Rocznik Filozoficzny Ignatianum
The Ignatianum Philosophical Yearbook
Vol. 31, No. 4 (2025), s. 331–343
PL ISSN 2300–1402
DOI: 10.35765/rfi.2025.3104.17

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The Practices of Editing in Ottoman Incunabula: İbrahim Muteferrika's Contributions to the Publications in His Printing House

Praktyki edytorskie w osmańskich inkunabułach: wkład İbrahima Müteferriki w publikacje jego oficyny drukarskiej

Abstract

The rise of Turkish printing is closely connected both to the Ottoman manuscript traditions and to the centuries-old practices of European printing. In this article, I outline the main features of the first Turkish incunabula in the light of Ibrahim Müteferrika's editorial practices. In addition to his two own works (*Usûl ül-hikem fî nizâm ül-ümem*, *Fuyûzât-ı miknatisîye*), I examine the corrections and additions he made to several other books printed in his press. Using manuscripts associated with Ibrahim Müteferrika in the Süleymaniye Library and the Raşid Efendi Library in Kayseri, as well as a Latin account of the Müteferrika Press titled *Origo et Principium Typographiae Ottomanicae,* which offers additional information about the sources employed for particular prints, I trace the background of his own writings, translations and the editions he substantially revised. These manuscript translations and other excerpts provide a more complete

picture of Ibrahim Müteferrika's activities as an author in the Ottoman era, as well as of his education and scholarly interests.

Keywords: Ibrahim Müteferrika, Ottoman incunabula, copyright in Ottoman era, *Origo et Principium Typographia Ottomanicae*, *Usûl ül-hikem fî nizâm ül-ümem*.

Abstrakt

Rozwój drukarstwa tureckiego pozostaje ściśle powiązany zarówno z osmańską tradycją rękopiśmienną, jak i wielowiekowymi praktykami europejskiej typografii. W niniejszym artykule przedstawiam główne cechy pierwszych tureckich inkunabułów w świetle praktyk edytorskich Ibrahima Müteferriki. Oprócz jego dwóch własnych dzieł (*Usûl ül-hikem fî nizâm ül-ümem, Fuyûzât-ı miknatisîye*), analizuję poprawki i uzupełnienia, które wprowadził do kilku innych książek drukowanych w jego oficynie. Wykorzystując rękopisy związane z Ibrahimem Müteferriką przechowywane w Bibliotece Süleymaniye i Bibliotece Raşid Efendi w Kayseri, a także łaciński opis jego drukarni zatytułowany *Origo et Principium Typographiae Ottomanicae*, dostarczający dodatkowych informacji na temat źródeł użytych przy poszczególnych edycjach, odtwarzam kontekst powstania jego własnych prac, przekładów oraz tych wydań, które poddał znaczącym rewizjom. Te rękopiśmienne tłumaczenia i inne wpisy pozwalają nam uzyskać pełniejszy obraz działalności Ibrahima Müteferriki jako autora w epoce osmańskiej, a także jego wykształcenia i zainteresowań naukowych.

Słowa klucze: Ibrahim Müteferrika, inkunabuły osmańskie, prawa autorskie w epoce osmańskiej, *Origo et Principium Typographia Ottomanicae*, *Usûl ül-hikem fî nizâm ül-ümem*.

As is well known, Ibrahim Müteferrika was active in many fields during the Ottoman era – as a founder of the first Ottoman-Turkish printing house, as an author and scholar, and as a *müteferrika* (a public official serving as chief correspondent). Recent research and the documents uncovered show more information about his ambassadorial engagements before and after founding the printing house. A clearer picture of his role as a mediator for Prince of Transylvania Ferenc Rákóczi II in the Ottoman government is beginning to emerge from the letters and correspondences related to the Hungarian emigration in Rodostó (Tekirdağ). These wide-ranging activities, in terms of importance should be concerned quite separately. In this article, I would like to focus on his works as an author, translator and editor/compiler, furthermore, these

points allow us to look back at his motivations and his studies as a young man in Transylvania and possibly in Europe.

