

THE POLITIC MEANING OF OTTOMAN PRINTING HOUSE

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ÖZET

Osmanlı Matbaasının Politik Anlamı

1699'dan sonraki yıllarda gösterdiği kurumsallaşma çabalarıyla Osmanlı devletiyle ilgilenmek ve onu bu çabalarıyla tanımlamaya çalışmak neredeyse genel bir yaklaşım haline gelmiştir. Üstelik bu çabaların doğru anlaşıldığına ilişkin verilerin de yetersiz olduğu belirtilmelidir. Devletin toprak kaybetmeye başladıktan sonra yeni politik araçlar geliştirmesinin kaçınılmazlığını yüzünü Batıya dönmüş olmakla değerlendirmek bu yanlış anlaşılmanın yol başıdır. Karlofça sonrası ve bütün bir XVIII. yüzyıl boyunca izlenen politikaların küçülmeye karşı mevziini güçlenerek koruma yönünde olduğunu görmek zor değildir. Hristiyan Batı dünyası karşısında Müslüman Doğu dünyasının koruyuculuğu bilincini muhafaza ettiği sürece bir Osmanlı Batılılaşmasından söz etmenin anlamlı olduğu söylenemez. Osmanlının Batılılaşma yönünde değil Batıya karşı güçlenme temelinde matbaa ile yöneldiği girişim bu yöndeki girişimlerin ilki olmasa bile ilginç bir örneğidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Matbaa, Müteferrika, Jeopolitik, Osmanlı Devleti.*

ABSTRACT

By its turning into institution efforts shown in the years after 1699, concerning with Ottoman Empire and trying to define it with its these efforts has become almost a general approach. Furthermore; it must also be clarified that

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datums which show that these efforts have been understood correctly are not enough. Evaluating the inevitableness of the Empire's improving new politic means after it began to lose land as it turns its face to the West is the essence of this wrong approach. It's not hard to see that politics followed after Karlofça and through a whole XVIIIth Century are in the way of protecting its position against becoming small by getting strong. It can't be said that talking about an Ottoman Westernization is meaningful as long as it maintains its protection conscious of the Eastern Muslim world against the Western Christian World. The attempt which Ottoman Empire went towards not in the way of Westernization, but in the essence of being strong against the West with the printing house may not be the first of these attempts, but it's an interesting sample of them.

Key Words: *Printing house, Muteferrika, Geopolitics, Ottoman State.*

Introduction

In such a time that the international relationships process over the government, the printing house is one of this time's best examples of that opinions to be given are how much suitable for leading to the error of imagining groundlessly means-based strategies without looking that political and institutional means which the government applies to are whether suitable for the fundamental and traditional strategy or not. Though the general view is like that the acceptance of the printing house by Turks is one of the most important processes of Westernization and a window opened to the West, in opposition to this view; the printing house and a whole Lale era and after that which includes also the printing house appear as a measure against the West or actions as a means of reply. A ten-twelve year-old free time which is between Pasarofça Pact and Patrona Halil Revolt is the setting for an intense development, art, literature, science and culture race and investment by being evaluated in a manner of optimum. Lale era is also the name of such a productive period of the same time.

As soon as being entered to the peace atmosphere, one of the works done firstly became the establishment of the printing house. Though the establishment date of the first printing house which prints Turkish is indicated as 1727, this date is the date of the establishment of the printing house in which Turkish book press is done; likewise the first Turkish book is printed in 1729. However, before this and in the year of 1132 (1719-1720), it's known that the first map printing was done by Ibrahim Muteferrika. It's understood from the enrollment "My respected gentleman; if you order, it's bigger ones are made, year: 1132" (Kut, 1996: 22-23) which is at the right bottom of a 19x43 dimension, boxwood form Marmara map whose original printing copy can't be found, that it was done as a sample for presenting to Damad Ibrahim Pasha.

Muteferrika has the Black Sea map which is his second map, printed in 1137 (1724-1725); that is four years before entering the book press, in the same way . Besides these, there are also two maps he printed as independent after entering the book press (1729-1730), these are Iran and Egyptian maps. (Kut, 1996: 22-29) Muteferrika's taking permission for establishing a map printing house, before establishing his printing house, yet in 1718, is confirmed by the Western resources. (Sarıcaoğlu, 1997: XVI, 45)

The Government Hand At The Printing House

It's impossible to give a certain number about the unit of maps printed by Ibrahim Muteferrika (Afyoncu, 2000: XXI,327) who is one of the most important faces of the Ottoman cartography history. (Sarıcaoğlu, 1997: XVI, 215). Because Muteferrika's labor and contribution is under consideration, at the maps printed in 1730, taking place at Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and in drafting and arranging of almost forty maps printed at Cihannuma in 1735. (Duverdier, 1992: 285) Two of existing six press machines at the printing house have been assigned to this aim. (Bobinger, 2004:12-20). At this subject, it can be understood from these expressions which are over the Black Sea map that Ibrahim Muteferrika behaved with how much a decision and conscious: "in spite of opponents who see map press technology as it belongs to their inauspicious personalities... It has been drafted with the thought that it may be means of providing aid and help only to the people who believe that God is unique and providing easiness and safety to God's men whom on traffic on this sea". (Kut,1996: 24)

