

CULTURE AND DIPLOMACY

AMBASSADORS AS CULTURAL ACTORS
IN OTTOMAN-EUROPEAN RELATIONS
FROM THE 16TH TO THE 19TH CENTURY

VOLUME II



Edited by

REINHARD EISENDLE · SUNA SUNER · HANS ERNST WEIDINGER

HOLLITZER





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TEACHERS,
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EUROPEAN PRINTERS IN ISTANBUL IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY: İBRAHİM MÜTEFERİKA AND OTHERS*

ORLIN SABEV (ORHAN SALIH, SOFIA)**

A dramatic episode of Ottoman history provides an eloquent illustration of how violence and peace, destructivity and creativity could exist simultaneously in history at one and the same place. On 28 September 1730 the Albanian Patrona Halil (d.1730), a dealer in ready-made goods, sparked the so-called Patrona Revolt which involved the Istanbul citizens, traders and artisans, along with the military, and led to Ahmed III's (b.1673, r.1703–1730) resignation from the throne.¹ The contemporary of this revolt, Abdi Efendi,² relates vividly that on the first day of the revolt, while the insurgents were angrily rushing into the Istanbul streets, on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus the Grand Vizier and the other state officials were entertaining themselves at the military campus in Üsküdar, and the Grand Vizier's deputy (*kaymakam*) was innocently planting tulips in his garden.³

The Patrona Revolt put an end to a short but quite remarkable period in Ottoman history, the so-called Tulip Age (1718–1730), hallmarked by the tulip, a flower that became the object of extreme adoration on the part of the Ottoman statesmen,⁴ which Abdi's account confirms in quite convincing a way.

* This article was first published in *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre*, vol. 2: *The Time of Joseph Haydn: From Sultan Mahmud I to Mahmud II (r.1730–1839)*, ed. MICHAEL HÜTTLER and HANS ERNST WEIDINGER. Vienna: Hollitzer, 2014 (= *Ottomania* 3), pp. 197–207.

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1 For more details about the Patrona Revolt cf. MÜNİR AKTEPE: *Patrona İsyanı (1730)*. Istanbul: İ. Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1958. – ROBERT W. OLSON: “The Esnaf and the Patrona Halil Rebellion of 1730: A Realignment in Ottoman Politics?”, in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 17/3 (1974), pp. 329–344.

2 Cf. FRANZ BABINGER: “Abdî Efendi”, in: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., ed. HAMILTON A. R. GIBB, vol. 1. Leiden: Brill, 1954, p. 97: “Ottoman historian. The only information about his life is that he worked under the Sultans Mahmüd I and Muştafâ III, i.e. about 1730–74. His history [...] deals mainly with the antecedents of Patrona Halil's rebellion and with the revolution itself (1730–1) and is one of the main contemporary sources for this event.”

3 FAİK R. UNAT (ed.): *Abdî Tarihi (1730 Patrona İhtilâli Hakkında Bir Eser)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1943, pp. 29–30.

4 For the Tulip Age cf. for example WILHELM HEINZ: “Die Kultur der Tulpenzeit des Osmanischen Reiches”, in: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 61 (1967), pp. 62–116. – FATMA MÜGE GÖÇEK: *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987, pp. 72–81.

THE INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING IN THE TULIP AGE

The Tulip Age saw the first Ottoman efforts at modernization by following Western patterns and adopting European aesthetical norms and technological achievements, with the printing press being the most striking technological break from the traditional Ottoman culture. In 1727 Ahmed III authorized İbrahim Müteferrika (c.1670–1747) and Said Çelebi (d.1761) to run a printing house which was the first to print books with Arabic script in the Ottoman Empire. All the previous presses were run by Jews, Armenians and Greeks and printed in Hebrew, Armenian and Greek, respectively.

