- ġarbī el-mūsemma bi-Ḥadīṣ-i nev, 1730</i>	AL – 1	Bel_Osm_O.00546
			BANL – 1	Cors.101.H.25
			BAV – 1	R.G. Or.IV.569
			BL – 2	Or.80.b.7; Or.80.b.11
			BnF – 2	FRBNF39360051; FRBNF30567617
			IULL – 1	DR 403 .M825
			LC – 1	2021771050
			LICHA – 1	756.152
			LU – 1	811 E 42; 847 D 29
			MGU – 1	E141 T37 1730
			NLA – 1	06 Mil EHT A 40295
			NLS – 2	O 336
			ÖNB – 1	21198-B
			PU – 1	3134 Euro 18
			SNL – 1	App. H. 3149
			YU – 1	Ftb91 T17 +1730
5	تاريخ تیمور کورکان لنظمی زاده افندی	<i>Tārīḥ-i Timūr Gūrḳān li-Nāzmizāde Efendi, 1730</i>	AL – 1	Bel_Osm_K.00467
			BANL – 1	Cors.107.F.11

Nr.	Title in Arabic script	Transcribed title & year	Library & no. of copies	Call number(s)
			BAV – 1	R.G. Or.IV.567
			BL – 1	Or.80.b.5
			BnF – 1	FRBNF31007001
			GHB – 1	O-9893
			IU – 1	NEKMATBU72476
			IULL – 1	DR 403 .M82615
			LICHA – 1	768.411
			MGU – 1	DS23 I2187 1730
			NLA – 1	EHT 1961 A 375
			ÖNB – 1	21220-B
			PU – 1	Yahuda 2327
			THS – 1	A/4571
			YU – 2	Ftb91 +N23; Ftb91 N232 +1730
6	تاريخ مصر الجديد لسهيلى افندى تاريخ مصر القديم لسهيلى افندى	<i>Tārīḥ-i Mıṣri'l-cedīd li-Süheyli Efendi;</i> <i>Tārīḥ-i Mıṣri'l-ḳadīm li-Süheyli Efendi,</i> 1730	AL – 1	Bel_Osm_K.00013
			BANL – 1	Cors.101.H.24
			BAV – 1	R.G. Or.IV.568
			BL – 1	Or.80.b.6
			BnF – 1	FRBNF31380894
			GHB – 2	O-3541; O-3551/1
			IRCICA – 1	962/SÜ.T
			IULL – 1	DR 403 .M82715
			LICHA – 1	700.981
			LU – 1	848 D 1
			MGU – 1	OCTAVO-9117
			NLA – 1	06 Mil EHT A 46973
			NLS – 1	O 765
			OUL – 1	Vet.Or.d.Turk.2
			ÖNB – 1	21141-B.1; 21141-B.2
			PU – 1	2005-2037N
			SB – 2	Ur 180; Ur 180a
			SNL – 1	App. H. 3092

Nr.	Title in Arabic script	Transcribed title & year	Library & no. of copies	Call number(s)
			THS – 2	A/4572; A/740
			YU – 2	Ftb86; Xib5
7	كلشن خلفا لنظمى زاده افندى	<i>Gülşen-i Hulefâ li-Naẓmizâde Efendi</i> , 1730	AL – 1	YRY_Osm_00061/03
			BANL – 1	Cors.101.I.11
			BAV – 1	R.G. Or.III.153
			BL – 1	14456.h.13
			BnF – 1	FRBNF31007000
			GHB – 1	O-3754
			LICHA – 1	766.670
			IULL – 1	DR 403 .M828
			MGU – 1	DS79.9 B25 N39 1730
			NLA – 1	EHT 1964 B 26
			NLS – 1	O II 85
			ÖNB – 1	29878-C
			PU – 1	2070.6634.341
			SNL – 1	App. H. 3143
			THS – 2	B/30; B/4091
			YU – 1	Ftb91 +N23
8		<i>Grammaire turque</i> , 1730	AL – 1	Bel_YD_K.00732
			BAV – 1	R.G. Or.IV.178
			BL – 1	64.a.8
			BnF – 1	FRBNF30632503
			IULL – 1	DR 403 .M832
			LICHA – 1	758.313
			MGU – 1	PL121 H65 1730
			NLS – 1	OK67/G71t
			ÖNB – 1	21177-B
			PU – 1	2068.468
			RL – 1	651 C 24
			SB – 2	577762; Bibl. Diez qu. 296
			SNL – 1	App. H. 3104
			YU – 1	Fta32 H71

Nr.	Title in Arabic script	Transcribed title & year	Library & no. of copies	Call number(s)
9	اصول الحكم في نظام الامم	<i>Uşûlü'l-ḥikem fî nizāmi'l-ümem</i> , 1732	AL – 1	Bel_Osm_K.03538
			BAV – 1	R.G. Or.IV.572 (1)
			BL – 3	14499.e.2; 758.e.1; ITA.1994.a.114
			BnF – 2	FRBNF30632504; FRBNF40204288
			BSB – 1	2A.OR.371 (534)
			IU – 6	NEK72973; NEK76851; NEK81682; NEK83926; NEK83927; NEK-MATBU72973
			IULL – 1	DR 403 .M833
			KB – 1	288 Tu 1 11
			LICHA – 3	768.412; 768.439; 770.153
			LU – 1	848 D 5
			NLA – 3	EHT 1964 A 104; 06 Mil NE 81; 06 Mil EHT A 40300
			NLS – 1	O 2144
			ÖNB – 1	21239-B
			PU – 1	2070.494.392
10	فيوضات مقناطيسييه	<i>Füyûzât-ı Mıknatısiye</i> , 1732	BAV – 1	R.G. Or.IV.572 (2)
			BL – 2	Or.80.b.8; 758.e.1
			BnF – 2	FRBNF30632507; FRBNF39308929
			IU – 4	NEK87183; NEK87184; NEK87185; NEK87009
			IULL – 1	DR 403.M834
			LICHA – 1	U0.540
			MU – 1	21227
			NLA – 2	06 Mil NE 82 06 Mil EHT A 40302
			NLS – 1	O 406
			ÖNB – 1	21227-B

Nr.	Title in Arabic script	Transcribed title & year	Library & no. of copies	Call number(s)
			PU – 1	Yahuda 5011
			SB – 2	My 419; My 419a
			SNL – 1	App. H. 3253
			THS – 1	A/4575
11	کتاب جهان نما لکاتب چلبی	<i>Kitāb-ı Cihānnumā li-Kātib Çelebi, 1732</i>	AL – 1	Bel_Osm_B.00006
			BANL – 1	Caet.A.VII.c.15
			BAV – 1	R.G. Or.II.141
			BL – 2	Or.80.a.7; Or.80.a.10
			BnF – 1	FRBNF30567614
			GHB – 1	O-185
			IOM – 1	TM/60=TM/52=Cp III 56
			IULL – 1	DR 403 .M835
			LICHA – 1	770.154
			LU – 2	850 A 1, 892 A 11
			NLA – 1	06 Mil EHT A 23676
			NLS – 1	O II 159
			OUL – 1	Vet.Or.c.Turk.3
			ÖNB – 1	29870-C
			PU – 2	2070.46.349q
			SB – 3	Hs. or. sim. 6762; Pq 2857; Pq 2858
			SNL – 1	App. H. 3142
			THS – 1	B/585
			UUL – 1	Bokband 1800-t. Orient. 1
			YU – 1	Ftb91 m971 +1732
12	تقویم التواریخ لکاتب چلبی	<i>Taḳvīmü't-tevārīḥ li-Kātib Çelebi, 1733</i>	AL – 1	MC_Osm_O.00527
			BANL – 1	ms. Or. 264
			BAV – 1	R.G. Or.III.432
			BL – 1	Or.80.a.8
			BL – 1	Vet.Or.d.Turk.3
			BnF – 1	FRBNF33621736

Nr.	Title in Arabic script	Transcribed title & year	Library & no. of copies	Call number(s)
			IU – 3	NEKMATBU72435; NEKMATBU73054; NEK- MATBU74129
			IULL – 1	DR 403 .M836
			LICHA – 1	U0.541
			MGU – 1	D18 K38 1733
			MU – 1	30628
			NLA – 3	06 Mil NE 181; 06 Mil NE 227; 06 Mil EHT A 40304
			NLS – 3	O II 72
			OUL – 1	Vet.Or.d.Turk.2
			ÖNB – 1	21020-C
			PU – 1	2005-0078q
			SNL – 1	App. H. 3151
			THS – 2	A II/1216; B/586
			YU – 1	Ftb91 m974 +1733
13	تاريخ نعيمًا	<i>Tārīḥ-i Na'imā</i> , 1734	AL – 1	Bel_Osm_B.00022-01; Bel_Osm_B.00022-02
			BANL – 1	Caet.A.XIV.f.1a-b
			BL – 1	Or.80.a.2
			BnF – 1	FRBNF31002372
			GHB – 1	O-77
			IULL – 1	DR 403 .M837
			LICHA – 3	766.671; 768.404; 770.320(2.)
			LU – 2	849 A 9-10; 892 A 9
			MGU – 1	DR485 N3 1734
			NLA – 3	06 Mil NE 152; 06 Mil NE 153; 06 Mil EHT A 40305/c.1; 06 Mil EHT A 40306/c.2
			NLS – 1	O II 13
			OUL – 1	Vet.Or.c.Turk.4
			ÖNB – 1	21001-C.1; 21001-C.2
			PU – 1	2070.66.389.12q
			SNL – 1	App. H. 3110

Nr.	Title in Arabic script	Transcribed title & year	Library & no. of copies	Call number(s)
			THS – 3	B/587; B/1925; B/3981
			UNC – 1	DR485.N3
			YU – 1	Ftb91 N143 +1734
14	تاریخ راشد افندی تاریخ چلبی زاده افندی	<i>Tārīḥ-i Rāšid Efendi</i> <i>Tārīḥ-i Çelebizāde Efendi</i> , 1741	AL – 1	Bel_Osm_B.00009-01; Bel_Osm_B.00009-02/02; Bel_Osm_B.00009-02/03
			BANL – 1	Caet.A.XIV.f.3a-b
			BL – 1	758.i.10
			BnF – 1	FRBNF31178261
			BSB	2A.OR.408.1
			GHB – 4	O-46; O-47; O-3714; O-18561
			IRCICA – 1	956.1073/ME.T
			IU – 1	EFKNd3431
			IULL – 1	DR 403 .M838; DR 403 .M842
			LICHA – 3	766.669; 768.408; 772.901
			LU – 1	849 A 11-12
			MGU – 1	DR486 R37 1741; DR486 A75 1741
			NLA – 3	06 Mil NE 155; 06 Mil NE 156; 06 Mil EHT A 40307; 06 Mil EHT A 40308; 06 Mil NE 149
			NLS – 3	O II 31; O II 68; O II 150; O II 150a
			ÖNB – 1	21002-C; 21004-C
			PU – 1	2070.5693.389.11q
			SNL – 1	App. H. 3107
			THS – 1	B/77; B/588
			YU – 1	Ftb91 +R18; Ftb91 +R181
15	احوال غزوات در دیار بوسنه	<i>Aḥvāl-i gāzavāt der</i> <i>diyār-ı Bosna</i> , 1741	BAV – 1	R.G. Or.IV.571
			BL – 1	Or.80.b.4
			BnF – 1	FRBNF31036737

Nr.	Title in Arabic script	Transcribed title & year	Library & no. of copies	Call number(s)
			GHB – 3	O-2679; O-9895; O-19747
			IU – 2	NEK8487; NEK8488
			IULL – 1	DR 403 .M843
			LICHA – 2	766.513; 766.515
			ÖNB – 1	21274-B
			SNL – 1	App. H. 3105
			THS – 1	A/4576
			YU – 1	Ftb91 Oe6
16	لسان العجم	<i>Lisānū'l-Acem</i> [<i>Ferheng-i Şu'ürî</i>], 1742	AL – 1	Bel_Osm_B.00102-01; Bel_Osm_B.00102-02
			BAV – 1	R.G. Or.II.139
			BL – 1	Or.80.a.9
			BnF – 1	FRBNF30239988
			GHB – 2	O-61; O-62; O-4725; O-4726
			IOM – 1	Cp iv 91 = xxvii 3/9
			IRCICA – 1	491./5539435/FA
			IULL – 1	DR 403 .M844
			LICHA – 2	766.667(1.); 766.668
			MGU – 1	PK6381 T8 H37 1742
			NLS – 1	O II 17
			ÖNB – 1	21000-C.1; 21000-C.2
			SB – 1	Zv 389
			SNL – 1	App. H. 3152
			THS – 1	B/5282
B. Maps				
1	بحريه ء بحر سياه	<i>Baḥriye-i Baḥr-ı</i> <i>Siyāh</i> , 1724–1725	LU – 1	COLLBN 051-05-03
			LUL – 1	L.O*) N° 13 B
			ÖNB – 3	AB 111 (3); ALB Port 247,34; Rolle 111764
			RSA – 1	f. 192, s. 274a, no 3
			TPM – 1	1817
			YU – 1	492 1723

Nr.	Title in Arabic script	Transcribed title & year	Library & no. of copies	Call number(s)
2	ممالك ايران	<i>Memālik-i Īrān</i> , 1729–1730	BOA – 1	HRT.h.103a
			BAV – 2	BALNC, Cors.85.G.10; BAV, Stampe Geogr. S.224
			LU – 1	COLLBN 004-08-01
			ÖNB – 1	ALB Port 249,2
			YU – 1	534 1729
3	اقلیم مصر	<i>İklīm-i Mıṣır</i> , 1730	BOD – 1	Vet.Or.d.Turk.2
			LU – 2	COLLBN 002-14-03; COLLBN 002-14-039
			SB – 2	Diez A fol. 58, f. 5r.; Kart. C 6857
			YU – 2	Ftb86; XIb5

Titles are given in abbreviated form and in the chronological order presented in Chapter 3 and Addendum 1. The following abbreviations are used for library and archives names:

AL = Atatürk Library, Istanbul, Turkey

BANL = Biblioteca Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, Italy

BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Italy

BC = Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, Italy

BL = British Library, London, UK

BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France

BOA = Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul, Turkey

BSB = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Germany

GHB = Gazi Husrev Beg Library, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

HU = Harvard University Library, Boston, USA

IOM = Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg, Russia

IRCICA = IRCICA Library, Istanbul, Turkey

IU = Istanbul University, Rare Books Library, Istanbul, Turkey

IULL = Indiana University, Lilly Library, Bloomington, IN, USA

KB = Kungliga Biblioteket – Regina, Stockholm, Sweden

LC = Library of Congress, Washington, DC, USA

LICHA = Library and Information Center of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Hungary

LU = Leiden University Library, Leiden, The Netherlands

LUL = Lund University Library, Lund, Sweden

MGU = McGill University, Institute of Islamic Studies Library, Montreal, Quebec, Canada

MU = Marmara University, Theological Faculty Library, Istanbul, Turkey

NLA = National Library, Ankara, Turkey

NLS = National Library, Sofia, Bulgaria

OUL = Oxford University Libraries, Oxford, UK

ÖNB = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Austria

PU = Princeton University, Firestone Library, Princeton, USA

RL = Royal Library, The Hague, the Netherlands

RSA = Russian State Archive of Ancient Deeds (RGADA), Moscow, Russia

SB = Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany

SNL = Széchény National Library, Budapest, Hungary

THS = Turkish Historical Society Library, Ankara, Turkey

TPM = Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul, Turkey

UNC = University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Library, Chapel Hill, NC, USA

UUL = Uppsala University Library, Uppsala, Sweden

YU = Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven, CT, USA

Abbreviations of Archives and Collections Names

- A.AMD – Bab-ı Asafi Amedi Kalemî
A.DVNS.MHM.d – Bab-ı Asafî Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri Mühimme Defterleri
AE.SABH.I – Ali Emiri Abdülhamid I
AE.SAMD.III – Ali Emiri Ahmed III
BOA – Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi
C.ADL – Cevdet Adliye
C.DH – Cevdet Dahiliye
C.HR – Cevdet Hariciye
C.İKTS – Cevdet İktisad
C.MF – Cevdet Maarif
C.NF – Cevdet Nafia
C.ZB – Cevdet Zabtiye
D.BŞM.MHF – Bab-ı Defteri Başmuhasebe Muhallefat Halifelîği
HAT – Hatt-ı Hümayun
HRT – Harita
IRCICA – Research Center for Islamic History, Art and Culture
İE.HR – İbnülemin Hariciye
İE.ML – İbnülemin Maliye
İMŞS – İstanbul Müftülüğü Şeriye Sicilleri
NLS, OCD – National Library of Sofia, Oriental Collections Department
OAK – Oriental Archival Collection
ŞD – Şura-yı Devlet

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AE.SABH.I, 12/1064.
AE.SAMD.III 18/1791, 144/13965, 150/14755, 177/17191.
C.ADL 20/1196, 63/3753.
C.DH 7/341, 229/11442.
C.HR 106/5256, 126/6260, 139/6927, 143/7107, 152/7560, 158/7864, 159/7911, 164/8154, 173/8642, 173/8649, 180/8956.
C.İKTS 11/532, 21/1018, 27/1311, 36/1771.
C.MF 8/351, 104/5163, 105/5244, 120/5983, 138/6869.
C.NF 32/1560.
C.ZB 45/2203.
D.BŞM.MHF 12439.
HAT 2/56, 794/36842, 950/40835, 1295/50284, 1665/56.
HRT.h.103a.
İE.HR 8/837, 9/919, 14/1419, 14/1428.
İE.ML 123/11612.
ŞD 1280/51.
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Figures

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Fig. 1: *The Mütefferrika press*, plate in Andreas Lasarus von Imhof, *Neu-eröffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal*, Vol. 9, Part 1, Nuremberg, 1735, p. 835. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, H.un. 300-9, 1/2. (Public Domain: <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb10716728?page=856%2C857>).

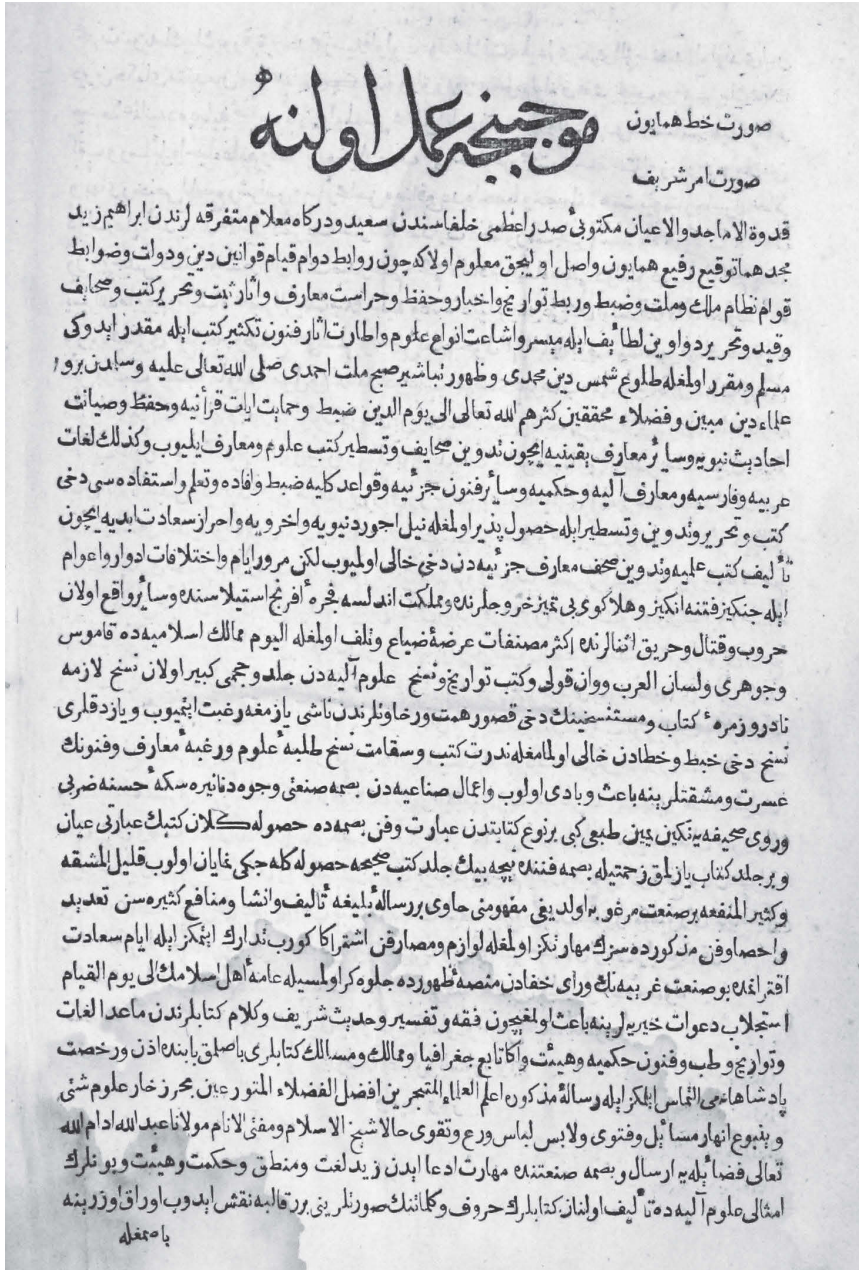


Fig. 2: Sultan Ahmed III's *fermān* of July 1727, in Abu Nasr Ismail ibn Hammad al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şihāh-ı Cevherî [Luġat-i Vānġūlu]*, transl. Mehmed bin Mustafa el-Vani, Vol. 1, Istanbul, 1141/1729, f. [2v] (NLS, OCD, O II 175).

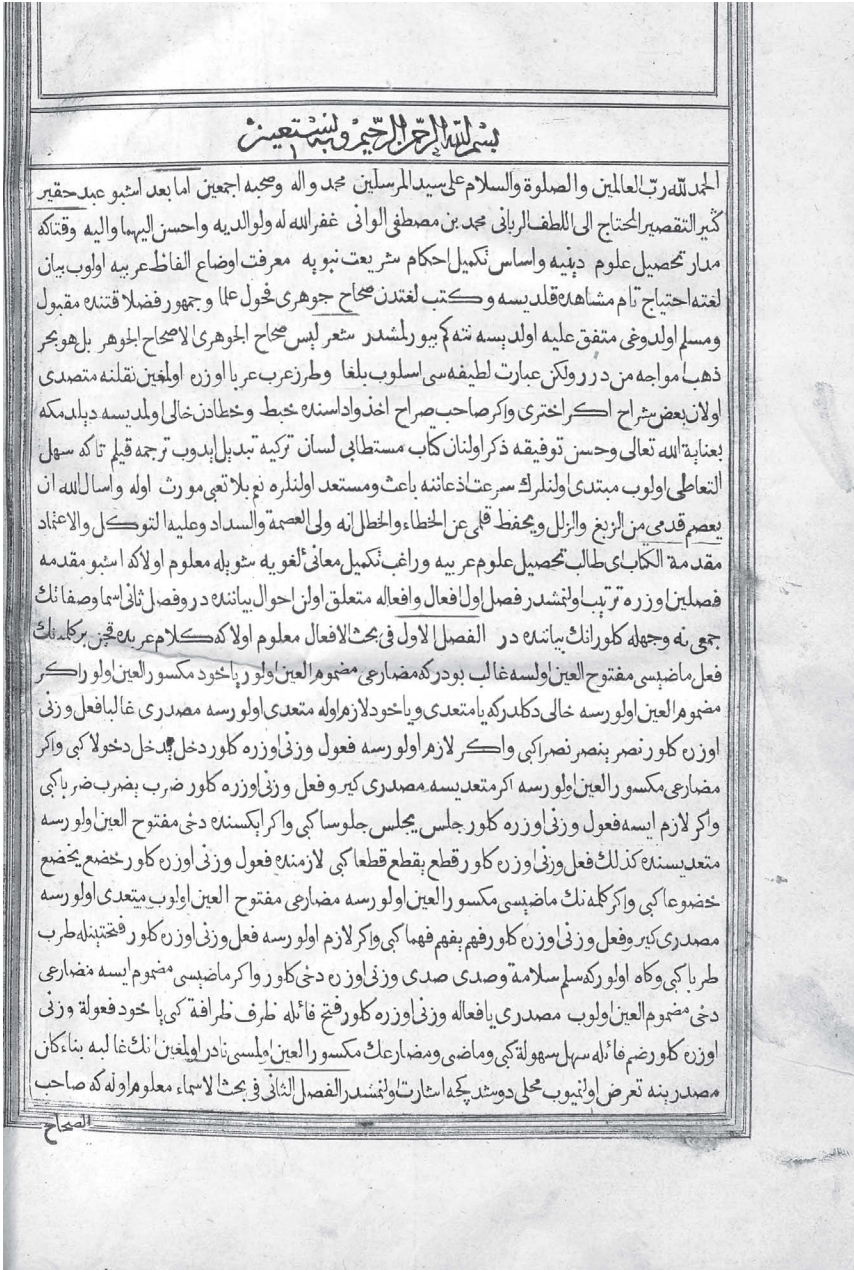


Fig. 3: Abu Nasr Ismail ibn Hammad al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şiḫāḫ-ı Cevherî* [Luğat-i Vānkülü], transl. Mehmed bin Mustafa el-Vani, Vol. 1, Istanbul, 1141/1729, p. 2 (NLS, OCD, O II 175).