Muteferrika who is an old member of Unitariyan tradition who take strength from the printing house at the struggle they gave against Catholic Church in Hungary, was believing in that he had the right of boasting by having the conscious of the job he done. The printing house was an important vehicle, but using it for map-and with its wider meaning, geography-was also important. Because, Europeans were in the purpose of printing Turkish works themselves instead of Turkish people's establishing printing house; a large geography speaking and writing Turkish would be a productive bazaar for them. Muteferrika talks about this subject in detail in his booklet called Vesiletu't-Tıbaa: the whole Christian world has even made some attempts for printing these books on their own, because: they know monetary value of these books which were written in Islamic language. However, presses they created haven't been in demand, very much, because of badness of their writing; in the case of making these defects good, they can provide a great deal of income with the book-sale in Islamic countries. Islamic population must pass them as it pass them at all subjects...(Muteferrika,1141) By following this subject really carefully,

establishing of a second Turkish printing house next to the allowed government printing house hasn't been given permission. (Uzunçarşılı, 1995: IV/2, 521) This prohibition would continue long years. That is to say; the presses made with Ottoman letters are accepted as a kind of limited privilege and infringement of this by Europeans has been especially avoided. Even in 1787, the printing house established at French Embassy Palace was using Latin alphabet for printing Turkish writings. This is only because of not to act against the right of making Turkish press authority given to Turks, not the illegibility of presses written with Ottoman writing. (Babinger, 2004: 48-49).

Muteferrika accepts Turks' beginning to press their own works as European's these inauspicious purposes' coming to an end. The first Turkish article printed by Europeans was a commercial privilege security that a French diplomat (Bréves) had taken from III. Murad. By being printed after years (1615), this article's being used as a one-sided squeezing vehicle with a diplomatic tongue couldn't be forgotten. (Kut, 1996:16; Duverdier, 1992: 279) in the following years, although Frenchs wanted to buy all the materials of the printing house and continue to the printing work by benefiting from the hesitation of Muteferrika's printing house (1755-1784), the press was given to Beylikçi Raşid Efendi and Vasif Efendi under the guise of they would sell Turkish books with higher prizes and do lots of mistakes. (Uzunçarşılı, 1995: IV/2, 519-520)

However, Europeans were protecting their excitement with the hope that the press which Turks would establish would be a press printing Greek and Latin works by translating. Yet, Muteferrika's printing house disappointed the Europeans; Muteferrika was publishing for reminding the works given by geniuses of their race to the people of Islamic population instead of printing Western science and culture works in his printing house. (Duverdier, 1992: 288-289) It was indicated in a letter appeared in a copy of 14th January 1741 dated *Gazzatte de France* which was written about the press from Istanbul: "Printing of lots of works belonging to the military subjects in the printing house, by being translated into Turkish" (Mystakidis, 1329: VII, 452). However, most of those thirteen books printed up to that time were works related to Geography and History. It was a part of *Usulu'l-Hikem*, though, which was directly relevant to the military. Though the matter is like that, works related to History and Geography may have been thought in the extent of military, at least in the extent of politics to perceive all the works together as they are related to the military.

Western government competents are agree with the principle that the advantage which will be given to Ottoman State shouldn't overtake things wanted from it. In this context, in the case of being talked of establishing a

Sciences Academy in Istanbul in 1729, sciences like seamanship, mathematics, military discipline -as it became in London and Paris- if it was known in Istanbul, too, they talked about anxiety about weakening of their struggling strength against Ottoman armies not only at sea, but also at land. They should evaluate their manner of behaving towards the press in this context. It's always talked of that Muslims are against the press, but instabilities of Europeans towards the press have been overlooked for some reason or other. (Duverdier, 1992: 301)

Western people's (with Muteferrika's saying: opponents) attentions on this subject weren't irrelevant and the press competent was doing what he was able to do for provoking their convictions on this way. In fact, he was mentioning dictionary, philosophy, board, medicine, calculation, history, geometry, map and geography books as books he would print both in the petition he gave for the press and the press fetwa and permission were being given as limited with these books. (Kut, 1996: 32) However, the message Muteferrika gave or wanted to give by the means of these books is as political even ideological as it can't be overseen. It should be this what Western people mean by saying "related to military".

As he declared clearly that he preferred to see himself as a "Geographer" in his multisided interests in the preface he written to the Cihannuma press (Muteferrika, 1145: 3) who also proves this with additions and administrations through Cihannuma; according to Muteferrika Ibrahim "El-Cografi", Geography's subject and priveleges are consisting of world forms, directions, intervals and the knowledge of settled ethnic groups's situations... The administrators who don't have knowledge and who don't know about their friend and enemy's land because of their geographical situations can't be sure about enemy's trick and traps and actions and confusions coming out in his country and in its environment, so they have troubles and live some confusions on this way. (Şen, 1995: 155-159) With Muteferrika's approach, Geopraphy is firstly a science which is in the aid of government administrators. This approach would be indicated with Ali Suavi's sentences as more sharpened later: Though the essential of government is divine, the application methods aren't divine; politics knowledge isn't get from Kur'an or religion, but from the sciences like Geography, History, Economy etc... and from the experienced methods. (Ülken, 1966:125)

Geography may also help getting knowledge about humanity component with taking "lifestyle of settled folks" as the subject. Getting knowledge about strengths, quantites and situations of each one whose enimities are known as they are always in a preparation to do a badness to the country by knowing their neighbourliness as an opportunity and knowing

how a preparation they are in is a vehement necessity. “Muslims should do what is necessary without being negligent and ignorant from these harmful situations”. (Şen, 1995: 146-147)

