OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĞUNDA COĞRAFYA VE KARTOGRAFYA

GEOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE



Editörler / Editors
Mahmut Ak
Ahmet Üstüner

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CHAPTER 23

PRINTING DOES MATTER: İBRAHİM MÜTEFERRİKA AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO GEOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE*

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ABSTRACT

This chapter examines the crucial role that maps and geography books played in the printing initiatives of the founder of the first Ottoman Turkish printing press, İbrahim Müteferrika. Notably, his first ventures into printing focused on maps, with the production of four separate maps between 1719 and 1729. Likewise, he printed several geographical books accompanied by geographical and cosmographical maps and charts, with the most outstanding among them being Katib Çelebi's *Cihânnümâ,* which featured a collection of 40 maps. Remarkably, İbrahim Müteferrika did not only print the aforementioned books; he also fashioned some of the maps and edited their texts. The current chapter seeks not only to describe Müteferrika's printing activities in the realms of geography and cartography, but also to provide a comprehensive view of his perspectives on the profound impact of geographical science and mapmaking on both state policy and social dynamics.

Keywords: İbrahim Müteferrika, Ottoman cartography, Ottoman geography, printing press

* This research is part of a project that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 883219-AdG-2019 - Project TYPARABIC).

İbrahim Müteferrika (c. 1670-1747) gained recognition in Ottoman history as the founder of the first printing house in the Islamic world dedicated to printing books in the Turkish language using Arabic script. Although the official opening of the press was in 1727, İbrahim Müteferrika had already been printing maps before this time. Many of the books he printed between 1727 and 1742 also contained geographical and astronomical maps and charts. Moreover, he himself drew up some of these maps, as well as others that have survived only in manuscript form. As Gérald Duverdier points out, Müteferrika, who was a member of the *müteferrika* corps at the Ottoman court[1] and took part in diplomatic missions, needed reliable maps. This was true of other government officials, who also relied on accurate cartography to have a better understanding of the Ottoman territories, facilitating improvements in administration and defense.[2] In this sense, according to Duverdier, Müteferrika's printing house could be viewed as a "geopolitical enterprise".[3] Indeed, in his selection of works to be printed in the field of geography, Müteferrika neglected those with marked religious contents, such as the quite popular descriptions of the places connected with Muslim pilgrimage (*hajj*),[4] in favor of geographical works, which contained information that was more useful for state policy, military actions, and commercial affairs.[5] Müteferrika was notably the first person to print maps on Ottoman soil, overcoming a significant problem in the Ottoman geography and cartography of the time, namely the insufficient availability of up-to-date maps. In doing so, he addressed the concerns raised by the renowned seventeenth-century Ottoman intellectual and geographer, Mustafa bin Abdullah, more commonly recognized by the names Katib Çelebi and Haji Khalifa/Hacı Halife (1609-1657). In his famous geographical work *Mirror of the World* (*Cihânnümâ*)[6], Mustafa bin Abdullah bemoaned the scarcity of maps, stating, "since there is no printing in our country, it would be difficult to illustrate even a single page" (*bu diyârda basma istimâl olunmâmak ile bir sahifesini bile resm emr-i asirdir*).[7] In fact, there were Jewish, Armenian, and Greek printing presses operating on Ottoman soil in Katib Çelebi's time[8]; however, they exclusively printed religious texts. Even so, as emphasized by Orhan Koloğlu,

1 The members of this corps were attached to the person of the sultan and served in various public offices or diplomatic missions, see Gustav Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis: A Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1997), 116-117.

2 Gérald Duverdier, "İlk Türk Basımevinin Kuruluşunda İki Kültür Elçisi: Savary de Brèves ile İbrahim Müteferrika", trans. Türker Acaroğlu, *Belleten* 56, 215 (1992): 285.

3 Duverdier, "İlk Türk Basımevinin Kuruluşunda", 286.

4 For works related to Muslim pilgrimage, see Menderes Coşkun, "Osmanlı Hac Seyahatnamelerinde Hac Yolculuğu," *Osmanlı*, ed. Güler Eren, vol. 4 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 1999), 506-511; Menderes Coşkun, "The Most Literary Ottoman Pilgrimage Narrative: Nabi's Tuhfetü'l-Haremeyn," *Turcica*, 32 (2000): 363-388.

5 See Bedri Mermutlu, "Siyasi Coğrafya ve Müteferrika Matbaası," *Türk Sosyolojisi Araştırmaları Sosyoloji Yıllığı*, 15 *Sosyoloji ve Coğrafya* (2006): 547-562; Bedri Mermutlu, "The Political Meaning of Ottoman Printing House," *Uludağ Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 9, 15 (2008): 297-318.

6 See Gottfried Hagen, *Ein osmanischer Geograph bei der Arbeit: Entstehung und Gedankenwelt von Katib Celebis Ğihannüma* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2003).

7 *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi* (Kostantiniye: Dârü't-tıbâ'ati'l-ma'mûre, 1145 [1732]), 55; Gottfried Hagen and Robert Dankoff (eds), *An Ottoman Cosmography: Translation of Cihānnümā by Kātib Çelebi*, trans. Ferenc Csirkés, John Curry, Gary Leiser (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2022), 73; see also Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı: I. Müteferrika Matbaası* (İstanbul: Maarif Vekaleti, 1939), 80; Hamit S. Selen, "Cihannümā," *Kâtip Çelebi Hayatı ve Eserleri Hakkında İncelemeler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991), 131; Osman Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi ve İlk Basılan Eserler* (Ankara: A. Ü. Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi, 1959), 30 (the author quotes Selen's publication but presents incorrectly Katib Çelebi's words in claiming that printing has been forbidden).

8 See the following collection of essays: Eva Hanebutt-Benz, Dagmar Glass and Geoffrey Roper (eds), *Sprachen des Nahen*

it is surprising that Katib Çelebi did not advocate for his countrymen to adopt printing technology.[9] It was, after all, İbrahim Müteferrika who later introduced the art of printing to the Ottomans. Besides printing books, Müteferrika sought to produce geographical maps and charts, not only because they were highly valuable to statesmen, but also because of his personal love for the science of geography and the art of cartography. Some authors even assert that he seems to have felt a stronger need for printing maps than for printing books.[10]

In this essay, I will explore the reasons and methods behind İbrahim Müteferrika's utilization of the printing technology used to develop and enhance Ottoman geographical knowledge and to elevate the quality of Ottoman mapmaking. In the process, I aim to contextualize the evolution of Ottoman geography and cartography within the broader shift from scribal to print culture.