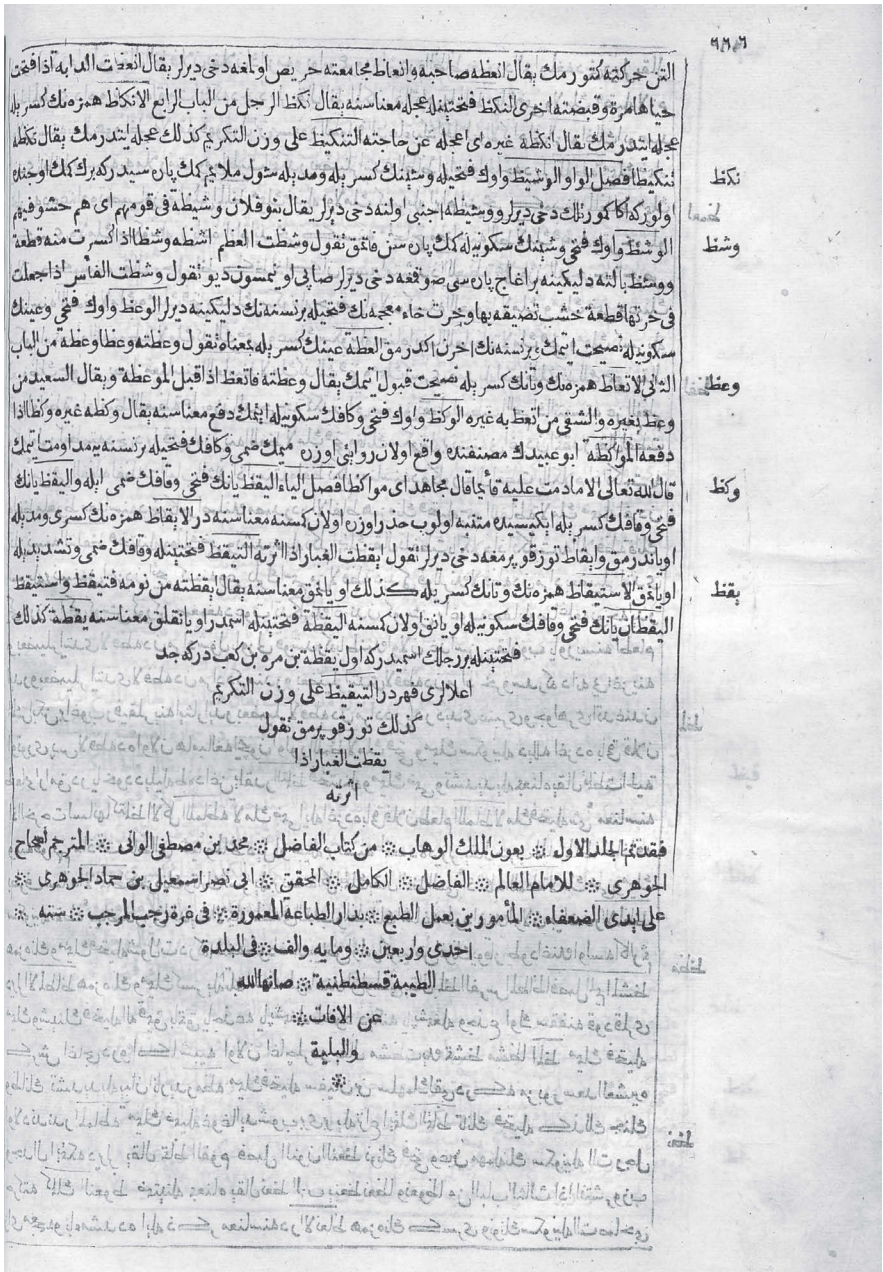


Fig. 4: Abu Nasr Ismail ibn Hammad al-Jawhari, *Tercüme-i Şihâh-ı Cevherî* [Luğat-i Vankülü], transl. Mehmed bin Mustafa el-Vani, Vol. 1, Istanbul, 1141/1729, p. 666 (NLS, OCD, O II 175).

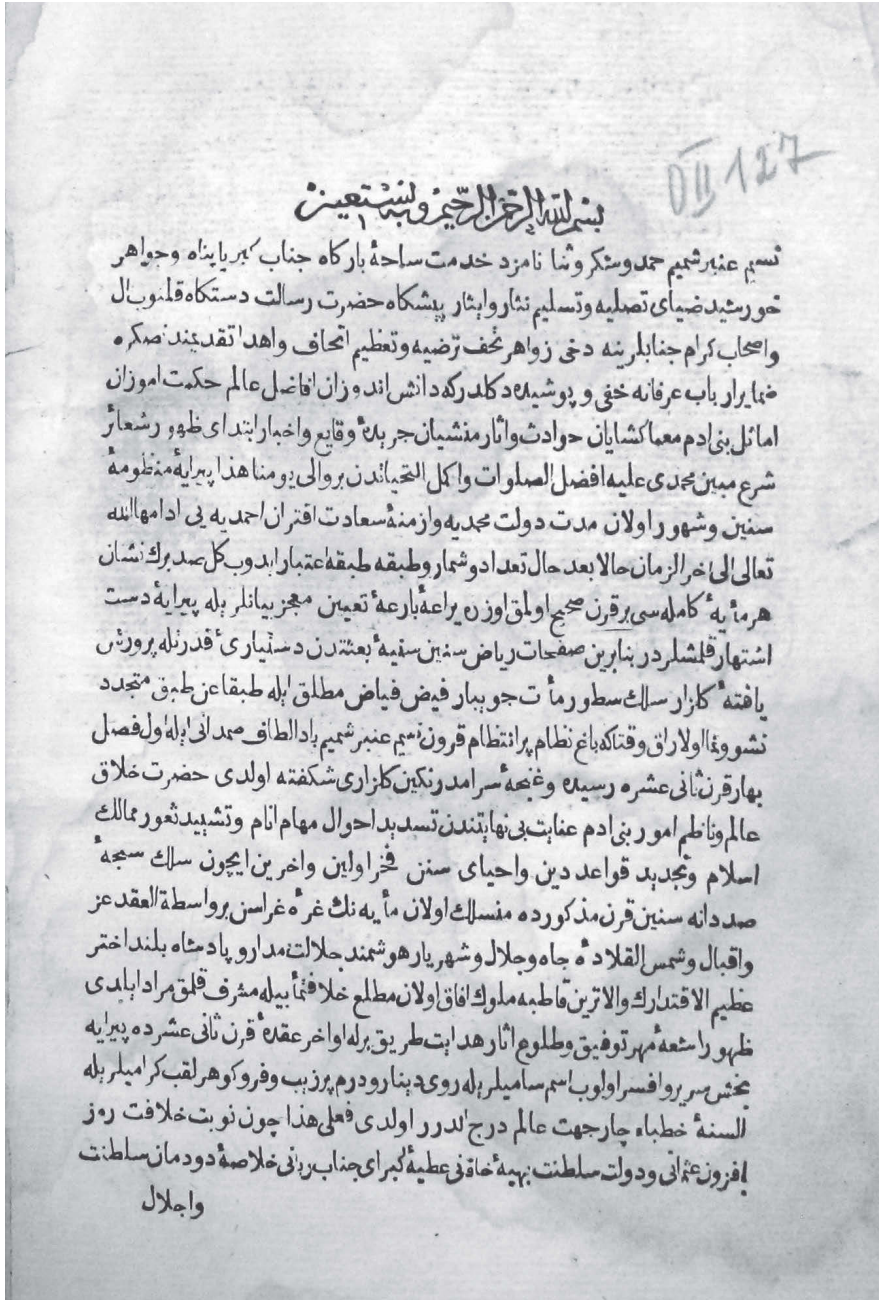


Fig. 5: Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi esfâri'l-bihâr*, İstanbul, 1141/1729, f. [1v] (NLS, OCD, O II 127).

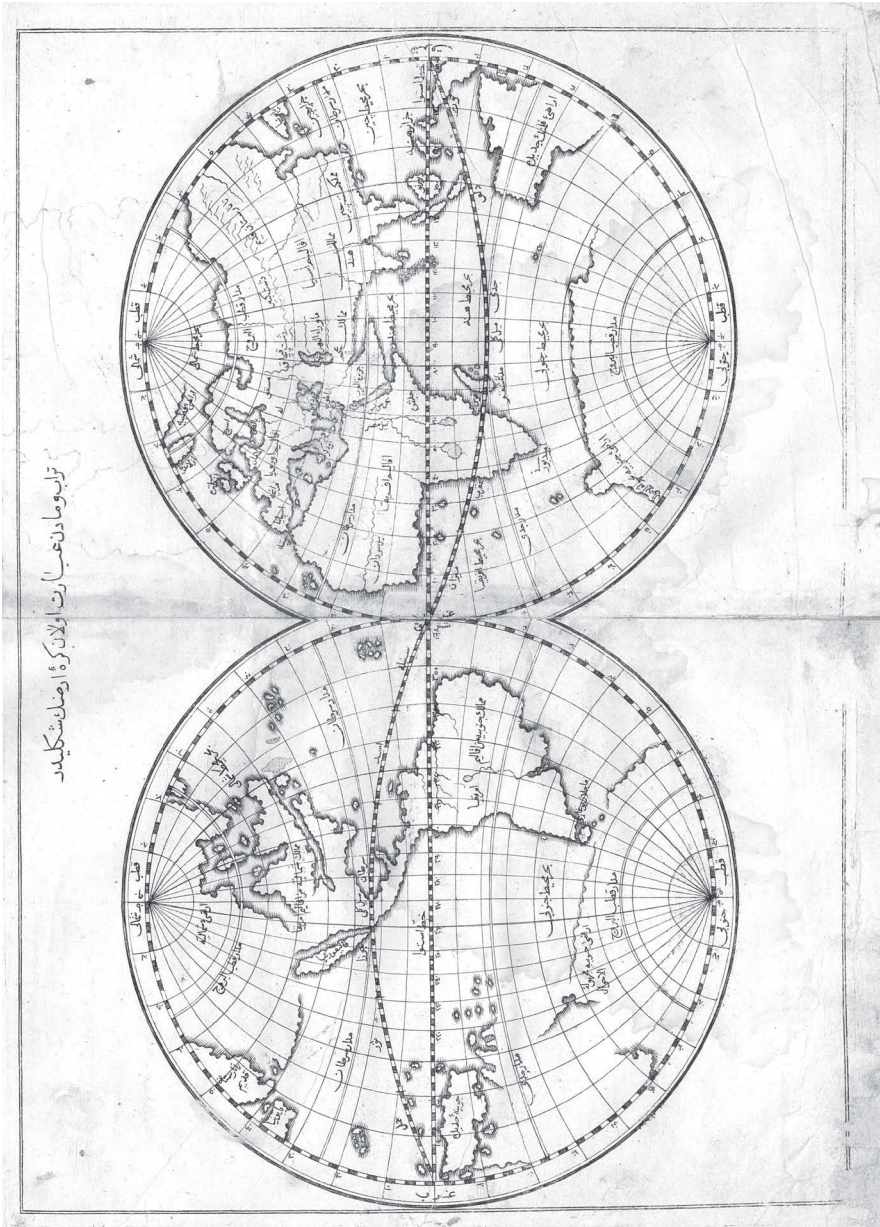


Fig. 6: The two hemispheres representing the Old World and the New World, in Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi esfâri'l-bihâr*, İstanbul, 1141/1729, map after f. 9 (NLS, OCD, O II 127).

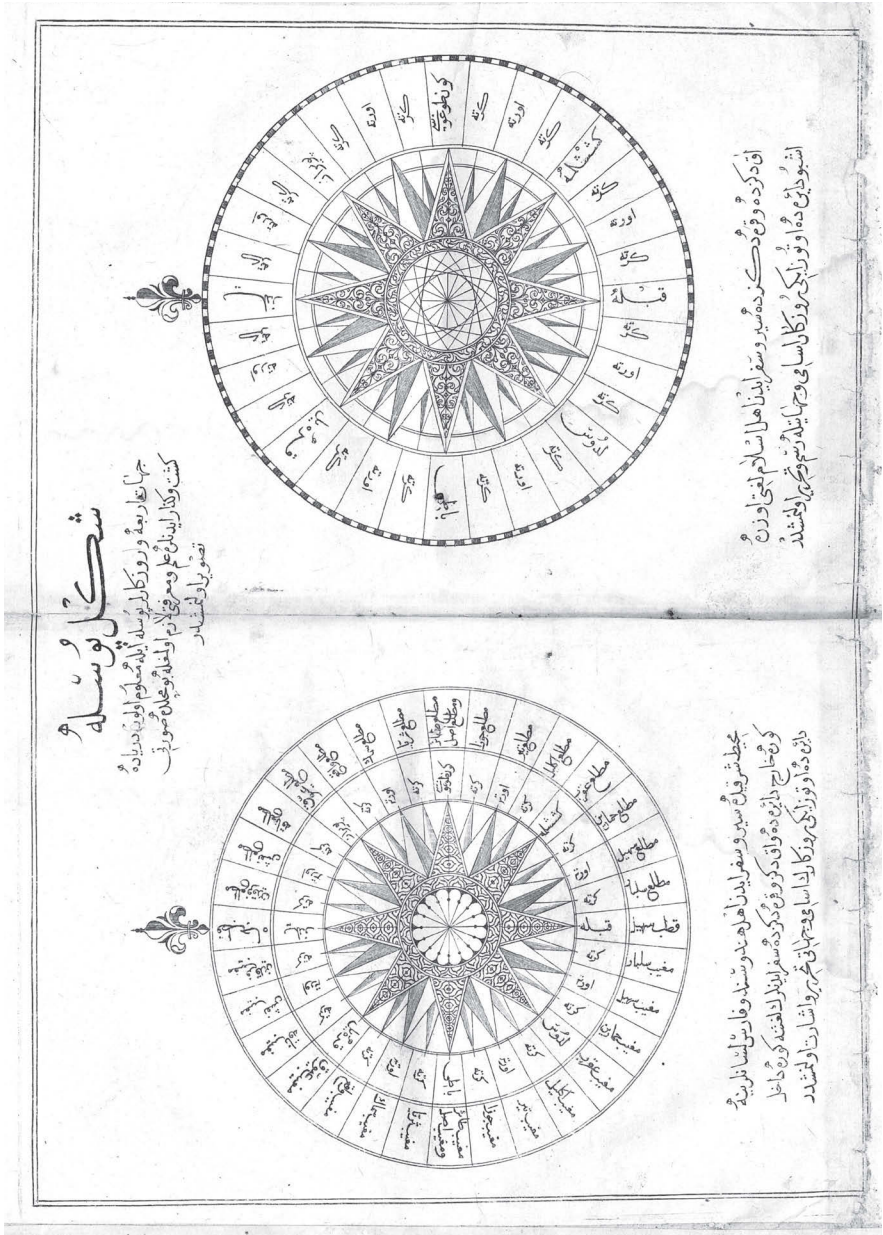


Fig. 10: Two compass roses, in Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi esfâri'l-bihâr*, Istanbul, 1141/1729, plate after f. 71 (NLS, OCD, O II 127).

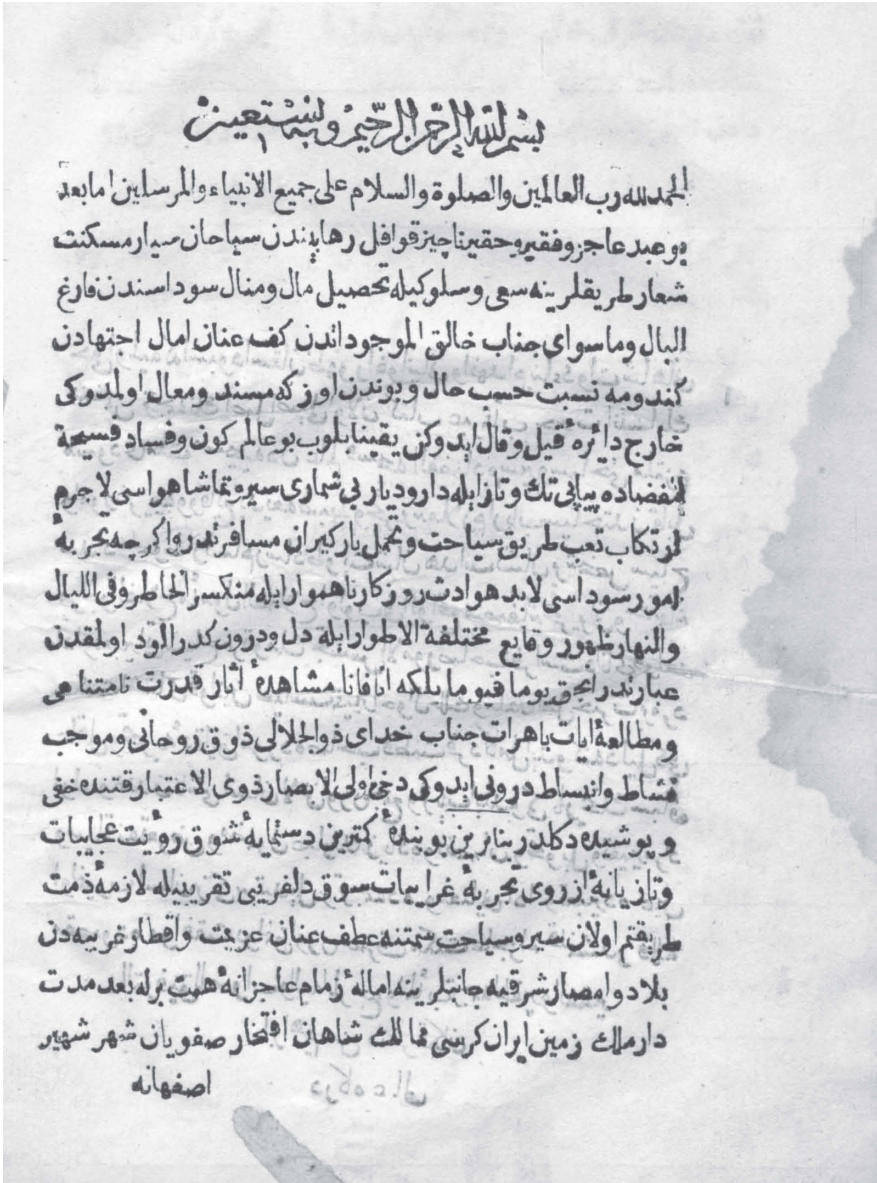


Fig. 11. Judasz Tadeusz Krusiński, *Tārīḥ-i seyyāḥ der beyān-ı zuhūr-i Ağvāniyān ve sebeb-i inhidām-ı binā-i devlet-i šāhān-ı Şafeviyān*, Istanbul, 1142/1729, f. 1v (By permission of Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi Ankara, A/4569).

تاریخ الهند الفربی المسمی بحدیث نو

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ وَبِسْمِ اللّٰهِ

ای سیهرا فریده و انجم نه ملک مدرك تونه مردم کشته از تو بدید هر دو
جهان باز هر دو جهان بکار تو کم زهی قادر خلاق و حکیم علی الاطلاق که
پاراضه ادعنا صری دو حرف ابله ترکیب و نه قباب افلاکی بی عماد و ستون
شش روزده ترتیب ابلش ریاض قدر شده صفحه افتاب بر کل تر بحار
حکمنده ماه منیریک نیلوفر کبابه گردونده مستورا و لان شکل هلال
هر اینمه که منظور اول کمال قدر شده دال و اختلافات فصول هر یابدن
حکمت بی نهاینه محل استدلال در نظم ان صانع که از قلم صنع او فک
چندین هزار صورت نقش و نگار یافت یک قطره از محار عطایش سحاب برد
یک شمه از شمایی لطفش بهاریافت و درود بی حساب حضرت رسالت
انسابک روح پر فتنه و اصل اول که اسباب چرخ انک یوزی صومینه
دو نمشدر و خلعت لولاک انک قد بالاسنه ک و کدن انمشدر شمع جمع
افلاک چراغی انک مشکاة ضمیرندن یا قرو چشمه صبح صادق طینت پاک
اشمه سندن اقر کله افتاب مصدر نور جبینندن مشتق و بدر منیر
امرینه امثالیک اشارتیه ابکی شق اولمشدر قطعه هزاران افرین اول ذات
پاکه قدم با صدی چقوب فرق سما که انک چون قدر الیدر فلکدن
نولا

Fig. 12: Muhammad al-Su'udi, *Tārīḥü'l-Hindü'l-ġarbi el-müsemma bi-Hadiṣ-i nev*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 1v (NLS, OCD, O 336).



Fig. 13: A tree with woman-shape fruits on the mythological island of Waq-Waq in the Indian Ocean, in Muhammad al-Su'udi, *Tārīḥü'l-Hindü'l-ğarbī el-müsemma bi-Ḥadīs-i nev*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f.15r (NLS, OCD, O 336).

فیل کی دورت طرناخی وارد کوزلی قتی ضغیر و تو بلری فان کی درو پشنند
 قلیظ و دراز مو بلری وارد ماده سنک بقر کی مه لری وارد بچه لری قعر
 دریاده و ساحل مجرده امزوب اکثر اطولی بکر می ایق اولور بوشکلہ در



اهل جزیره حیوان مزبورک خردہ لنی دریاده اغلہ و بیوکلرنی ساحلہ
 دوز اغلہ صید ایدوب اتی ییوب یاغنی الور لور و در یستی ادک و موزہ ایدر ل
 طعمی بالی کبید روی چی چوقدر و دریمی قتی یلک درو حیوان مزبورک
 دماغندن برطاش چیققر کہ حجر مثانہ تفتت و اخراج ایدر و جزایر
 مزبورہ نہ نان اچی قسم در بریمی مایس نام بر نیم نباتدر کہ
 بغدادی

Fig. 14: An animal with an ox-like head and elephant legs, in Muhammad al-Su'udi, *Tārīḥü'l-Hindü'l-garbī el-müsemma bi-Ḥadīṣ-i nev*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 38v (NLS, OCD, O 336).

اول ديارك خلقى انلردن چوق صيدايدوب يرلر و لومى قنى لنديندرد يرلر
 و في ديارناهند تاوغى ديمكله معروف اولان مرغ اول نواحى ده بسياردر
 و نواحى مزبورده موجود اولان اينكلرك قرونى بوقدر بوزنارى خورطوم
 فيل كېي در اذدر و شكل اندامه استر كيميدرخيوان مزبورى سابقا
 مذكور اولان اشجار ايجنده بو وجهله تحير و تصوير اياشارونواحى

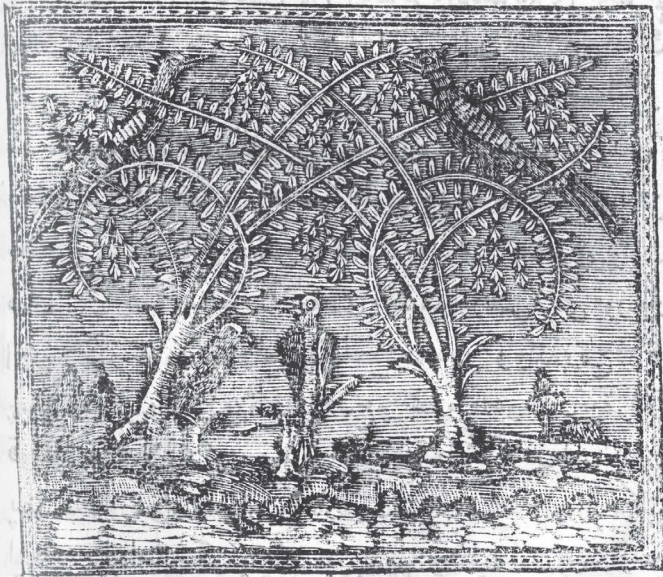


Fig. 15: Tapirs, in Muhammad al-Su'udi, *Tārīḥü'l-Hindî'l-ġarbi el-müsemma bi-Ḥadīs-i nev*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 46v (NLS, OCD, O 336).