İbrahim Müteferrika presented his 1726 statement, titled *Er-Risāletü'l-müsemmā bi-Vesiletü't-Tibā'a* ('The utility of printing'), to the Ottoman statesmen, hoping to persuade them to approve his printing enterprise. He stated that all previous efforts at introducing Ottoman printing had failed.⁵ There is still no particular historical evidence for such efforts, but at least one intriguing historical fact could have led to the introduction of Ottoman printing by the late fifteenth century. Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror (b.1432, r.1444–1446 and 1451–1481) invited Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) to serve as a court painter in the Ottoman capital, but Leonardo refused the offer, having only recently started working for the Sforza court in Milan as a military engineer. However, when the armies of France captured Milan and incarcerated Duke Ludovico Sforza (1452–1508, r.1494–1498), Leonardo abandoned the city. He wrote a letter to the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II (b.1447 or 1448, r.1481–1512), offering his service as a military engineer with the intention of building a single-arch bridge over the Golden Horn. It seems that the Sultan was not impressed at all and this time Leonardo was not invited. Considering that Leonardo had designed a printing press around 1480–1482,⁶ one could presume that, had he been invited to the Ottoman court, he could have made some efforts to introduce the art of printing to the Muslims. But historical circumstances did not favour such an introduction by Leonardo.

5 The text is presented in transcribed form in TURGUT KUT and FATMA TÜRE (eds.): *Yazmadan Basmaya: Müteferrika, Mühendishane, Üsküdar*. Istanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, 1996, p. 34. A translation in English is provided in GEORGE N. ATIYEH (ed.): *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995, pp. 286–292.

6 Cf. BÜLENT ATALAY: "Leonardo – A Man for All Seasons", in: *The Genius of Leonardo: Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. MYRTO A. ROGAN. Istanbul: Rahmi M. Koç Museum, 2006, pp. 30–31, here p. 31, images on pp. 66–67.

THE MÜTEFERRIKA PRESS (1726–1742)

Introducing a new technology necessitates an agent who is proficient in its application and keen on overcoming obstacles. The establishment of the first Ottoman printing press was due to just such an agent, namely İbrahim Müteferrika. A number of non-Muslim printers existed, who could have run a press to print books for the Muslim reading public. But it seems the Ottoman ruling class, obliged to be Muslim by birth or conversion, would never allow a non-Muslim to print books for Muslims. Hence someone Muslim who was skilful at the art of printing was needed to launch such an enterprise. Müteferrika was of Hungarian and Protestant (most likely Unitarian) origin and became an Ottoman subject and convert to Islam when he was around the age of eighteen or twenty. He was probably already skilled at the art of printing while still in his native town of Koloszvár (today's Cluj-Napoca), Transylvania. He was at least a confident bearer of print culture, eager enough to undertake a risky enterprise such as the establishment of the first Ottoman Turkish printing press. On the other hand, in his service at the Ottoman court he created good relationships with the most influential Ottoman statesmen, the Grand Vizier mainly, making the implementation of his enterprise easier. The state-supported press had administrative permission for its opening and even some material support in the beginning.

The Müteferrika press operated from 1726 to 1742, printing sixteen editions in twenty-two volumes, including eighteen titles. One of them, a manual of the Turkish language, was intended not for Ottoman-Muslim readers but rather the Francophone reading public. Of the remaining seventeen titles, two were dictionaries (Arabic-Turkish and Persian-Turkish, respectively), ten dealt with history, two others combined historical and geographical accounts, one was completely a geographical work, one was on physics and one was on political and military issues. The books Müteferrika offered to the public (actually, a rather limited segment of that public) created their own demand because they were rare and not easily available and because of the scarcity of relatively current information. They also challenged the traditional Ottoman or Islamic concept of knowledge diffusion, which gave privilege to religious literacy.⁷

Contrary to the general opinion of historiography, Müteferrika's commercial outcomes were not bad at all, as his inheritance inventory dated 1 April 1747 reveals. Out of the roughly estimated total print of 10,000 copies only 2,976 copies remained unsold, meaning that Müteferrika was successful in disseminating almost

7 For more details cf. ORLIN SABEV: *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726–1746): Yeniden Değerlendirme*. İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2006.