İbrahim Müteferrika as a Geographer and Mapmaker

İbrahim Müteferrika's intellectual pursuits were primarily centered around geography and cartography. This is evidenced both by the many geographical works, maps, and atlases that he kept in his home and by the fact that he undersigned some maps and texts with the pseudonym "The Geographer."

According to his probate inventory dated 1 April 1747, Müteferrika owned a rich collection of geographical works and maps.[11] He owned a copy of the *Description of Cities and Countries (Takvîm al-büldân)*, the original of which was completed in 721/1321-1322 by Abu al-Fidâ (d. 1331),[12] as well as a copy of the 1592 printed edition of the *Book of Pleasant Journeys into Faraway Lands (Kitâb Nüzhat al-Müştâk fî İhtirâk al-Âfâk)*.[13] This work is also known as the *Book of Ruger*, named after the Sicilian king Roger II (1130-1154), who commissioned this work in Arabic to a group of skilled geographers led by Muhammad al-Idrisi (1100-1165).[14] Müteferrika owned other important geographical works such as *The Pearls of Wonders* and *the Uniqueness of Strange Things* (*Kharîdat al-'Acâ'ib wa Farîdat al-Garâ'ib*) authored by Ibn al-Wardi (1292-1349),[15] as well as parts of the earlier version of the abovementioned Katib Çelebi's *Mirror of the World*, containing geographical descriptions of the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire (the so-called Rumelia).[16] These descriptions were part of Katib Çelebi's autograph,

Ostens und die Druckrevolution: eine interculturelle Begegnung (Mainz: Johann Gutenberg Museum, 2002).

9 Orhan Koloğlu, *Basımevi ve Basının Gecikme Sebepleri ve Sonuçları* (İstanbul: İstanbul Gazeteciler Cemiyeti, 1987), 30.

10 Ulla Ehrensvärd and Zygmunt Abrahamowitz, "Two Maps Printed by Ibrahim Müteferrika in 1724/25 and 1729/30," *Svenska Forskningsinstitutet i Istanbul Meddelanden* 15 (1990): 59.

11 See İstanbul Müftülüğü Şer'iyye Sicilleri Arşivi, Kısmet-i Askeri Mahkemesi, no. 98, f. 39a-40b; Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746): Yeniden Değerlendirme*, 4th edition (İstanbul: Yeditepe, 2016), 370-382.

12 Ramazan Şeşen (ed.), *Müslümanlarda Tarih-Coğrafya Yazıcılığı* (İstanbul: İSAR, 1998), 180; Mahmut Ak, "Menâzırü'l-Avâlim ve Kaynağı Takvîmü'l-Büldan," *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Araştırma Merkezi, 1991), 101-120.

13 Al-Idrisi, *De geographia universali or Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī dhikr al-amṣār wa-al-aqṭār wa-al-buldān wa-al-juzur wa-al-madā' in wa-al-āfāq* (Rome: Typographia Medicea, 1592).

14 Şeşen, *Müslümanlarda Tarih-Coğrafya Yazıcılığı*, 108; Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York-London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), 147.

15 Şeşen, *Müslümanlarda Tarih-Coğrafya Yazıcılığı*, 191.

16 A German translation of the part on Rumelia and Bosnia from the manuscript preserved in Vienna is provided in: Joseph von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna: Geographisch Beschrieben von Mustafa ben Abdalla Hadschi Chalfa* (Wien: Verlag des Kunst-u Industrie-Comptoirs, 1812).

which Müteferrika obtained by cooperating with Grand Mufti Damadzade Mevlana Şeyh Ahmed Efendi (1665/1666-1741; in office 1732-1733) for the purpose of printing these sections.[17]

İbrahim Müteferrika also owned a copy of the *Wonders of Creation (‘Acâ’ib al-Mahlûkât)*, a popular cosmographical work by Zakariya al-Qazwini (1203-1283). The first part of this book is devoted to the heavenly bodies, while the second part touches on the structure of the Earth.[18] Müteferrika probably did not own the original book written in Arabic, but rather one of the translations from Arabic into Turkish made by several Ottoman authors.[19] Other five books, charts and maps found in Müteferrika’s house upon his demise were also related to geography. They are referenced by the following titles: *Description of Islands (Ahvâl-i Cezîre)*; *Contemplation of Curious Natural Phenomena (‘Acâ’ib an-Nuzzâr)*; *Depiction of Climes (Eşkâl-i Ekâlîm)*; *Climes of Egypt (Ekâlîm-i Mısır)*; *Description of Cities and Countries (Ahvâl-i Bilâd).*

İbrahim Müteferrika’s probate inventory included 36 “Latin books” too, the majority of which were related to geography, such as the famous *Atlas Minor* of Gerardus Mercator (1512-1594) and Jodocus Hondius (1563-1611),[20] as well as other geographical works without specified titles and authors. Atlases, maps, and an Earth globe were also found in his collection. Additionally, Müteferrika owned books on astronomy, a discipline crucial for enhancing geographical orientation on both land and sea. These books, atlases, and maps in İbrahim Müteferrika’s home highlights his deep interest in the advancement of both Islamic and Western sciences, particularly in the fields of geography and cartography. Moreover, he diligently endeavored to introduce and promote them within Ottoman society through the maps, charts, and books he published in his printing house.

In his treatise titled *The Utility of Printing (Er-Risâletü’l-müsemmâ bi-Vesîletü’t-tıbâ‘a),* presented to the Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Pasha (1662-1730; in office 1718-1730) in 1726,[21] Müteferrika emphasizes how the printing of dictionaries and books on history, astronomy, physics, and geography could raise the educational level of the upper and lower strata. In addition to this treatise, Müteferrika submitted to the Grand Vizier an application seeking permission to print the aforementioned books.[22] In 1727, the Grand Mufti Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi (d. 1743; in office 1718-1730) issued a religious opinion (*fatwa*), leading to Sultan Ahmed III (1673-1736; r. 1703-1730) subsequently issuing a corresponding firman. These two legal acts authorized İbrahim Müteferrika and his initial business partner, Yirmisekiz Çelebizâde Mehmed Said Agha (d. 1761), to print dictionaries and books on logic, physics, astronomy, geography, medicine, as well as other related disciplines.[23]

17 *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, [iii-iv].

18 Şeşen, *Müslümanlarda Tarih-Coğrafya Yazıcılığı*, 168.

19 Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi/History of Geographical Literature during the Ottoman Period*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2000), 5, 13-14, 32, 38, 84.

20 *Atlas Minor Gerardi Mercatoris a I. Hondio plurimis aeneis tabulis auctus atque illustratus.* See Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1991), 143; İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi*, vol. 1, 90.