Fig. 16: Indigenous people killing creatures that look half fish, half bearded men (*mermen*), in Muhammad al-Su'udi, *Tārīḥü'l-Hindi'l-ġarbi el-müsemma bi-Ḥadīs-i nev*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 49r (NLS, OCD, O 336).

وینه زور قنه بنوب خانه سنه کیتدی پس قوم اسپانیه پیش ای اول جزیره ده
 طوروب مجارت امرینی تمام ایتدیلر بر طوربه قرنقله اوتوز ذراع کتان بیزی یا اون
 ذراع قرمزی چوقه و پردیلر و یا خود دورت ذراع صاار و چوقه نرخ و تعین
 ایتمشلر ایدی و اطرافه اولان جزایردن دخی چوق طایفه کلوب معامله
 و مراجه ایدرلر ایدی نواحی مزبور ده بر نوع طیمور وار که جته سی قنی حقیر
 و طم صغیر و کندن و منقاری قنی در اذدر و کله سی کوچک و یا غی بر قرش وارد
 و جناح لری یر پله یوقدر اما دایما هوا اوزن طورر مادامکه سی در زمینه اینز
 و کافی قرنفل و دار چین اشجازنه قونوب انلرک اورا قنی اکل ایدرلر و روزگار
 ساکن اولد چقه قونوب اوتوررلر و شه یادوزان اولد قده قالقوب کیدرلر
 ریشلری لطیف در زینا سور غوج لرایدرلر و لومی بعض امراضه نافع درد یرلر



جزایر

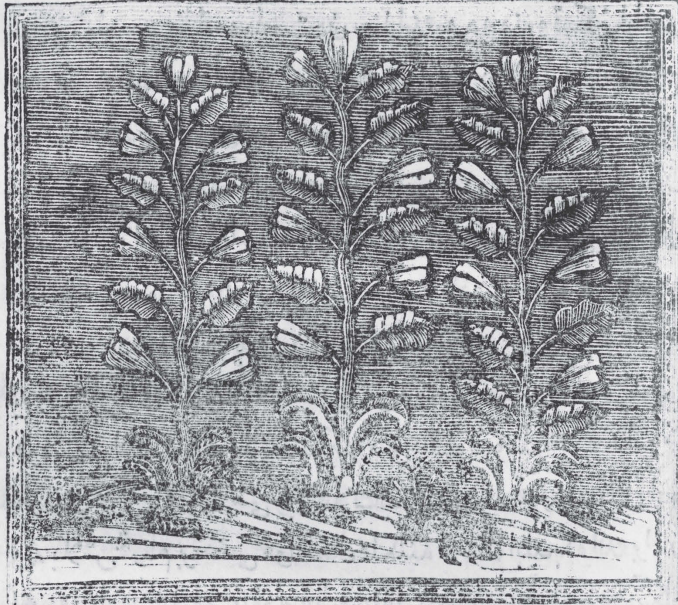
Fig. 17: Small-head birds pecking leaves of cinnamon and clove trees, in Muhammad al-Su'udi, *Tārīḫü'l-Hindil'l-ğarbi el-müsemma bi'l-Ḥadiş-i nev*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 53v (NLS, OCD, O 336).

ابدی ویرتازی براسیره اسنبدال ابدرا ابدی و عظیم مرغ سقار واردرکه
 بردمه اوج بشر او غلانی بلع ابدرا و نواحی مزبور ده سنابیر و حشیمه و قرد
 و اسد بی حد در و ایونکل نام بر نوع حیوان واردرکه جنه ده سنور قدر در
 و کله سی و منقاری و وردک کیمید رویالری غم مثال ابدی حتالدر و مولری کرفی
 مولری کبی نیز در و کله سنده که کدن بر طافیه سی واردرکه کوشاری طاقیه دن
 خارج در و طهرنده ینه کو کدن بر جبهه سی واردرکه گاه جمع ایدوب گاه فتح ابدر
 و ذنبی هر مه مثال در از در حیوان مزبوری یه شکل اوزرینه تصویر ایتمشادر



اول

Fig. 18: Armadillo and birds, in Muhammad al-Su'udi, *Tārīhū'l-Hindī'l-ġarbi el-müsemma bi-Ḥadīṣ-i nev*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 55v (NLS, OCD, O 336).



وقا که قوم اسپایبول مشیقونک عظمتن وقومنک کثرتن وملکینک مهابتن
 کورد بلرقتی خوف ایدوب کلد و کلرینه نادم اولد بلر ونیجه کره فران قصد
 ایتد بلر قورتوز استمالته منع ایلدی والبتک خلاصه برتد بیر اید زین فرار
 ایدرسک جمله مزى هلاک ایدوب دل چقرمز لیدی پس یوقکر اوزرینه
 برکون حیلله ایلله موته سومه یی کند و ساکین اولد و فی سرایه کتوروب ایتدی
 بزسزدن قتی خوف ایتدک لازمدرکه بزکید نیجه سن بزمله اولاسن اگر سن
 مخالفت ایدوب عسکرک حرکت ایدرسد فی الحال سن هلاک ایدرز بعده
 اولنجه سعی ایدرز موته سومه نفسندن خوف ایدوب انلر و کله ساکین اولمغه
 راضی اولدی و عسکرک حرکت قصد ایتد کله بن کند واختیارمله بونلرک ایچندن

Fig. 19: Three prickly pear trees (cactuses), in Muhammad al-Su'udi, *Tārīḥü'l-Hindî'l-ġarbi el-müsemma bi-Ḥadīṣ-i nev*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 64r (NLS, OCD, O 336).



Fig. 20: Indigenous people with a rocky mountain sheep with large horns and a bison, in Muhammad al-Su'udi, *Tārīḥü'l-Hindü'l-ġarbi el-müsemma bi-Ḥadīṣ-i nev*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 73v (NLS, OCD, O 336).

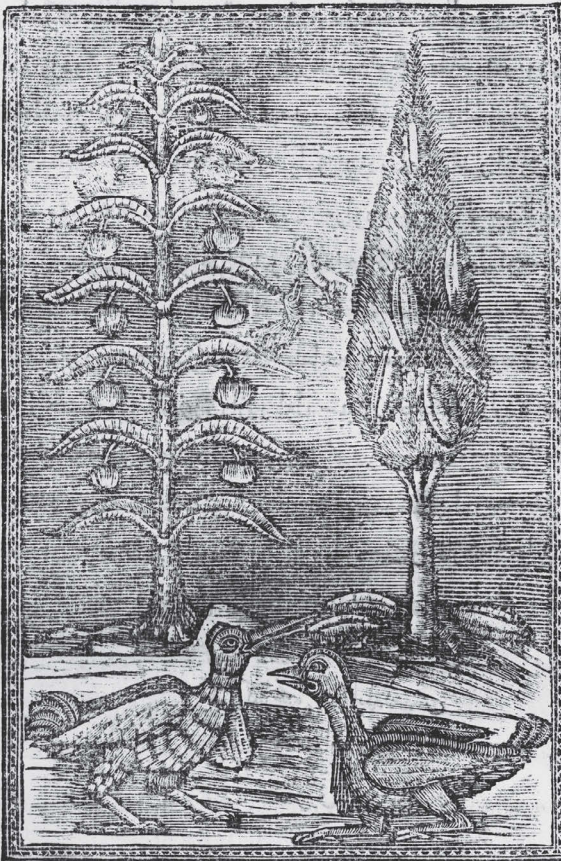
اشاه مسفرده بر جبل عظيم مسفحة پوتاز نام بر شهر معور کورد بکيه يانندن
 بر نهر جريان ايد و هر طرفند حفر ايد و ب تراشي تشنه اتسه لر رفته طاردن اون
 بش او قه سيم صافي چيقر مکر که نهر مزبور سابقا من کوز اولان کس دن ستمک
 مذبيعي ايدی پس قار بحال محل مزبور ده بدی بيک هندي جمع ايدوب شرط
 ايند پار که هر کس هفتاد دورت التو تملق کش تسام ايدوب باقبسني کند و سي
 اخذ ايد شهر مزبور جبل مسفور و نهر مذ کوري بو وجه له تصوير اتمشادر
 طائفه



Fig. 21: The valley of the Potosi River (in Bolivia), in Muhammad al-Su'udi, *Tārīḥü'l-Hindî'l-ġarbi el-müsemma bi-Ḥaḍīṣ-i nev*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 79v (NLS, OCD, O 336).



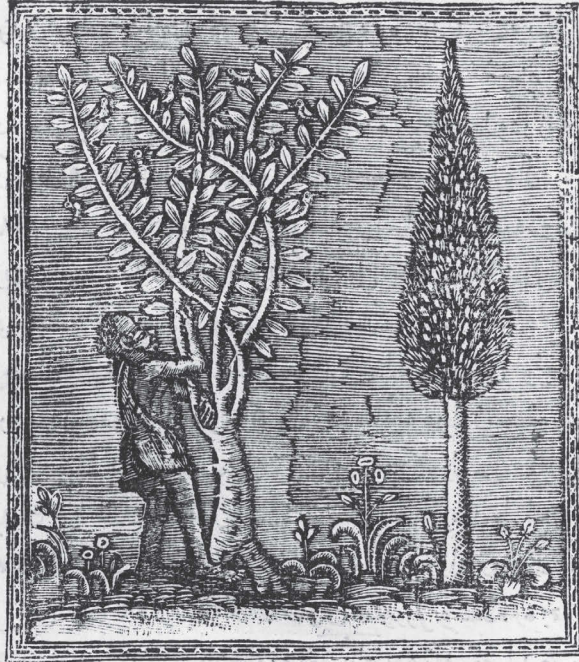
Fig. 22: A hunting scene with a jaguar, an anteater, and a saddled horse-like animal, in Muhammad al-Su'udi, *Tārīḫü'l-Hindî'l-ġarbi el-müsemma bi-Ḥadīs-i nev*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 86r (NLS, OCD, O 336).



اخبار طيور بلاد مزبونه طوشانجیل چوقدر و اکثر سیاه در صاودخی
 اولور جری قالی دیلر بزوع مرغ وارد که جته ده طوشانجیل قدر وارد
 اما بنجه سی قی واسع وقوی در صیبانی قبر کوزلی اش کبی در وریشی انواع
 الوانله ملون در مثلا منقش بر حصیر در وقوده ابن قور تاته دیلر

Fig. 23: Nocturnal songbirds and a banana tree, in Muhammad al-Su'udi, *Tārīḥü'l-Hindü'l-ğarbi el-müsemma bi-Ḥadīṣ-i nev*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 87v (NLS, OCD, O 336).

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شاغوه نام بردرخت وارد که قتی مستقیم و دراز در اوزون حر بری اندن
 دوزر ل الوانی خویدرو میوه سنی عصر ایدوب عصمان سیله مرضای غسل
 ایدر ل کلی قوت و پرر نکرا ر غسل اینسه ل بدنی سیاه قطیفه کبی ایدر تمام بر
 سنه ده انجق ز ابل اولور طاریانه قریب قوتی نام بر نهر عظیمک حواله بسند
 دراز قامت درختل وارد که اکثر ایداره سی الشمس مشبر وارد ریوز الی شبر دخی
 اولور و طولی اوق اتی قدر اولور بردانه سندن بکچان کشتی پید ایدر ل که یوز
 الی عدد کسنه ابله هر طرفه سفر ایدر و بز نوع درخت وارد که یابس اولد قده
 اتش کبی شعله و پرر کیمه اچره بر طرفه سفر اتسه ل هر کس بر قطعه کتور و ب

Fig. 25: Banana and guava trees, in Muhammad al-Su'udi, *Tārīḥü'l-Hindî'l-ğarbi el-müsemma bi-Ḥadīṣ-i nev*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 91r (NLS, OCD, O 336).

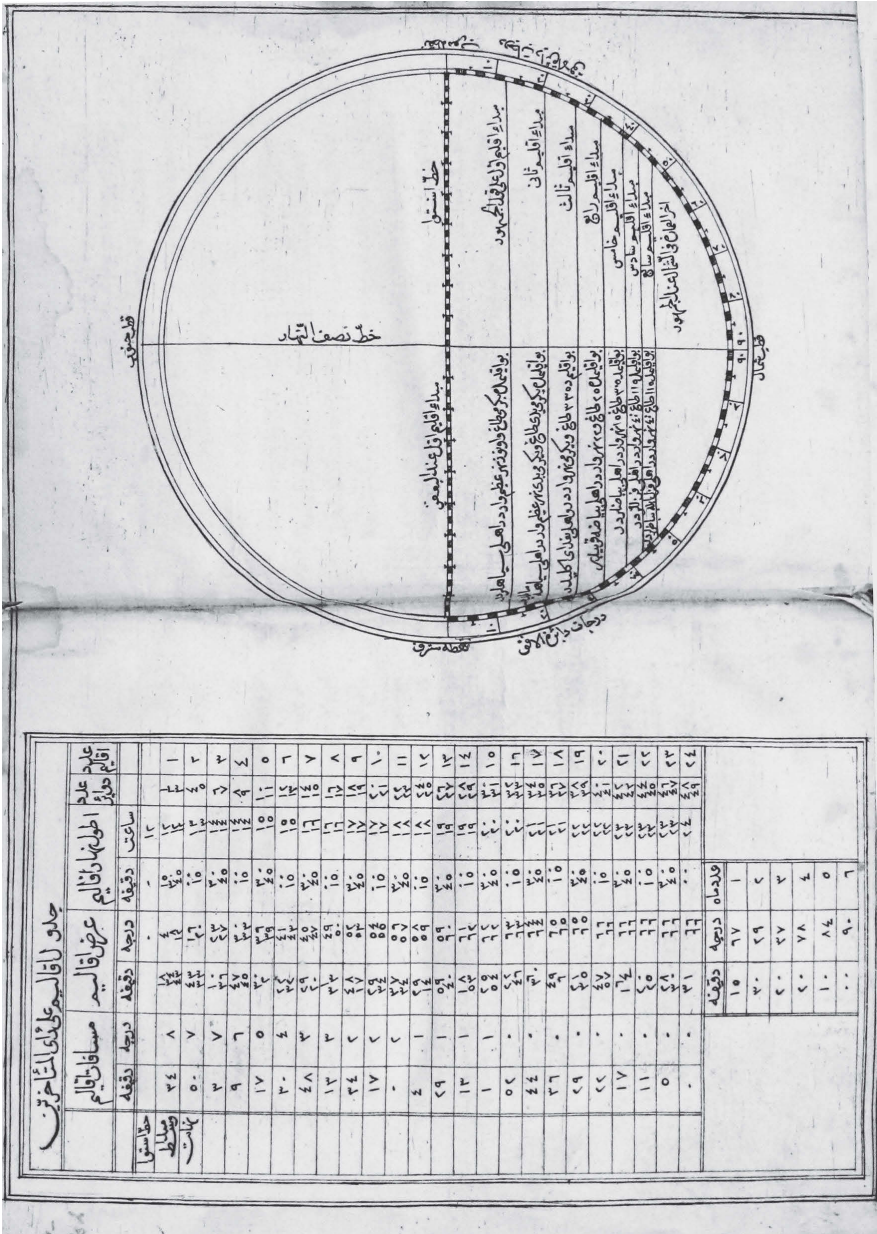


Fig. 27: The climes according to ancient and modern astronomy, in Muhammad al-Su'udi, *Tārīḥü'l-Hindil-garbi el-müsemma bi-Ḥaḍiṣ-i nev*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, charts after f. 4v (NLS, OCD, O 336).

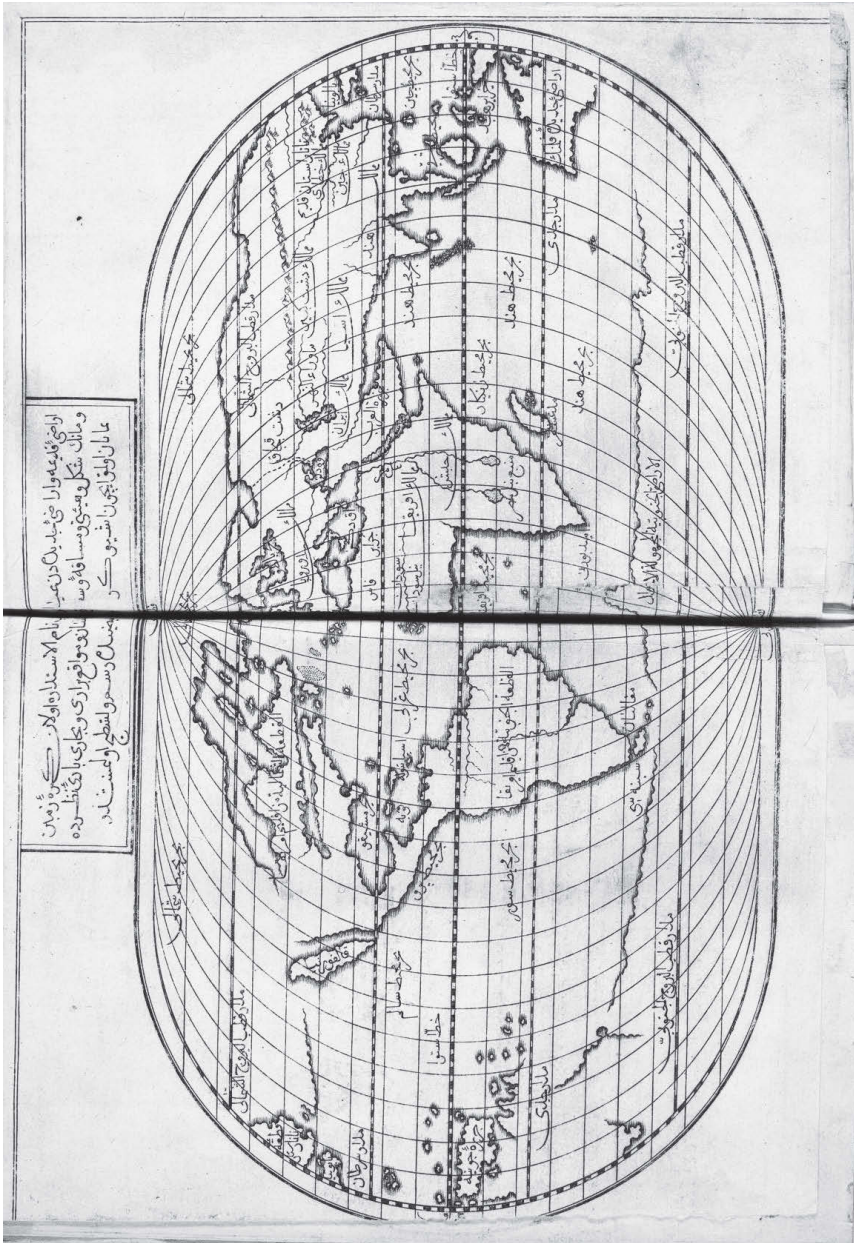


Fig. 29: The world with the “ancient” and “new” continents, in Muhammad al-Su’udi, *Tārīḥü'l-Hindi'l-garbi el-müsemma bi-Ḥadīṣ-i nev*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, map after f. 90v (By permission of Princeton University, Firestone Library, Gotsen Children’s Library, 3134 Euro 18: <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9947192853506421>).

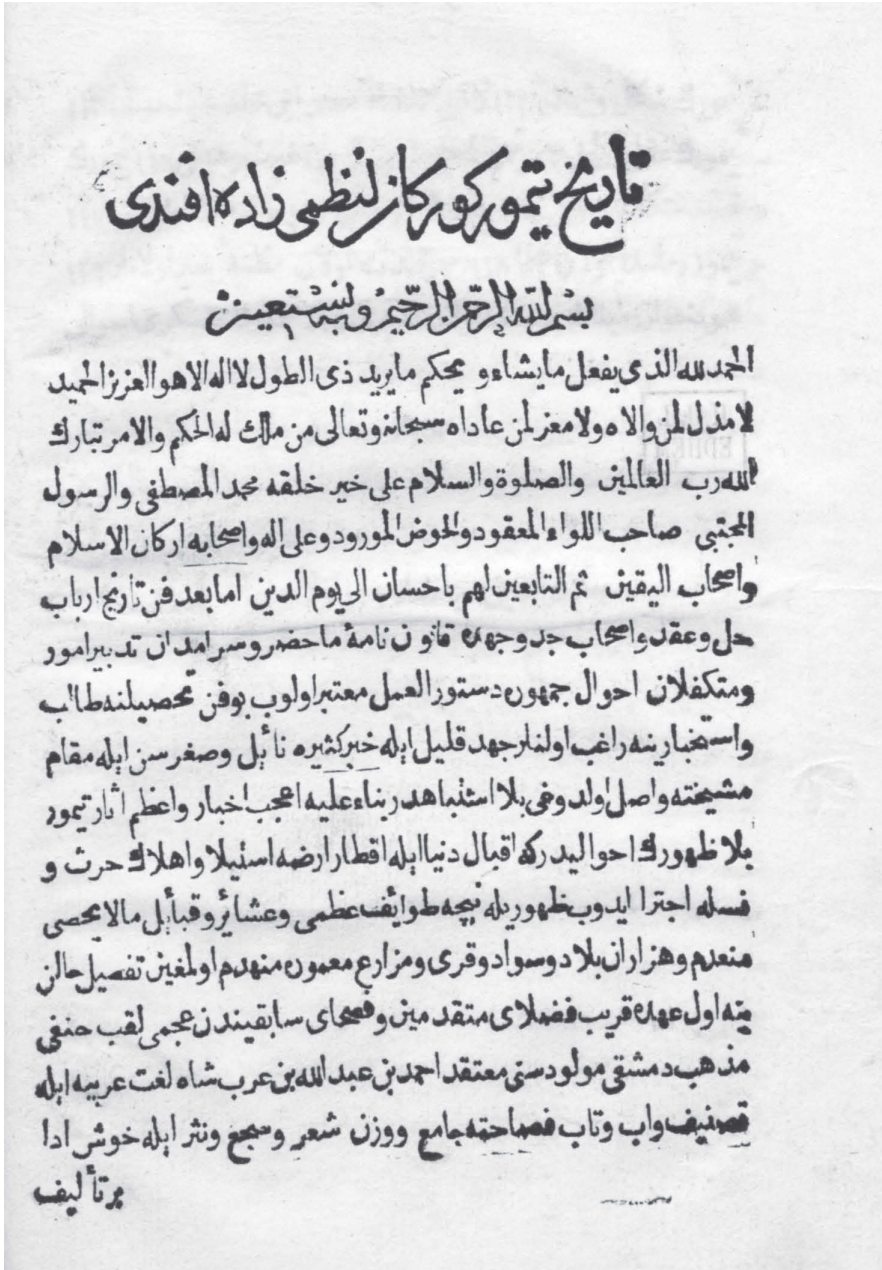


Fig. 30: Ahmad ibn Arabshah, *Tārīḫ-i Timūr Gūrkanī li-Nazmizāde Efendi*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 1v (By permission of Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi Ankara, A/4571).