To understand the circumstances of the first Ottoman-Turkish printing house and the characteristics of its printings, it is worth taking a look at the manuscript and printing culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe and Transylvania, since we will see that it had a quite important role to play on the beginnings of Ottoman printing.

For centuries, since the Gutenberg press was established, publishing and copyright in Europe have had a very different meaning from that of today. The printer, who was also the publisher, had a largely secondary copyright, which meant that he could improve and change the text at its own discretion. For this very reason, the identity and qualifications of the printers were quite important factors. As one of the main centres of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century printing culture, Transylvania shows these characteristics very clearly: the printer was generally a scientist and many of them also wrote their own works, it is enough to mention the late Reneissance Hungarian writer Gáspár Heltai, who led his famous press in Kolozsvár (today: Cluj Napoca, Romania) between 1550–1574.[1] In the foregoing years, especially after 1669, Ibrahim Müteferrika's birthplace Kolozsvár continued to be one of the main centres of Transylvanian-Hungarian printing and education.

In fact, it was the knowledge required by the printing trade that eventually gave rise to the above-mentioned publishing custom. The fact that the introduction of European printing to the Ottoman Empire was thus the work of a Hungarian printer who came from such an intellectual environment and held himself to these standards, gives the reason that beyond the local manuscript traditions and expectations, the first Ottoman-Turkish printed works bear all these printing and publishing features.

Both in Europe and in the Ottoman Empire, these habits were fed by the old manuscript culture, consequently in countries and cultures where book printing arrived later, we can expect a similar set of habits among the manuscript copiers. In the manuscript book culture of the Ottoman Empire, the role of the copiers was emphasised because of the multiplication of manuscripts for the *medrese*s, and therefore, in the case of Ottoman manuscripts, information about who copied the work was almost as important as the author himself. The reproduction of works, often dating back hundreds of years, in this way could obviously lead to

1 Zoltán Ferenczi, II. Id. *Heltai Gáspár nyomdája 1550–1574. A kolozsvári nyomdászat története* (Kolozsvár: Keresk. És Iparkamara, 1896), 6.

some changing or even degeneration of the text, but it could also have had a positive effect, i.e. it could have been enriched or expanded, but in any case, the text was constantly changing. Ibrahim Müteferrika himself stresses this fact in his petition to the Grand Vizier in 1726, in (*Vesîlet al-tıbâ'a*)[2] as one of the reasons why it was necessary to finally have well-edited and faithful copy of the texts in the empire. Nevertheless, continuing the above-mentioned tradition of printing and the conventions of Ottoman manuscript copiers, he did not consider adding to and enriching the texts he chose to print in his press, although in most of the prints he did not conceal these amendments.

In the case of the works published by the Müteferrika press, we are thus witnessing the meeting of these two traditions, the European printing and the Ottoman manuscript copying cultures. However, from the first print of the Müteferrika Press, *Lugat-i Vankûli*'s preface and archival documents it is known that the intellectual work was not the sole responsibility of Ibrahim Efendi: he had several assistants in the running of the printing house, at the beginning, the Jewish printer named Yona ben Ja'akov Aşkenazi was quoted by Müteferrika himself in the petition to the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Paşa. This Ottoman Jew from Poland probably took on the bulk of the printing work from setting to printing, as he was a very active printer, running the most productive printing house in Istanbul from 1710 until 1778, he and his sons and grandsons.[3] In engraving, İbrahim seems to have collaborated with an Armenian printer named Mığırdıç Galatavi. He was also accompanied by two Muslim assistants, one called Ahmed-El Kırımî and one called İbrahim Tophanevî.[4] The printing activity itself (typesetting, printing, technique) was thus certainly the joint work of these several specialists, but the editing of the printed works seems to have been mainly the work of Ibrahim Efendi, as was the preface (*mukaddime*) written before almost all the printed works. The importance of Yirmisekiz Çelebizade Mehmet Said Efendi, who was the partner of Müteferrika in the founding of the press, should also not have to be overlooked. He accompanied his father, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi, who was the leader of the Empire's embassy to France in 1720–1721, and after this journey he was the one who presented the idea of printing to the Vezier Damad İbrahim Paşa, but after the founding

2 *Lugat-i Vankûli*, 1141 Receb (February 1729).