21 Later on, the text of this title was published in the first output of the Müteferrika press *Tercümetü’s-Sihâh-i Cevheri [Lugat-i Vânkûlu]* (Kostantiniye: Dârü’t-tıbâ‘ati’l-ma‘mûre, 1141 [1729]), [11-15].

22 İhsan Sungu, “İlk Türk Matbaasına Dair Yeni Vesikalar,” *Hayat* 3, 73 (1928): 11-13.

23 Their texts were also published in the first output of the Müteferrika press *Tercümetü’s-Sihâh-i Cevheri,* [4-5].

Reasonable Principles in Public Order (Usûlü'l-hikem fî Nizâmi'l-ümem), which İbrahim Müteferrika printed in mid-February 1732,[24] testifies to the importance he placed on geography. This treatise was greatly inspired by Katib Çelebi's *Mirror of the World,* as a comparative study of both works revealed.[25] In the second chapter of the treatise, Müteferrika emphasizes the crucial role that geography plays in enhancing statecraft and military affairs. He points out that the comprehensive understanding of the geography of enemy territories and their population is a paramount phase in Muslims' holy war (*jihad*). Moreover, Müteferrika insisted that by engaging with geographical works, one can better comprehend the history of various peoples, gaining insight into precisely where and under what conditions they live. According to him, statesmen should possess an understanding of the diverse peoples living across the Globe, likening geography to a mirror that reflects the world. Müteferrika brought special attention to the fact that Christopher Columbus' discovery of America and the subsequent Christian rule over vast swaths of territories were made possible by their profound geographical knowledge. According to Müteferrika, an awareness of geography, including information about the countries, roads, passes, rivers, and sea routes would strengthen the Islamic rulers and increase their chances of success in their battle campaigns. Geography would also play a significant role in not only locating other Muslim countries but also in fostering collaboration among them. Müteferrika underlines that not only the theoretical part of geographical science is of particular importance, but also its practical part, namely the drawing and pragmatic use of maps. Therefore, he stressed the importance of creating maps and reproducing them through printing technology. This approach would not only facilitate military and state affairs, but also help to accurately define interstate borders during diplomatic negotiations.[26]

It is indicative of Müteferrika's deep interest in geography and cartography that he himself translated geographical and astronomical works. For example, he translated the *Atlas Coelestis, a work originally* authored by the Dutch-German geographer and astronomer Andreas Cellarius (c. 1596-1665), from Latin to Turkish. Sultan Ahmed III commissioned this translation in 1145/1732-1733 and Müteferrika titled it *Collection of Ancient and New Astronomy (Mecmû'a-i Hey'etü'l-kadîme ve'l-cedîde)*.[27] In the same year, he also translated *Nouveau Théâtre de Toute l'Italie* by Joan Blaeu (1596-1673).[28] Müteferrika titled this translation: *A New Exploration of Italy (İtalya'nın Temâşâgâh-ı Cedîdi)* and undersigned it as "İbrahim the Geographer".[29] This pseudonym is also found in the signatures he affixed to some of the maps and charts he drew, where he referred to himself as a "draftsman" (*ar-ressâm*) and "geographer" (*al-coğrâfî*).[30]

24 *Usûlü'l-hikem fî Nizâmi'l-ümem* (Kostantiniye: Dârü't-tıbâ'ati'l-ma'mûre, 1144 [1732]); A Latin transcription of the text is provided in: Adil Şen, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Usûlü'l-Hikem fî Nizâmi'l-Ümem* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1995), 123-191. The work was published also in simplified modern Turkish version, see İbrahim Müteferrika, *Milletlerin Düzeninde İlmi Usüller*, ed. Ömer Okutan (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990).

25 See Bilal Yurtoğlu, *Katip Çelebi* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 2009), 68-78.

26 Müteferrika, *Milletlerin Düzeninde İlmi Usüller*, 63-72; see also Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: İz Yayınları, 1997), 236-239; İnan Kalaycıoğulları, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Yeni Bilim'in Türkiye'ye Girişi* (İstanbul: Muhayyel, 2020), 74-82.

27 This translation is preserved in the library of the Military Museum in Istanbul (Askeri Müze Kütüphanesi, no. 5302 [74]).

28 The printed copy of this book with Müteferrika's translation placed between the lines is preserved in the library of the Museum of Topkapı Palace (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Hazine Koleksiyonu, no. 2724 and no. 2751).

29 Fikret Sarıcaoğlu and Coşkun Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi ve Müteferrika Matbaası/Basmacı İbrahim Efendi and the Müteferrika Press*, 2nd edition (İstanbul: Esen Ofset, 2009), 101-104.

30 See also Ahmet Üstüner, "Avrupa Coğrafyacılığının Osmanlı Dünyasına İntikali: Tercüme Eserler," *İslâm'da Medeniyet*

On the first page of a manuscript copy of Katib Çelebi's *Tables of Historical Dates* (*Takvîmü't-tevârîh*) completed in 1093/1682 and preserved in the Firestone Library of Princeton University, there is a 13-line note signed by İbrahim Müteferrika.[31] The undated note lists the countries ruled by the Safavids, and below the note there is a signature that bears the inscription "İbrahim Müteferrika, painter, geographer" (*İbrahim Müteferrika, ressâm, coğrâfî*). This note is a slightly abbreviated version of the note placed in the lower left corner of the map of Iran, printed by Müteferrika in 1142/1729-1730. Below the note on this map, Müteferrika introduced himself as a *müteferrika*.

İbrahim Müteferrika also referred to himself as a "geographer" in some charts he undoubtedly created. One of those charts, appended to the 1732 printed edition of Katib Çelebi's *Mirror of the World*,[32] illustrates the celestial bodies and spheres according to Claudius Ptolemy (c. 90-c. 160), and is signed by İbrahim the Geographer (*İbrahim al-Coğrâfî*).[33] Not only did Müteferrika identify himself as a "geographer," but some of his acquaintances also referred to him by this pseudonym. For instance, the Armenian Pietro (Bedros/Petros) Baron (Baronian/Baronyan), who worked as an interpreter and a servant in the Dutch and the Sicilian legations in Istanbul from 1725 to 1765, translated a part of the voluminous geographical work *Méthode pour apprendre facilement la geógraphie* by Jacques Robbe (1643-1721) from French into Turkish in 1733.[34] In this translation, Baron highly admired İbrahim Müteferrika's involvement in editing and printing of geographical works, referring to him as "İbrahim Efendi the Geographer" (*İbrâhim Efendi al-Coğrâfî*).[35]

In other signatures, Müteferrika labeled himself in different ways. For example, in a map, also annexed to the printed edition of Katib Çelebi's *Mirror of the World,* which illustrates the provinces of İçel, Karaman, Anatolia, and Sivas, a corresponding text states, "drawn by İbrahim Tophanevi."[36] Some authors speculate that this person was, in fact, İbrahim Müteferrika.[37]

It seems that Müteferrika did print most of the maps he personally drew. However, the *Map of the Ottoman Empire and the Clime of Asia* (*Memâlik-i Osmâniyye ve İklîm-i Asya*), of which two cloth copies are preserved in the library of the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul[38] and in the Austrian State and Military

Bilimleri Tarihi, eds Recep Şentürk and others, vol. 2 (İstanbul: İbn Haldun Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2021), 101-103.