تاریخ مصر الجدید لسهیلی افندی

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَبِسْمِ اللَّهِ
 سیاسی بی قیاس و بی منتهای قوی اساس اول مدرك درك خفای
 اسرار لا تدرکه الابصار و هویدرك الابصار مبدع صنایع بدایع نامحسور و بی
 انقضای الله الذی رفع السموات بغير عمد ترونها مالک الملک بی اباز دانای علوم
 عالم راز خالق مخلوقات عالم ایجاد و تکوین رازق موجودات سموات و ارضین
 الشمس والقمر والنجوم مسخرات بامرہ الاله الخلق والامر تبارک الله
 رب العالمین بیت خدای خرد بخش روزی رسان پناه فقیرین کس بی کسان
 حضر نازنه اشایسته و حلیق عقول تاریخ دانان دانا کمال ذاتی ادراک
 عاجز و ناقص و هوش درک اهل ادراک اسرار هویتی درک مد هوش
 اومقصد در نعت جلال احدیت و وصف کمال صمدیت بر موجب کلام
 بی همتا توتی الملک من تشاء و تنزع الملک ممن تشاء من مزاحم و مشارکدن
 مبرادر خواقین عظیم الشان و اساطین سلاطین جهان مقام عبودیتند عبد
 افقر و شاهان سرکشان جلیل العنوان تراب استاندن خاک بر سر بلکه ذر دین
 احقر و کتدر همه مجرم و فیض لطفش عیم همه محدث و ذات پاکش قدیم نعت
 رسول کریم و درود کثیر الورد و غیبات نامحدود اول مکمل چشم مازانغ
 و مهبط و ماعلی الرسول الابلاغ مکمل زکسش از کل مازانغ منور طلعتش
 از باغ

Fig. 31: Ahmad ibn Hamdam Suhaili, *Tārīḥ-i Mıṣrī'l-cedīd li-Süheyli Efendi*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 1v (NLS, OCD, O 765).

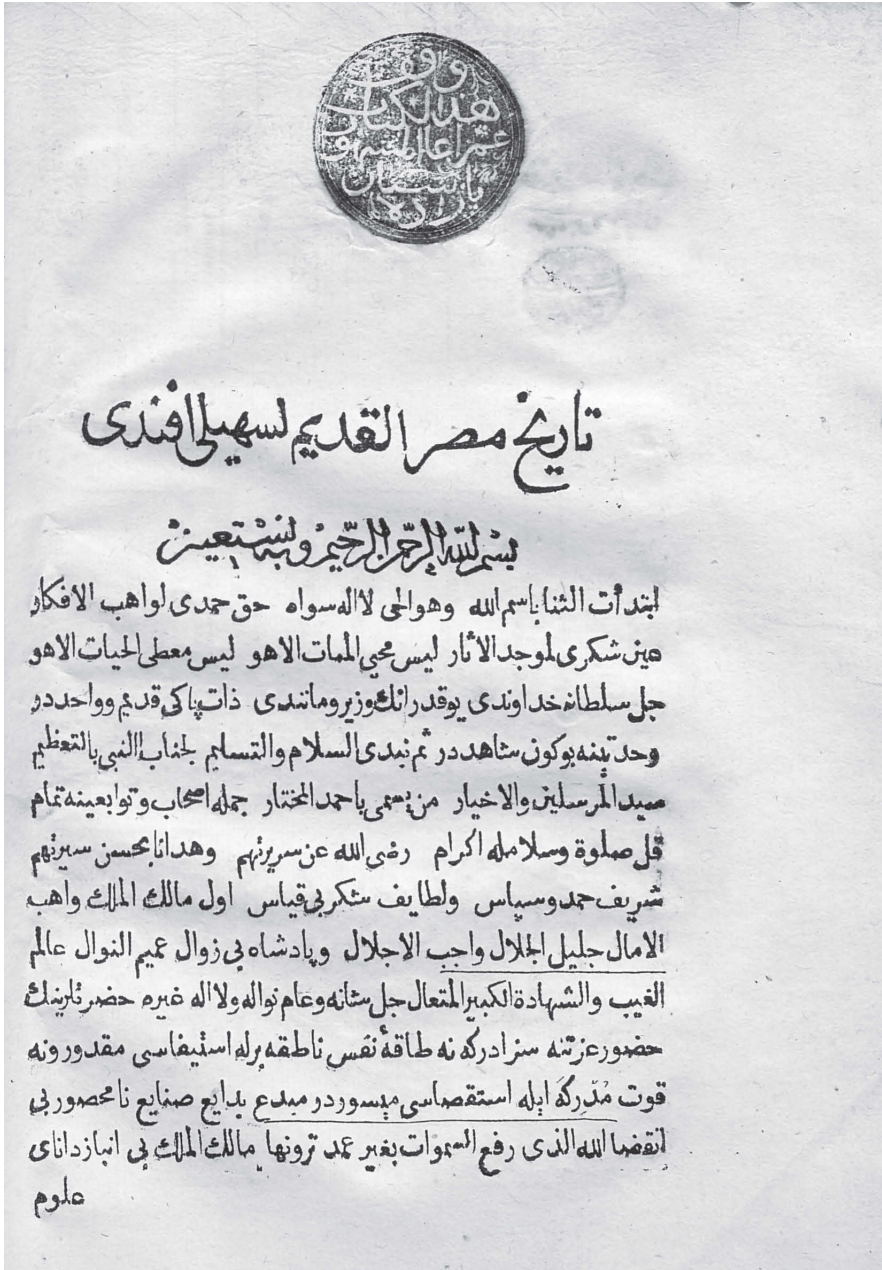


Fig. 32: Ahmad ibn Hamdam Suhaili, *Tārīḥ-i Mıṣrī'l-ḳadīm li-Süheyli Efendi*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 1v (NLS, OCD, O 765).

کشتن خلفا لنظمی زاده افندی

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ وَبِسْمِ تَعِیْنِ

مطلع انوار کلام قدیم مینت افزای امور جهان جمل متین ید مسنسان رشته شیرازه ام کتاب
شمسه سر لوحه فصل الخطاب سر سخن مجز خوان بیان ناطقه ارای ثلاث کنان مبدا و آیات
کتاب کریم فاتح ابواب طلسم عظیم در تجمید حمد اله ملک بی زوال قادر قیوم جزیل النوال نظم ده
سلسله انس و جان جامع مجموعه کون و مکان فیض ده طبع سخن پروران ایلین انسانی جهان
ایچره جان آدمی نکریم ابله تعریف ایدن امر خلافت ابله تشریف ایدن ملکه سلاطین ابله
ویرن شرف برینشه انلری ایدن خلف حکمی عدالت ابله فرمان ایدن خیر جزاعاده احسان
ایدن واحد و فرد و صمد و ذوالجلال شاه نواز و ملک لایزال جل جلاله و علی نصره عم نواله و جری
امره در نعت حضرت سلطان رسل مصطفی احمد و محمود عظیم النور سید سادات عرب هم
عجم در کهنک چاکری فغفور و جم شاه و کدایه قیوسی ماتحارجت حق شافع روز جزا ختم رسل
صاحب معراج و تاج ابلدی شاهانی اسیر خراج مشعله افروز طریق سو افیض ده عالم امام
هد اسناه فالک مرتبه رفرف سوار کتیدی قد و میله فالک افتخار روضه اقد سارینه دمبدم اوله
صلاتیله سلام اتم در مدح اصحاب حضرت صدیق نغم الصدیق هم دخی فاروق رفیق شفیق
حضرت عثمان خیبارتسام سیف خدا یعنی علی امام شمس ضحی الحسن ابن علی بدر دجی شاه حسین
ولی ال بنی باقی محب کزین جمله احباب دخی تابعین رحمت و رضوان و رضا و شرف روح مقدر سارینه
مخفف سبب تا ایف اما بعد تنبع تواریخ و اخبار و مطالعه و قایع روزگار فی الجملة امور مجربیم باعث
الطلاع دستور العمل لازم الاتباع اولد و فی مرآت قلوب اولوالالباب جلوه نما و متفق علیه جمهور
اهل نهار اولد غننه بناء حالا محافظ دار السلام حامی جمای اسلام صاحب الخیرات کثیر البرکات
همایون

Fig. 33: Nazmizade Hüseyin Murteza, *Gülşen-i Hülefâ li-Nazmizâde Efendi*, Istanbul, 1143/1730, f. 1v (NLS, OCD, O II 85).

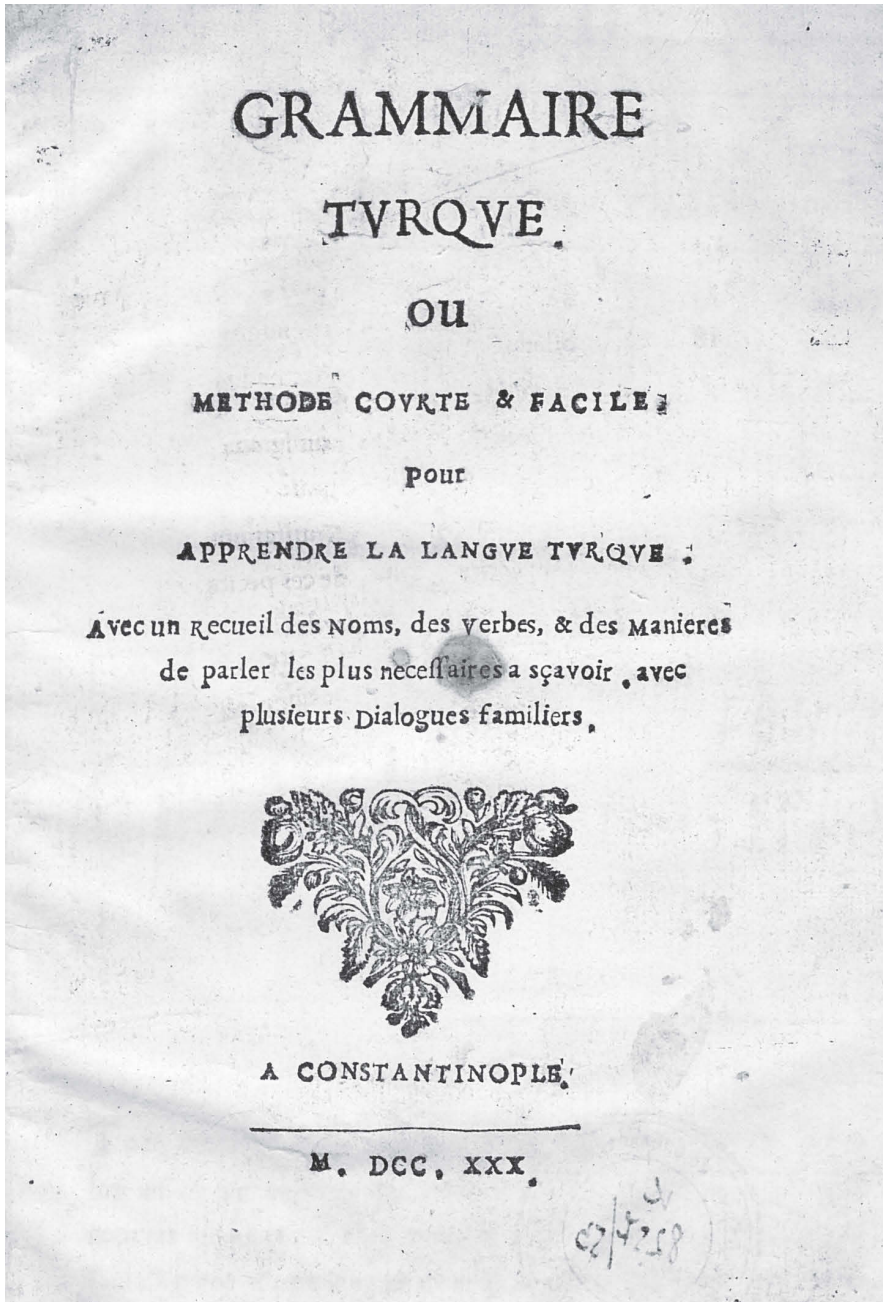


Fig. 34: Jean-Baptiste Holderman, *Grammaire turque*, Constantinople, 1730, title page (NLS, OCD, OK57/G71t).



Fig. 35: İbrahim Müteferrika, *Uşûlü'l-hikem fi nizâmi'l-ümem*, Istanbul, 1144/1732, f. 1v (NLS, OCD, O 2144).

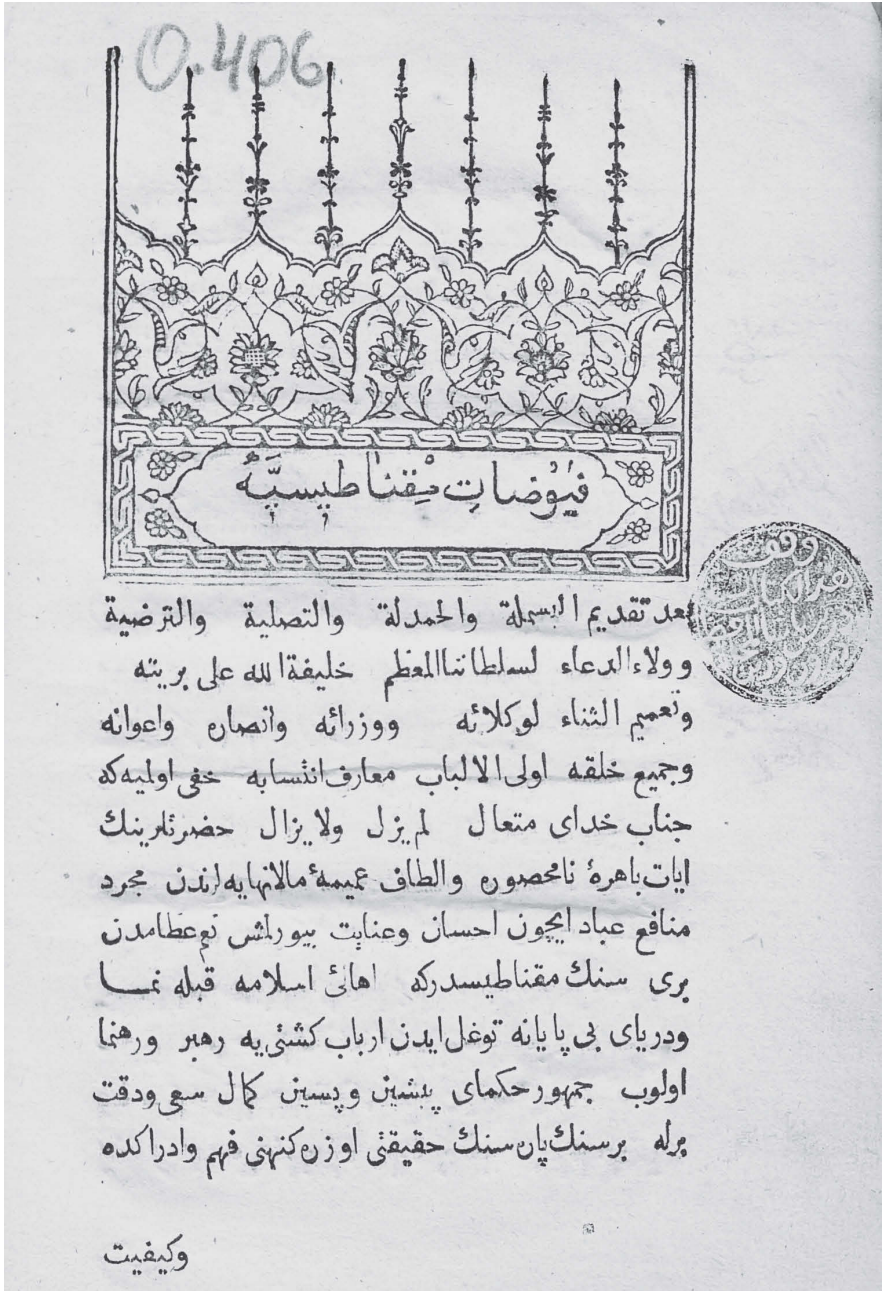


Fig. 36: İbrahim Müteferrika, *Füyûzât-ı Miknâṭisiye*, Istanbul, 1144/1732, f. 1v (NLS, OCD, O 406).



Fig. 37: Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihānnumā li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, p. 2 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).

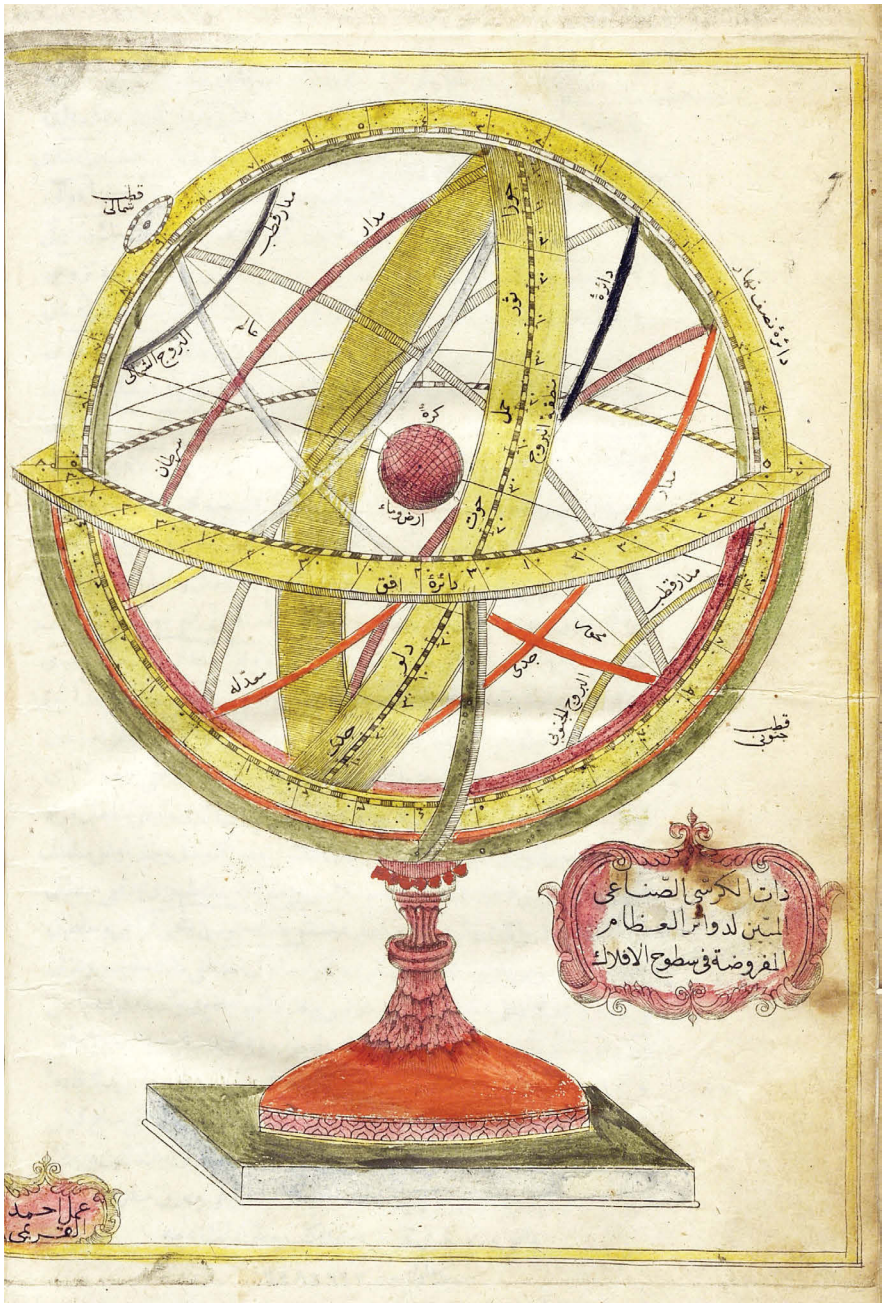


Fig. 38: Armillary sphere, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, plate after f. [15] (NLS, OCD, O II 159).

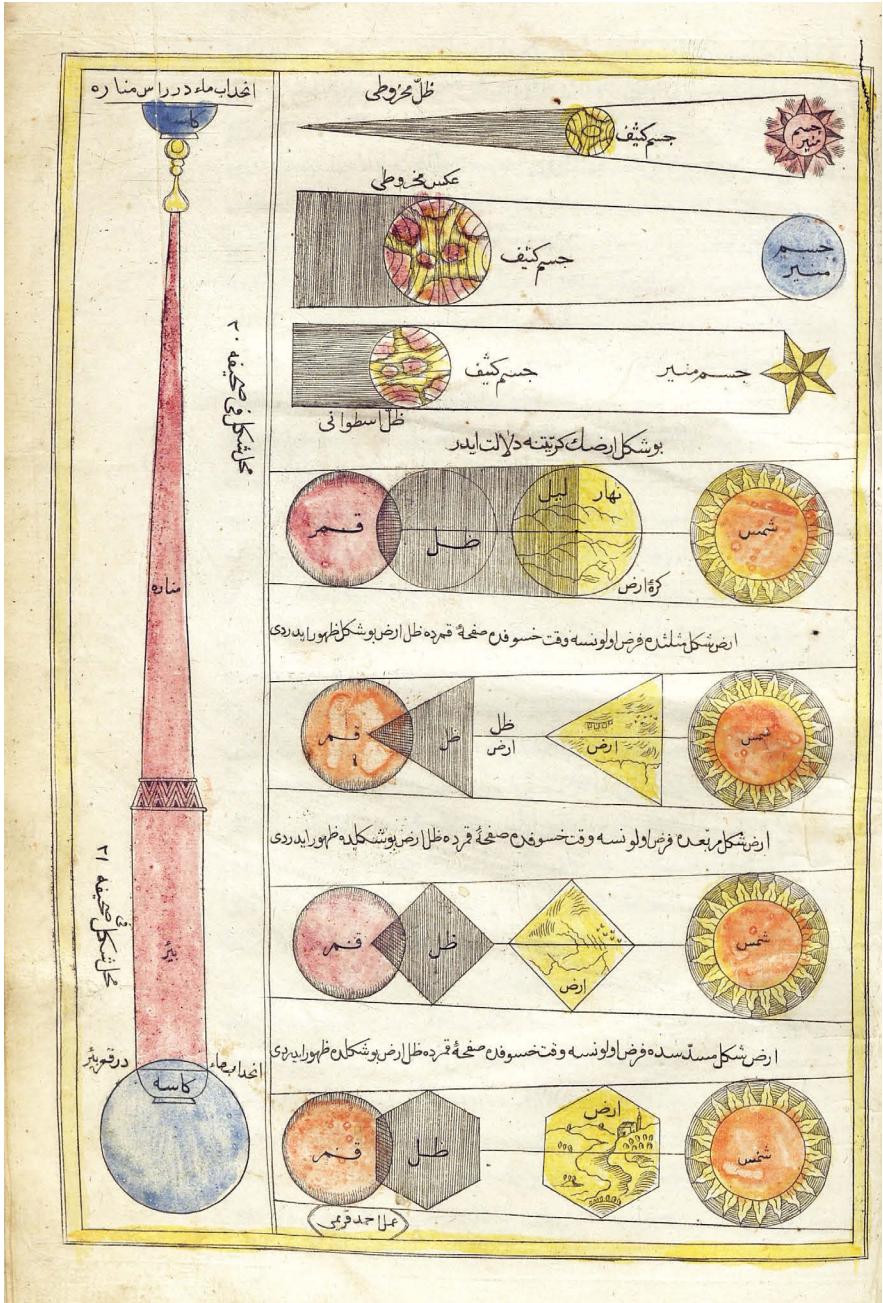


Fig. 40: The sphericity of the Earth, in Kātib Çelebi, *Kitāb-ı Cihānnumā li-Kātib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, plate after p. 19 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).