3 Yasin Meral, *İbrahim Müteferrika öncesi İstanbul'da Yahudi matbuatı. 1493–1729* (İstanbul: Divan Kitap, 2016), 52.

4 Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da ik Osmanlı matbaa serüveni. 1726–1746. Yeniden Değerlendirme* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2006), 177.

of the press due to his official mandates he has not subsequently been actively involved in the running of the printing works.[5] Here we also have to mention Yanyalı Esad Efendi's name. The *medrese* teacher and later *kadi* of Galata, originated from the North Greek city of Ioannina, was at that time among the members of the committee formed for the revision of the works to be printed in the printing house and also of the translation comittees organized and encouraged by the Grand Vezier Damad İbrahim Paşa for creating new translations of important Arabic, Persian and Greek works.[6] According to Çolak, he accompanied İbrahim Müteferrika in the press as a copy-editor.[7] Although we don't have further data about in what prints of the press he was involved in and he is mostly known of his Greek and Persian translations, he possessed knowledge of Latin as well, consequently we should rule out the possibility that he may have contributed to the translations and extracts related to Ibrahim Müteferrika and his press.

The works for which Ibrahim Efendi has a certain authorship can be divided into three categories, namely author, translator, and editor/compiler. We have three manuscripts in Latin (Paris, The Hague and Vienna) from the early years of the printing house, which are important sources and a clue to the role Ibrahim Efendi played in the creation of the printed products, since the printer himself may have been the author of these accounts. The most complete version is the one from La Hague, the account in Vienna is presumably a copy, as the one in Paris too. These accounts from 1730 onwards until the 12th publication in 1733, often in plural sentences, describe the prints published in the Müteferrika press. For the works described below along the lines of the above mentioned three categories, I will refer to the information given in the La Hague copy where relevant and also add information gained from the research I made in the Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi in Istanbul,

In 1729, the year the printing house was founded, a copyright dispute arose over the third product of the printing house, Jan Tadeusz

5 In addition to his ambassadorial and other duties, in 1753 he prepared a catalogue under the title "Ferāidü'l-müfredāt fi'ṭ-ṭıbb ve Esmāü'n-nebāt," a record of herb names according to Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Greek and Latin sources. See: Erhan Afyoncu, "Mehmed Said Paşa, Yirmisekizçelebizâde," in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 28 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2003), 524–526; Orlin Sabev, *The Müteferrika Press. Arabic Typography in an Ottoman context* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2025), 46.

6 Kazım Sarıkavak, "Yanyalı Esad Efendi," *TDV İslâm Ansiklodedisi* 43 (2013): 322.

7 Hasan Çolak, "İbrahim Müteferrika and the Ottoman Intellectual Culture in the Early 18th Century: a Transcultural Perspective" in *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond: First Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, eds. Radu-Andrei Dipratu, Samuel Noble (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2024), 1–20.

Krusiński's *Târîh-i seyyâh der beyân-i zuhûr-i Ağvâniyân ve sebeb-i indihâm-i binâ-i Devlet-i Şâhân-i Safeviyân*, which was – according to the beginning of the print – supposed to have been translated by Ibrahim Müteferrika. The Polish Jesuit missionary Krusiński, who had personally recommended the work to the Grand Vizier Damat İbrahim Paşa, complained to the printer in the preface to his next work written in 1740, claiming that the printer was making untrue statements, since the translation from Latin to Turkish was made by Krusiński himself. Ibrahim Efendi probably did not abuse his power as printer and did indeed translate the work, as he writes in the *mukaddime* (preface) of the print and even describes the method he followed during translation. Nevertheless, it is probable that Krusiński did also translate it, since he was in Istanbul for a time at the invitation of the Grand Vizier, who had invited him to translate European works into Ottoman Turkish.[8] The presumption that the printer used his own translation is confirmed by the Latin account in La Hague where it is stated that the translation is made by the printer himself (in plural phrase „*a nobis*"). Recep Demir proves the same through a detailed analysis[9] and this is also supported by the fact that the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul preserves a manuscript copy of the work, the year is the same as the year of publication (1729) where the name of Ibrahim Efendi is given as translator at the beginning of the work.[10]