31 Princeton University Firestone Library, Rare Books and Manuscripts Room, Robert Garrett Collection, no. 3033 T, f. [1a].

32 *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*; facsimile edition of this printed version was published in 2009: Fikret Sarıcaoğlu (ed.), *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2009); the next year was published an edition in modern Turkish language: Said Öztürk (ed.), *Cihânnümâ-Kâtip Çelebi*, trans. Hüsnü Koyunoğlu (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş., 2010); translation in English has been recently also released: Hagen and Dankoff (eds), *An Ottoman Cosmography*.

33 *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, between p. 25 and 26.

34 See Feza Günergün, "La traduction de l'Abrégé de la sphère de Jacques Robbe, géographe du Roi de France par Petros Baronian, drogman à Istanbul: Cem-nümâ fi fenn el-coğrafya," *La Révolution française - Cahiers de l'Institut d'histoire de la Révolution française* 12 (2017): 1-19.

35 Thoralf Hanstein, *A New Print by Müteferrika? A Comparative View of Baron's Qibla Finder* (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2021), 18-19.

36 *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, between p. 629 and 630.

37 Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, "Osmanlılarda Harita," *Türkler*, eds Hasan C. Güzel, Kemal Çiçek and Selim Koca, vol. 11 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), 310.

38 Topkapı Müzesi Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Hazine Koleksiyonu, no. 447 (Istanbul).

Archive in Vienna,[39] was presumably drawn by him in 1139/1726-1727 but remained unprinted.[40] Although some authors claim that this map was indeed printed,[41] it was not originally intended for printing. Its oversize (150 x 210 cm – Istanbul copy; 180 x 220 cm – Vienna copy) indicates that it was probably hung on a wall or placed on the floor. The dimensions of the other maps printed by Müteferrika were much more suitable to the size of the printing presses available at that time.

Maps Printed by İbrahim Müteferrika as Separate Sheets

As stated in his application to the Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Pasha, İbrahim Müteferrika had been engaged in printing "for eight years," i.e., since 1719. Although no Ottoman document has been found so far to confirm this, some authors claim that the Grand Vizier, soon after coming to the office in 1718, granted Müteferrika the privilege to operate a press for map printing.[42] Indeed, a wooden matrix of a map of the Sea of Marmara (size: 19 x 43 cm) precisely dates from that time. It bears the year 1132/1719-1720 and an unsigned note which reads: "My blessed Master, if you order, even bigger ones will be done" (*Benim devltelü Efendim, eğer fermânınız olursa dahi büyükleri yapılır, sene 1132*). It is believed that İbrahim Müteferrika submitted a preliminary copy of this map to the Grand Vizier, although no surviving copy of it has been found so far.[43] On the upper left corner of this map, an image depicts a heraldic sign featuring a crescent, cannons, and spears. Its design bears a resemblance to the heraldic signs used by the Christian dynasties,[44] particularly those ruling Transylvania, the homeland of Müteferrika, who later became a renegade and an Ottoman subject.

Kemal Özdemir speculates that the Grand Vizier must have been deeply impressed by this map, because he ordered additional maps to be printed as per Müteferrika's pledge.[45] Later on, he printed at least three more individual maps, engraved this time on copper plates. The first one was a *Nautical (Portolan) Chart of the Black Sea* (*Bahriyye-i Bahr-i Siyâh*, size: 66 x 99 cm), printed in 1137/1724-1725 with the aim of facilitating voyages on this sea and showcasing the capabilities of the printing press. The unsigned map was also presented to the Grand Vizier.[46] Moreover, the previously mentioned *Map of Iran* (*Memâlik-i İrân*, size: 48 x 58 cm) bears İbrahim Müteferrika's signature and is dated 1142/1729-1730.[47] This map

39 Österreichisches Staatsarchiv-Kriegsarchiv, E a 178 (Vienna).

40 Sarıcaoğlu and Yılmaz, *Müteferrika*, 168-171; Ahmed T. Karamustafa, "Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans," *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2, book 1: *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, eds J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 225-226.

41 Kemal Özdemir, *Osmanlı Haritaları* (İstanbul: Creative Yayıncılık ve Tanıtım, 2008), 148.

42 Duverdier, "İlk Türk Basımevinin Kuruluşunda", 285; Sarıcaoğlu and Yılmaz, *Müteferrika*, 143; Fikret Sarıcaoğu, "Harita (Osmanlı Dönemi)," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 16 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1997), 215.

43 Sungu, "İlk Türk Matbaasına Dair Yeni Vesikalar", 10; Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, 34-35; Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, 31, 37; Kaan Üçsu, "İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Haritacılık Çalışmalarına Bir Bakış," *Sahn-ı Seman'dan Darulfünun'a Osmanlı'da İlim ve Fikir Dünyası: Alimler, Müesseseler ve Fikri Eserler XVIII. Yüzyıl, 22-23 Aralık 2017*, eds Ahmet Hamdi Furat, Nilüfer Kalkan Yorulmaz, and Osman Sacid Arı, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2018), 206-207.

44 Kemal Özdemir, *Osmanlı Arması* (İstanbul: Dönence Basım ve Yayın Hizmetleri, 1997), 72-73; Üçsu, "İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Haritacılık Çalışmalarına Bir Bakış," 207.

45 Özdemir, *Osmanlı Haritaları*, 145.

46 Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, 35-36; Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, 37; Ehrensvärd and Abrahamowitz, "Two Maps Printed by Ibrahim Müteferrika": 59; Özdemir, *Osmanlı Haritaları*, 145-150.