If it's taken attention, an inevitable government and politic base is under consideration in Ibrahim Muteferrika's view and expectations from Geography. Eventhough developing of Politics Geography and Geopolitics as a science subject bumps into the later years of XIX. century, in fact it can be taken back up to Platon. The Geography interest seen at Ibrahim Muteferrika is an interest of politic geography and it consists of the basis of geopolitics. In his same work (Usulu'l-Hikem Fi Nizami'l-Umem) his talking about geography together with military clarifies geography's this politic meaning better. The relationship between Geography, Politic and Geopolitics is an understandable relation. Politic is a different thing from Politic Geography together with benefiting Geographiy's all dotums as being a selection of action styl. On the other hand Geopolitics arrives at Politic by evaluating different elements by the means of Politic Geography; it just needs to give judgments related to the future without being satisfied with conditional fixing. (İlhan, 1985: 611-613) in respect of government's being in a jehad relationship with its enemies is a religious duty to all Muslims, having knowledge about enemy countries with their existence at sea and land is a part of jehad. On the other hand, Geography is a healthy guide to know enemy countries. (Şen, 1995: 153)

“Geogrphy sience is more useful than other knowledges about the politics subject and anybody who knows and understands this science becomes extremely superior and appreciated”. (Kâtip Çelebi, 1145: 16) This explanation which is in Cihannüma takes us Cihannüma's being written philosophy with Kâtip Çelebi's tongue one hundred years before Muteferrika. Etzel Pearcy accepts all statesmen as Geopoliticsmen. It's inevitable that Politicsmen have fundamental geopolitics information and carry out these with taking them into practice. On the other hand, Geographers and Geopoliticsmen will prepare the scientific basis of Geopolitics. (İlhan, 1985: 614) As Muteferrika said that the most important of the government's four main columns were soldier and administer class (Şen, 1995: 153) he was binding Politic to the knowledge, especially geographical knowledge by showing the basis by which the “superior and appreciated” result would be supported once again. Geopolitics knowledge prepared by Politic Geographers will gain meaning with the interest of military strategies certainly at last. (İlhan, 1985: 607)

After Muteferrika stated that Kristof Columb made a service to Christians that couldn't be forgotten until the end of the world by discovering New World with his compass and Geography knowledge, he

told his expectations from Geography and compass in relevant to his own country with these expressions: “ Its hoped that this science’s appearing in our country brings about our country’s being larger from West to East”. (Şen, 1995: 158-159) Remembering that one of Muteferrika’s original works is Fuyuzat-ı Mıknatısiyye is useful; in this work which takes magnetic waves he printed in his printing house in 1732, magnet pin’s form is explained and how to find latitudes and longitudes from a place where magnet appears is expressed. (Babinger, 2004: 74) This book is also a work that constitutes technical party of Geography books series printed in Muteferrika’s press. Besides this, Muteferrika succeeded to make up a Geography set with partly Tuhfetü’l-Kıbar Fi Esfari’l-Bihar, Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi, Cihannuma; partly Usulu’l-Hikem Fi Nizami’l-Umem and with maps he printed before in his printing house. Everybody is agree that Cihannuma is the main work of Muteferrika ‘s printing house, at the same time. (Duverdier, 1992: 285) If the other developments are thought with the whole infrastructure, it will be understood better that what Muteferrika means by saying “Geography science’s coming out in Ottoman State”. Surely, geography interest showed its necessary progress in its own duration in Ottoman history. It even educated genius of this field like Piri Reis, Kâtip Çelebi. Yet what we understood from Ibrahim Muteferrika is that XVIII. Century is a turning back to Geography century from the point of Ottoman Empire’s view. Politicians and intellectuals seem as they discovered Geography together again. The date of printing house’s establishmet by Turks can be taken back to the times of IV. Murad and IV. Mehmed. (www.muzafferdogan.com.; Babinger, 2004:11) There are also expressions of Ibrahim Muteferrika through this way. (Muteferrika, 1141) Yet, while this attempt which was postponed because of wars and troubles was entering to the people’s lives with map press before book, it was getting Geography and the press together in the same necessity. While in Russia and other Orthodox countries, the press was being opened with religious works (Babinger, 2004: 65) it was being opened in Ottoman Turks interestingly with map and continuing with the press of Geography and History books.

Ibrahim Muteferrika took the permission of opening and working of the press, but it was a government press and he was a civil servant managing the press works. Thus, the fundamental politic of the printing house was determined by the government. You can understand this from that things which will be printed even written are determined by the government. Although the technical and financial responsibilities of the press are at Muteferrika’s hand, besides, some financial aids are taken from the government with some reasons and with various sorts (Kut, 1996: 30-31; Babinger, 2004: 30-33) it is the government who draw the methodway about the books which will be printed. In the event which Muteferrika told longly,

we learn Cihannuma's press history: "After Şeyhulislam expressed to Muteferrika who visited Şeyhulislam Damadzade Ahmed Efendi that he was happy with seeing that a good lavish meal was given to the science and culture curiosities by means of the press, he indicated that Geography was a science of higher value and he had the original sample of Kâtip Çelebi's lost Cihannuma" and he wrote that he delivered the samples to him to be printed. During this speech, Şeyhulislam's complaining that although a group of non-Muslims gave the necessary importance to Geography and getting lots of benefits with wandering lands and seas from West to East, Muslims were satisfied with their inborn courage and showed an easygoingness in the progress of this science (Muteferrika: 1145 preface) was a clear sign of turning back to Geography was an agreement reached government level. It's also seen that Muteferrika printed the work called Takvimü'l-Tevarih belonging to Kâtip Çelebi with the encouragements of Damadzade Ahmed Efendi (Uzunçarşılı, 1995: IV/2, 470) and took the publication plan done with Şeyhulislam immediately into practice. (Babinger, 2004: 28)