The fourth product of the printing house was *Târîh al-Hind al-Garbî al-musemmâ be-Hadîs-i Nev*, a history and geography of the New World, whose author, although Ibrahim Müteferrika mentioned Kâtip Çelebi in his Latin manuscript of 1734, is more likely to have been Muhammad al-Su'udi or maybe Seydi Ali Reis. In any case, the identity of the Ottoman-Turkish translator is not provided in the print. Compared to the earlier manuscript copies, the volume contains many corrections, which Müteferrika refers to as being based on the original Arabic work of the sixteenth century. Whichever work it was, this Müteferrika print should be treated not only as a new edition of this work but even separately from the older manuscript copies in the sense that almost the whole third chapter of the book was translated from Western, probably

8 Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika*, 194

9 Recep Demir, "Ibrahim Muteferrika as a Translator in the Context of Tarih-i Sayyah," in *Turkey, Looking Behind and Before*, ed. William H. Taylor (London–Istanbul: AGP Rsearch, 2016), 190–195.

10 Jan Tadeusz Krusiński, "Târîh-i seyyâh der beyân-i zuhûr-i Ağvâniyân ve sebeb-i indihâm-i binâ-i Devlet-i Şâhân-i Sa feviyân, 1142 [1729], Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Yazma Bağışlar, 02415

Italian adaptations of Spanish authors,[11] as well as the 13 black and white engravings of the book were lifted from unknown Western sources. The illustrations of animals and plants led Toderini to believe that the ulema destroyed several copies of the print.[12]

Ibrahim Müteferrika's own work, the only one to appear in print, *Usûl ül-hikem fî nizâm ül-ümem,* published in the month of Şaban 1144 (February 1732), bears witness to the mature thought of Müteferrika's knowledge collected from European authors and works. Compared to his other, untitled manuscript work generally referred as *Risale-i Islamiye* (Treatise on Islam), written almost twenty years before the founding of the printing press, this treatise on the theory of the state reflects a very different approach. The manuscript of *Usûl ül-hikem fî nizâm ül-ümem* in the Hüsrev Paşa collection in the Süleymaniye Library with the date 1143 (1730) probably served as a model before printing as it is 48 folios as the later print, and which may have been Müteferrika's original, author's copy.[13] Undoubtedly Ibrahim Müteferrika's interest and knowledge is shown very clearly through the subject of this work which is presumably an outcome of his previously carried out research and translations. This is the reason why Ibrahim Müteferika's name is connected by several research to a tractate from 1718, found in an appendix of a work of the Ottoman historian Esad Efendi written in the first half of the nineteenth century[14] and of an Ottoman Turkish translation of a part of Raimondo Montecuccoli's work about Turkish–Hungarian wars.[15] The original source

11 Thomas D. Goodrich, "The Search for the Sources of the Sixteenth-Century Tarih-i Hind-i Garbī," *Bulletin of Research in Humanities* 85 (1982): 269–294.