47 Turgut Kut and Fatma Türe (eds), *Yazmadan Basmaya: Müteferrika, Mühendishâne, Üsküdar* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Merkezi, 1996), 26-27.

was likely crafted for inclusion in the 1729 printed edition of Juda Tedeusz Krusiński's account of Iranian history *Traveler's History about the Appearance of the Afghans and the Reasons for the Decline of the State of the Safavi Shahs* (*Târîh-i Seyyâh der Beyân-i Zuhûr-i Ağvâniyân ve Sebeb-i İnhidâm-i Binâ-i Devlet-i Şâhân-i Safeviyân*).[48] Furthermore, the fourth map, *Clime of Egypt* (*İklîm-i Mısır*, size: 39.5 x 49.5 cm), was similarly unsigned and undated. In addition to its individual printing (see fig. 1),[49] the same map was likewise attached to various copies[50] of the book on Egypt printed by Müteferrika in 1730.[51] It appears that the maps, adjoined to some of Müteferrika's prints, have been in circulation as separate sheets. A recently auctioned map of Africa, one of the 40 maps included in the printed edition of the *Mirror of the World*,[52] could provide support for this assumption.[53] It's worth considering, however, that many of these appended maps might have been torn out, as many of the copies of this edition lack the whole set of maps.

Some authors suggest that these individual maps were probably printed in small runs, perhaps not exceeding 500 copies.[54] However, considering that the map of Iran was produced in the same year as Krusiński's account of Iranian history and was probably intended for inclusion in this book, its print run might have mirrored the 1200 copies of the book itself. It is also believed that the patterns of some maps printed by Müteferrika—the maps of the Black Sea (1137/1724-1725) and of Iran (1142/1729-1730)—were brought by his business partner, Yirmisekiz Çelebizâde Mehmed Said Agha, from Paris, where he spent some time from 1720 to 1721 as a member of an Ottoman embassy.[55] According to a report from Constantinople, dated 19 November 1726 and released on 18 January 1727 by the *Gazette de France,* the printshop owners planned to have "engraved in the near future a collection of maps which he [Said Agha] has brought from Paris, most of them by the late Sir de L'Isle, and afterwards he will publish those which have been drawn up by the Arabs and Persians."[56]

However, some authors claim that Müteferrika did not use as patterns for the preparation of his own maps the *Atlas Nouveau* of Guillaume de L'Isle (1675-1726), but rather atlases authored by other western cartographers such as the *Neuer Atlas* of Johann Baptist Homann (1664-1724), the *Atlas Nouveau* of Alexis-Hubert Jaillot (1632-1712), including some maps of Nicolas Sanson (1600-1667), the *Atlas Maior* of Willem Blaeu (1571-1638) and his son Joan Blaeu (1596-1673), as well as maps fashioned by other individuals.[57] Addi-

48 *Târîh-i Seyyâh der Beyân-i Zuhûr-i Ağavâniyân ve Sebeb-i İnhidâm-i Binâ-i Devlet-i Şâhân-i Safeviyân* (Kostantiniye: Dârü't-tıbâ'ati'l-ma'mûre, 1142 [1729]).

49 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Berlin State Library), no. Kart. C 6857; Diez A fol. 58, f. 5r.

50 Sarıcaoğlu and Yılmaz, *Müteferrika*, 176; Sarıcaoğu, "Harita (Osmanlı Dönemi)", 215; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Berlin State Library), no. Ur 180.

51 *Târîhü'l-Mısri'l-cedîd li-Süheylî Efendi; Târîhü'l-Mısri'l-kadîm li-Süheylî Efendi* (Kostantiniye: Dârü't-tıbâ'ati'l-ma'mûre, 1142 [1730]).

52 *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, between p. 101 and 102.

53 See *Catalogue August 2021* (München: Antiquariat Daša Pahor GbR, 2021), lot 18.

54 Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, 36-38; Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, 37; Ehrensvärd and Abrahamowitz, "Two Maps Printed by Ibrahim Müteferrika": 66.

55 Coşkun Yılmaz, "Müteferrika Matbaasının Kurucu Kadrosu," *Matbaanın Ön Sözü "Basmacı İbrahim Efendi": Müteferrika Sergisi'21* (Ankara: Cumhurbaşkanlığı Yayınları, 2021), 35; Sarıcaoğlu and Yılmaz, *Müteferrika*, 157-160; Kut and Türe (eds), *Yazmadan Basmaya*, 26.

56 *Gazzete de France* 3 (18 January 1727): 25-26; Cf. *Journal de Sçavans* (Amsterdam edition) 81 (April 1727): 550-551; Henri Omont, "Documents sur l'imprimerie à Constantinople au XVIII^{e} siècle," *Revue des Bibliothèques* 5 (1895): 186.

57 Sarıcaoğlu and Yılmaz, *Müteferrika*, 158-160, 172-174; Özdemir, *Osmanlı Haritaları*, 150-152; Üçsu, "İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Haritacılık Çalışmalarına Bir Bakış", 208-210, 225-226, 228-229.

tionally, other researchers argue that some of Müteferrika's maps—particularly those depicting the Black Sea (1137/1724-1725)—were crafted relying on earlier maps drawn by Ottoman geographers and cartographers such as Ali Macar Reis (c. 1567), Seyyid Nuh (c. 1650), and Abu Bakr ad-Dimaşkî (d. 1691).[58]

Maps Appended to the Books Printed by Müteferrika

In 1729, Müteferrika published another geographical work by Katib Çelebi titled *Gift to the Nobles Regarding Campaigns on the Seas (Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fî Esfâri'l-bihâr),*[59] a manuscript completed in 1657 and later offered to Sultan Mehmed IV (1648-1687).[60] The printed edition of this book includes four unsigned geographical maps: one representing the hemispheres of the Old and the New World, respectively; one showcasing the Mediterranean and Black seas; one exhibiting the Aegean islands belonging to the Ottoman state; and one featuring the Gulf of Venice (or the Adriatic Sea) with its islands and adjacent coasts. Also attached to the aforementioned book is an unsigned chart of two compass roses. The said maps and charts are not consistently included in all surviving copies of this print.[61] According to various scholars, these maps were created either by İbrahim Müteferrika,[62] Ahmed al-Kırımî, or Mıgırdiç Galatavî. Saliently, the latter two individuals were responsible for crafting the copper plates of some of the cartographic appendices in the printed edition of Katib Çelebi's *Mirror of the World*.[63] However, according to Johann Christian Kundmann, these appendices were manufactured by a Viennese engraver who was persuaded by "a Turkish Jew to go to Constantinople".[64] It appears that some of the appended maps have also circulated as separate sheets. A copy of the map of the Gulf of Venice, preserved in the library of the Turkish Historical Society in Ankara, might provide grounds for such an assumption (see Fig. 2).[65]

58 Ehrensvärd and Abrahamowitz, "Two Maps Printed by Ibrahim Müteferrika": 60; Kaan Ucsu, "'Bahriyye-i Bahr-i Siyah', 1724-1725: İbrahim Müteferrika's Map of the Black Sea and Its Copies in the Bibliothèque National de France," *IMCOS Journal* 156 (2019): 33; Cf. Ahmet Üstüner, "Osmanlı Coğrafya Kaynaklarında Eflak-Boğdan (15-17. Yüzyıl)," *Karadeniz İncelemeleri Dergisi/Journal of Black Sea Studies* 28 (2020): 422; Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, "Karadeniz'in İlk Osmanlı Basma Haritası," *Pîrî Reîs'den Örfî Paşa'ya Osmanlı Tarihî Haritaları ve Tarihî Coğrafya Eserleri* (İstanbul: Çamlıca Kitap, 2015), 193-194; Üçsu, "İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Haritacılık Çalışmalarına Bir Bakış," 216-217.

