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## The Place and Importance of Turkish Incunable Printings in the History

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#### **ABSTRACT**

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The most important step for the literature world between "the invention of writing" and "transition to computer technology" is the starting of use of printing house led by Gutenberg and its proliferation. This innovation that affected the progress of history has also created its own terminology along with distinctive practices. The first printed book and the term incunable used to express the printing process of these books is one of them. For Turkish book printing that has been quite late to incorporate printing house, there is a period defined with this term, and printing houses which have been active during this period and printed books exist. It would be the best way to try to define with the values fed by Turkish cultural and social life in determining the period of "Turkish incunable" which is defined between different dates almost in every study. It should be remembered while giving the definition and the period that "Turkish incunable" has an honorable place for both our printing house' start and its development until our day. The experiences of Turkish incunable printings have encouraged the ones intended to be active in this field, eased and shortened the way to do it.

**Keywords:** Printing house, Printing house-Turkish, Printing house-Europe, Incunable, Social development.

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### I. Introduction

Printing house which has an honorable place among the inventions that shaped the history has had a different proliferation process in the Ottoman Empire than the Europe. This difference arising from the empire's unique structure has also created a genuineness in the meaning of incunable word that is used for defining the period starting from the activation time of printing house in a culture and until it's accepted as part of that culture.

The main characteristic of incunable printings is that it substantially maintains the tradition of handwritten book in terms of form and content. When reviewed in this perspective incunable printings are a bridge between handwritten and printed book. It has one of the most important roles in determining historical process of civilizations' writing, reading and book cultures correctly. This study will try to show the place of the books printed in this period in our history by making a correct determination of incunable for the Ottoman Empire that had a rich and essential tradition of writing books. In my opinion, the subject is very important in terms of revealing the progress of our perspective in books and copying from the Ottoman Empire to present.

#### II. Writing Throughout the History and Its Transformation to Book

There are periods and phenomena such as the invention of fire and world wars that deserve to be segregated in the history. The time course starting with the invention of writing and continuing with its becoming transferrable is one of these. Humanity has found various ways of communication to share emotions and ideas. The first examples of these are fire, smoke, light, drum and whistling. But these are limited in terms of time and place. The struggle to convey a message without time and place problems has gradually led people to "object writing" which is formed by composing various objects next to each other sequentially, after that to the first examples of writing, and then to the present day (Alkım, 1991, p7).

The reason for mankind to first pictures and then to write in accordance with a certain order is to ensure that the experiences and the background wouldn't disappear and they would be transferred to next generations. In this context, writing is a social and invention that ensures the transfer of existing information and background without necessitating to live in a common culture (Yıldız, 2000, p

1-2).

The development of writing has always been an object of interest. It's finally known that the first writing has been surfaced in Uruk, the Sumerian city in the south of Baghdad. The first writing used in this city is a list of grain bags and animal heads inscribed as pictograms (Çetin, 2002, p89). In other words, writing has arised from the need of a calculation issue rather than the literature.

In the first periods of writing, every civilization has chosen the easily accessible and natural product to write on it. This choice has also determined the form of writing and the tools used for it. Rock, clay tablet, animal skin, fabric, bone and bark are the most common ones among the writing tools of early period (Küçükcan, 2006, p158). These tools have been chosen since they are easily found in the nature and they don't require so much workmanship (Blanck, 2000, p49). If something about magic or sorcery would be written, there are examples that valuable minerals such as gold and silver have been used as writing materials.

Before paper, the irreplaceable writing tool of our day, papyrus and vellum have undertaken the role of being the most common writing material. Because of being commonly used, their value and their accountability in the history of book-writing, both materials are considered as the most valuable writing carriers of the period before paper.<sup>2</sup>

The efforts of clerks to find a better and useful material instead of existing writing materials enable mankind to be familiar with paper. Paper which has been started to be used in China in the 2nd century A.D., started to be known and used in the Middle East via Muslims battling with Chinese people in the 8th century, then in Egypt in 10th century, then in Spain in 12th century and finally in whole Europe in the end of same century (Mason, 2001, p84). There has been an increase in the number of handwritten books together with paper. Books haven't been something specific for only rich people after becoming cheaper. Thus, paper has become the main dynamic of intellectual and artistic change while the cultural world has been leaping up and gathering speed (Bloom, 2003, p282).

The ease of use paper provides with its form and shape is the main reason that revealed the form of book.<sup>3</sup> It's possible to say that the book is the most important material of the period started with the first information carriers of ancient times and come up to computer environment of our day.

There are two different forms that helped the current form of the book which has accelerated the development

<sup>1</sup> The word "bubles" that means the pith of papyrus stalk has also been a resource for the word "biblithéké" which means library in old Greek. "Bubles" which has been defining vellum codex in the beginning, has been used with the meaning of book regardless of changes in material and form in time. (See Keseroğlu, 1989, p1)

<sup>2</sup> Detailed works have been carried out about writing materials before paper along with papyrus and vellum. (See Demiris, 1995; Dhal, 1999; Yıldız 2000)

process of paper use; "Roll" and "codex". Roll which is older has been the most common form of information carrier along with papyrus for a long time. Roll books which are called "volumen" (Jean, 2002, p41) have examples with many different sizes.