70 percent of his prints.⁸ In comparison to Müteferrika's unsold 2,976 copies, there were 3,906 unsold copies of *Typographia Medicea*'s three late-sixteenth-century prints of Avicenna (810 copies), Euclid (1,967 copies) and Al-Idrisi (1,129 copies). They were stacked in wardrobes in Palazzo Vecchio in Rome and inventoried in the eighteenth century.⁹ The total print of each of these editions is unknown but could hardly have exceeded 2,000, the total print in Renaissance Italy at the best.¹⁰ In his account of the utility of printing Müteferrika considers, in particular, his enterprise as a counteraction to the Western prints in Arabic, mentioning the same prints of the Medici's press, which leads one to conclude that Müteferrika's press proved more successful than *Typographia Medicea* was, in terms of sales. It is difficult to judge whether Müteferrika's balance of trade was active or passive at all, as we do not know how much money was actually invested; but his balance of cultural challenge seems active when considered in the long term.

In his printing enterprise, Müteferrika introduced some *ad hoc* layout changes while paying tribute to the strong scribal culture. It is well known that early European printers strove to print books with a layout as similar to the manuscripts as possible. Müteferrika was no exception. Nonetheless, the first eight books he printed had no decoration (*unvan* or *serlevha*) on the introducing page, which was normally decorated in manuscripts.¹¹ But as soon as a book printed by Müteferrika was bought it was illuminated by hand, as a number of preserved copies clearly show.¹² During these times, the book, whether in manuscript or printed form, was considered an organic combination of a text and a physical form, that is, the codex, which constituted the 'body' or the 'home' of the writing itself. Apart from the binding, the text on each page was framed by margins, and the introducing page was illuminated by ornamentation resembling the gates of monumental public buildings from the world of Islam.¹³ These ornamentations suggested that the reader, when entering a given book, was entering a building. Müteferrika apparently noticed that his customers tended to have their printed copies illuminated, and with the ninth edition (*Usûlü'l-Hikem fî Nizâmi'l-Ümem*, 1732) he began printing

8 For a detailed analysis cf. ORLIN SABEV: "The First Ottoman Turkish Printing Enterprise: Success or Failure (A Reassessment)", in: *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. DANA SAJDI. London, New York: I. B. Tauris & Co, 2007, pp. 63–89.

9 Cf. PAUL LUNDE: "Arabic and the Art of Printing", in: *Saudi Aramco World* 32/2 (1981); <https://archive.aramcoworld.com/issue/198102/arabic.and.the.art.of.printing-a.special.section.htm>.

10 BRIAN RICHARDSON: *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 25–26.

11 Cf. ÇİÇEK DERMAN: "Osmanlılarda Tezhip Sanatı", in: *Osmanlı Devleti ve Medeniyeti Tarihi*, ed. EKMELEDDİN İHSANOĞLU, vol. 2. Istanbul: IRCICA, 1998, pp. 487–491.

12 Sofia, Bulgarian National Library, Oriental Department, O II 175. – Istanbul, IRCICA Library, 962/SÜ.T; 359./009561/KA.

13 Cf. DEREK HILL and OLEG GRABAR: *Islamic Architecture and Its Decoration A.D. 800–1500*. London: Faber and Faber, 1967, p. 83.

ornamentation on the introducing page.¹⁴ However, the customers would have the ornamentation segments coloured by hand, as we see in some of the preserved copies.¹⁵ Another change, this time in a break with manuscript tradition, can be seen in the inclusion of a quasi-title page in the last three of Müteferrika's editions. Although its layout resembled a title page, there was no title printed on it; instead, it featured the honourable titles (*elkâb*) of the sultan, the Grand Vizier and the grand mufti of the time, who gave official permission for the given print, as well as the place and year of printing.

In this approach traditional and new features are combined to accustom the customers more quickly and easily to innovations – not unlike the so-called Horsey Horseless, invented by a certain Uriah Smith (1832–1903) of Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1899. In his model a wooden horse head was attached to the front of an automobile to make it resemble a horse and carriage. In this way, Smith claimed, “the live horse would be thinking of another horse, and before he could discover his error and see that he had been fooled, the strange carriage would be passed.”¹⁶ Today considered one of the fifty worst cars of all time, this invention is nonetheless a good example of how the human mind perceives new forms by using well known old appearances.