59 *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fî Esfâri'l-bihâr* (Kostantiniye: Dârü't-tıbâ'ati'l-ma'mûre, 1141 [1729]); it was reprinted in 1911: *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fî Esfâri'l-bihâr* (Matbaa-i Bahriyye, 1329 [1911]); it has an edition in Latin transcription: Kâtip Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fî Esfâri'l-bihâr (Deniz Savaşları Hakkında Büyüklere Armağan)*, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1973); see also the partial English translations and annotation: Haji Khalifeh, *The History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks,* trans. James Mitchell (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1831); Svatopluk Soucek (ed.), *The History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks by Kâtip Çelebi* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2012).

60 See the facsimile and transcribed edition of the autograph preserved in the library of the Topkapı Palace Museum: Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fî Esfâri'l-bihâr*, ed. İdris Bostan (Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 2018); Kâtib Çelebi, *The Gift to the Great Ones on Naval Campaigns*, ed. İdris Bostan (Ankara: Prime Ministry Undersecretary for Maritime Affairs, 2008).

61 Cf. the copies preserved in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Berlin State Library), no. Pq 2851; no. Ui 518; no. Ui 518a; no. Ui 518b; no. Ui 518c; see also William J. Watson, "İbrāhīm Müteferriḳa and Turkish Incunabula," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88 (1968): 437 (the copy preserved in the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University).

62 Hasan R. Ertuğ, *Basın ve Yayın Hareketleri Tarihi*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Yenilik Basımevi, 1970), 105; Özdemir, *Osmanlı Haritaları*, 154.

63 A. H. Rafikov, *Ocherki Istorii Knigopechataniya v Turtsii* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1973), 109.

64 Johann C. Kundmann, *Rariora Naturae et Artis Item in re Medica, Oder Seltenheiten der Natur und Kunst* (Breslau and Leipzig, 1737), 720; Franz Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verein für Buchwesen und Schrifttum, 1919), 12; Franz Babinger, "18. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Kitabiyat", trans. Nedret Kuran-Burçoğlu, *Müteferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004), 19.

65 Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, H/0319.

The book *History of the West Indies, Named Fresh News (Târîhü'l-Hindi'l-garbî el-Müsemmâ bi-Hadîs-i Nev),* printed by Müteferrika in 1730,[66] also includes maps. The volume contains three chapters. The first chapter outlines the Old World based on its traditional division into seven climes, detailing oceans and seas (from the Atlantic to the China Sea) as well as major rivers (from the Nile and Danube to the Indus). In this section, the manuscript supplies a synopsis of the achievements of Islamic cosmology and geography. The second chapter is very short (two pages only) and offers fresh insights into the Atlantic Ocean. The third chapter, which constitutes two thirds of the total volume, is dedicated to the discovery of America and the events that occurred on the new continent between 1492 and 1552, as well as the climatic conditions of that region. The chapter is further divided into two parts: one describing Central and South America and the other focusing on North America.

According to Thomas Goodrich, the first two chapters are based on Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish sources (some of which are explicitly cited in the text), while the third chapter was translated from Italian adaptations of mostly Spanish authors (the text does not refer to any Western sources).[67] Notably, Müteferrika personally edited and corrected many of the geographical names mentioned in the book.[68]

The printed edition of this text includes 13 black-and-white engravings depicting animals, birds, people, and plants.[69] Additionally, as noted by the late 18th-century Italian traveler Giambattista Toderini, it incorporates three supplementary geographical maps and an astronomical chart, depicting the Ptolemaic geocentric system, all produced "by the humble İbrahim" (*amel-i fakîr İbrâhîm*).[70] A statement on the printing enterprise written by Müteferrika in Latin in 1146/1733-1734 similarly claims that this book was equipped with four geographical and cosmographical maps.[71] Three geographical maps represent various aspects of the world, including the two hemispheres, the globe featuring the climes, and an elliptical depiction of the world.[72] According to Goodrich, the maps and charts were drawn in accordance with the geographical knowledge of Müteferrika's time.[73] However, it appears that the aforementioned maps and charts were not included in all the copies.[74] Toderini notes that some copies of this book lacked "images,"[75] likely referring to the maps rather than the illustrations within the text. Müteferrika reused

66 *Târîhü'l-Hindi'l-garbî el-Müsemmâ bi-Hadîs-i Nev* (Kostantiniye: Dârü't-tıbâ'ati'l-ma'mûre, 1142 [1730]).

67 See 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; Thomas D. Goodrich, "Osmanlı Amerıka Araştırmaları: XVI. Yüzyıla Ait *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî* Adlı Eserin Kaynakları ile İlgili Bir Araştırma", trans. Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın, *Belleten* 49, 195 (1985): 667-691; Thomas D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A Study of* Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi *and Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Americana* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990), 31-38.

68 Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 29.

69 *Târîhü'l-Hindi'l-Garbî*, f. 15a, 38б, 46б, 49a, 53б, 55б, 64a, 73б, 79б, 86a, 87б, 89б, 91a.

70 Giambattista Toderini, *İbrahim Müteferrika Matbaası ve Türk Matbaacılığı*, trans. Rikkat Kunt, ed. Şevket Rado (İstanbul: Yayın Matbaacılık Ticaret Ltd. Şti., 1990), 47; Cf. Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi*, 40.

71 İbrahim Müteferrika, "Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu ve Başlangıcı", ed. Machiel Kiel, *Müteferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004), 73.

72 Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 55.

73 Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 29.