At the end of Cihannuma, although it's declared by Muteferrika that in the event of Padishah's help and command, a work will be created whose a similar one hasn't been appeared until that time among Muslims and a work that will include places beginning from Istanbul to the last country of the West and rest of Europe, Africa and America continents as the book's second cover, (Kâtip Çelebi, 1145: 998) nobody talks about such an attempt on this subject in his own time. Yet, it's understood that this plan was taken to hand during the press works which were under the management of Raşid Efendi. (Babinger, 2004: 39) It's also understood that in this second important work's press prepared by Ibrahim Muteferrika with most of contributions as it became Cihannuma's first cover, they were not only late but also stayed at the attempt level at press work. These covers's being left half-done without coming together which we know that may consist of a world geography with their completion is both upsetting and a sign of an unwillingness and negligence which are because of politics withdrawing and being smaller of country in the second half of XVIII. Century. This event is a strong example of that it's false that worldwide works appear in the place of worldwide claims. We can understand the government's beginning to lose its power from that it can't reach geography it imagined even by means of press. Geography isn't an abstract information field for Ottoman State, but it has always been a living conscious which is connected with politics carried on. Because of this, lessening of breath in Geography can't be thought as a good sign.

It won't be hard to see geography interest coming out with the printing house after being remembered that the strength which uses the printing house for itself is the government. Kâtip Çelebi complains about

scarcity of people who translate maps and other geographical drawings correctness and tries to find consolation by indicating that the people who alter drawings belonging to him or who remove since they can't draw will be cursed. These troubles he especially stood on may have been experienced by lots of Ottoman authors. (Sarıcaoğlu, 1997: XVI, 214)

Ibrahim Muteferrika who is in this work feels this trouble deeply: "This science's becoming widespread is only possible with the drawings on the maps and their reproducing in a healthy way is directly connected with the press technic, it's not a thing that will become with the pencils of painters and with the efforts of drawers. (Şen, 1995: 158) Because of this, the invention of printing house in Europe helped cartographerness immediately. On the other hand, in Islamic world, although reproducing of books are made by calligraphers and even in a more pleasurable quality, map calligrapherness and painterness don't become a popular field, very much. Evliya Çelebi talks about "a cartographers tradesmen" in the second half of XVII. Century in Istanbul. Yet, he announces that these trade competents who have eight shops and who consist of fifteen people sell maps they prepared to the sailors. Although it's known that in Ottomans, sailors are rewarded by being encouraged for making map (Sarıcaoğlu, 1997: XVI, 210-211) it's understood that hand-drawn cartographerness couldn't find possibility for developing and becoming widespread because of hardnesses it has itself. Piri Reis who is the best one of his time with his maps he made by context and technic (Ayyubi, 1987: 72) expresses his sensitiveness about this subject with these expressions on his Kitab-ı Bahriye: "If a deficiency even it's as an hair becomes, that map can't be used" (Piri Reis: 48)

Because of all these reasons, the printing house appears as the only way of reproducing of maps accurately. Because: after it's taken to mold correctly once, it has the chance of being reproduced in a limitless number. So, Muteferrika can talk about Geography's appearance with the printing house in Ottoman State again, he is in the view of that Geography becomes clear and practical only with map drawings by declaring that Geography stays abstract without map. Because: in his opinion Christians bring to the action which leads to these informations with the technics they reached at map drawings and in a short time, they gain advantages that can't be denied. (Şen, 1995: 158)

Geopolitical Targets

Ottoman State couldn't be indifferent to Geography and map as it was a universe empire. This interest's being followed clearly since XV. Century is possible. (Uzunçarşılı, 1995: II, 605) Beginning of the government's history's being written and beginning of Geographical studies

appear in front of us spontaneously in a meaningful way. Because: the government reach a world government situation in this century, certainly. Because of this it was both jotting down to history and it needed to have an extremely high knowledge of Geography practically for the reason that it would be able to do its campaigns successfully as it became in Rome Empire. (Akyol, 1940: 516) II. Mehmed was investigating the history of governments which were successful at marine wars in old eras and having an idea from these works for the navy he would do; and he was commanding that tablets of Batlamyus belonging to Geography should be in order as their origins. (Uzunçarşılı, 1995: II, 29-30) Besides this, he was ordering a military map to Italian painter Bellini who was at the palace in the years between 1478-1481. (Sarıcaoğlu, 1997: XVI, 213) in the following years, we see works in a larger context: Piri Reis, Seydi Ali Reis, Behram Dîmişki, Kâtip Çelebi, and the others...