The form which is the ancestor of today's book is codex. After codex started to be used and replaced with roll which has been the only form for many centuries, this has led to many results such as the use of printing house. The adventure of writing starting with paper and continuing with codex form of vellum turning into book has reached a peak with the common use of printing house which has been one of the dynamics dominating the history.

#### III. Printing house and Its Contributions

It's a milestone for the history of humanity that the book has started to be copied by type copying method. This innovation has been a startling invention in terms of many aspects such as cultural, social, historical and scientific ones (Babinger, 2004, p4). The book which has become a communication tool as well as an information carrier has started to be the main source of common information use along with printing house. Thinking and learning ways, reading habits of people and book-reader relation has changed with printing house. This change is not only about the history of book, but also about the social and cultural transformation of humanity.

The books have become cheaper together with the increase in their numbers, and thus many people have had the chance to benefit from them. One of the most important innovations that printing house has brought is that it has completely changed individual's knowledge acquisition habits. The way of learning by listening or hearing because of the expensiveness and rareness of manuscripts has given its place to learning by reading. After the road to information has become easier, man has found out the phenomenon of "thinking man" in Europe (Çakın, 2004, p158). The result of this phenomenon is the Renaissance movement defined as a new perception, a new thinking and a new vision. Printing house has not only paved the way to Renaissance, but also dominated it.

It's necessary to know about printing house' development in Europe where it has been invented and become widespread to be able to talk about Turkish book printing. The short adventure of printing house in Europe has been reviewed in the context of this necessity.

Printing house dates back to ancient history. Because, the moment people have started to write, they have also needed to copy them and to make this at short notice. However, none of the copying methods started with Chines people and named as block print, seal print, wood print, xylography have become as widespread as Johann Gutenberg's movable printing press.<sup>5</sup> The adventure of modern printing house starts with this German traveler.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> All the above mentioned information carriers can be considered as books in accordance with this purpose. However, many formal and contextual changes regarding writing and book have come up ad spreaded after information carriers, the form of today's books have started to be used.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> According to Burke, this easiness also improves scepticism enabling the same person to mix the different and irrelevant things that have been told about the same subject or event. (See Burke, 2001, p11).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Moving letters' making forming lines easier and more economic has firectly effected the spreading of printing house. (See Topdemir, 2002, p17).

This adventure which has developed and continued till our day has deserved to be considered as the milestone of printing house history considering its contributions to humanity.

Gutenberg who is thought to live between the dates of 1398-1468 has established the printing house in Mainz, Germany. The first book of the printing press entered into service in 1455 is the Bible which is also known as "Gutenberg Bible" (Kapr, 1996, p10). Printing house has spreaded to whole Europe by the masters from Mainz in a short period like 30 years. The number of completed printed books has reached to 30-35 thousand before the end of 15th century (Kut, 1996, p4). Christian reverends who have realized that the printing house could be used for religion feature in this fast and short term activity. Burke compares this development and increase in the number of books to an accelerating flood (Burke, 2001, p104).

Printing house which has completely changed the world or its reader and opened new horizons for humanity has created its own innovations, practices and experiences attendantly. One of these is the concept of incunable.

#### IV. Incunable in Printing

The word incunable has entered to Turkish language in acknowledgement of the word "incunabula" which is the plural form of "incunabulum" in Latin. The word has been derived from "cunae" that means cradle (Yapı Kredi, 2002, p7). Bibliography preparers who are the first to use the word "incunabulum" have defined the word as the childhood and infancy of printing.

H. Fehmi Karatay is the first one to use the word "incunabulum" in our language and to limit this period between the beginning of printing house and the year of 1500 (Karatay, 1941, p9). Leman Şenalp has showed the equivalents of "beşikdevri" as incunable: incunabulum (early printed book before 1500) in English, inkunabel: wienge druk (druck bis 1500) in German, incunable (impression anterieure a 1500) in French in the dictionary she has prepared (Şenalp, 1959, p162-167).

While Orhan Öcal states that this phrase has first been used in the work of Bernard Von Mallinckront, father of Münster Cathedral called "De ortu et progressu antis typographicae, Meral Alpay indicates that the word has been used for the first time by French bibliographer Philippe Labbe to indicate the development of art of printing, not to define the books (Öcal, 1971, p143; Alpay, 1973, p587). The term "paléotype" that means "archaic print" has been used in Europe with the same meaning for a while, however, it couldn't gain wide currency since all the old printed books have been defined without emphasizing the year 1500 with this word (Dhal, 1999, p112).

The word incunable is a definition used for the books printed between "Gutenberg Bible" and the year 1500 and also for rare ones as it's seen in the lexical meaning. However, this date range is for Europe and there are

<sup>6</sup> Scepticism that the easy access to books have brought has also brought rebellion against autocratic administration first, and then "Protestant Reform" on the other hand. (See Ronan, 2003, p305).

examples limited between the years of 1480-1530 (Akkaya, 2003, p95).

Printings of incunable have been tried to be imitated in accordance with handwritten books which have been the only model to take as an example. Thus, they are considered as the follow-up of handwritten books and remind handwritten copies in terms of form. Even the final form of the book is handmade just like in handwritten books (İhsanoğlu and Aynur, 2003, p221-222). When reviewed in this respect, printing houses and clerks have copied the same books in the same time with little changes for the same readers during incunable and a radical cultural change has occurred arising from the existence of printed book (Eisenstein, 1997, p32-33).