74 There are no such maps and charts in the copy preserved in the National Library in Sofia, no. O. 336.

75 Toderini, *İbrahim Müteferrika Matbaası*, 51.

the chart of the climes[76] in the printed edition of Katib Çelebi's *Mirror of the World*, this time signed by Ahmed al-Kırımî.[77]

In 1730, Müteferrika consolidated two works by Ahmed bin Hemdem, also known as Suhayli (d. 1632), into a single volume: the *History of Ancient Egypt (Târihü'l-Mısri'l-kadîm)*, covering the period from the creation of the world to the Ottoman conquest in 921/1515, and the *History of Modern Egypt (Târîhü'l-Mısri'l-cedîd)*, including the period of the Ottoman conquest in 921/1515 to 1038/1628-1629.[78] Müteferrika decided to publish this work because he saw the need to improve the understanding of the history and geography of Egypt, a province that held significant importance as a crucial food and financial resource for the Ottoman court and army. Some of the copies were accompanied by the abovementioned map of Egypt, which, based on its layout, appears to have been designed following Western patterns.[79]

Furthermore, in 1732, Müteferrika printed his own work on magnetism and the utility and qualities of the compass, titled *Magnetic Emanations (Füyûzât-ı Mıknâtısiyye)*.[80] In this book, Müteferrika noted that he had translated a Latin work published in Leipzig in 1721. By translating, compiling and printing this volume, Müteferrika sought to provide a manual that would help sailors determine latitudes and longitudes.[81] In the abovementioned statement of 1146/1733-1734, Müteferrika clarified that the primary source used was a Latin text, supplemented by excerpts from philosophical books.[82] To enhance its utility, Müteferrika included a report on the degree of deviation of the magnetic needle measured in Istanbul during that time period, along with a two-page black-and-white chart depicting the compass rose and the corresponding deviation.[83] It is noteworthy that this chart was also incorporated in the subsequent printed edition of Katib Çelebi's *Mirror of the World*,[84] published by Müteferrika in 1732.

Mirror of the World represents a substantial and voluminous geographical undertaking. As emphasized by Gottfried Hagen, it serves as "a summa of the Islamic geographical tradition and the first Muslim adaptation of the early modern atlas as the scientific representation of the world."[85] For this reason, Müteferrika's edition became the first printed Ottoman atlas.[86]

76 *Târîhü'l-Hindi'l-garbî*, between f. 4b and 5a.

77 *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, between p. 51 and 52.

78 *Târîhü'l-Mısri'l-cedîd*.

79 Rafikov, *Ocherki Istorii*, 118.

80 *Füyûzât-ı Mıknâtısiyye* (Kostantiniye: Dârü't-tıbâ'ati'l-ma'mûre, 1144 [1732]).

81 See the modern Turkish adaptation: Şahap Demirel, "İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Füyuzat-ı Mıknatısiye (Mıknatısın Yararları) Adlı Kitabı," *D.T.C.F. Atatürk'ün 100. Doğum Yılına Armağan Dergisi* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, 1982): 265-330.

82 Müteferrika, "Osmanlı Matbaasının Kuruluşu", 74.

83 *Füyûzât-ı Mıknâtısiyye*, f. [24b-25a].

84 *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, between p. 65 and 66.

85 Gottfried Hagen, "Introduction to *Cihānnümā*," Hagen and Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography,* 1.

86 Özdemir, *Osmanlı Haritaları*, 158.

Katib Çelebi's work had two versions. The earlier version, the so-called "Vienna Draft",[87] was written down ca. 1648 and exclusively relied on Islamic sources but also on olacak the *History of the West Indies*.[88] Several manuscript copies have been preserved to this day.[89] However, these copies lack the introduction and the first two chapters of the first part, which provided general information about the globe, oceans, and continents. The second part (from the fifth chapter onwards) describes the countries in the direction from West to East: Andalusia (Spain), Maghreb (the western Mediterranean), Bosnia, Rumelia, Hungary. Katib Çelebi intended to continue with the description of Anatolia, Venice, the Papal States, France, and the British Isles, but had to leave this project unfinished due to a scarcity of reliable European sources.

In due course, Katib Çelebi gained access to translations from Latin into Ottoman Turkish, including significant works like *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) and the abovementioned Gerard Mercator's *Atlas Minor.* Access to the latter was facilitated by a French convert named Mehmed İhlasî.[90] Equipped with these newfound resources, Katib Çelebi began writing a new version of his work in 1655. This version incorporates extensive references to geographical works by Western authors.[91] The first part of this second rendition describes the globe, the seas, and the continents, while the second part covers cities, rivers, mountains, roads, and countries, including discussions on newly found continents like America and Australia. Unlike the earlier version, the second one describes the countries in the opposite direction, moving from Japan to Eastern Anatolia (the province of Van and its cities and fortresses). Influenced by European sources, Katib Çelebi not only adhered to the traditional division of the Earth's surface into seven climes according to Ptolemy's theory, but also organized descriptions by continents. Unfortunately, due to Katib Çelebi's death, the second version (the so-called "Topkapı/Istanbul Draft"[92]) also remained unfinished.[93]

Müteferrika mentions that the original manuscript drafts (*musveddât*) of Katib Çelebi's work were located and provided to the printer on the order of the then Grand Mufti.[94] Müteferrika had access to both the Vienna and Topkapı/Istanbul drafts. Despite the common practice of copying the two versions

87 The autograph is preserved in Austrian National Library in Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mixt. 389 (see Üstüner, "Klasik Çağ Sonrası Osmanlı Coğrafya Çalışmaları", 76).

88 See Gottfried Hagen, "Kâtib Çelebi and *Târîh-i Hind-i Garbî*," *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 12 (1982-1998): 101-115.

89 See Hagen, "Introduction to *Cihānnümā*", 13; Gottfried Hagen, "El Yazmasının Kenarındaki Hayat: Cihânnümâ Müellif Hatları ve Coğrafyacının Atölyesine Bir Bakış," *Doğumunun 400. Yıl Dönümünde Kâtip Çelebi*, eds Bekir Karlığa and Mustafa Kaçar (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2009), 175.

90 See Ahmet Üstüner, *Levâmi'u'n-Nûr (Metin-Değerlendirme)*, PhD thesis (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2017); Kâtip Çelebi, *Levâmi'u'n-Nûr Fî Zulmet-i Alas Minor*, eds. Ahmet Üstüner and H. Ahmet Arslantürk (Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 2017).

91 Ehrensvärd and Abrahamowitz, "Two Maps Printed by Ibrahim Müteferrika": 55.

92 The autograph is presevrved in the library of Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul: Topkapı Müzesi Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Revan no. 1624. See Fuat Sezgin, *Kâtip Çelebî'nin Esas Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ'sı ve Coğrafya Tarihi'ndeki Yeri* (İstanbul: Boyut, 2015).

93 See Hagen, "Introduction to *Cihānnümā*," 12-15; Hagen, "El Yazmasının Kenarındaki Hayat": 175; Selen, "Cihannümā," 123-133; Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, "Cihannümâ ve Ebûbekir b. Behrâm ed-Dımeşkî - İbrahim Müteferrika," *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (İstanbul: İ. Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1991), 122-125; İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi,* 85-90; Ahmet Üstüner, "Klasik Çağ Sonrası Osmanlı Coğrafya Çalışmaları," *TALİD Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 17, 33 (2019): 42-43.