Yet, it must be clarified that all these works and similar ones were continued under the management's command or knowledge. One of the rare works which can reach up to today without being presented to any position is the sea map prepared by Menemenli Mehmed Reis in 1590-1591 among works like these. (Sarıcaoğlu, 1997: XVI, 212) Another feature of these works is their being extremely current, at the same time. (Ayyubi, 1987: 71) The work of making maps current shows the importance it saw by coming first among subjects followed strongly without being hesitated in the following times. (Sarıcaoğlu, 1997: XVI, 213) Meanings of map works done which are gained by their own period are very suitable for being defined with the period's political interests and targets. Piri Reis of course clarifies the political targets and claims with the map he drew as large as world. On the other hand, the independent maps which were printed by Ibrahim Muteferrika consisted of fields which were thought as problematic and important for the Empire: the Black Sea, Iran and Egyptian maps. The unknown author of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi which was printed as fourth book of Muteferrika press and presented to III. Murad was wondering the world, he didn't keep himself from interfering to the inappropriateness he saw, on behalf of the Empire. For example: while he was talking about Sukatra Island taking place in the environment of Aden at the Red Sea, though Aden, Hicaz and Yemen regions were in the basin of Islam and under the management of Ottoman, this neighbour didn't agree to the island's being out of our borders and told easily that "if a small sign appears, the Island which is called in a short time will be annexed and added to Ottoman State by being captured"; he also told his belief that " Sicilian island will be taken back by Muslims with a little effort". (THG, 1142:12,18) Such wishes can't be seen impossible in a world in which II. Selim sent helps to the Sultan of Açe. (Safvet, 606-609) Yet, Ottomans in XVIII. Century lost their superior

positions against other countries in an important degree. However, they hadn't lost their beliefs and claims yet. The tendency of gaining the lost one again in geographical inclinations and government politics can be seen as a clear psychology and ideology. New worlds founded were necessitating new evaluations by creating new geopolitics fields. However, encountering with new unluckiness is as inevitable as new opportunities in new geopolitics environment. (İlhan, 1985: 623) It's tried to see in this period that what these opportunities and unluckinesses are consciously or unconsciously, but in an indispensable way. When it comes to the second half of XVIII. Century, Ahmed Resmi Efendi draw an extremely realist even pessimist tablet at this point: The system can't be provided with extreme orderness, the era of getting new estate stayed at past, because founding new countries is against reality any more. As the governments grow old, they must be satisfied with their own lands in an intellectual way and they must behave like that. The wish of broadening the borders of the government is usually an adventure which ends with disappointment...(Parmaksız, 1983: 528-535) The instructions given by the government to Ahmed Resmi Efendi is in the way of reciprocity, too, namely: "He wants to be treated there as we treat the chief stewards". Old concelcted manner of Ottoman politics comes to a softer position. (Uzunçarşılı, 1995: IV-1, 170, 250) On the other hand, we encounter with idealist and optimist tablet of Ibrahim Muteferrika who takes the printing house to one of his hands and the Geography to the other in another part of the same century. Ibrahim Muteferrika is really an optimist. That is to say, he tells that entering a new military order can be succeeded in a year even in four months. (Şen, 1995: 187) Besides this, if Geography science finds the necessary importance, the knowledges about Muslim countries living out of Ottoman borders will be increased; Muslims will be closer and it even be a means of "all Muslims coming together around a strong Khalifah at last". (Şen, 1995: 157) This panislamist thought comes together with jehat wish and obligatory with the enemy and helps to clarify Muteferrika's politic face better. It's not hard to think that a duty which is given by government to him, together with his own sincere conviction lie behind his being a printer who gives support to war and military subjects so clearly. Namely, Muteferrika is in charge of the printing house for doing these or wishing to do these.

In the era of III. Ahmed, the relationships with Turk and Islamic world were continuing however they were weak. The common subject of the relationships which III. Ahmed continued with Ozbek Khans was Russians and Iranians. On the other hand, deliberations Hive and Turkistan were going on in the period of III. Ahmed and I. Mahmud. There were also relationships with Turk and İslam countries which were in india, however they weren't regular. (Uzunçarşılı, 1995: IV-2, 138-157)

Especially the Black Sea was an important subject of this period's outer politics. Because: the Russian people were in the wish of broadening their coasts in the Black Sea both in the direction of Caucasus and in the direction of Balkans in this century. (Mütercimler, 2004: 61) The Black Sea had begun to be the setting for suspicious attempts since a century before.

Russian people's wish of opening to warm seas began to create trouble more and more. II. Osman's plan of surrounding Europe by both sides of it by reaching Baltic Sea over Lehistan and establishing a strong navy there approximately a century before (Mütercimler, 2004: 41) was being taken into practice by Russian people in XVIII. Century. This period which even came to the point of Ottoman navy's being burned in front of Çeşme caused to take attentions to Russia and because of that to the Black Sea in a rightful way. The Black Sea's not being a Turkish lake any more meant falling into the troubles that couldn't be stopped for Ottomans. Ibrahim Muteferrika explains how I. Petro took the Caspian region countries under his control so easily by the means of the Caspian Sea in detail in his book he prepared for I. Mahmud (Şen, 1995: 190) in a geopolitical environment where Russians set their eyes on seas, drawing and printing a new map of the Black Sea with updated and mathematical informations is extremely meaningful. There are also clues of both the necessity of being heard of by knowledge with the Black Sea's environment which become subject to Tsar's strategical threat and the acceptance of success Tsar reached at the Black Sea as a method in this attempt. Though Tsar is seen as an unbeliever enemy full of badnesses, it's also confessed that Tsar is "an intelligent and intellectual person having strong attempts" by geopolitical enterprises he took into practice.