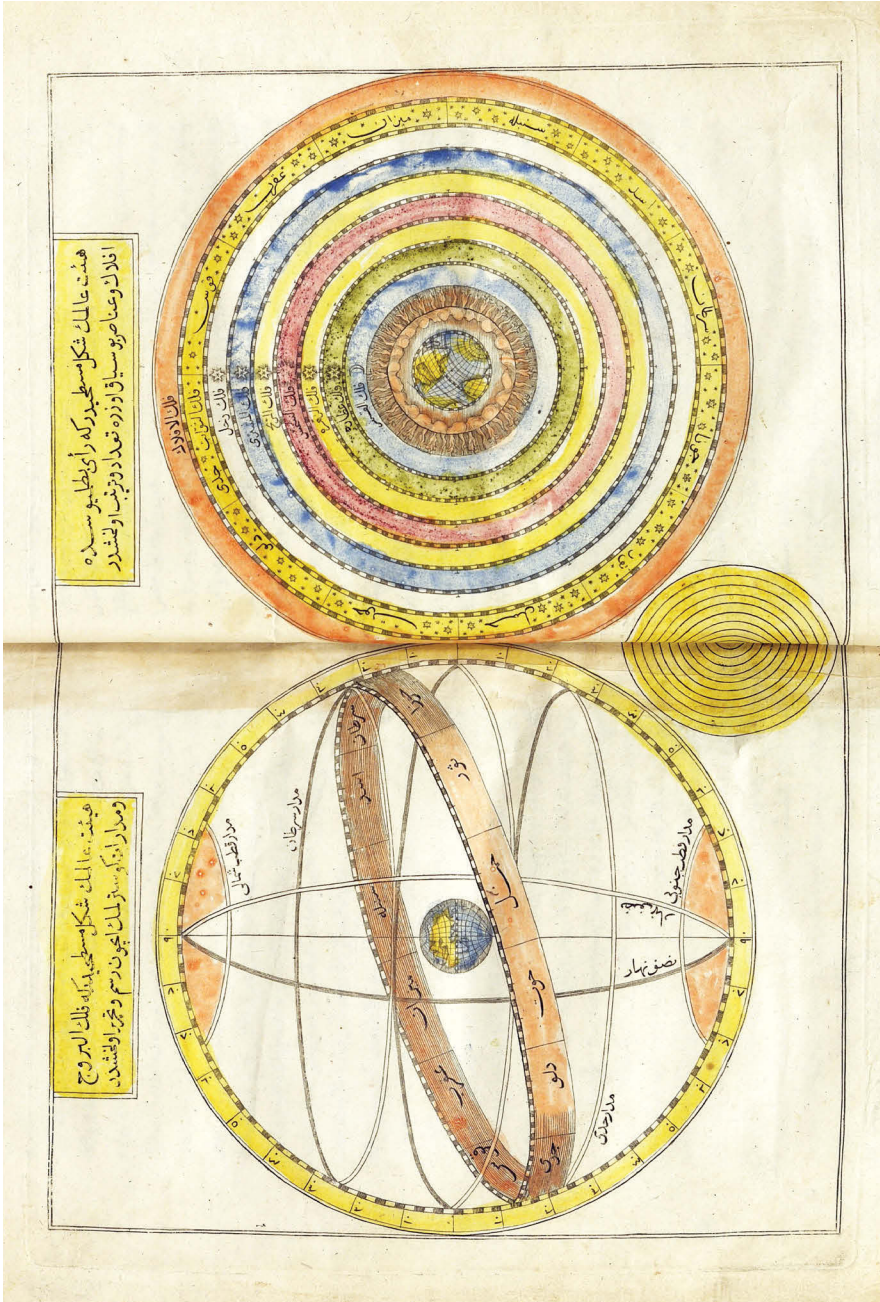


Fig. 41: Cosmological plan, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, plate after p. 21 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).

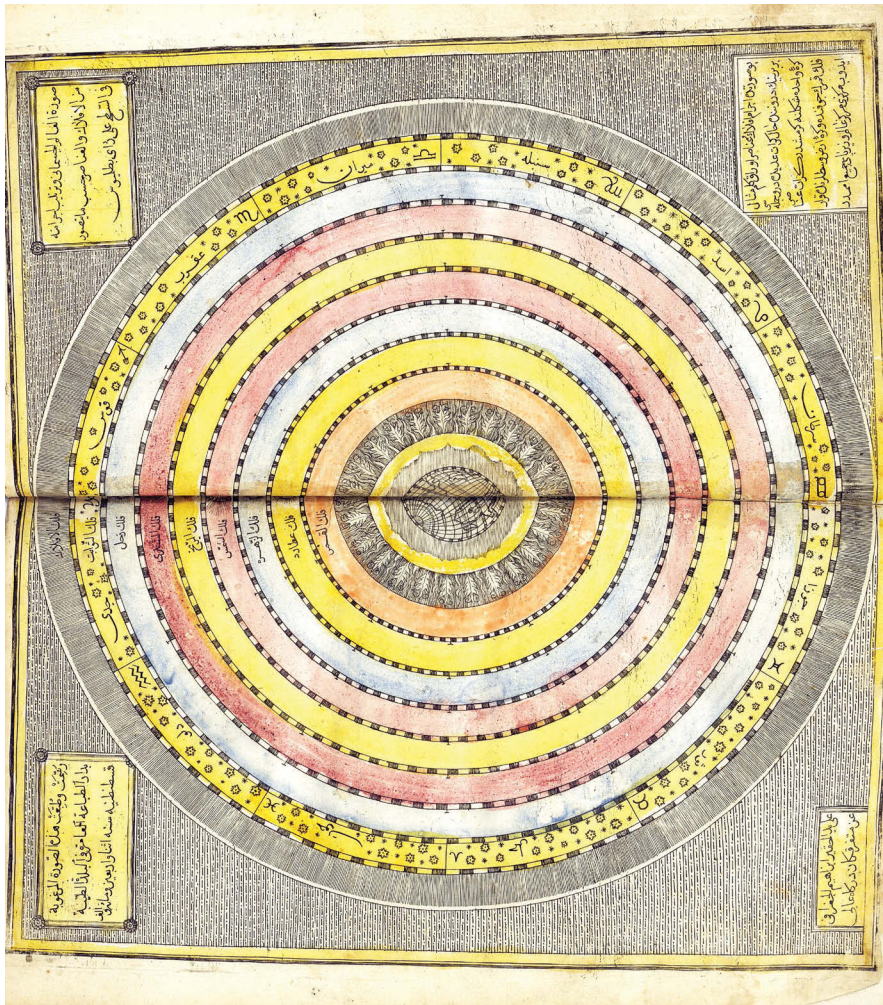


Fig. 42: The cosmological plan according to Ptolemy drawn by İbrahim Müteferrika in 1142/1729–1730, in *Kاتب Çelebi, Kitāb-ı Cihānümā li-Kātib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, plate after p. 25 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).



Fig. 43: Celestial chart, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, plate after p. 27 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).

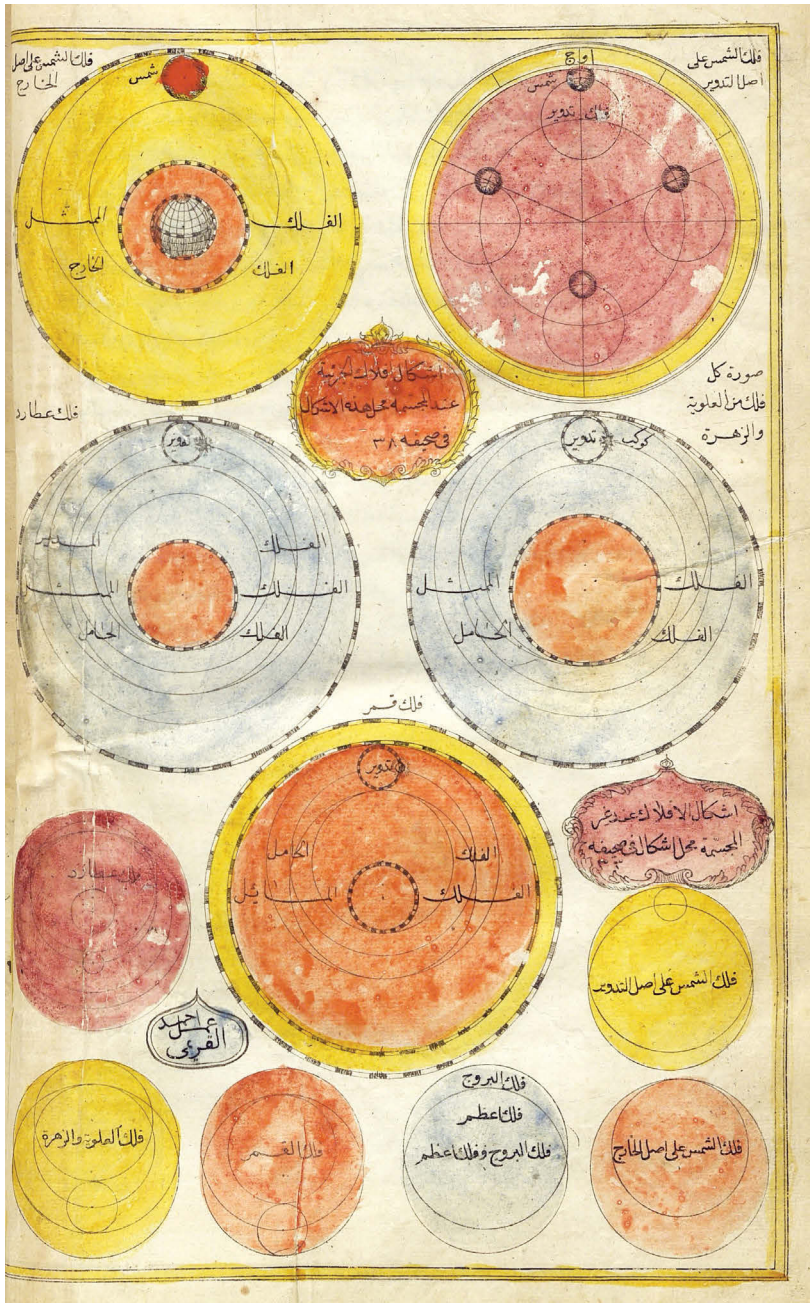


Fig. 44: The shapes of the heavenly spheres, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, plate after p. 33 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).

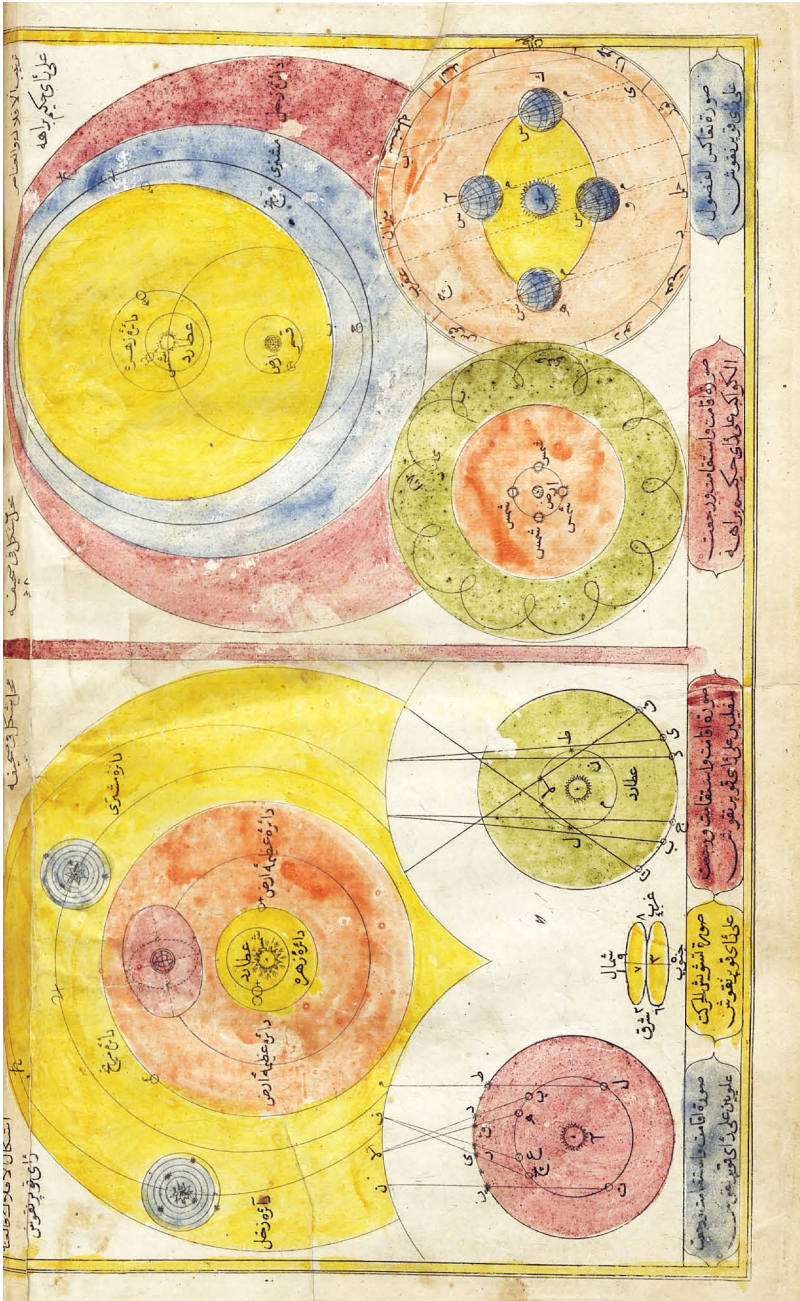


Fig. 45: The heliocentric system according to Copernicus and Tycho Brahe, in Kātib Çelebi, *Kitāb-i Cihānnümā li-Kātib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, plate after p. 47 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).

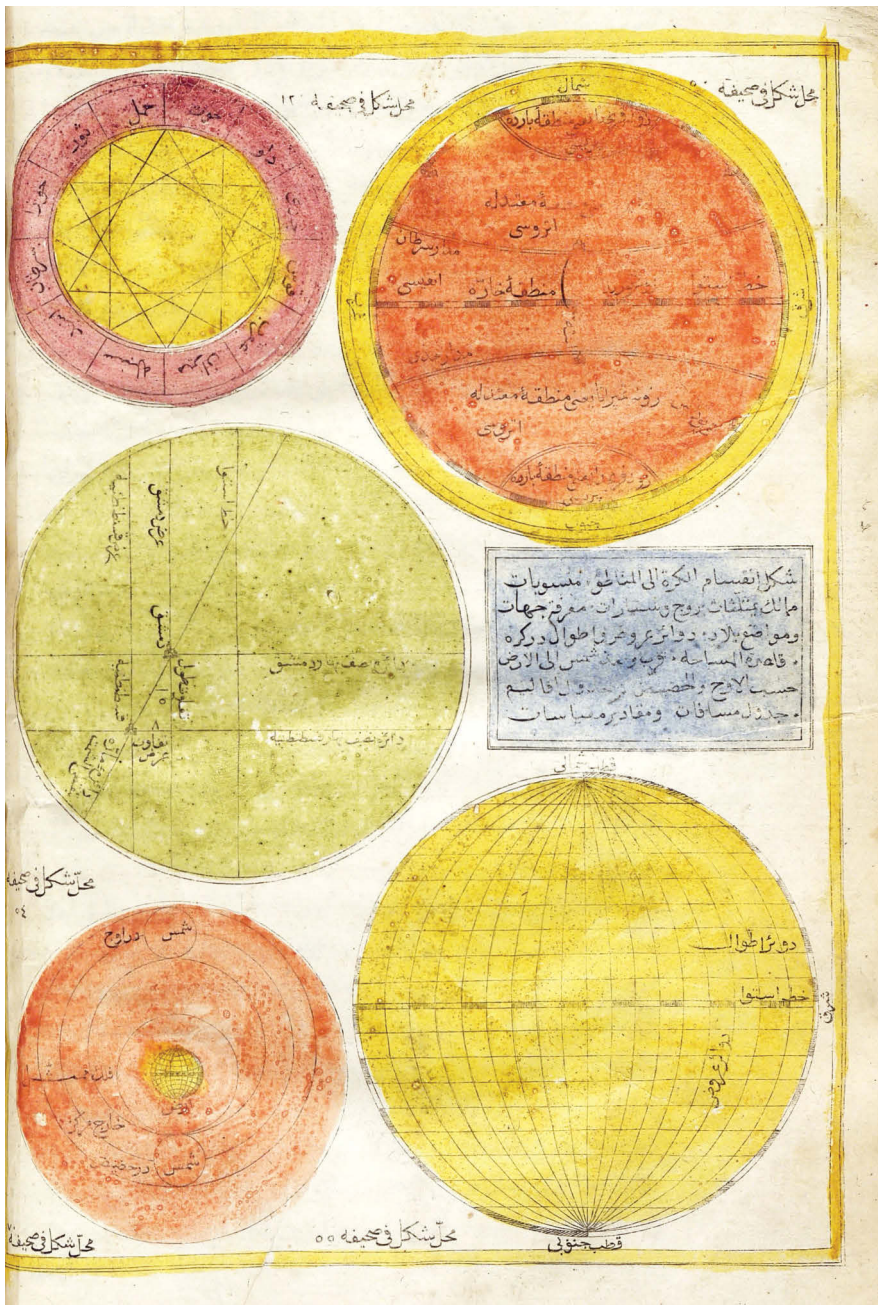


Fig. 46: The division of the Globe into zones, in Kātib Çelebi, *Kitāb-ı Cihānnumā li-Kātib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, plate after p. 49 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).

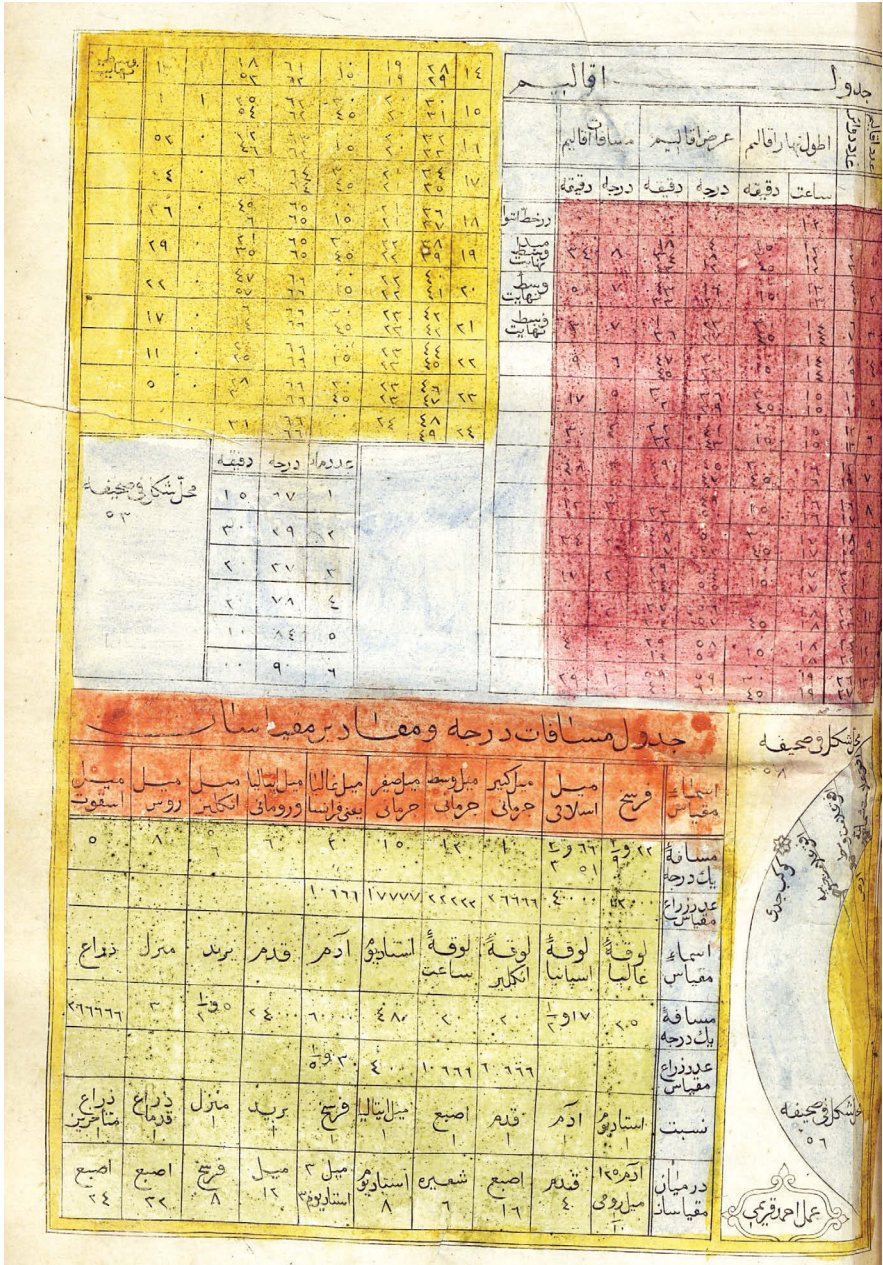


Fig. 48: The horizons and climes, in Kātib Çelebi, *Kitāb-ı Cihānümā li-Kātib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, charts after p. 51 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).

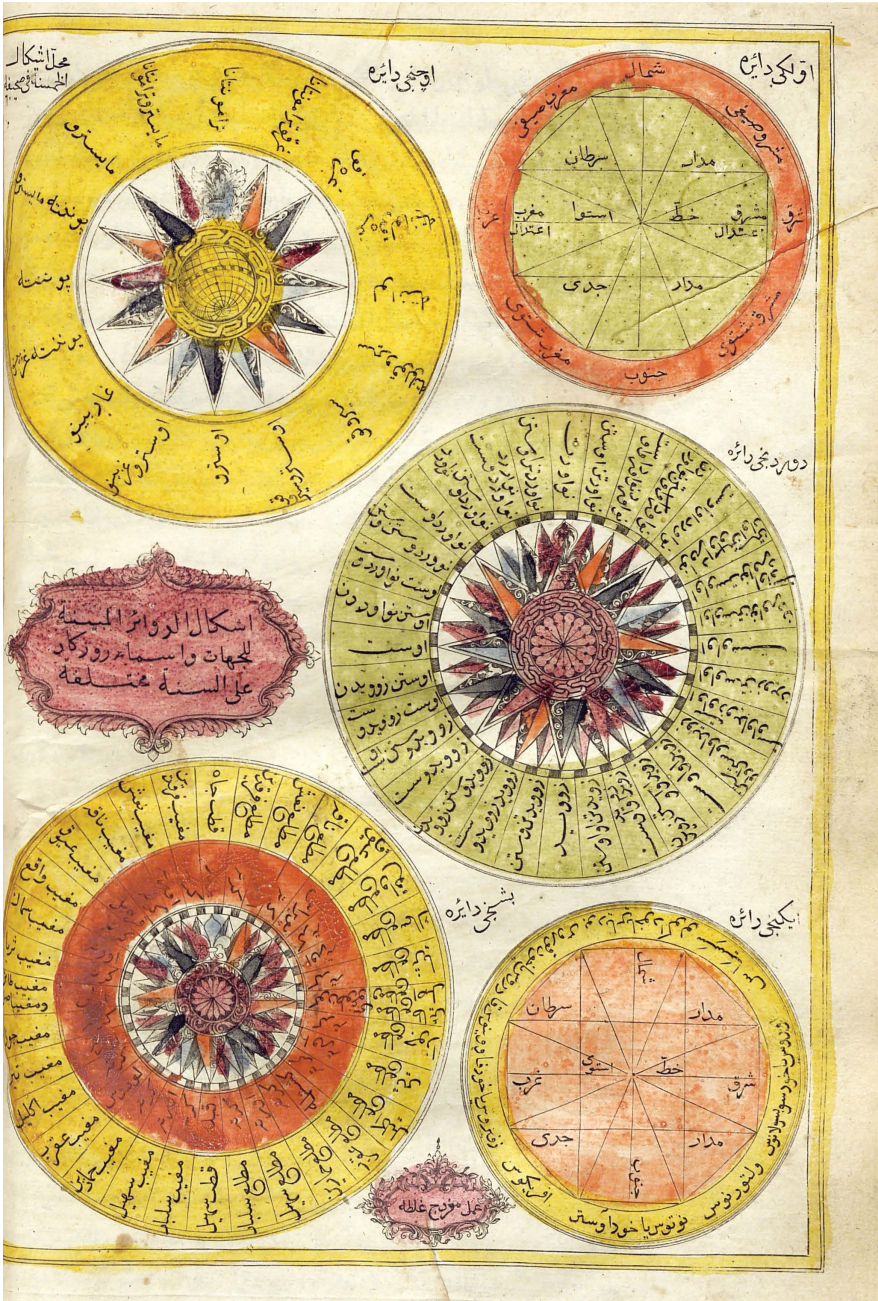


Fig. 49: Wind roses and the compass, in Kātib Çelebi, *Kitāb-ı Cihānümā li-Kātib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, plate after p. 59 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).



Fig. 50: Compass rose and the deviation of the magnetic arrow, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, plate after p. 65 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).