Müteferrika's efforts in printing could seem a personal enthusiasm rather than a response to a real demand in Ottoman society for more books on certain topics. However, when his prints became artefacts in a world dominated by the manuscript tradition, they provided an alternative way of multiplying texts, shortening the time and widening the space of knowledge and information diffusion. Yet they set a precedent that made at least some who had been hesitant to accept the idea into active promoters of printing.

MÜTEFERRİKA'S 'SUCCESSORS': PRINTING AFTER 1747

Immediately after Müteferrika's death in February 1747 İbrahim Efendi and Ahmed Efendi received official permission to print books. The two new printers were former Müteferrika apprentices who were holding judge positions when printing permission was given. However, they printed nothing until they got their permission

14 Some comments about the layout changes in the Ottoman printed books cf. EKMELEDDİN İHSANOĞLU and HATİCE AYNUR: “Yazmadan Basmaya Geçiş: Osmanlı Basma Kitap Geleneğinin Doğuşu (1729–1848)”, in: *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 22 (2003), pp. 219–255.

15 Sofia, Bulgarian National Library, Oriental Department, O II 159; O II 150a; O II 17. – Istanbul, IRCICA Library, 491./5539435/FA.

16 URIAH SMITH quoted after [ANONYMOUS]: “The 50 Worst Cars of All Time”; <http://content.time.com/time/specials/2007/completelist/0,29569,1658545,00.html>.

confirmed by the new Sultan, Osman III (b.1699, r.1754–1757), in the beginning of 1755. Using Müteferrika’s presses, they managed to print the two volumes of the *Vankulu* dictionary in 1756 and 1757. It was the only book they printed.

However, the quest for printing was still in force. Efforts were made by James Mario Matra (1746–1808) when he was a secretary at the English embassy in Istanbul. He relates in a 1779 letter addressed to the English botanist Sir Josef Banks (1743–1820) that he had applied to the Ottoman state officials (“Secretary of State” and “Head of the Chancery”, in his words) for printing permission. Matra intended to print again a dictionary (the *Kamus* Dictionary) and Turkish translations of books dealing with astronomy and mathematics. Matra’s letter is the only source revealing these printing efforts, and the results of his undertaking are unknown.¹⁷ However, as no book printed by him has survived, one can suppose that he never managed to print such books.

THE REVIVAL OF PRINTING IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1780–1800)

The Ottomans themselves were also trying to revive their printing. In a memorandum (titled *Mecmua*) addressed to Sultan Abdülhamid I (b.1725, r.1774–1789) in the early 1780s, Süleyman Penah Efendi (1722 or 1723–1786) suggested the revival of Ottoman printing for administrative and educational purposes. He meant the printing only of secular texts, not religious texts such as the Quran and the Hadiths.¹⁸ Süleyman Penah Efendi’s proposal is remarkable evidence of the increasing need for a faster multiplication and wider dissemination of certain texts by means of printing toward the last quarter of the Ottoman eighteenth century. It is uncertain whether Süleyman Penah Efendi’s proposal had a direct effect on Abdülhamid I, but the latter himself initiated the revival of Ottoman printing by using Müteferrika’s old presses. In 1784 the Sultan appointed Raşid Mehmed Efendi (1753–1797), a head of the government chancery office, and Vasıf Efendi (d.1806), serving as an official annalist, to run a new printing enterprise. The Sultan’s order stipulated that only secular books were to be printed. The two printers operated Müteferrika’s old presses once again, printing eleven books, six of which were handbooks to be used in the new European-style military units established by the next reformative Sultan, Selim III (1761–1808, r.1789–1807). The other five

17 RICHARD CLOGG: “An Attempt to Revive Turkish Printing in Istanbul in 1779”, in: *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10 (1979), pp. 67–70.