One of the maps that is prepared specially in the printing house is Iran map, also. Ottoman's political relationship with Iran in this century was in the way of not leaving the gravity. As it was said above, Iran problem was coming first among the most important reasons relationships continued with Uzbek Khan, Hive and Turkistan Khans. Iran subject continued its warmth in political agenda even at peace period known as Lâle era. Western cities of Iran were invaded by the operation made in 1724 for benefiting from Iran's weak and confused position, two armies encountered in 1726 again and Ottomans couldn't find thing they hoped this time and when they were in the preparation of walking over Iran-Afghan powers and even they were ready to go to occasion, this occasion couldn't come true because of Patrona Halil revolt. Here, printing of Iran map in Muteferrika press came true just in the year before this last occasion thought and accompanies with political agenda. Besides, the book called *Tarih-i Seyyah* translated and printed by Ibrahim Muteferrika on the command of Damad Ibrahim Pasha at the same periods is a kind of work written as a kind of journal of Afghan's abolishing Safevi

dynastiness. It's seen that political crushing defeat of Ottoman's rival in the East became an event celebrated by printing its book. It was being thought that public opinion who has a pessimistic psychology because of tensions experienced at Iran matter could be consoled and satisfied by this way. The printing house's appearing in such an important time and playing a role over people's morale and expectations against Iran may have been an opportunity that was mostly wanted by Damad Ibrahim Pasha. Though, Ibrahim Muteferrika says that he printed these special maps as samples in "introduction to the learning of Geography" or "to provide easiness to the curioses wandering at sea" (Kut, 1996: 24-26) in fact it's clear that purpose of these works isn't limited with these. Cartographerness works have always been on the command of a geopolitical purpose. When it came to XIX. Century, it is seen that Europeans reach over to all over the world with various incentives. These discovery and investigation expeditions were being made for religious, economical and commercial, political and military purposes. Ottoman lands were almost close to the foreigners until those years (Terra incognita). Despite of Babiali's not giving permission to such researches which are wanted to be profited by the enemy, Englishmen drew the maps of Anatolian coasts beginning from Megri bay through the west and maps of Eastern Anatolian coasts. Today, there are maps of Anatolian coasts made by Englishmen at those years (1811-1834) out of twenty sections in assorted scales. Also Frenchs continued to draw our coasts' map illegally by the same way. (Akyol, 1940: 532-535). The country whose map was drawn with military targets was Ottoman Empire this time... By its this meaning, the map was signing to the sovereign position of the country who got it as turning into a political sovereignty sembol. It's clear that positions changed in XIX. Century's accelerated political traffic. (Ak, 1993: VII, 66) In the same way, when a specialist from Europe was invited to draw the map of Ottoman lands by IV. Murad, they didn't give even a reply to this invitation because they weren't in the expectation of profit at that time (Akyol, 1940:542)... Yet, when it comes to XIX. Century, it's clearly seen that the way of cartographerness was inverted from the point of Ottomans.

If the map of stratal regions can be drawn even at Muteferrika's time, namely at the first quarter and half of XVIII. Century and books are thought convenient to be which indicate the belief that lands can be added to the country with a little effort, this is a delicate way of expression that Ottoman State see itself in a position that it has the right to comment on world's politics.

Damad Ibrahim Pasha is one of the Viziers who win Padishah's trust at most among Grand Viziers. Ibrahim Pasha era lived after Pasarofça pact is a period in which peace atmosphere conditions which are utilized are evaluated in a very good way and new strategies are developed. A science

committee which could be seen as the Academy of era consisting of thirty two people who were intellectuals and literatures was founded, under the auspices of Ibrahim Pasha, in Istanbul (Aktepe,1993: VIII, 442). This committee consisting of science, idea and literature men was coming together continually, works with Eastern and Western languages were being translated. (Aktepe, 1989: II, 37) Especially the attempt of translation of fundamental works belonging to Islamic culture into Turkish systematically was being carried out by this committee. Despite the fact that most of the people constituting translation committee consisted of people from religious sciences, works which were given them to be translated didn't have a religious meaning. Works mostly belonged to various subjects of historical literature. Moreover, translations taken by old Galata kadhi Yanyalı Esad Efendi are Philosophy works written in Greek language.

If you give attention, the list of works which the printing house is allowed to print and translation works of the committee being talked of define each other. Religious works wouldn't be printed in the printing house, too. Showing socioeconomic reasons to printing no religious books in the printing house isn't wrong but it's incomplete. A new technology (Muteferrika press) which would work limited kind of book would show its utility by printing necessary works, firstly. Printing no religious work was both a limitation that was useful for religious men and calligraphers and a limitation that would be utilized by more managements. The management was thinking the ways of opening to the world by continuing the history at this life's veins. Namely, it calculated that problems could be solved by history and geography. It thought that optimum profit from a massive communication vehicle like the press could be provided by this way. The government wasn't in the condition of being suspicious about its position, yet. But, it knew that it needed new attacks for reinforcing its position by investigating it under the light of new conditions. Besides being dominant at the Black Sea, it had to think new measures against the places Russia gained with I. Petro; the Mediterranean wasn't at a worse condition than other countries, also but it had to do new things there, too...etc. While new conditions were waiting for replies from politic agenda as new warnings, searching the basis of reply which would be prepared for new conditions in History and Geography caused to an interesting meeting. Ibrahim Muteferrika takes Geography knowledge as a big assistant to reinforce History information which are condition to be learned by Statesmen (Şen, 1995: 159). Both of History and Geography are among the necessary sciences for both managers and the folk (Geography is especially for sailors...). Şeyhulislam Damadzade commanded Muteferrika to print both Cihannuma and Takvimü'l-Tevarih. History and Geography sometimes encounter us absolutely one inside the other as it became in Tuhfetu'l-Kibar and Tarih-i