When the given definitions and the terminology regarding printing house history, incunable in Europe start with printing house and end in 1500. In this period; number of printed books, number of printing house in a country, distribution of subjects in the printed books, preferred writing and page forms and the prices of books have been considered as the indicators about the period's completion and non-completion.

Adopting printed books method and presentation of a new form special to printed book occurs between different time periods in every culture because of the reasons arising from that culture's distinctness. It might be a mistake to start this period with Gutenberg and end with the year of 1500. This period can only be the period that the printing house has been adopted and spreaded, innovations starting with printing with the form of a book settled in Europe. Generalizing this for other countries and geographies is not correct. Because, there have been many cultures away from the printing house tradition and its adaptation such as the Ottoman Empire between these dates. When the approaches related with the concept of incunable reviewed in this respect, it would be seen that the common grounds reached based on Europe don't fit with Turkish book printing so well.

It's important to evaluate Turkish book printing well and unbiased to be able to make a correct Turkish incunable definition which is acceptable for Turkish book printing and printing house culture, connected to the terminology of incunable in the world but have had a meaning and a form in accordance with values special to the Ottoman Empire.

#### V. Turkish Book Printing

Considering the literature in relation to the history of printing house, it can be seen that printing house have spreaded in the whole Europe at short notice as 50 years and the number of printing house come up to 2000 (Kitterick, 2005, p47-48). It's not so wise to think that Mehmed the Conqueror who transformed Istanbul into an empire capital, tried to become the standard-bearer of many aspects such as military, science, culture and art couldn't realize this innovation. The truth is, -although its conditions and reasons are still being questioned and discussed- the first Turkish printing house has had to wait until the first half of 18th century to print books. On the other hand, it's been proven with documents that the first

printworks has been used in the Ottoman Empire with a little delay compared to Europe (Neumann, 2005, p56).

The Ottoman Empire which has had a different social structure than the Europe has been consisting of communities and part of these communities hasn't been including Muslims. These communities have had a distinct domestic loyalty and a social way of living without violating their loyalty to the empire. Non-müslim communities of the Ottoman Empire which have had cultural and religious bonds outside the country have had intense interactions with outer world, especially with Europe. Also, they have been the first ones who have known about what's going on outside the country. Long before the first official printing house of the empire has been established, it has been much easier to talk about printing house through this chain of relations. Again through this, taking the Ottoman printing house culture to the end of 1400s from 1700s has a particular importance in terms of showing that books have been printed in the Ottoman Empire during the period defined as "incunable printings" of Europe.

The first printing house in Ottoman Empire belongs to Jewish people who have taken shelter in the Empire escaping from Europe because of religious pressure. The first book printed in the printing house established by David and Samuel Nahmes brothers in 1494 by the courtesy of Bayezid II are the work of Jacop Ben Aşer called "Arba'ah Turini" (Offenberg, 1994, p11-12). At short notice, there have been 20 Jewish printing houses in the cities such as Istanbul, Izmir and Thessaloniki. In these printing houses, works in Greek, Spanish and Latin have been printed except the ones in Hebrew. Printed books have had especially the subjects of religion, history, language and society.

The printing house of Armenian community in 1567 in Topkapı, Istanbul by Tokatlı Apkar Tıbir who has taken his education in Italy and brought printing materials from this country follows Jewish community. The first book printed by this printing house which has been active over 200 years is the work named "Pokir Keraganutyan gam ayperan (Basic Armenian Alphabet)" (Kut, 1996, p5). There are thousands of copyright and translation books with the subjects such as religion, church, language, history, geography, literature, child education, travel notes, logic, philosophy, all kinds of textbooks, dictionary, anthology, memoir, calendar in Armenian and Turkish with Armenian letters among the books of Ottoman Armenian printing houses have increased in number in time (Tuğlacı, 1991, p53).

The first printing house of Greek community has been established around British Consulate in Beyoğlu, Istanbul in 1627 by a priest named Nikodemus Metaxas with Orthodox Patriarch Kyril Lukaris' support. The first printed book from this printing house has been "Tu makariotatu ke sofotatu imon..." (Faziletlu İskenderiye Patriği Pargalı Georgies Üzerine Risale) which is a booklet written against Jewish people (Kut, 1996, p5). Greek printing houses opened in Istanbul and other Ottoman cities follows this printing house with 2 years of working life. Jesuit printing house established in 1703 and small printing houses of some embassies follow the printing houses of three communities.

Non-Muslim printing houses up to 37 (Baysal, 1992, p70) until the first Turkish printing house has been established haven't been restrained by the Ottoman administration as long as they have fulfilled the conditions of not printing books in Turkish, Arabic and Persian and not printing seditious publications.

When the examples of printing house in Europe and Ottoman Empire considered, although it's hard to understand over 250 years of delay, it's obvious that Turkish people haven't been encouraged for printing house or they have been restrained deliberately. Before passing to Turkish book printing starting with İbrahim Müteferrika, talking about this delay for a little bit would be useful.

The most articulated obstacle against the works about this issue has been Islam. However, no documents containing an obstacle for printing house directly because of Islam have been encountered so far. This shows that the reason for delay is not only Islam, but also technical, economic, social and political issues.