12 Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika*, 194

13 Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Hüsrev Paşa Koleksiyonu, 00292M

14 The short tractate is found first by Faik Reşit Unat in Istanbul in 1942 and later by Anton C. Schaendlinger in Vienna, both in a work called Vekayinâme of Ottoman historian and Kazasker Esat Efendi. Formally it is a fictive dialogue between an Ottoman and a European officer about the neccessarrity of the modernization of Ottoman army and political arrangements. Both Unat and Schaendlinger hypothesized that the author of the unsigned tractate must be Ibrahim Müteferrika. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar is also at the same opinion. See: Faik Reşit Unat, "Ahmet III. devrine ait bir ıslahat takriri. Muhayyel bir mülâkatın zabıtları," *Tarih Vesikaları* 1/2 (1941): 107-121; Anton C. Schaendlinger, "Die Entdeckung des Abendlandes als Vorbild. Ein Vorschlag zur Umgestaltung des Heerwesens und der Außenpolitik des Osmanischen Reiches zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1683 bis 1789. Konflikt, Entspannung und Austausch*, ed. Gernot Heis, Grete Klingenstein (Wien: Oldenbourg, 1983), 94; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *On Dokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (İstanbul: Çağlayan Kitabevi, 1982), 45.

15 Raymundus Montecuccoli, *Commentarii bellici Raymundi Sac. Rom. Imp. Principis Montecuccoli juncto artis bellicae systemate ex augustissimae bibliothecae authographo*

of this translation was a Latin translation of Montecuccoli's Italian work *Della guerra col Turco in Ungheria*, probably written mainly for the inner circles of the imperial court in Vienna or even personally for Leopold I in 1680.[16] The untitled tractate with the dialogue from 1718, without any authorship data contains very similar and in some cases even the same arguments as Müteferrika's printed work *Usûl ül-hikem*. As is often the case with the Ottoman translations of the period, the authors of these two works did not consider it essential to reveal their identity, which led the researchers to create several ideas about the authorship. Whoever the mysterious and – as in the Tercüme-i Fenn-i Harb refers himself – humble translator (*mütercim-i hākir*) created a translation which is very often reflected in the thoughts expressed by Ibrahim Müteferrika in Usul-el Hikem. Analyzing these similarities should be a goal of a separate research, still it can be maintained that the Hungarian-Ottoman printer read and used Montecuccoli's works since his descriptions of Hungarian and Austrian military equipment and methods can be found in some paragraphs of Usul-el Hikem even word by word.

Just afterwards, a volume of translations on magnetism, the *Fuyûzât-ı miknatisîye*, was published, which is a work compiled from Ibrahim Efendi's own translations. In the preface the publication he indicates that he translated it from a work published in Leipzig in 1721. According to Niyazi Berkes, it is possible that the source was William Whiston's *The Longitude and Latitude Found by the Inclinatory of Dipping Needle* (London, 1721), but as the comparative studies by Delio V. Proverbio and Bekir H. Küçük have demonstrated, Christoph Eberhard's *Specimen Theoriae Magneticae* (Leipzig, 1720) were also among the sources of Müteferrika'a translation.[17] However, in the Latin manuscript of the printing press, it is already written that he compiled the work from extracts taken from

nunquam hactenus edito, Figuris Aeneis illustrati, cum privilegio Sac. Caes. Majestatis (Vienna: 1718).

16 The manuscript has not even been published in the original language for some time, but translated into several languages. The French translation published in 1712 with the title "Mémoires de Montecuccoli, generalissime des troupes de l'empereur, ou principes de l'Art militaire en génèral" made the author more widely known and demonstrably had a big influence on European military thinkers of the following centuries. See: István Czigány, György Domokos, Levente Nagy, János B. Szabó and Ferenc Tóth, "Raimondo Montecuccoli és műve," in *Raimondo Montecuccoli: A magyarországi török háborúkról*, eds. and transl. György Domokos, Levente Nagy and Gábor Hausner (Budapest: Dialóg Campus Kiadó, 2019), 11–32.

17 Sabev, *The Müteferrika Press*, 117.

several books on the subject.[18] One such excerpt may be the work *Zeyl der Beyan-ı Mikyası Berr ü Bahr ve Mikdar-ı Mesafe-i Kürre-i Arz* (Supplement to the system of land and sea measurements and the determination of the distances of the globe), which is kept in the Hamidiye collection of the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, its author is Ibrahim Müteferrika.[19] The work, only three pages long, is a part of a composite manuscript on folios 41–43, and is preceded and followed by other works in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish on seafaring, physics and astronomy, but dated later, between 1742 and 1744. Regarding that in any part of the printed book Ibrahim Müteferrika does not specify the sources from which he drew, only that he used Arabic sources, the above mentioned short extract in the Hamidiye Collection should have been a possible preparatory work by him for the later publication.