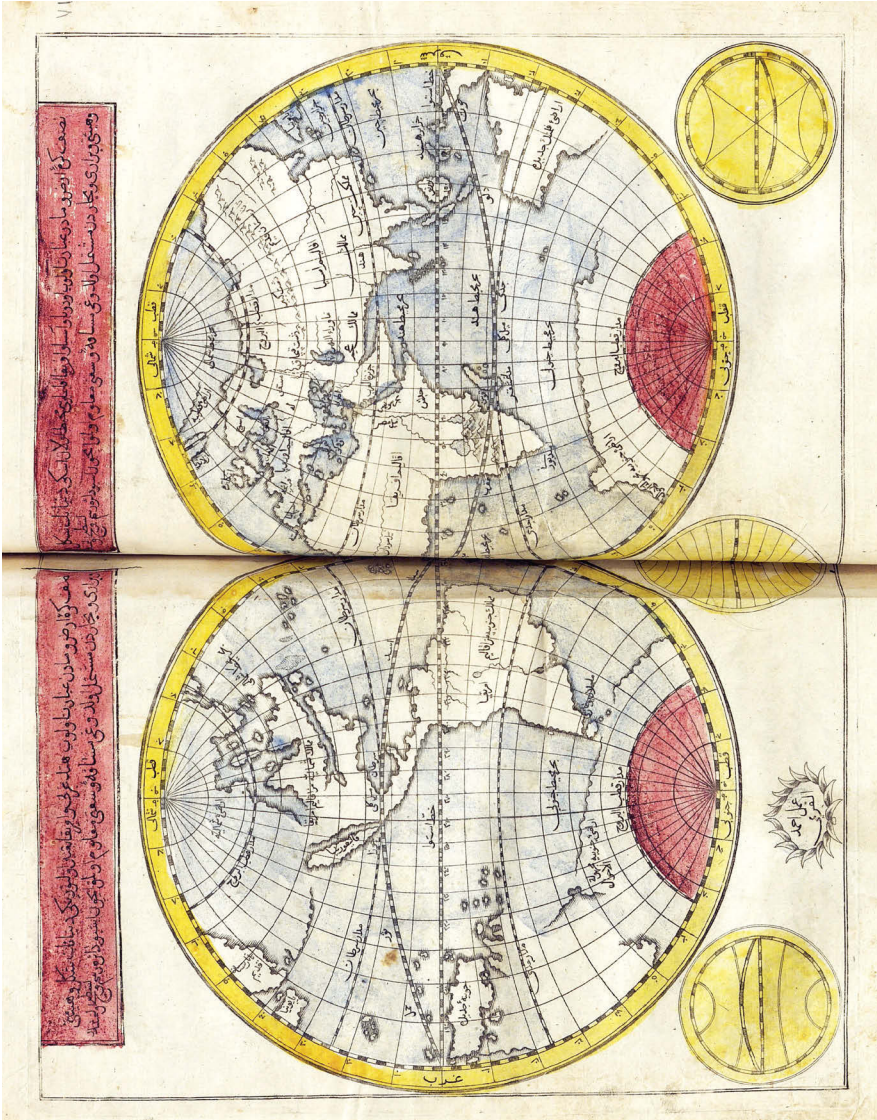


Fig. 51: The two hemispheres, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 71 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).

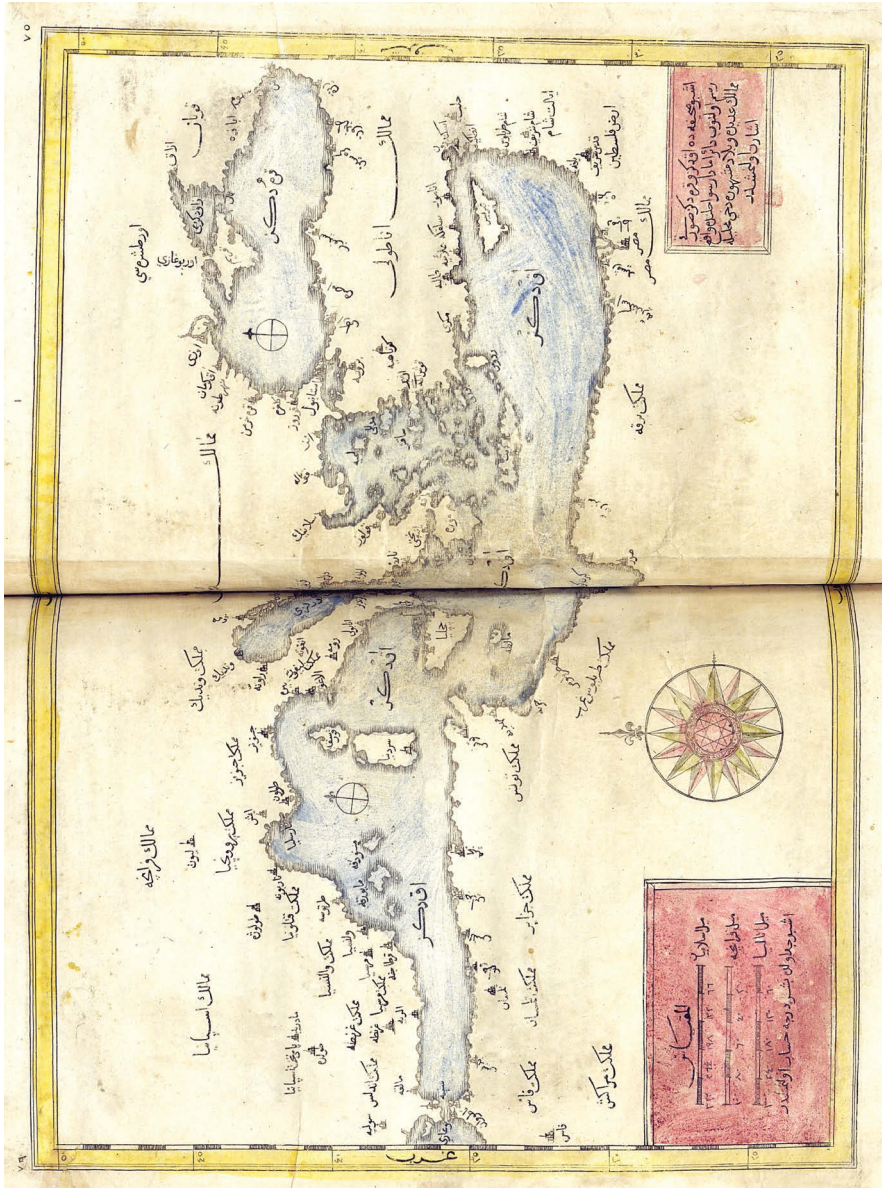


Fig. 52: The Mediterranean Sea and the Black Sea, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ li-Kätib Çelebi*, İstanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 75 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).



Fig. 53: The Adriatic Sea and the Gulf of Venice, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitāb-ı Cihānnumā li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 77 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).

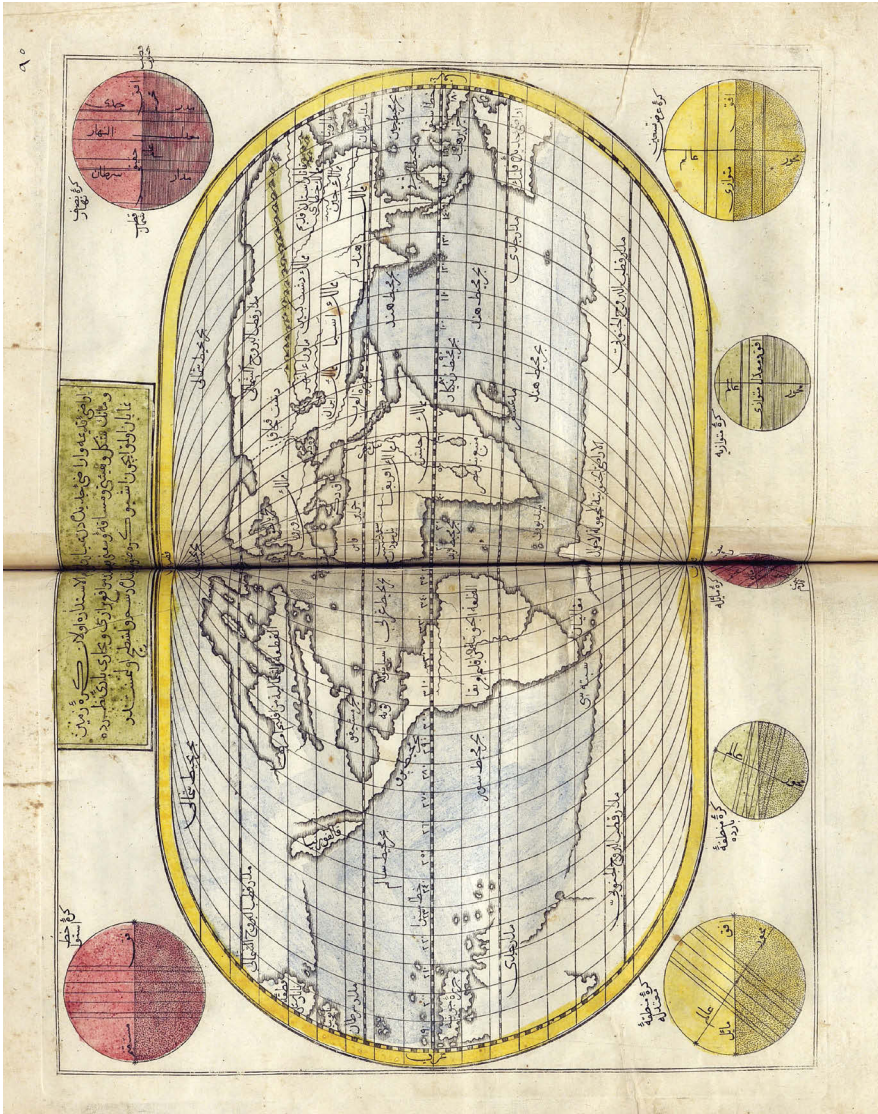


Fig. 55: The world with the “ancient” and “new” continents, in Kātib Çelebi, *Kitāb-ı Cihānümā li-Kātib Çelebi*, İstanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 95 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).



Fig. 56: Europe, in Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitāb-ı Cihānnumā li-Kātib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 99 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).



Fig. 57: Africa, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitāb-ı Cihānnumā li-Kātib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 101 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).



Fig. 58: Asia, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 103 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).

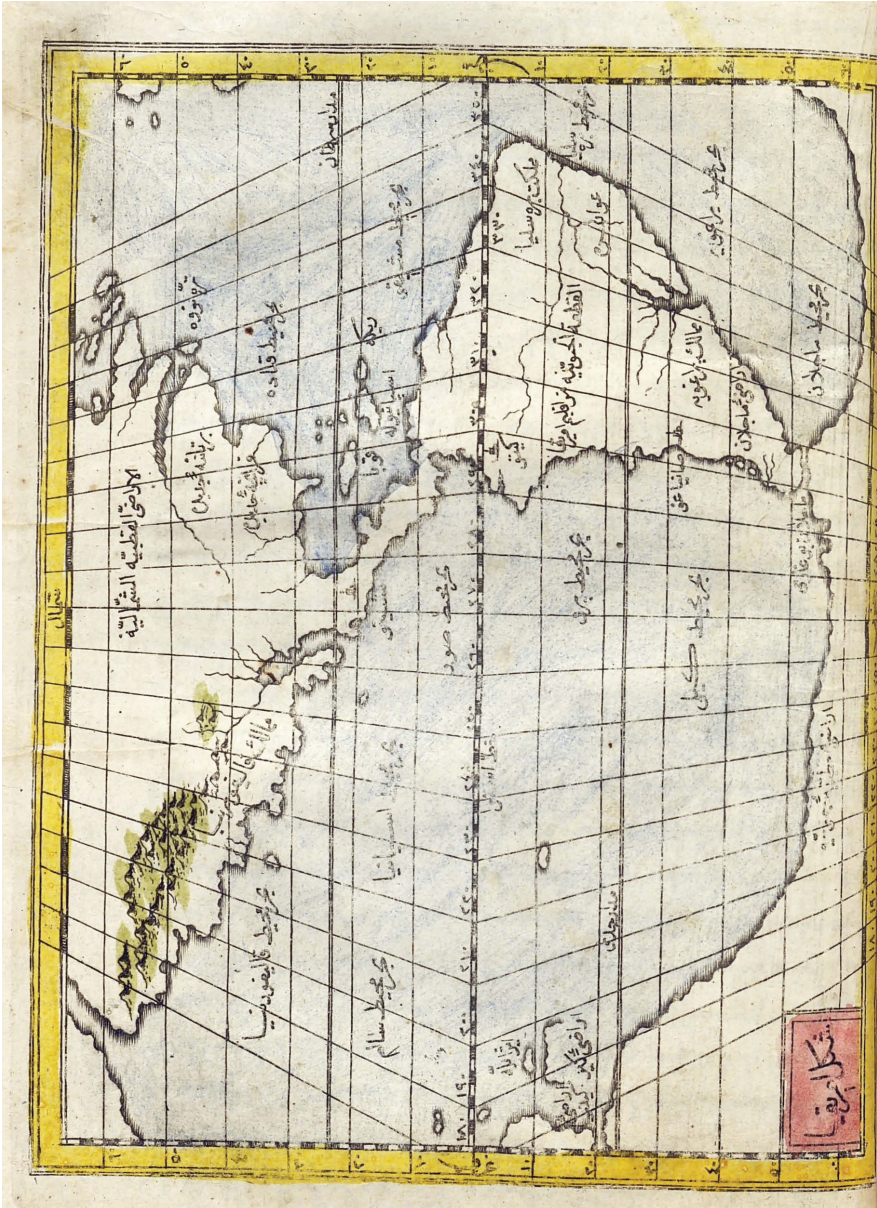


Fig. 59: North America and South America, in Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 113 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).

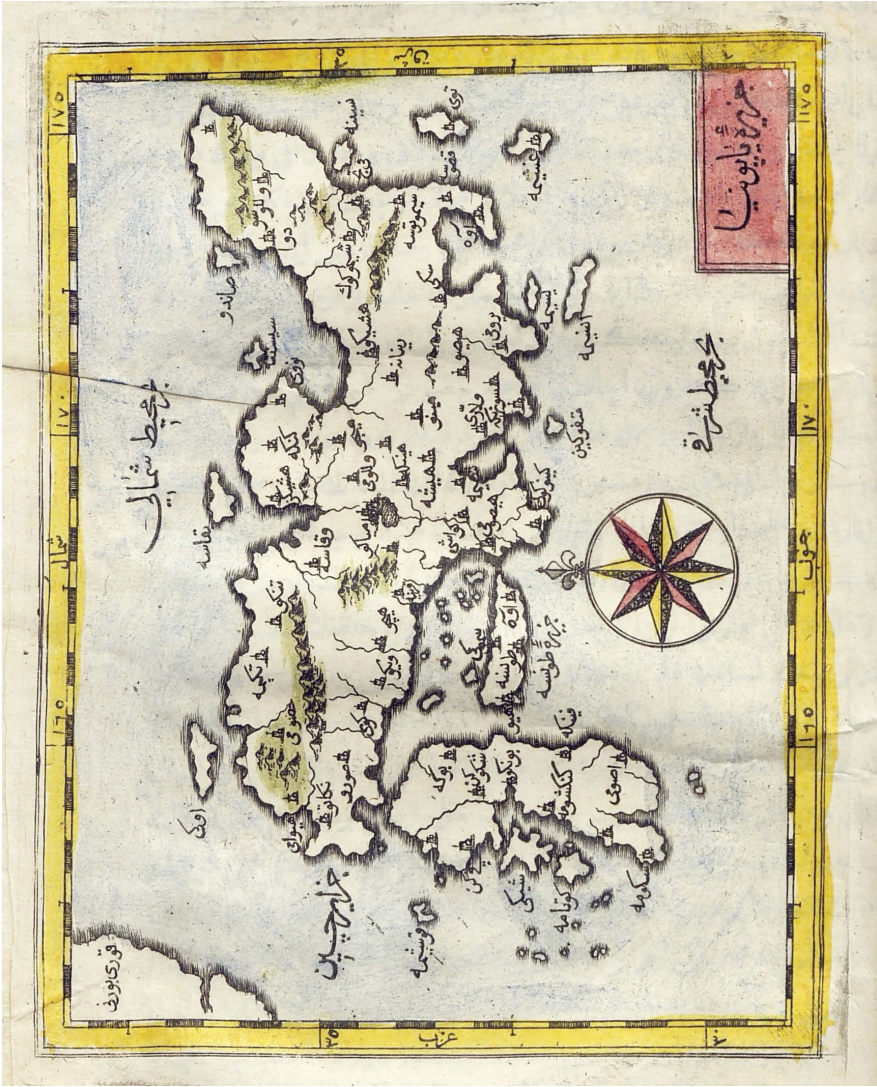


Fig. 61: Japan, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitāb-ı Cihānnumā li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 125 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).



Fig. 63: The East Indies, in Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 131 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).



Fig. 64: The East Indies, in Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 133 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).



Fig. 65: Molucca, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 135 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).



Fig. 66: Sumatra, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 143 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).



Fig. 67: Borneo and the Philippines, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitäb-ı Cihännümä li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 145 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).



Fig. 69: North China, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitāb-i Cihānnumā li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 165 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).



Fig. 70: India, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 195 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).



Fig. 71: Iran, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitāb-ı Cihānümā li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 289 (NLS, OCD, O II 519).

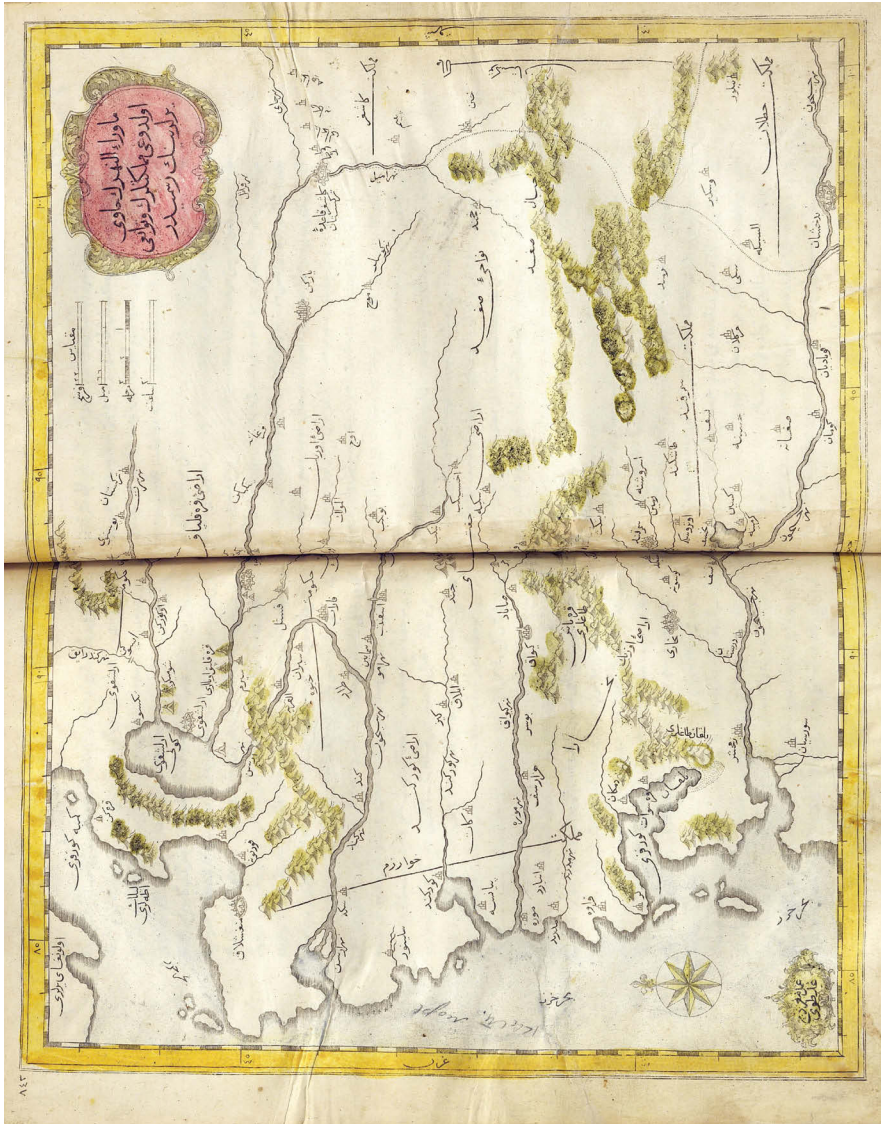


Fig. 72: Transoxiana, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 347 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).

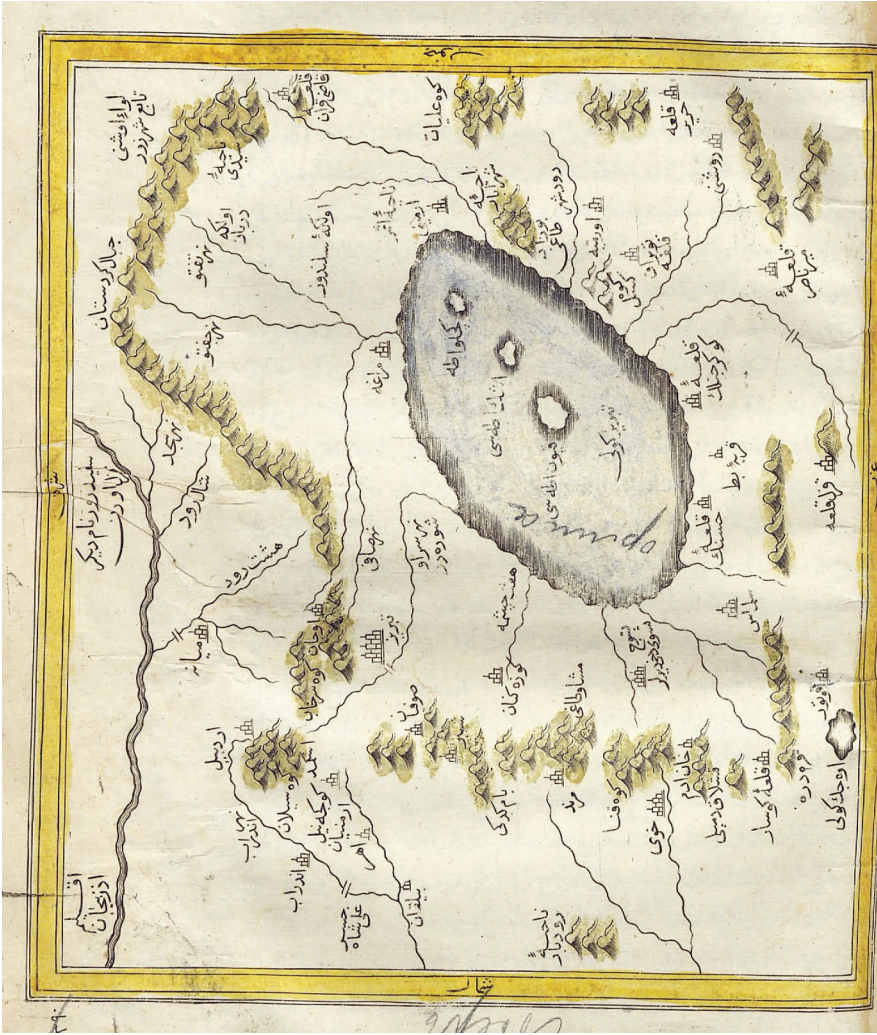


Fig. 73: Azerbaijan, in Kātib Çelebi, *Kitāb-ı Cihānnumā li-Kātib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 389 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).



Fig. 74: The Caucasus, in Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, İstanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 407 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).



Fig. 75: The Arabian Peninsula, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 483 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).