The main reason for being away from printing house is not Islam, but the things done by the ones who has been thinking that they have acted in accordance with religion and has been against innovations in Turkish-Islam world. This jurisdiction has occurred because of creating a religious identity for the habits and values coming from old and radical way of Turkish-Islam world's living. Since the Ottoman Empire has always thought that it's stronger than Europe all the time, the idea of being invincibility and rarely seen mass resistance and pride of the nation has made it stay away from Europe's developments in thought and technical fields. The existence of the chamber with religious and cultural traditions and calligraphers and clerks working for this chamber is another reason of the delay about printing house.8 Preferring written copy instead of printed copy for a long time despite the deep loyalty to written book and some reading difficulties in Turkish society has been another obstacle (Binark, 1977, p39-40).

Along with all these, the lack of paper production, craftsman for the printing house and literate people to demand printed books could be shown as the other reasons of delay for printing house. To overcome these obstacles, Turkish book printing has had to wait for Müteferrika who hasn't only been the founder of the printing house, but also one of the leading thinkers of Turkish history of culture (Baysal, 1976, p39-40).

As a result of personal efforts of İbrahim Müteferrika who has been a Hungarian migrant and become a Muslim Turkish with devshirmeh system, has been opened in 1727, preparations of which has started in 1719 and published its first book in 1729. This first Turkish print

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 18th century is the times the Ottoman Empire has started to accept the fact that Europe is superior than itself. Printing house is the most concrete sign of this. (See Tekeli and İlkin, 1993, p31).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Calligraphers and clerks with number of 80-90 thousands have resisted not to lose their jobs and their chamber that they consider as a social anchor. Rumour has is that, after Müteferrika has died, they have asked for the ooclusion of printing house from the top brass of the state making up the excuse that it wasn't working well enough. (See Babinger, 2004, p31).

works is known with its founder's name. <sup>9</sup> 24 works have been printed in the printing house that has obtained the permission with the efforts of Sait Efendi who analyzed the importance and benefits of printing house <sup>10</sup> and had the chance to know about printing house while having his education with Müteferrika that has been following the examples in Europe closely. All of these books that are considered as incunable prints will be reviewed under the section "Turkish Incunable Printings".

Stagnation of printing house after Müteferrika who has died in 1745<sup>11</sup> is an indication of Müteferrika's importance for the sake of Turkish book printing. There are no works of this printing house after the year of 1795. It is assumed that it has been closed in this year of a few years after that.

The second Ottoman Turkish printing house has been founded within Engineer School that has trained cadets. The name of the printing house which is known as "Engineer School Printing house" has been given as "Darü't-Tıbaatü'l-Mamuretü's-Sultaniye" or "Darü't-Tıbaatü'l-Mamure" in the printed books (Kabacalı, 1989, p71). All the books of the printing house that has been founded in 1797<sup>12</sup> published many lecture notes along with 19 works that could be confirmed have the characteristics of incunable printing depending on the characteristics determined in this study. <sup>13</sup>

"Üsküdar Printworks" which has been established on the ramp of Harem Pier, Üsküdar and started its activities in 1802 is the third printing house established by Turkish people in the Ottoman Empire. Its official name in the records is "Darü't-tıba'ati'l-Cedidetü'l-Mamure". The printing house where moving letters have been used for the first time has printed books about soldiering, textbooks and official publications. Despite many change of locations, the printing house has continued its existence with different name until the Republic. Üsküdar printing house is privileged in the Turkish history of printing house since it has published the first religious book. This privilege has been the main point of this study's scope. In our opinion; "Turkish Incunable" which has started with the first book by Müteferrika perintworks "Vankulu Lugatı", has ended with the third book by Üsküdar printing house "Risale-i Birgivi". The details related to

<sup>9</sup> The real name of printing house is "Darü't-tıbbati'l-ma'mure". Names such as "basmahane", "tab'hane" and "karhane-i basma" have been used instead of "Darü't-tıbba'a" colloquially and in some official records. (See Kut, 1996, p6).

this conclusion and the books printed in the aforementioned period and the significance of these books in our history of printing house has been discussed under the next title.

#### VI. Turkish Incunable Printings

When incunable in world book printing and rise and development of Turkish book printing has been overlapped, necessity to make a definition of incunable special to Turkish book printing is bare. The values for determining incunable period in Europe are; To reach a number that is considered as the limit in the number of printing houses. After the printing house has started to be used, a reasonable period was experienced until a reasonable time for the society. Existence of examples almost in every subject among the books printed. Reaching standards with certain rules in terms of the form of printed books (Foot, 1998, p93-94). The order of priority of these expectations can change in accordance with characteristics specific to every culture and geography. It's necessary to discuss the issue of determining Turkish incunable in the context of its own characteristics. Due to the place of Islam religion in every stage of the Empire and the attitude towards religion and book printing, the first printing house was established by the Jewish community. Therefore, incunable in Ottoman Turkish printing starts with the printing of first Turkish book in 1729 and ends with the printing of first religious book in 1803.

Precisely, there must have been differentiations concerning number of books, number of printing house, book production technique and book's form as in Europe except this precondition in Turkish incunable period. However, they could be secondary since they don't have as deeper effects as religion. Turkish incunable printings which would be formed without the concern of being fit in a universal incunable range but without ruling out the universal rules of determining incunable have common grounds even though they don't set as specific examples as the ones in Europe. These common formal grounds could be sorted as follows:

- The tradition of writing in their form of printing continues.
- Printing houses usually don't print forming an inner cover.
- The name of work is given together with the name of author in the first page of the book or as a page or as few lines.
- The text starts in the back side of the same sheet.
- It's possible to see the text start right after the name of the book in the front side.