18 CAHIT TELCI: “Bir Osmanlı Aydınının XVIII. Devlet Düzeni Hakkındaki Görüşleri: Penah Süleyman Efendi”, in: *Osmanlı*, ed. GÜLER EREN, vol. 7. Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 1999, pp. 178–188.

books were also on secular subjects.¹⁹ This printing house operated until Raşid Mehmed Efendi's death in 1797. Meanwhile, in the period 1787–1790, a printing house operated at the French embassy, which also printed military handbooks, as well as a grammar of the Turkish language for the Francophone public.

THE MÜHENDİSHANE PRESS AND ÜSKÜDAR PRESS

The printing equipment of the two aforementioned printing houses was used in a newly opened printing house at the Engineering School (*Mühendishane*) in the neighborhood of Hasköy, Istanbul. The Mühendishane press was established in 1797 as a consequence of a proposal made by Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740–1807), a functionary of the Swedish Embassy in Istanbul, and Ebubekir Râtib Efendi (1749–1799), an Ottoman Ambassador to Vienna from 1791 to 1792. It published books on military and geographical topics, as well as dictionaries and legislative and propaganda brochures.²⁰ In 1802 the Mühendishane press was transferred to Üsküdar. The Üsküdar printing house functioned until 1824, when its presses were transferred to a printing house known as the Istanbul printing press. One is struck by the first-time printing of a religious text by the Üsküdar press in 1803: the sixteenth-century Ottoman author Imam Birgivi's (1522–1573) popular treatise on Islamic dogmas *Vasiyetname* ('The last will and testament'), followed by *Amentü* ('Creed'), a small treatise on Islamic creed. It is worth mentioning that Üsküdar press was directed by a certain Abdurrahman Efendi (d.1807), who graduated from an Ottoman theological and law school and became known as the first teacher of geometry at the so-called Mühendishane school founded in Istanbul in 1793.²¹

THE PRINTING OF RELIGIOUS TEXTS AND STRENGTHENING OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AS STATE POLICY

Müteferrika's permission to print only secular books, Süleyman Penah Efendi's insistence that only secular books should be printed, the completely secular by topic output of the presses that operated by the end of the eighteenth century – all clearly indicate that the Ottomans confronted not only the question, "To print or

19 JALE BAYSAL: *Müteferrika'dan Birinci Meşrutiyete Kadar Osmanlı Türklerinin Bastıkları Kitaplar*. Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1968, pp. 59–60.

20 Cf. KEMAL BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne, Mühendishâne Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi (1776–1826)*. Istanbul: Eren, 1995, pp. 15–17, 28–32, 99–261. – BAYSAL: *Müteferrika'dan Birinci Meşrutiyete*, pp. 61–62.

21 BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishane*, pp. 136–137.

not to print?”, but also the perhaps even more important question of what to print or not to print. A recent publication provides for the first time very important evidence about the state attitude towards the printing and trading of religious books such as the Quran, Hadith collections and treatises on Quran exegesis and Muslim jurisprudence. The Turkish scholar İsmail Erünsal (b.1945) published an order addressed to the chief judge of Istanbul and dated Safer 9, 1212 (3 August 1797). The order urged booksellers not to abuse the heir’s rights on an inherited legacy by intentionally underestimating the books they buy from these legacies. It warned that they would be severely punished in cases of misconduct and stressed that the booksellers would also be punished if they bought from such legacies and then sold printed Qurans, Hadith collections, exegeses, and books on Muslim jurisprudence, as the printing, buying and selling of such books was *şer’an memnû*²² (‘canonically forbidden’).

At the turn of the nineteenth century (1217/1802–1803) another Ottoman intellectual, Mehmed Emin Behiç (d.1809), wrote his *Sevānihü’l-Levāyih* (‘Inspired memorandums’). In contrast to Süleyman Penah Efendi, he pleaded for instructive books on Muslim religion, as well as Arabic textbooks, to be immediately printed in 3,000 to 4,000 copy-editions, to improve mass education in religion matters by providing pupils with cheaper textbooks. Behiç Efendi suggested printing the regulations (*nizāmname*) for the Muslim religious functionaries in the provinces, as well as textbooks for a school he also suggested, which would be designed to train scribes for the Imperial bureaucracy. He further insisted on the printing and disseminating of a penal code in accordance with the Sharia.²³ What is important in Behiç Efendi’s view is the fact that he is evaluating the vital role of printing in making education accessible to a wider social layer and in improving the work of bureaucracy and the implementation of the law.