Hind-i Garbi. If this translation committee hadn't been let out with Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha's death, both most works would have been given and the press list of the printing house would have consisted of these works. Because, Muteferrika describes as they are the works which would be printed: forgotten products of our geniuses, rare works that are on the point of being lost, book that are as bulky as frightening the mustensih people. (Kut, 1996: 32) in this context, the printing house would be expected to make duty on behalf of History and Geography, not Religion. - With its seant meaning -Damadzade's behaviour is the most concrete example of this.

Ibrahim Muteferrika spent more than thirty years of his life between 1716 and 1747 which is his death date at the government service. Yet, he describes himself of his signature in books he printed sometimes as a civil servant of the press (el-memur bi ameli't-tab') sometimes as afficially permitted person of the press (el-me'zun bi ameli't-tab') and sometimes just as a printer (tâbi'). It's meaningful that he uses civil servant definition besides his duty of officially permitted and printer - if another meaning wasn't meant to say-. Maybe, he wanted to explain that he took over the printing house's administrative, legal and technical responsibilities together by this way. Yet, in case of this civil servance's being discussed also as the printing house's servant, the view of being behaved on behalf of the government - or from the point of the government - will have been proved by another way, too. It's not an unintelligible thing that a lot of Western authors don't find what they expected from Muteferrika press. Furthermore, there were also people who try to find consolation by thinking that Muteferrika was left no choice but he had to prefer to follow a traditional press politic not to stay in a treachery accusation against Padishah and Viziers (Shaw, 1994: 322). But, it's clear that, these constraints done for acquitting Muteferrika close nobody to the reality. On the other hand, when it was said by the same resources that additions which Muteferrika did to the printing house by making concession were divergent and enlightening works such as Cihannuma and Fuyuzat-ı Mıknatisiyye, it was being forgotten that Cihannuma was suggested him by Şeyhulislam and Fuyuzat was a part of Geography and map action.

Before Said Efendi's Paris invitation together with Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi his son and Said Efendi's decision of opening a printing house in Istanbul at reminiscence of Saint-Simon while they were in Paris (A. Refik, 1924: 336) and together with this decision's coming true in 1729, a map press was founded by Ibrahim Muteferrika in Istanbul. This attempt which is one of Damad Ibrahim Pasha's first activities in the position of Grand Vizier registered itself officially in the way of turning into institution by making its second progress by entering into book press in 1729. Yet, it was impossible for Ibrahim Muteferrika to come this attempt true without

government's support despite of all ability and well-intention of him. (Kun, 1993: V-2, 898) It's known that periods when Muteferrika stayed for away from his press because of his political duties had a hesitation effect on the printing house's activity. However, it can be said that in case of thinking Muteferrika's duty as a whole, a hesitation isn't discussed again from the point of government by accepting that the duty continues by its outer dimension of the printing house. If the printing house had been seen as a target association, no self-sacrifice would have been expected on the base of being worked at every occasion and in a fruitful way at most. But when we had looked at the matter from the point of government instead of the printing house, it would have been discussed that the essence one was the main politics continued and on the other hand the printing house was just limited to a vehicle for this politic's being carried out.

Muteferrika has acted as a civil servant who is trusted in at critic duties since 1716. Although he complained that the printing house's income didn't satisfy him (Karaçon, 1328: 184) he carried out the press until his death. in the first, book presses were about 1000-1200 number, later it was decreased to 500 (Afyoncu, 2000: XXI, 326) however these books which couldn't be sold consisted of the most important part of the estate he left in his death. Besides, sale prizes of books was set by the government and tried to be kept cheap. All these points sign to that Muteferrika press could only remain standing by government subvention. Ibrahim Efendi was deserving this support by the service he gave.

Although the books printed at the press couldn't reach a satisfactory target in quantity, politic and semboic meaning of these books were considered much more important. The books printed in his press were coming in the head of vehicles which show the government's political interest bestly, any more. It gives necessary information about privileges of the period's politics that as the press of History and Geograph books was carrying out, also in the second term of Muteferrika press, suddenly military technic and method books (Vauban's works) through the end of the century, later engineering and in the first years of the XIX. Century military war books together with engineering books again with military purpose were attempted to press. I. Mahmud's sending works printed in the government press to German King as present is a diplomatic message carrying meanings more than showing the technology he used in his country. The messages which would be given them with the press language weren't overseen by knowing that the action of printing house was closely followed by Europeans.