Information about the work is given in the section which is located in the end of the book and known as "epilogue" most of the time (Alpay, 1973, p589-590).

Incunable and its unique meaning in terms of Turkish book printing can be associated with the characteristic shortly given above. Turkish incunable printings produced in accordance with this association consist of 24 books from Müteferrika printing house, 19 books from Engineer School printing house and 3 books from Üsküdar printing

Müteferrika prepares an article named "Vasilet-üt Tıbaa" where the benefits of printing house is explained to present Grand Vizier Damat İbrahim Paşa. Müteferrika who made grand vizier believe first then gets a decree from sultan, and a fatwa from shaykh al-islam. Thus, he takes precautions against everyone who would want to restrain him because of political effort and religion. Because, the permission to be received from both leaders are nonissuable and who thinks the oppos,te has to accept it. (See Nuhoğlu, 1980, p119-126).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> This date has been given as 1547 and 1548 in various sources. However, the archive documents obtained recently shows the date of 1745. (See Afyoncu, 2001, p616).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> While Beydilli and Adıvar have given the date of 1797 in their works, Berkes has given the date of 1796. (See Beydilli and Adıvar, 1943 Berkes 2003)

<sup>1943,</sup> Berkes, 2003).

<sup>13</sup> The printing of religion books' being forbidden in Engineer School, too and printing house's activities being subject to he administrator, Abdurrahman Efendi, shows that they have been sceptic about a printing house that belongs to Turkish people and they haven't been aware of gains that could be obtained by using printing house.

house.<sup>14</sup> Historically significant characteristics of the books which are 46 in total have been given below.

Vankulu Lugati: The book which has been printed on January 31, 1729 has been written by İmam Ebu Nasr İsma'il bin Hammed El-Cevheri and translated from Arabic by Muhammed bin Mustafa el-Vani who is mentioned as Vankulu. The price of the dictionary which has been copied 1000 times has been determined as 35 kurus in the beginning, and then as 40 kurus (Ersoy, 1998, p424).

Tuhfetü'l-Kibar fi Esfâri'l-Bihâr: This book has been published on May 29, 1729 and has been written with the subject of history and sea geography. 1000 of this book has been printed and put on the market with the price of 3 kurus. It has 5 copper reliefs on it (Carleson, 1979, p10).

Târih-i Seyyâh der Beyân-ı Zuhûr-ı Ağvâniyân ve Sebeb-i İnhidâm-ı Binâ'i Devlet-i Şâhân-ı Safeviyân: This book written by Judas Thaddaeus Krusinsky who is a Polish Levantine Jesuit has been translated from Latin by Müteferrika in person (Kut, 1996, p40). The book which has been printed on August 26, 1729 is about Afghan history and the relations between Afghans and Iran and has been printed 1200 times.

Tarih'ül-Hindi'-Garbî el Müsemmâ bi-Hadisi Nev: The book which has been written with the name of "Kitab-ı İklim-i Cedid" (Kabacalı, 1989, p49) by Emir Mehmed bin Emir Hasan el-Mesudi in 1583 has been printed on March 1730. The book which has been printed 500 times has been sold with the price of 3 kurus (Ersoy, 1998, p425).

*Târîh-Tîmûr Gürkan li Nazmi-zâde*: The work which has been printed on May 18, 1730<sup>15</sup> is the shortened translation of "Aca'ip'ül Makdur fi Neva'ibi't-Timur" by Şihabuddin Ahmed bin Muhammed bin Abdullah İbn'Arapşah. The book which tells about the life of Timur and his grandson Sultan Kali has been printed as 500 copies and sold with the price of 3 kurus.

*Târîh-i Mısri'l-Cedîd ve Mısri'l-Kadîm:* The book which has been translated to Turkish by Süheylî Ahmed bin Hemdem Kethüda of Cairo Divan clerks have been printed on June 17, 1730. The work which is about the history of Egypt from the ancient ages has been printed as 500 copies with water marked bond from Europe (Kut, 1996, p46).

Gülşen-i Hulefâ: The printing time of this work which has been written by Nazmizade Hüseyin Murtaza Bağdadî is not known for sure. It has been printed as 500 copies and it's about the experiences in the eastern province of the Ottoman Empire such as Iraq, Iran, Mosul and Damascus as well as the city of Baghdad from its establishment to the year of 1718.

Grammaire Turque ou Methode ourte & Facile Pour Apprendre la Langue Turque: The book which has been printed in the year of 1730 has been prepared by Holdeman, a German Jesuit priest. In its preface, it's stated that the book has been prepared to teach Turkish to foreigners coming to the Ottoman Empire for trade and Müteferrika has contributed in the preparation. It has been printed as 1000 copies and sold for 3 kurus in the Ottoman Empire and for 40 francs at Paris Jesuit School (Ersoy, 1998, p425).

Usûlü'l-Hikem fi Nizâmi'l-Ümem: The book which has been written by İbrahim Müteferrika has been written with the blessing of Mahmud II, sultan of the period (Şen, 1995, p71). It has been printed on February 13, 1732 and the necessity of a new structuring in the Ottoman administrative system and the implementations related to this structuring have been explained scientifically. It has been sold for 1 kurus and printed as 500 copies.