A very important product of the printing house was Kâtib Çelebi's *Cihannümâ (*World Guide), which was written and composed by the author from European sources. Ibrahim Müteferrika also made considerable additions to the original work, and for this reason he should be considered a co-author. Kâtib Çelebi (1609–1657) used Mercator's famous *Atlas Minor*, and wanted to expand his work further by drawing on other European sources.[20] Müteferrika should have been aware of this: he added 276 pages to the original work. In the preface, Ibrahim Efendi mentions that the Chief Mufti Dâmâdzâde Mevlânâ Şeyh Ahmed had recommended the printing of the work, but it was certainly a much earlier decision and probably the result of years of work. In some places the work mentions the sources used, mentioning Edmond Pourchot.[21] In the Hague copy of the Latin manuscript mentioned earlier, we find the following text: "The author is Kâtib Çelebi, who lived during

18 "Id est pro fluvia magnetica, ubi tractatur de viribus magneticis, id est virtute, qua se magnes ad mundi polos dirigit, et qua ferrum sibi attrahit, et virtutem suam ferro, et chalybi communicat. Acus nautica inclinatoria, et declinatoria quid dit, et quomodo inserviat ubicunque locorum, inveniendi longitudinem, et latitudinem." Origo et principium Typograhiae Ottomanicae, La Hague, Rijksarchief, Legatiearchief Turkijë tot 1811, No 1090, published by Franz Babinger, Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrhundert (Leipzig: Deutscher Verein für Buchwesen und Schrifftum, 1919), 30.

19 Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Hamidiye Koleksiyonu, reference nr. 873–005.

20 The translation of Gerard Mercator's *Atlas Minor* was not the independent work of Kâtib Çelebi, he cooperated with Şeyh Mehmed İhlâsî, who was originally a French monk and at an unknown date came to Istanbul and converted to Islam. We know from the preface of Ibrahim Müteferrika in Cihannümâ that İhlâsî recommended for Kâtib Çelebi to translate this work, which they finished finally in 1655 together.

21 In his Latin publications, his name appears as *Edmundus Purchotius*, whereas in the *Cihannümâ* it is written as *Porkuçiyuş*.

the reign of Sultan Mahmud and dedicated his work to him. This work, however, was not completed by him, but by the Ottoman printer, who added the kingdoms of Asia which are not included in the first edition. The *Harmonia Macro-Cosmica Universalis,*[22] was also attached to it, as the conception of the various authors, namely Ptolemy, Copernicus and Tycho Brahe too".[23] Taking into consideration that he used Andreas Cellarius's work to complete the *Cihannümâ*, we can assume that he read and maybe translated one of the author's works. The proof of this is the Ottoman-Turkish manuscript version of the *Atlas Coelestis* translated as *Mecmûatü hey'eti'l-kadîme ve'l-cedîde* (Atlas of the Old and New Skies). In the preface to the work, Müteferrika writes that he translated the work on the order of Sultan Ahmed III in 1733. The only known copy of the translation is in the Library of the Military Museum (Askeri Müze Kütüphanesi) in Istanbul.[24] In addition to the 112 leaves of text, the work contains 65 folios of illustrations, copied from the original edition, with the illustrations described in Ottoman Turkish.