In the first half of XVIII. Century Ottoman State was in good position inside and outside, despite the lost it gave. It was continuing its

struggle with German, Russia, Iran: even if it gave losses, it could make up for afterwards. It was continuing to be a trouble for Iran, keeping the Black Sea in its hand against Russian people and on the other hand it was still protecting key points and its security in the Mediterranean. It renewed its navy (Uzunçarşılı, 1995: IV/2, 10) and began to think that the time of making a new order to terrestrial soldier came. It's enough to look at these works to understand what the value is given to the press in the extent of this cyclical situation. The press tries to make its duty in this cyclical situation by printing strategical works instead of printing lots of works. It was clearly indicating to the target population inside and outside that - by printing Naima and Rashid Histories - its history was continuing from the place Naima had left and on the other hand its strategical interest was focused on the Black Sea, the Mediterranean Sea and Iran again. Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha was both disciplining Humbaracı Ocağı and writing reports to the government. In one of these reports, joining Sakarya river together with Marmara Sea and joining the Mediterranean Sea together with the Red Sea with one canal each was suggested. (Özcan, 1998: XVIII, 352) Two big projects which were thought to be come true by Sokullu were become current issues again. Ottoman management was knowing that Humbaracıbaşı sent one of the copies of reports he had written to France government. Despite of this, such a project's becoming a current issue - even if it would be useful for French - was important for Ottomans, because it was a determination symbol of Empire's domination on sections from the Black Sea to the Indian Sea. Galleons which would be produced by lumber taken from Sakarya region could descend to the Red Sea by Suveysh over Marmara and the Mediterranean and keep the security and dominance of the region up to Indian Sea. Even if it wouldn't come true, even its being presented to Ottoman State could mean to be a witness for Ottoman's closeness with the sense of XVI. Century which was ideal era. Certainly, while the Mediterranean which wasn't a Turkish lake any more was be the setting for rivalry between English, France and Russia who wanted to reach Eastern commercial. (Bostan, 1989: II, 233) Ottoman's opening Suveysh Canal was mostly dependent upon its absolute domination at the Mediterranean. Yet, thing Ottoman State wanted to do wasn't this absolutely: It wanted to explain the necessity of that its existence and its dominance's being powerful more and more at the Mediterranean wasn't be suspected by talking about Suveysh - even by Humbaracıbaşı's tongue -. The Mediterranean's security was extremely important for Ottomans. In Kitab-ı Bahriye of Piri Reis harbours and shelter places into which Ottoman navy would rush out and the port side it would take on supplies were being indicated; the direction and places which Ottoman ships being in the Mediterranean would follow were being fixed for commercial and military

purposes legally. (Bostan, 1989: II, 233) Every kind of measurement actions to Muslim ships was given no tolerance. (Raşid, 1282: V, 194) It was a tradition that Captain Pashas were turning back on November after they had gone and wander at the Mediterranean by law in every Spring. (Uzunçarşılı, 1995: III, 2 , 316) The thought that the Mediterranean belonged to them being tried to keep live by manoeuvres and body shows by this way even at the periods they didn't make war there.

The importance given to the seas couldn't be thought as an exegeration, because the seas were a field of international politics where rights and profity fought intensively. (Mütercimler, 2004: 53) Ibrahim Müteferrika was also aware of that sea dominance concept had changed, like everybody. He told that Europeans reached everywhere by their sea and land knowledge, discovered the New World and became dominant there, found Eastern Indian way over sea and invaded lots of Islamic countries and other countries, too. (Şen, 1995: 158) Ottoman navy which came out of being a raid navy after II. Mehmed and became an invasion and strategy navy became a castle navy because of last developments (Mütercimler, 2004: 29-30, 42). Of course, Ottoman Empire felt uneasiness from this regression and it was trying to find ways of a new opening again. Although it had come its world sovereignty true by its terrestrial dominance up to that time, it was understood that sea dominance took the place of terrestrial dominance any more and people who wanted to have world dominance had to be dominant on open seas. Yet, the fact that regression to the Mediterranean after the struggle they gave against Portuguese people at the Indian Sea and making politics in the extend of region's dominance kept Ottoman at inner seas instead of opening to the outer seas as a reality circumstances forced. But, Ottoman State wouldn't be consent with less than this. On the other hand the politics on vigilance carried out against Iran was continuing in the East. Here, Geography and map knowledge's asistance role besides its updating military power was being expressed by the printing house as an important means of having the right to comment on the region with its sea and land in order to provide to stay at least its own region and position.

Conclusion

Though it is expressed that according to the general view, there is a parallelism between Ottoman Turks' beginning to use the press and their inclining towards the West, its possible to say that the matter isn't like that and it's even almost opposite of that. The press opposes us as a means of Ottoman's being existed in a new situation against the West or its reinforcing its existence in the opposite of the West by an extremely different purpose and function from being a vehicle which Westernizes

Ottoman. Its also possible to say that Ottoman's attempt of beginning to use this vehicle which was being used by the Western people didn't please them. As it also would be seen in the following other reform actions, the printing house action was also an attempt which was inclined in the basis of being powerful against the West, not in the way of Westernization; and even it wasn't the first of attempts in this way, it was an interesting example of them. The importance given to the map pres signs to its political interest fields over the world. The fact that the works printed at the press are either works coming from its own culture origin or works harmonious with geopolitical strategy shows the way of culturel and political function which are given to this vehicle by Ottoman. Yes, a Renaissance could be made by the printing house; but Ottomans wanted to create its own Renaissance by this; and showed a realistic approach which didn't oversee political and geopolitical meaning of this Renaissance.

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