Füyûzât-ı Mıknâtısiyye: The work which has been printed on February 27, 1732 includes the writings edited by Müteferrika regarding the invention of compass and its use. It's a scientific and a modern book with a high level for the time it has been written (Demirel, 1982, p287). It has been printed as 500 copies and has been shown as the 12th book of the printing house in Carleson's list (Carleson, 1979, p11).

Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li Kâtip Çelebi: The book which has been completed in 1648 by Katip Çelebi and introduces continents and countries after giving general information about geography. It has been printed on July 3, 1732 and it's one of the most important books published by Müteferrika printing house (Uzunçarşılı, 1988, p51). It has been printed as 500 copies and its price has been determined as 30 kurus.

Takvîmü 't-Tevârîh: The book which has been printed on April 14, 1733 has been written by Katip Çelebi. It starts with the author's biography and have the characteristics of a history book and it's about the incidents from Adam the Prophet to the year of 1648. It has been printed as 500 copies and there has been addings to the book by Müteferrika.

*Târîh-i Na'îmâ:* The book which is about the incidents between the years of 1591-1659 has been written by Na'ima who is considered as the first state historian and dedicated to Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa. The first volume of the book consisting of two volumes has been printed on June 18, 1734, and the second volume has been printed on October 14, 1734 (Kabacalı, 1989, p53).

*Târîh-i Râşid:* This book has been printed on February 17, 1741 as three volumes as a follow-up work after Na'ima Tarihi has been written by Mehmed Raşid. Its printing year has been stated as 1740 in the bibliography of the National Library and it's about the history of the Ottoman Empire between the years of 1660-1721.

*Târîh-i Çelebi-zâde*: This book which has been written by Küçükçelebi-zade İsmail Asım Efendi has been printed on February 17, 1741. Being the third book of "Ottoman History" serial, it's about the developments between the years of 1722-1728 (Kut, 1996, p63). The establishment processes of printing house are also among the developments given in the book.

Ahvâl-i Gazavât der Diyâr-ı Bosna: This book that has been printed on March 19, 1741 is about the incidents in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Turgut Kut who is one of the leading researchers in history of Turkish printing houses is giving this number as 16, while Alpay Karacalı give it as 10. Kemal Beydilli has given it as 12 first, then he has stated in his study that all the studies including his study have been wrong and given the number of 19 (See Beydilli, 1997, p15-17) In this research, the study has been continued grounding on the most up-to-date list supported by documents.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Özege who has given the sequence number of 19929 to the book gives the year of 1729 as the printing year of the book. (See Eski Harfli Basma Eserler Bibliyografyası,2001).

Bosnia between 1736-1739. It's the last work <sup>16</sup> printed by Müteferrika himself and it has been written by Bosnaviyü'l-asıl Ömer Efendi.

Lisânü'l-Acem (Ferheng-i Şuuri): This one is a Persian-Turkish dictionary and it has been printed on October 1, 1741. It's assumed that it has been prepared for publishing by the person who is known as İkinci İbrahim Efendi and assumed to be Müteferrika's son-in-law (Baysal, 1992, p76).

Tercüme-i Sihâh-ı Cevherî (Vankulu Lügati): This dictionary which is the first book printed after the death of Müteferrika has gained a lot of reputation and had a second edition. The first volume has been printed on May 1756, and the second volume has been printed on December 1756, <sup>17</sup> and it's an indicator of the fact that Müteferrika is very good at choosing the books to be printed.

Târîh-i Samî ve Şâkîr ve Suphî: This book has been written by Mustafa Sami, Hüseyin Şakir and Mahmud Suphi and it's about the incidents between the years of 1728-1743 (Kabacalı, 1989, p63). It has been printed in 1784 and it's considered as the second early period of the printing house which hasn't published any books for a long time.

Târîh-i İzzî: The book which has been written by Süleymanna İzzi as a follow-up work of Suphi Tarihi is about the historical events between 1744-1753. It has been printed on water marked bond from Europe in 1785 and it has been sold first for 15, then for 25 kurus.

*İ'râbü'l-Kâfiye:* This book is the translation of the grammar book in Arabic called "Kafiye" and it has been printed in 1786. According to J. Baysal, it has been printed in 1785 (Baysal, 2010, p24). A. Kabacalı claims that it has been printed as two volumes although this information cannot be seen in any other sources (Kabacalı, 1989, p63).

Fenn-i Harb: There is not any certain information about the writer of this book which has been printed in 1792. However, it's possible to say that it has been written by someone non-Muslim. Because, the book which is about soldiering has been translated from French. It has been printed as 300 copies.

Fenn-i Lağım: The writer of this book which is about military fortification and has been printed on December, 1793 is Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban and it has been translated from French by Konstantin İpsilanti. It has been printed as 300 copies and it's the second book of "Fenn-i" serial.

Fenn-i Muhasara: It has been written by Vauban and its translation has been completed by Kosntantin İpsilanti in 1792. It has been printed in 1794 and it's about military tactic, surrounding and protecting castles. This book is the last one printed in Müteferrika printing house.