The 16th product of the press, Ömer Bosnavî's short but highly successful work *Ahvâl-i gazevât der diyâr-i Bosna* (The situation of the Bosnian campaigns) is also a strongly edited and supplemented edition and special in a sense that it was published almost immediately after it was finished by the author and expanded by the printer.[25] As Ibrahim Müteferrika informs us in the appendix he wrote titled *Beyan-ı me'haz-ı vakı'at* (Explanation of the source of the events), Ömer Bosnavî's text is about the battles between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs in Bosnia in the period of his first governorship (1736–1739). Ibrahim Müteferrika felt it neces-

22 The map collection of Andreas Cellarius, *Harmonia Macrocosmica*, first print: Amsterdam, 1660.

23 "Author est Tyátib Cselebi, qui vixit tempore Sulthan Mehem[m]ed Imperatoris, cui dedicavit editionem suam, sed liber iste nondum erat finitus quem Typographus Otthomanicus finivit, et adiunxit regna Asiae, quae in prima editione deerant, similiter adiuncta est Harmonia Macro-Cosmica Universalis secundum diversorum authorum opiniones, id est secundum opinionem Ptholomei, Copernici, et Tychonis." *Origo et principium Typograhiae Ottomanicae,* La Hague, Rijksarchief, Legatiearchief Turkijë tot 1811, No 1090; published by Franz Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verein für Buchwesen und Schrifftum, 1919).

24 Askeri Müze Kütüphanesi No. 1456

25 We know only manuscript copies of the text in Turkey archives which were replicated from the printed edition, no original, author's copy is known. Nevertheless the big amount of manuscript copies shows that the work was met with great interest until its second printed edition in 1876. Hatice Oruç, "On "Ahvâl-i Gazavât Der Diyâr-ı Bosna" (The State of Holy Wars in the Province of Bosnia) by Omer Bosnavi," in *Bosnia and Herzegovina: Common History and Multicultural Atmosphere in the Balkans*, eds. Mahir Aydın, Metin Ünever (Istanbul: IBAC, 2015), 109.

sary to expand this work: he checked the accuracy of its data by consulting reliable participants of the expeditions about the events described in the book. The final part of the work called *Hâtime: Der-beyân-ı keyfiyet-i eyâlet ve ahâlî-i memleket* (fol. 61a–62a) consists of Ömer Efendi's conclusion and of a description of the current geographical, ethnic and political situation in Bosnia written by the printer. Because of this addition and the corrections made by Ibrahim Müteferrika, we can also consider this print as a supplemented version of the original work.

As discussed above, the prints of the first Ottoman Turkish press were preceded by a thorough editorial and proofreading process before they were printed, therefore each Müteferrika publication should be treated as a separate work, not merely as a simple edition/translation of a particular author's work. His activity in typography regarding these aspects as a continuer of both European printing and Eastern/Ottoman manuscript culture demonstrates clearly that with his personality and knowledge the Ottoman book culture gained a mind that had no equal in the later history of the eighteenth-century Ottoman Turkish printing. The documents just presented provide strong support for the assumption that Müteferrika, in addition to the general Latin, Greek and theological education of the time in Transylvanian colleges, was particularly well versed in the natural sciences, geography, cartography and military sciences. Considering that in the 1680s and 1690s, when Ibrahim Efendi was a young man, the Protestant (Unitarian) college in Cluj-Napoca focused mainly on teaching Protestant theology and literature. The book lists of the college library from the end of the eighteenth century show that the fields in which Ibrahim Müteferrika was well educated were poorly represented.[26] Consequently, he could not have obtained this education in his hometown. Since as a *müteferrika* he carried out several official missions to Europe (Vienna, France, etc.) where he undoubtedly maintained connections and obtained books, we can assume that in his youth he acquired his knowledge of geography, cartography and all natural sciences at a foreign university. During the period of his possible peregrination, the Low Countries were popular among Hungarian, especially the Transylvanian, Protestant students, along with Heidelberg and other German cities, and were a particularly important location for printers. Our ongoing investigations related to this research of Hungarian students in European universities and his connections with the Rákóczi emigration will hopefully help us to clarify the remaining gaps in his pre-Ottoman life.

26 See: Gábor Sipos, *A kolozsvári református kollégium könyvtára a 17. században* (Szeged: Scriptum Kft., 1991).

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