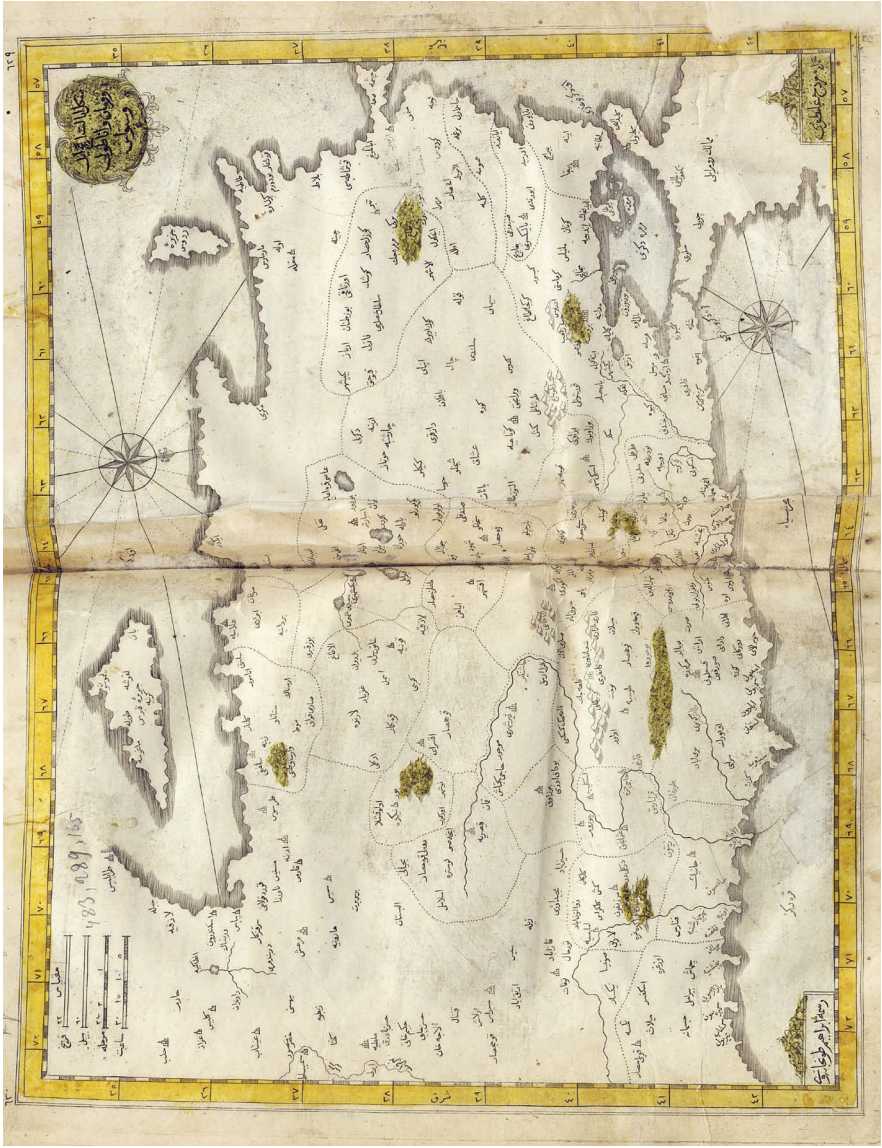


Fig. 76: The regions of İçel, Karaman, Anatolia, and Sivas, in Kātib Çelebi, *Kitāb-ı Cihānnumā li-Kātib Çelebi*, İstanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 629 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).



Fig. 77: The Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, in Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, map after p. 671 (NLS, OCD, O II 159).

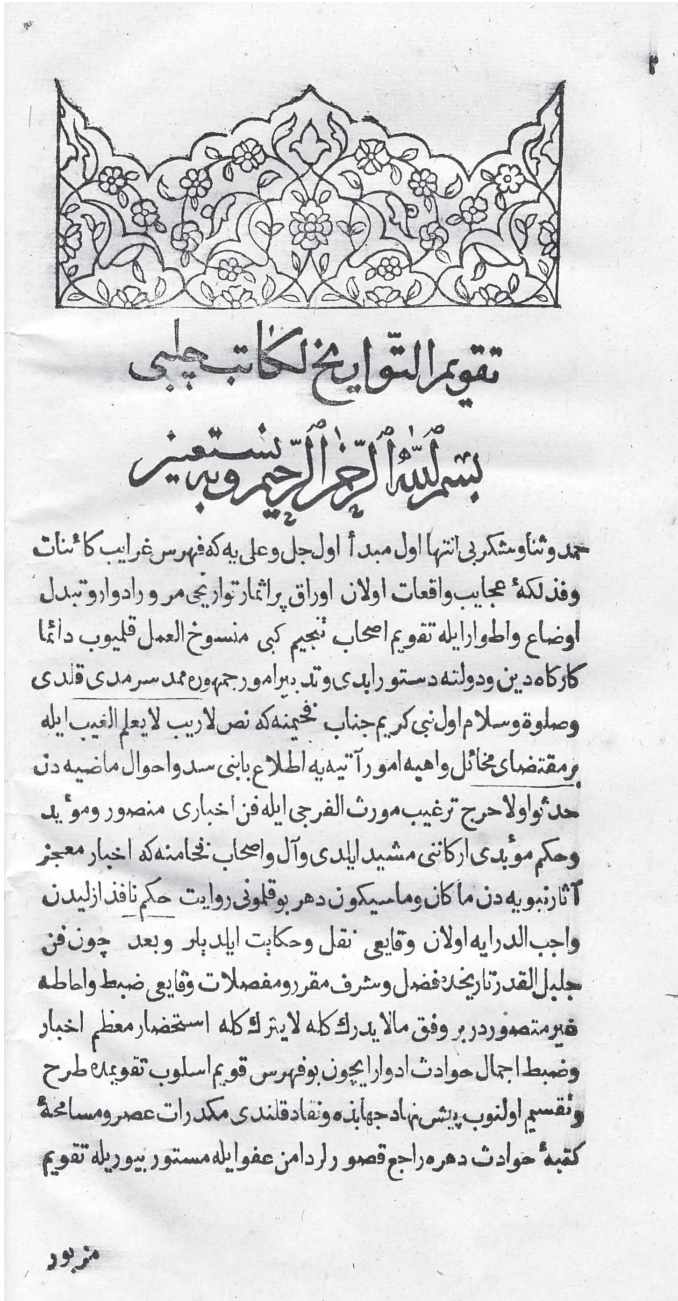


Fig. 78: Kâtib Çelebi, *Takvîmü't-tevârîḫ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1146/1733, p. 2 (NLS, OCD, O II 72).

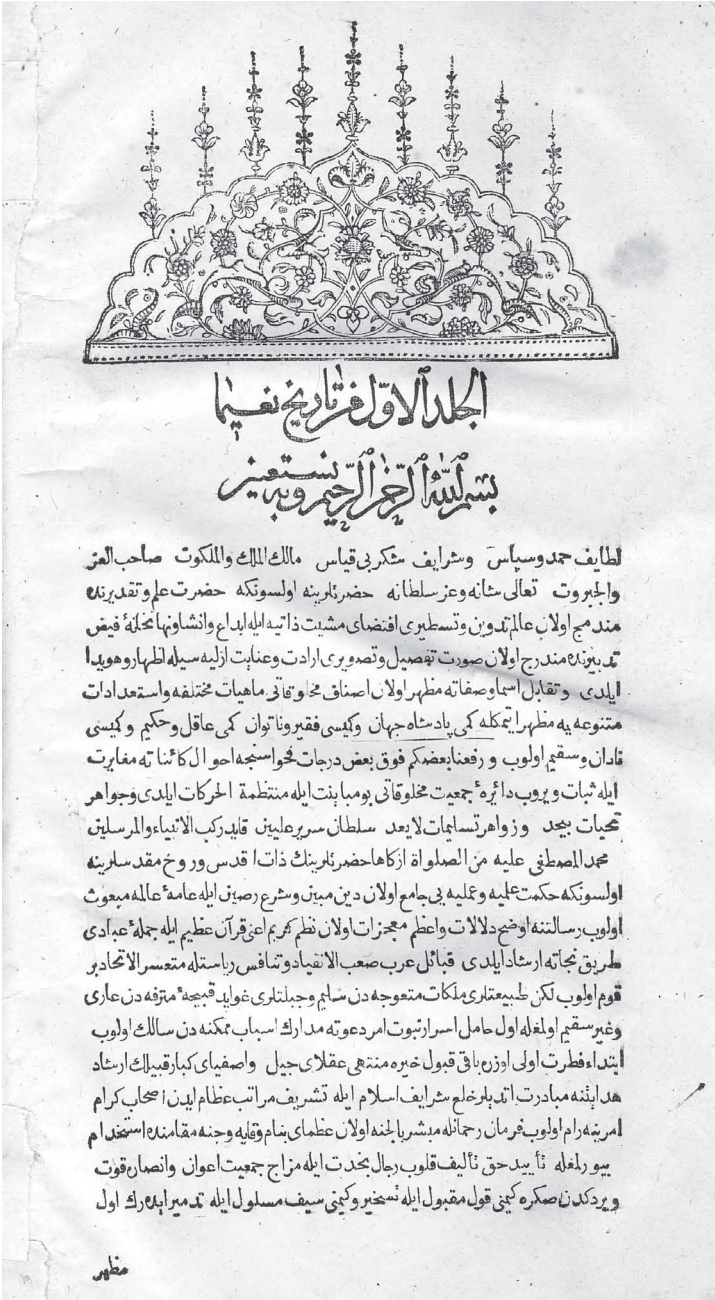


Fig. 79: Mustafa Na'ima, *Tārīḥ-i Na'imā*, Vol. 1, Istanbul, 1147/1734, p. 2 (NLS, OCD, O II 13).

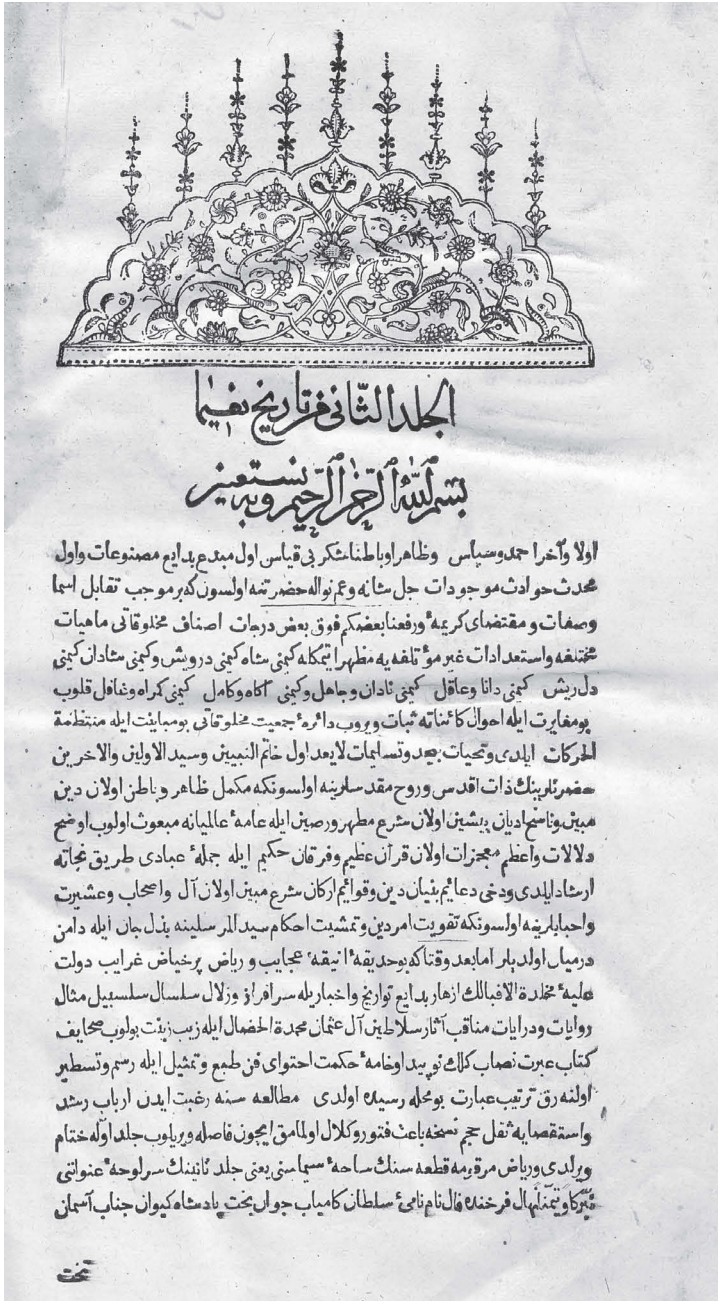


Fig. 80: Mustafa Na'ima, *Tārīḥ-i Na'imā*, Vol. 2, Istanbul, 1147/1734, p. 2 (NLS, OCD, O II 13).

خزینة عامره ده بر نخه سنی مقام صدارت صاحبتمک محفو ط طورفته لایق ر اثر عظیم
 اولوردی واللہ العظیم جملہ اخلاق ک کتابیری وحکمت مؤلفاتی و تواریح و ہمایون نامہ
 وقانون نامہ را کی ہزار مصطلح کتابیک نتیجہ سنی اول مختصر رسالہ دہ مندرج اولد وغندن
 ضیری خاطرہ خطورائتہ مش قولاً قراہتہ مش نوحہ کیر لوفائتہ راہ وعقول حیران اولاجق
 اسرار عظیمیہ بہ اطلاع حاصل اولوردی حاصلی جوق منافی مشاہد او لعمہ نقان سزابو
 دقیمتہ زیبا اولوردی و بوسالہ خلق ان سمنہ مشهور اولان رسالہ سہروردیہ دکلد
 بوسالہ اخلاق و تدبیر منزل و بدبیر مملکت و دولت و سلطنتک مشکلات حقایقہ و عالم
 گون و فسادہ تصدیقات دبانہ اسرار سیک خلاصہ و نتیجہ سنہ متعلقہ در امور نفس الامریہ
 یوبش مرتبہ دہ توفیق و تطبیق ایدوب جلب نفع ردفع ضرر تکرارین خارجہ چہار مقاب
 لیدالبادشروط و وقایع اولان فرائدی التزام ایشد در جناب حق ظفر بولمہ میسر ایلمہ
 اسطہ بالادہ ذکر اولنان معدا حاکمکہ بر برینہ متناقص ککو و تکلمہ اشید نر بواولمہ حق
 ایشد در دیر اول رسالہ عنایہ بہ ظفر بولنہ بر مشککہ صعوبت قلمیہ جفی قنی استکان
 اولوردی صاحب دولت و کثیر المرحمت اقمذیمز حضر نر سیک ہمت علیہ لری
 یاور اولورسہ بلکہ ظفر بلیق میسر اولوب بوتایحک تجیری
 انہاسنہ در مجا ترجمہ سنہ سنی لدوب مشکور اولاجق
 بر خد متہ مظہر اولش اولوردق قول نعیما
 ہون و عنایت خدای متعال برلہ دولت علیہ اید استمرار عثمانیہ دہ فن طبع و تمثیل کتب
 ظور ایدوب فن مرقوم ایلمہ تکثیر و توفیق کہتہ مید استروع اولان سیک یوز قرق سنہ سندن
 اسٹہ و نعیما تک صنعت مرقومہ ایلمہ طبع و توفیر سیک تاریخ خاتمہ سنی اولان سیک یوز قرق پدی
 چنانزی اولی واسطہ کنجہ کتب و رسالہ لدن صحیحی صغیر و کبیر
 دارطبیا عنہ عامرہ دہ حصول پذیر اولان نسخ مرغوبہ
 یونلدر گدہتر و نعد اولندی
 ترجمہ صحاح الجوهری لمحمد بن مصطفی الوانی لغت وان قولی دیکلمہ معروف در جلد ۱۰۰۰
 تحفۃ الکبار فی اسفار البحار کاتب چلبی جلد ۱۰۰۰ ترجمہ تاریخ سیاح لطایع الکتاب جلد
 ۱۲۰ تاریخ ہند عربی المسمی محمدیث توجلد ۰۰۰ تاریخ تیمور کورکان لظمی زادہ بغدادی
 جلد ۰۰۰ تاریخ مصر قدیم و مصر جدید المسمی بذرۃ البیتہ لسهیل جلد ۰۰۰ کلشن خلعا
 لظمی زادہ بغدادی جلد ۰۰۰ اصول الحکم فی نظام الام لطابع الکتاب جلد ۰۰۰
 فیوضات مقنا طبعیہ لطابع الکتاب جلد ۰۰۰ جہان نامکاتب چلبی جلد ۰۰۰
 تہویم التواریح لکاتب چلبی جلد ۰۰۰ جلد اول من تاریخ نعیما جلد ۰۰۰
 جلد ثانی من تاریخ نعیما جلد ۰۰۰ یکون کتب مطبوعہ جمعاً جلد
 ۸۲۰۰ یا لکتر سکتو سیک یکی یوز جلد کتابیہ

Fig. 81: List of the Mütferrika publications with their print run, in Mustafa Na'ima, *Tarih-i Na'imā*, Vol. 2, Istanbul, 1147/1734, p. [741] (NLS, OCD, O II 13).

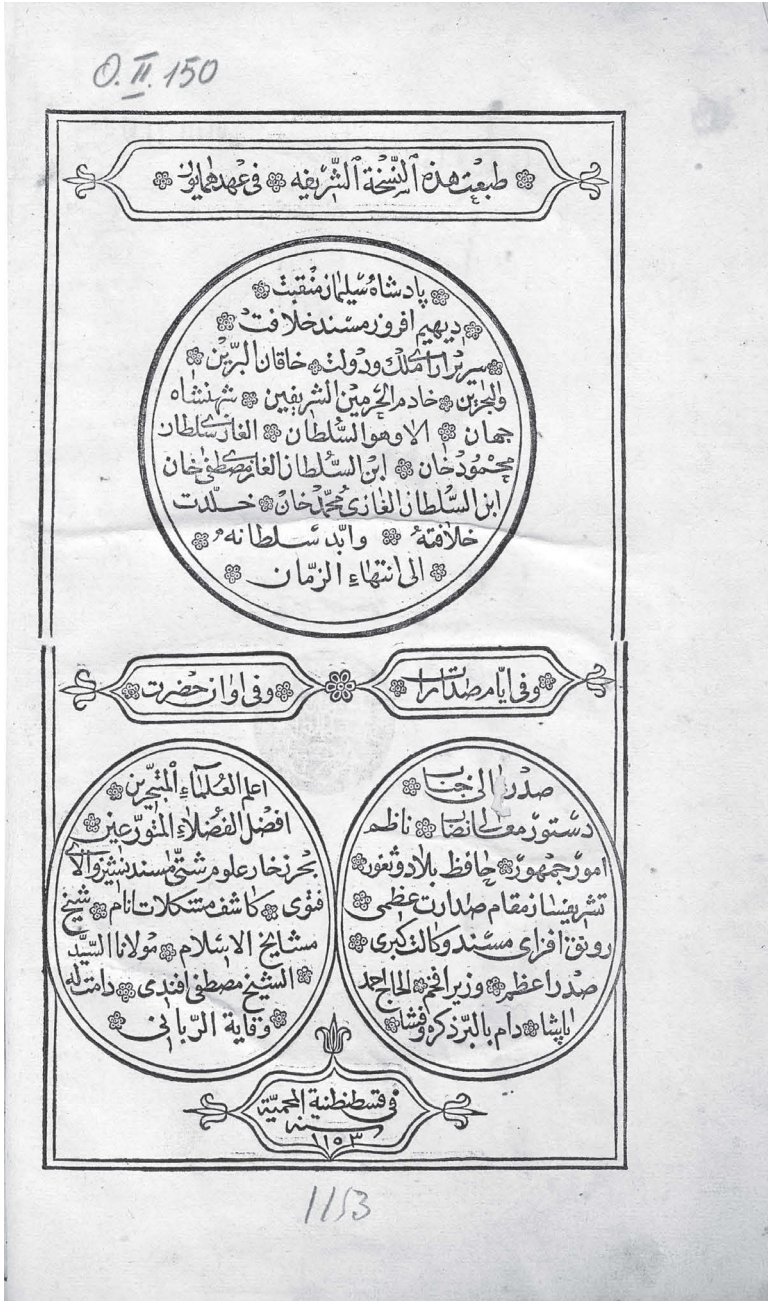


Fig. 82: Mehmed Raşid, *Tārīh-i Rāşid Efendi*, Vol. 1, Istanbul, 1153/1741, "title" page (NLS, OCD, O II 150).

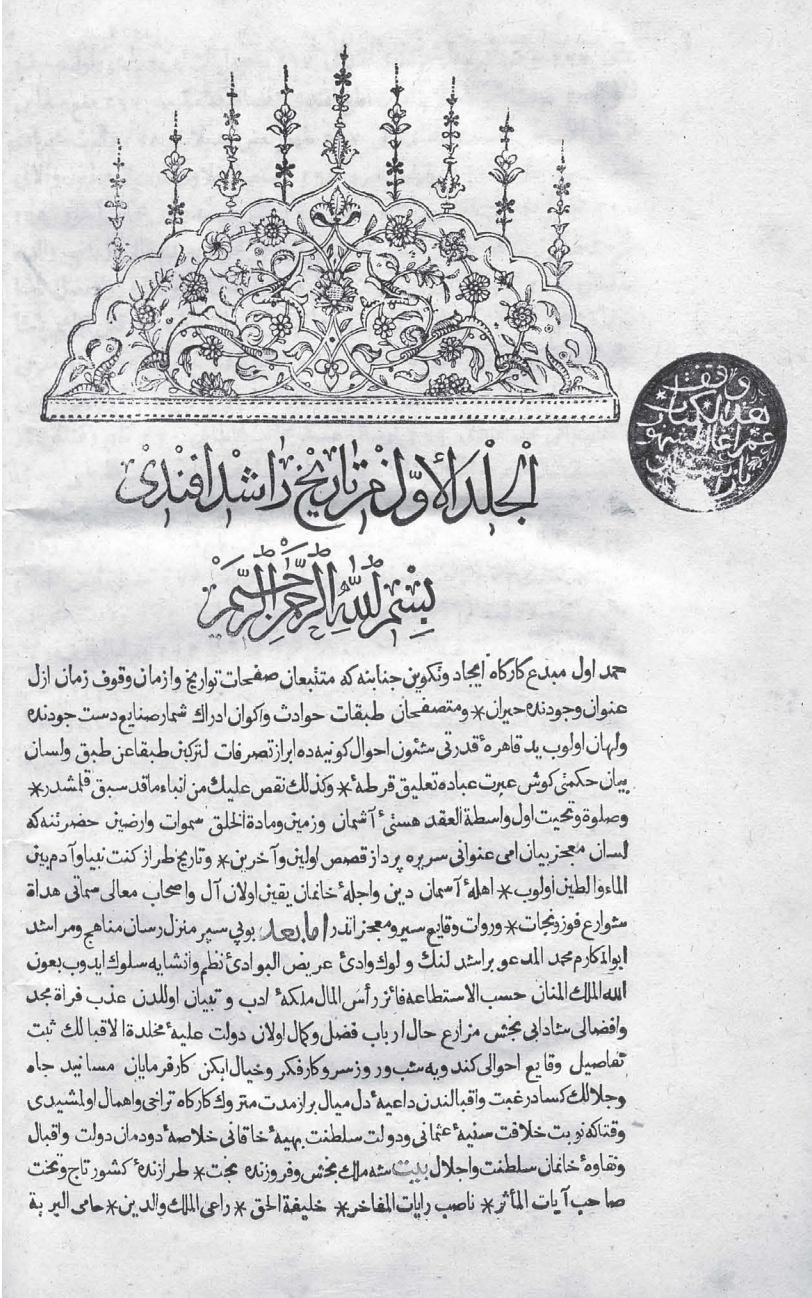


Fig. 83: Mehmed Raşid, *Tārīh-i Rāşid Efendi*, Vol. 1, Istanbul, 1153/1741, f. 1v (NLS, OCD, O II 150).



Fig. 84: Calligraphic tablet describing the virtues and qualities of Prophet Muhammad (*hilye-i şerif*), by Hafız Osman (d. 1698), detail. Sadberk Hanım Museum, Istanbul, SHM 11671

(Public Domain: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hilye_by_Hafiz_Osman_from_Sadberk_Hanım_Museum.jpg).