Mehâhü'l-Miyâh: This book which is known as "Su Risalesi" is the first book printed in Engineer School printing house. The book which has been prepared by Aşirefendizade Derviş Mehmed Hafid and printed in 1797 is about fountains and water supplies of Istanbul. Three appreciation<sup>18</sup> articles and the statement of Hammer, the famous historian "it's hard to find a copy of this book in the bookshops" shows the importance of this book (Beydilli, 1997, p15).

Logaritma Cetveli: This work which is 271 pages is a textbook for the students of Engineer School. Although its place and date of printing hasn't been stated, it's understood from another record about the book that it has been printed on February 18, 1798 (Beydilli, 1997, p15).

Humbara Cetveli: This work is one of the books printed for the use of Engineer School lectures. T. Kut argues that the book which has been printed on February 16, 1798 and is 273 pages has another different copy with "mihrabiye" (Kut, 1996, p91).

Tefâvüt-i'Arz Cetveli: It's assumed that the book has been printed in 1798 as the other tables. It's not in the list of K. Beydilli's work in 1995 (Beydilli, 1995, p254) and it is 151 pages. That's all about this book which has been printed for contribution to education.

Usûl-i Hendese: Although its printing date has been stated, it's understood from the licence 19 about its printing that it has been printed in 1798. It's the translation of the works written by Jhon Bonnycastle in Latin and is 272 pages (Beydilli, 1995, p254).

Tableau des Nouveaux Reglemens de L'Empire Otoman: The work which is first of the promotion and propaganda publications devoted to foreigners by the state can be translated as "The General View of Regulations in the Ottoman Empire". It has been printed in 1798 (Kabacalı, 1989, p73) and the Turkish text of the work has been written by Mahmud Raif Efendi.

Tuhfe-i Vehbî: This work which has been written by Sümbülzade Vehbi, the ottoman poet being inspired by Şahidi is a small poetic Persian-Turkish dictionary. It's 55 pages and it's in Özege catalogue.

Evrak: This book which is not included in the lists of other researchers has only been included in the list of K. Beydilli. It's assumed that it has been printed in 1798 or 1799 and it consists of propaganda brochures in Greek and has been printed as 400 copies (Beydilli, 1997, p16).

Evrak: It's a work which doesn't exist except in the works of Beydilli's works. It has been printed on February 16, 2799 and it consists of propaganda writings in French.

Kîtâb- Tıbyân-ı Nafi Tercüme-i Burhân-ı Katı': This dictionary with 21004 words which has been compiled by Hüseyin bin Halef'i Tebrizi from almost fifty different dictionaries has been printed on August 25th, 1799 being translated by translator Ahmed Asım Efendi. It has the same printing date in all the listing works about this subject.

Tuhfetü'l-mânzumetü'd-dürrîyefi lugâtî'l-Farsîyyet ve'd-derîyye: This book which has been written by Seyid Ahmed Hayati Efendi and published on June 20, 1800 is a commentary written for Tuhfe-i Vehbi.

<sup>16</sup> The record "Alâ yedü'l-fakir el-muhtaç ila rahmet-i Rabbe'l-kadir İbrahim min-Müteferrikagan-ı Dergah-ı Âli" has been added to the books to show that Müteferrika has been the editor to the books from Müteferrika printing house except the first three. "Ala yedü'l-hakir elmemur bi-ameli't-tab" has been added to the ones printed after this book. (See Kabacalı, 1989, p55).

17 According to Jale Baysal, this date is the year of 1755. (See Baysal,

<sup>2010,</sup> p23).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Appreciation: An appreciation writing for a work, writing of an introduction and appreciation asked from someone reputable to add in the beginning of a book. (Develioğlu, 1970, p1229).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Licence: The permission paper taken from the government to carry out a work. (Develioğlu, 1970, p1331).

Evrak: This document which doesn't exist in any other lists except the one prepared by K. Beydilli has been prepared in two languages, Arabic and Turkish (Beydilli, 1997, p16). It consists of the statements demanding the help of people of Egypt for the common operation by England and Ottoman Empire started to save Egypt from French occupation.

Telhisü'l-Eşkâl: its 60 pages of geometry book about the subjects of implementing the mining science and some geometry problems on the battleground. This book which has been printed in 1801 and exists in all the lists has been written by Tamani Hüseyin Rıfkı Efendi.

Kitâb-ı Lehcetü'l-Lugat: This work which has been prepared by Şeyhülislam Mehmed Es'ad Efendi has been printed on June 11, 1801 (Beydilli, 1995, p255). It has been printed as 1000 copies and it's a dictionary showing the Arabic and Persian meanings of Turkish words.

Sübha-i Sıbyân: It's not certain if these books have been printed in Engineer School printing house or in Üsküdar printing house. It's an Arabic-Turkish dictionary prepared for students. It has different place in the lists of every work and 1801 and 1802 have been given for its printing date.

*Kitâb-ı Tahrir-i Usûl-i Öklidis:* is work of Nasireddin Tusihas been printed in Arabic (Beydilli, 1997, p17). Its printing date is not stated and has been printed in Medici printing house, Rome in the end of 16th century.

Tarif de Douane. Que les Négocians de Sa. Majesté L'Empreur de toutes les Russies doivent payer dans les Etats de la Sublime Porte sur les Marchandises d'importation et d'exportation. Traduit et mis en ordre Alphabetique per Antoine Fonton. Jeune de Langue au service de Sa Majesté Impériale: This work which has been prepared in French by Anton Fontoni the translator of Russin Embassy in Istanbul and published in 1802 is a "customs tariff" and it's one of its kind printed in Engineer School printing house.