Kemal Beydilli points out that the printing of religious texts at the Üsküdar printing house was directly linked with Behiç Efendi’s suggestions of 1802–1803. Yet the printing of such books, so popular with the reading public as to guarantee their best-seller status, was a fresh air for the Mühendishane press, which had been at a standstill prior to its transfer to Üsküdar.²⁴

It was not only Behiç Efendi who called for the strengthening of Islamic morals through a proper education in religious matters. The reign of Mahmud II (b.1785, r.1808–1839) turned this earlier, more or less informal proposal into a state policy.

22 İSMAIL E. ERÜNSAL: “Osmanlılarda Sahhaflık ve Sahhafılar: Yeni Bazı Belge ve Bilgiler”, in: *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 29 (2007), pp. 99–146, here pp. 115 and 145.

23 KEMAL BEYDILLI: “Küçük Kaynarca’dan Tanzimat’a Islahat Düşünceleri”, in: *İlmi Araştırmalar* 8 (1999), pp. 25–64, here pp. 43 and 46.

24 BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishane*, pp. 136–137. – IDEM: “Küçük Kaynarca’dan Tanzimat’a Islahat Düşünceleri”, p. 43.

The Sultan was prompted to follow such a policy because of the vast demoralization of his Muslim subjects due to the failures in the wars against Russia and Austria, as well as the Serb and Greek wars for independence. These failures were considered not only political but religious as well, and a proclamation of Mahmud II, dated Cemaziülevvel 21, 1225 (24 June 1810), is a good illustration of such an attitude. The Sultan called all his Muslim subjects to defend the state and the Muslim faith from the Russian troops that then occupied what is now northeastern Bulgaria. At the same time in the same region the Bektaşî order revived some local centres by attaching them to schools that educated the local population in Islamic dogmas.²⁵ In 1824 Mahmud II even issued a firman on the necessity of improving the elementary religious education of all Muslim children. The official newspaper *Takvim-i Vakâyi* ('Calendar of events'), in late 1831 and early 1832, called for the printing of books of religious instructions that would serve the religious functionaries in the implementation of their duties and guide those whose ignorance in the field of religion threatened public order.²⁶ In other words, printing was intentionally used for the multiplication of texts on religious matters, thus facilitating the dissemination of religious knowledge among the public. Religion seems to be a key instrument in the recovery of Ottoman statehood, with the newly created army that replaced the Janissary corps in 1826 being called *Asâkir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* ('Mohammedan victorious armies'). In fact, throughout the nineteenth century, prints on religious matters began gradually to prevail over those on secular matters.



To conclude one might suggest that, before the seemingly fortuitous introduction of Ottoman printing in the first half of the eighteenth century, the Ottomans felt a more latent than apparent want of printing. The Müteferrika press was definitely a personal enterprise that succeeded in engaging the needed support of statesmen. It offered to the reading public an alternative technology for the multiplication of texts, which could be applicable when the demand existed for books on certain topics or of specific genres. In the course of time printing proved its advantages in serving nineteenth-century reforms, mass education in particular, providing more copies in a shorter time than manuscript duplication could.

25 ORLIN SABEV: "Osmanlı Dönemi Şumnu Tekkeleri", in: *Uluslar arası Bursa Tasavvuf Kültürü Sempozyumu*, ed. MEHMET TEMELLI, vol. 4. Bursa: Bursa Kültür Sanat ve Turizm Vakfı, 2005, pp. 179–191.

26 ORHAN KOLOĞLU: *Takvimi Vekayi Türk Basımında 150 Yıl, 1831–1981*. Ankara: Çağdaş Gazeteciler Derneği, 1981, p. 155. — ALPAY KABACALI: *Türk Kitap Tarihi*, vol. 1: *Başlangıçtan Tanzimat'a Kadar*. İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1989, p. 109.

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