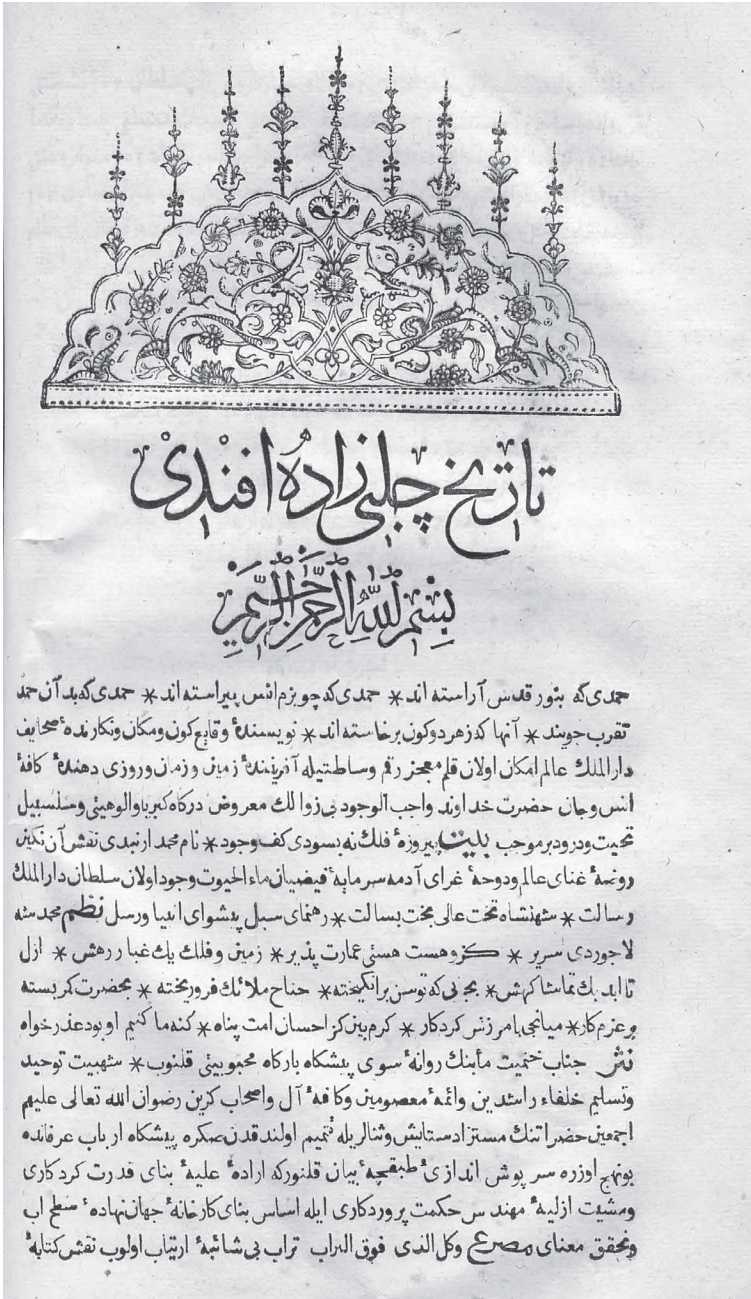


Fig. 85: İsmail Asım Küçükçelebizade, *Tārīh-i Çelebizâde Efendi*, İstanbul, 1153/1741, f. 1v (NLS, OCD, O II 150).



Fig. 86: Ömer Bosnavi, *Ahvâl-i ğazavât der diyâr-ı Bosna*, Istanbul, 1154/1741, f. 1v (By permission of Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi Ankara, A/4576).

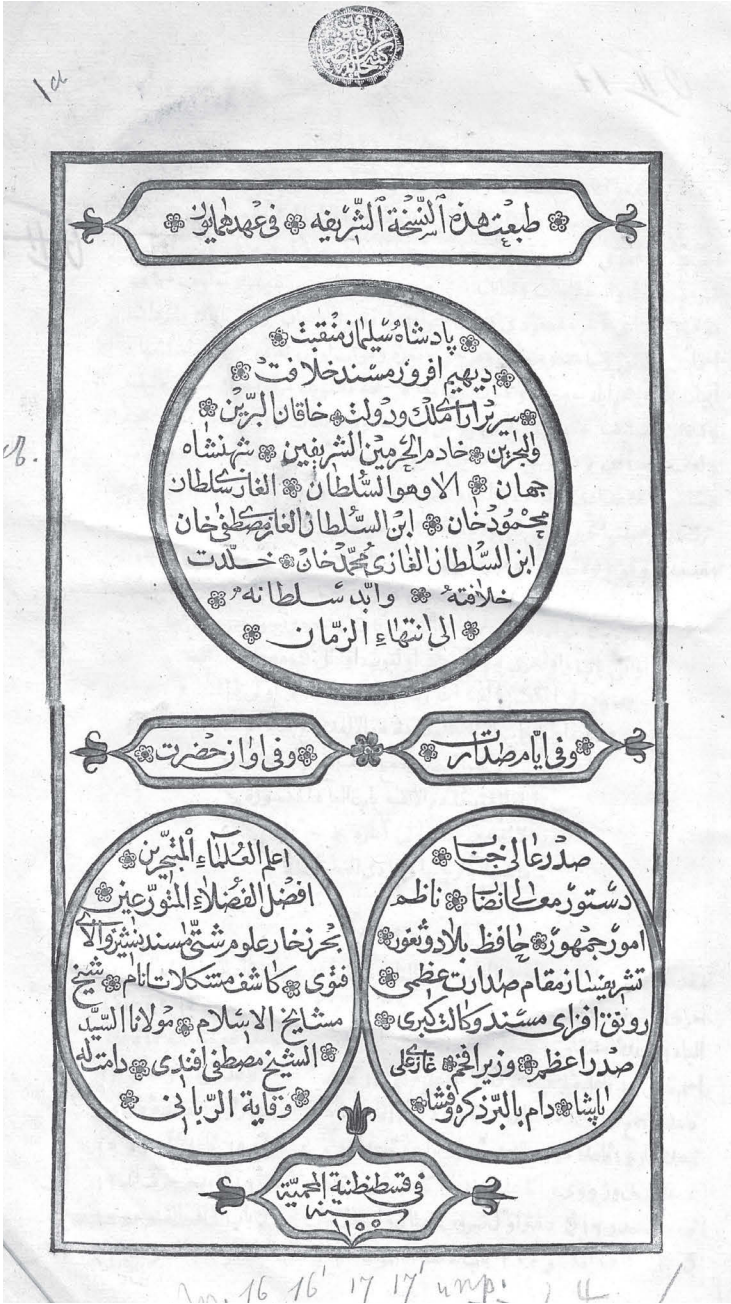


Fig. 87: Hasan Şu'uri, *Lisânü'l-Acem* [*Ferheng-i Şu'ürî*], Vol. 1, Istanbul, 1155/1742, "title" page (NLS, OCD, O II 17).



Fig. 88: Hasan Şu'urî, *Lisânü'l-Âcem [Feraheng-i Şu'urî]*, Vol. 1, Istanbul, 1155/1742, f. 1v (NLS, OCD, O II 17).



Fig. 89: Pietro Baron, *Kiblenüma-i âfâkı*, 1151/1738–1739, sheet. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Orientabteilung, Diez A fol. 58, f. 11r (Public Domain: <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB000166B400000025>).

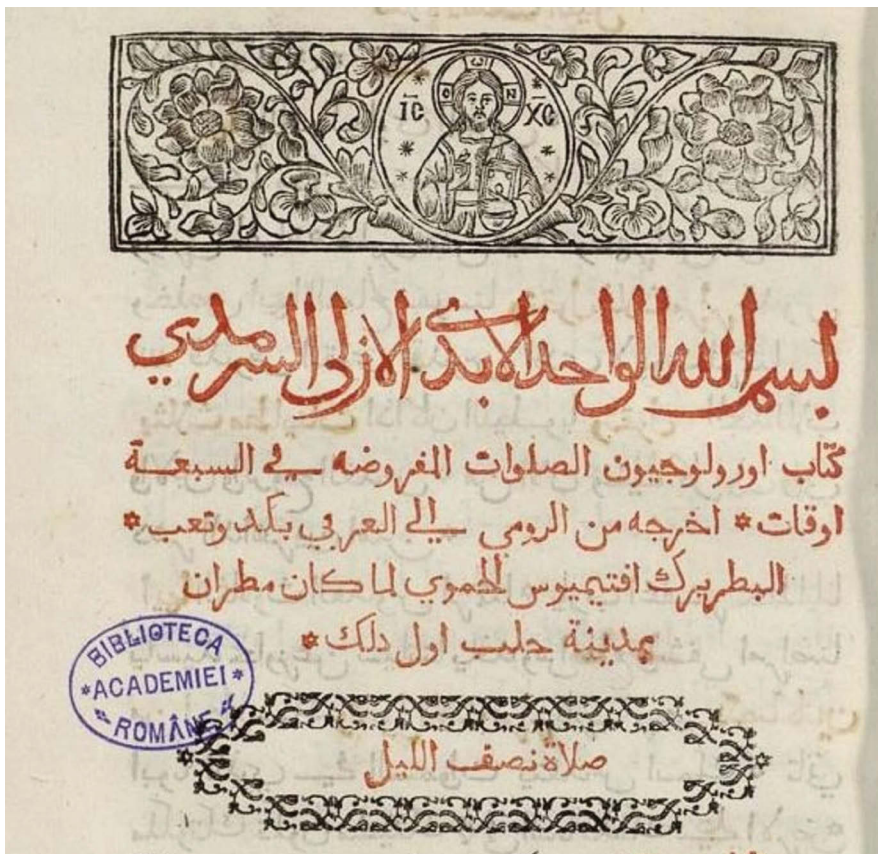


Fig. 90: Woodblock for a Christian *basmala*, in *Book of Hours*, Bucharest, 1702 (By permission of the Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest).



Fig. 91: Ahmad ibn Arabshah, *Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-maqdūr fi akhbār Timūr / Ahmedis Arabsiadae, Vitae & rerum gestarum Timuri, qui vulgo Tamerlanes dicitur, historia*, Leiden, 1636, p. [9]. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, 4 A.or. 509 (Public Domain: <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb10218936?page=14%2C15>).

۷۸
 اوزن اول قدر مردان کارزاری قلعه قبوسنه شیریل ایندی رنجیه میزور لقیود
 بولنان کفار ابله یقه بیقه اعمال سیف و خنجر و مخربک نیر و نیر ابله توفیق رفیق
 و تاید الهی بدر قهطر یقاری اولوب قلعه یه ره هیاب و در و سنه اولان کفاری
 قتل و اسیر برله قلعه فتح و مخیر ایدوب مال و اوزاقن ضبط و اسیرلرین رتبه
 عبودیتنه ربط ایتدیلما بیقه مذکور ننگ بر قلعه سی دخی بر موضعه
 واقع اولمش که اوج طرفی تمتع الصعود طاقرا اولوب بر طرفی انجق بر جسره
 مخصر اولمغله وصولی محال و تقریبی عدم الاحتمال اولوب اوزاقدن اوزاغله
 انلان اوق و حجر و مدردن اصلا پرواسی اولما مغله تیمور قلعه ننگ صعب
 و متاننده مطلع و فتح و مخیری تمتع اولدوغنی یقین ایتدو کندن غیری
 طایفه نصار اطلت لیلله نصب جسرو تیمور اوردوسنه شنجون ایدوب
 ایصال ضرردن تیمور بحضور ایکن عسکر مایینده ایکی نفر مرد میدان
 هنر بیجه کیر شیر هنر بر اولوب ابله کسنگ بر بریده محبت و حسن عشرتی
 و شجاعت ده پاداش و سفرو طریقده یولد استغنی اولوب اتفاقا هر کون
 بری جثه ده قیل و قیافه ده بی عدیل بر کافره دوچار اولوب جنگ
 وجدالده مسلمانک بازوی قوتی توفیق الهی ابله قوی و طالعی مساعد اولمغله
 کافر مر قومی نداخته خاک ادا بار و کشفه شمشیر ایدوب سر مقطوعن
 حضور تیموره احضار ایتمکله تیمور شادمان و مزبور ی نفخیم و توفیر
 احسان ابله محسود اقران ایتمکین بو حرکت دوستی اولان قنبر ابله ملقب
 میر محمدک باعث غیرت و محرک حمینی اولمغله یولد اشی کی بر خدی متنه نابل
 و نظر تیمورده مقام عالی یواصل اولمق امنیه سیمه بدل جان ایدوب و اصل
 وصل حانت طالب اولور کی جسرد کوری کوزدب قلعه یظفر بولمقدن غیری
 ماده

Fig. 92: Ahmad ibn Arabshah, *Tārīḥ-i Timūr Gūrkan li-Nazmizāde Efendi*, Istanbul, 1142/1730, f. 83v (By permission of Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi Ankara, A/4571).



Fig. 93: North-Western gateway of the courtyard of Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul (photo Julian Dinkov).

1

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
 بدان مقدمه است در معرفه تقویم و آن
 مبني است بر حساب جمل که
 انبیاست علیهم السلام و آن این است،

ا ب ج د ه و ز ح ط ی ک ل م ن
 ۰. ۳. ۳. ۰. ۱. ۹. ۱. ۷. ۴. ۰. ۳. ۳. ۰. ۲. ۱. ۰. ۹. ۱. ۷. ۴.

س ع ف ص ق ر ش ت ث خ ن ض ظ غ
 ۱. ۰. ۹. ۰. ۱. ۰. ۷. ۰. ۴. ۰. ۰. ۳. ۰. ۳. ۰. ۰. ۰. ۰. ۰. ۰. ۰.

و از این بیست و هشت حرف بیست و نه احاد است از
 آنها ط و نه عشرات است از ی تا ص و نه
 میانیست از ق تا ط و یکی الفست و آن حرف
 غین است، و قاعده ترکیب آنست که اکثر
 مقدم دارند بر اقل، مثلاً چون خواهند که
 احاد را

° Numerus
 quinarium du-
 plici figurâ a-
 pud Arabas,
 Persas, & Tur-
 cas, exprimitur.
 Quidam qui-
 narium sic pin-
 gunt 9, & tunc
 sifram (ut nos)
 circulo exprimi-
 unt: inde
 AliKoshgius A-
 stronomus
 Persa: صفر
 ذویسنند بر
 صورت
 ن ایره خرد
 Sifram scribunt
 figurâ circelli.
 Quam scribendi
 diverfâritatem nisi probè,
 in evolvendis eorum libris,
 animadverteris,
 infinities errabis.

Fig. 94: Anonymus Persa de siglis Arabum & Persarum astronomicis, London, 1648, p. 1. Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon (Public Domain: https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_Um7wVaULww8C/page/n123/mode/2up, https://books.google.bg/books?id=Um7wVaULww8C&redir_esc=y).

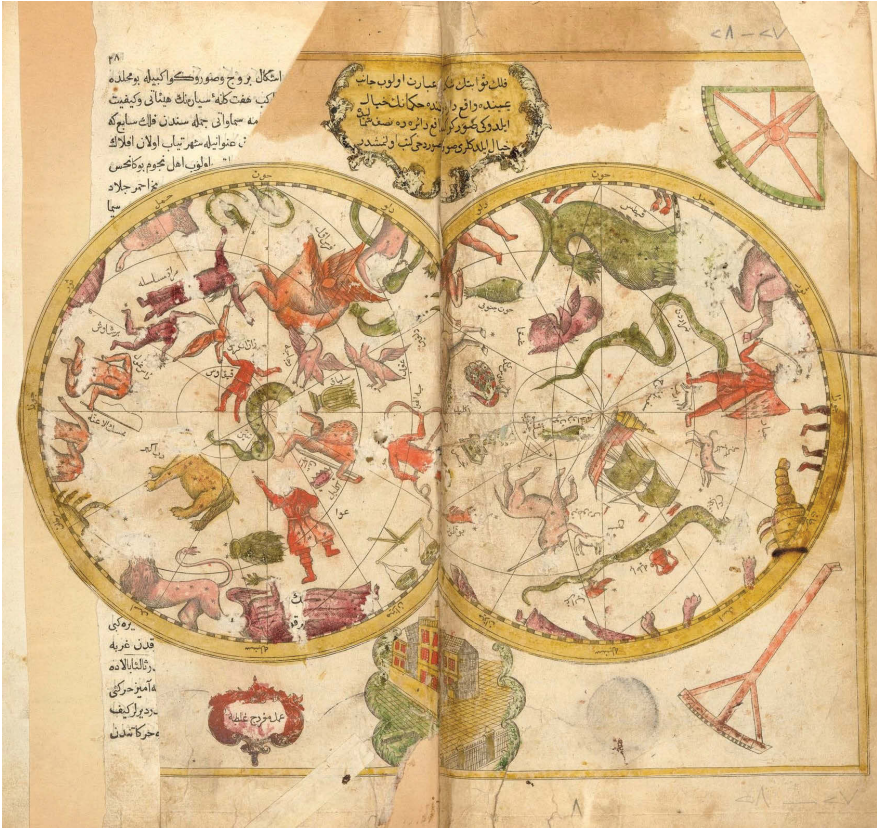


Fig. 95: Celestial chart with scratched-off heads and private parts of the human and animal figures, in Kätib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihännümâ li-Kätib Çelebi*, Istanbul, 1145/1732, chart after p. 27 (By permission of Princeton University, Firestone Library, Rare Books Division, 2070.46.349q).



Fig. 96: Map of the Sea of Marmara drawn by İbrahim Müteferrika in 1132/1719–1720, modern print from a surviving woodblock (cf. İhsan Sungu, “İlk Türk Matbaasına Dair Yeni Vesikalar”, *Hayat*, 3, 1928, 73, p. 10).

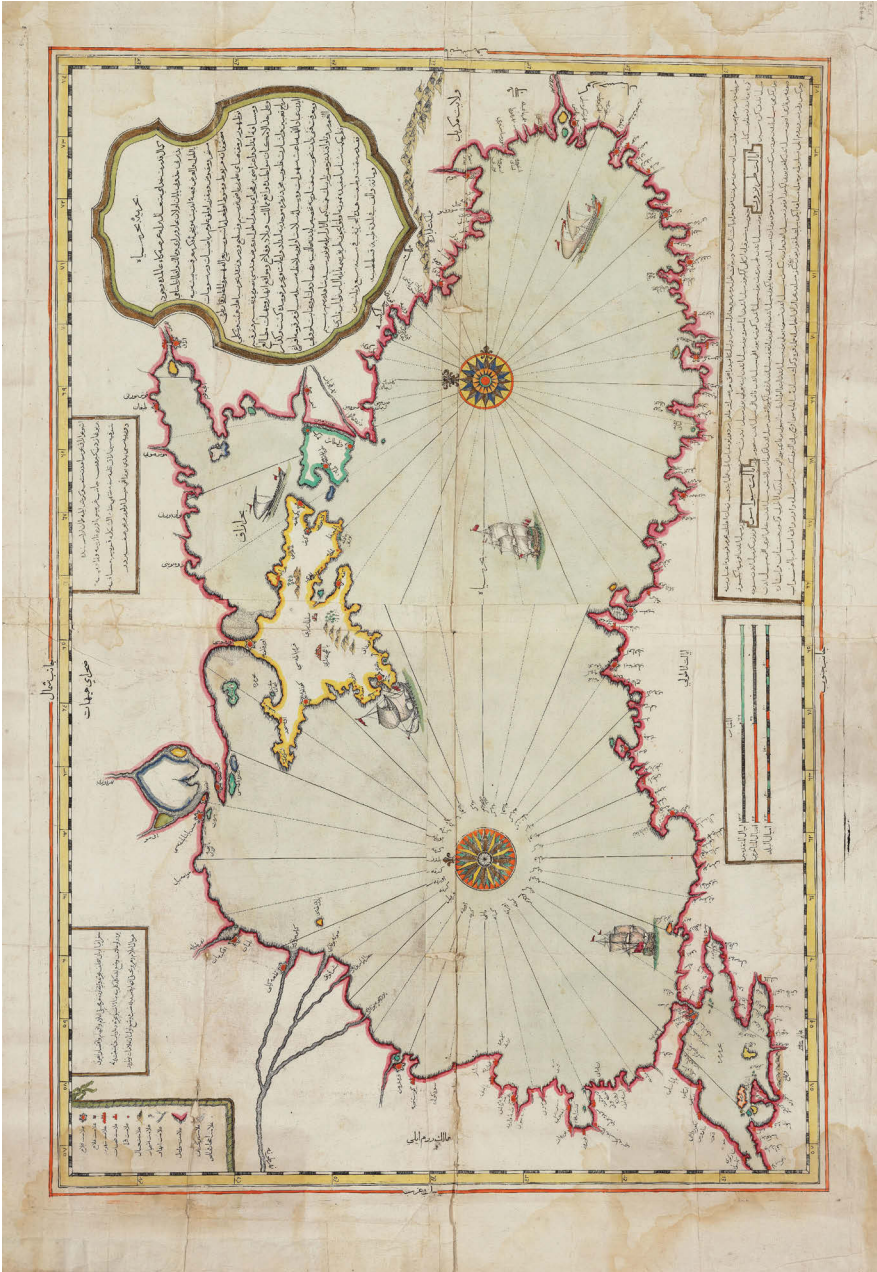


Fig. 97: Map of the Black Sea, printed by İbrahim Müteferrika in 1724. Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 492 1723 (Public Domain: <https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/115502078>).



Fig. 98: Map of Iran, drawn and printed by İbrahim Müteferrika in 1142/1729–1730 (By permission of Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi İstanbul, HRT.h.103a).



Fig. 99: Map of Egypt, printed by İbrahim Müteferrika in 1742/1730. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Orientabteilung, Diez A fol. 58, f. 5r (Public Domain: <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB000166B40000013>).

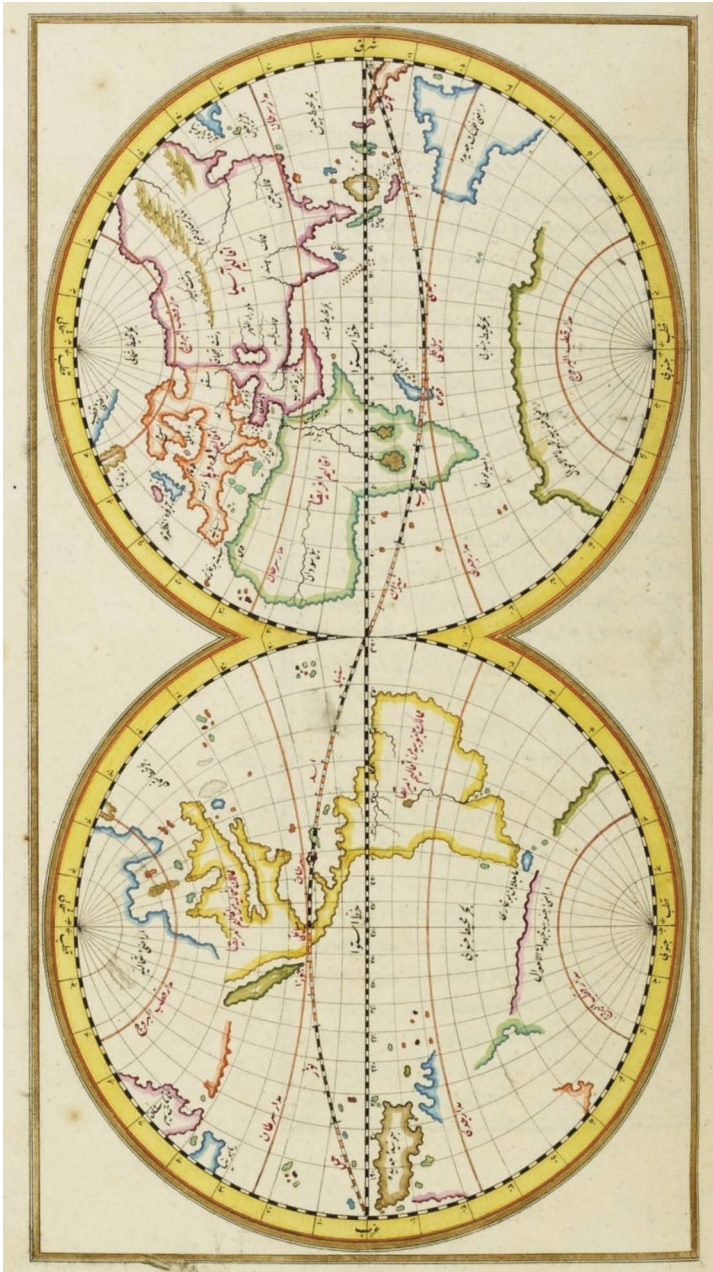


Fig. 100: Map of the Western and the Eastern hemispheres, in Kâtib Çelebi, *Cihānnumā*, manuscript copy dated 1729. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Département des manuscrits, Supplément turc 215, f. 33r (Public Domain: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8414989f/f77.item>).

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