*İmtihânü'l-Mühendisîn:* This book which has been translated and printed by Tamani Hüseyin Rıfkı Efendi of Engineer School lecturers on August 9, 1802 is a booklet. The book which aims at preparing students for the engineering exam has been printed as 40 copies and this number has been increased to 100 in the second edition in 1805 (Beydilli, 1997, p17).

Tercüme-i Sihâh-ı Cevherî (Vankulu Lügati): This book which has been published on August 1802 is the third edition of the work in Turkish book history but because of the pressures, only the first volume could be printed and no information has been given about not being able to print the second copy.

Diatribe del'ingénieur Séid Moustapha sur l'Etat Actuel de l'Art Militaire de Génie et des Sciences. A Constantinople: Dans la nouvelle Typographie de Scuder fondée par le Sultan Selim III: This work has been written by Seyyid Msuatafa and it has been published with the title of first book printed in Üsküdar printing house (Kut, 1996, p110; Beydilli, 1997, p18). The book has been published again with the name "Booklet About the Situation of Military Art, Skills and the Condition of Sciences" in 198 as a facsimile (Beydilli, 1995, p255).

Cedid Atlas (Atlas-1 Kebîr) Tercümesi: This work which has been written by William Faden in English

according to K. Beydilli has been translated by Resmi Mustafa Ağ. T. Kut and A. Kabacalı claims that the text which has been in French has been translated by Yakovski Efendi (Kut, 1996, p112, Kabacalı 1989, p82, Beydilli 1997, p18). It has been printed as 50 copies and there are 26 maps in it.

Risale-i Birgivî: This work which shows the characteristic of being the first religion book printed in Turkish printing houses is the last book discusses within this study. Because, this shows that this new culture has been adopted and the "Turkish incunable" has been accomplished after religion books have started to be printed as well as other books in the Ottoman Turkish society where it wasn't allowed to copy religion books with printing and other ways except the traditional methods. This 86 pages book which has been printed on September, 1803 and read also in this day and time has been written by Mehmed bin Pir Ali Birgivî. Researcher has reached a consensus about the issue that it has been printed in 1803. However, it's not possible to say the same thing about the printing house it has been printed and its edition. At this point, the important point is the fact that a religion book has been printed in Turkish printing houses for the first time.

You can find the review about the significance of incunable printings for Turkish book printing in accordance with Turkish incunable and the characteristics of the books printed in this period.

#### VII. Conclusion

During incunable period of Turkish book printing that lasted almost 75 years, only 3 printing houses which have the characteristic of being follow-up to each other could be active. The number of identified books that have been printed in these three printing houses in this period is only 46. Considering that this number in Europe includes more than 1700 printing houses and 30-35 thousand books, the effects of experiences on the history of printing could be seen more clear. On the other hand, Turkish incunable printings have certainly contributed to our book printing tradition directly and accelerated the increase of both printing houses and number of printed books.

Seeing that the printed books have had various fields such as history, geography, grammar and military has helped the brave entrepreneurs who would like to be interested in the works of printing houses and book publishing to have the perception that books in every filed could be printed. Printing of books for educational institutions and its spreading through printing books in other fields has directly contributed to the efforts of reforming in the fields of military and education.

With the effect of Müteferrika's being intellectual and interested in science, printing scientific books popular in Europe and history books that have been very significant for 18th century has increased the science level and historical awareness of the Empire. Seeing that Vankulu Lugati which has been the first book to be printed have had three edition in 70 years proves that the choice of books have been correct and shows the interest to these choices (Baysal, 1983, p27). Three books with Latin letters have contributed to the development of reading

culture existed for a long time between the Ottoman and Europe. In addition to this contribution, it has provided the inspiration for printing of many books with Latin letters in Turkish printing houses especially in 19th century.

As seen in Müteferrika and Engineer School printing houses, the printing houses which could print books only with the efforts of its founder or the person in charge has been transformed into a more institutional structure the incidents in incunable printing houses. The experience of incunable have directly affected printing house's becoming a separate profession and overcoming the issue of lack of qualified personnel about printing house experience during 18th century.

It's observed that the book printing which has been realized only in Istanbul and one printing house in incunable starts to exist also in other Anatolian cities and in far provinces, especially in Egypt together with the first quarter of 19th century. In this change, non-existence of an obstacle because of the official permissions in terms of printed books during incunable period and also the support from the empire has been a guiding light.

As the final word; the threshold for the completion point of Turkish incunable period which has been started with Müteferrika in various works and carried to Tanzimat reforms, second half of 19th century and even to proclamation of the Republic should be "the moment the first religion book has been printed". However, this shouldn't be interpreted as "religion has restrained the printing house". When the experiences in book printing and the issues related to religion -directly or indirectly- in this field, the threshold which has been chosen is the best one.

Another issue that is as important as determining incunable period is the ability to put forth the importance and significance of this period in terms of our history of book printing correctly. What is needed to be said at this point is that; although we have had an incomparably late and unproductive incunable period than Europe, at this point of our printing house tradition and book printing culture, the greatest contribution and inspiration has come from the experiences of incunable period. What we need to do is to serve for our book and reading culture without losing this awareness and not to give up trying to contribute the transfer of this awareness to next generations properly.

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