94 *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, [iv].

together, Müteferrika chose to print the second version first, while the envisaged second volume based on the first version was never printed. One may assume that he favored the second version because it used more reliable sources, including European ones, and its structure was better organized as an atlas with maps following European patterns.[95]

Mirror of the World was written in the genre of cosmography, which remained very popular in the Muslim world well into the 18th century. However, Katib Çelebi's work drew from a vast range of sources and transcended the boundaries of its genre by emphasizing the importance of geographical knowledge for the state and society. In addition to offering a comprehensive description of various world regions, it provided practical and useful information on mathematical geography, cartography, economic geography, historical geography, as well as on social and cultural geography.[96]

As highlighted by numerous scholars,[97] Müteferrika added 14 "supplements by the publisher" (*Tezyîlü't-tâbi'*)[98] to Katib Çelebi's book along with a detailed description of the Anatolian lands and the Arabian Peninsula made by Abu Bakr ad-Dimaşki (d. 1691).[99] Ad-Dimaşki's text was a translation from Latin into Ottoman Turkish of *Atlas Maior* by Willem Blaeu and Joan Blaeu.[100] In the first of his supplements, Müteferrika explains that since Katib Çelebi's work remained "defective" (*noksân*), he deemed it "appropriate to insert some useful information and clarifications of points of geometry and the natural sciences" (*ba'z hendesiyât ve tabi'yât ta'rîfleri takdîme sezâ görilüb*).[101] In fact, out of all the 726 pages (14 folios without pagination, including Müteferrika's introduction and contents, and 698 paginated pages, including Katib Çelebi's and ad-Dimaşki's texts) in the printed edition, the supplements and additions in question comprise 325 paginated pages. Therefore—as Fikret Sarıcaoğlu suggests—it would be more accurate to consider this edition not simply as a printed edition of the *Mirror of the World*'s original text, but a printed edition extended by İbrahim Müteferrika.[102]

The Topkapı/Istanbul Draft includes 47 maps and charts, whereas Müteferrika's printed edition features 40 geographical maps and charts: 37 within Katib Çelebi's text and additional three in ad-Dimaşki's text. While ad-Dimaşki's autograph lacked maps, Müteferrika decided to incorporate three into the text. Interestingly, he also chose not to reproduce all of the maps and charts present in Katib Çelebi's autograph. Some of the maps and charts in both the manuscript and printed versions are linked to the

95 See Hagen, "Introduction to *Cihānnümā*," 16, 18-19.

96 See Hagen, "Introduction to *Cihānnümā*," 2-7, 12-16; Mesut Elibüyük, "Tarihi Coğrafya Bakımından Önemli Bir Kaynak: Cihannüma," *Coğrafî Bilimler Dergisi* 7, 2 (2009): 93-109.

97 Hagen, "Introduction to *Cihānnümā*," 18; Yurtoğlu, *Katip Çelebi*, 41-43; İnan Kalaycıoğulları, "İbrahim Müteferrika ve *Cihânnümâ*'ya Yaptığı Ekler," *Uluslararası Katip Çelebi Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, eds. Turan Gökçe, Mikail Acıpınar, İrfan Kokdaş and Özer Küpeli (İzmir: İzmir Katip Çelebi Üniversitesi, 2017), 176-186; Kalaycıoğulları, *İbrahim Müteferrika*, 103-159.

98 *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, 2-8, 10, 15-16, 20-21, 22-48, 58-59, 64-65, 404-406, 422, 432, 445, 451, 630, 697-698; Hagen and Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography*, 35-39, 40-41, 44-45, 48, 50-66, 75-77, 82-84, 330-331, 344, 349, 359, 363, 483, 528.

99 *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, 422-698; Hagen and Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography*, 344-528.

100 The Turkish translation was titled *Nusretü'l-İslâm ve'l-Sürûr fî Tahrîr-i Atlas Major,* see Sarıcaoğlu, "Cihannümâ ve Ebûbekir b. Behrâm ed-Dımeşkî," 129; İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi*, vol. 1, 108-114.

101 *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, 2; Hagen and Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography*, 36.

102 Sarıcaoğlu, "Cihannümâ ve Ebûbekir b. Behrâm ed-Dımeşkî," 142.

same location or cosmographical theory, while others do not align.[103] However, even those maps and charts in the printed version that correspond to the manuscript version are not replicas. By choosing to create entirely new maps and charts for the printed edition, Müteferrika must have been motivated by the insufficient quality of the cartographical images in Katib Çelebi's autograph. As some authors claim, the latter were "free-hand drawings"[104] rather than genuine manuscript maps and "were the products of a cartographic dilettante, and in no way comparable to the maps made by his professional contemporaries in Europe".[105] Therefore, Müteferrika preferred to incorporate more elaborately executed, up-to-date maps in the printed edition.[106]

Müteferrika points out that he has inserted "maps taken from recent geographical works" (*coğrâfyânın kütüb-i cedîdelerinden ba'z menâfi ve eşkâl-i memâlikin ilhâkiyle...*).[107] It seems that one of these works was a manuscript copy of the second version of this cosmology completed on 20 Novemver 1729 by a certain Mahmud bin Şeyh Abdullah and preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.[108] The copy includes 53 nicely executed charts and maps. The mapmaker remains unknown and most of these maps and charts are better replicas of those included in the Topkapı/Istanbul draft.[109] Moreover, 20 of them are thoroughly reproduced in the 1732 Müteferrika edition: in some cases, he combined in one chart several ones of the Paris copy, in other cases he merely replicated some of the maps of the Paris copy and added to them title boxes, compass images, and sometimes the engraver's name. While some charts and maps in the manuscript are inserted into the text, in the printed version the same images are printed on separate pages that are inserted between the other pages due to the then limitations of printing technology. The similarity between the images of the Paris copy and the Müteferrika edition is so impressive that one is inclined to think that this manuscript was also at the printer's disposal while preparing the matrices for the printed version[110]. Some of printed maps and charts were engraved and signed by Ahmed al-Kırımî and Mıgırdiç Galatavî, two were signed by İbrahim Müteferrika himself, as mentioned above, and the remaining are unsigned and evidently borrowed from Western sources like Mercator, Hondius, and Jan Janssonius (1588-1664).[111] Furthermore, various maps and charts were reprinted from previous Müteferrika prints, such as the *Gift for the Nobles*, *History of the West Indies,* and *Magnetic Emanations* as already noted (see attached table). The maps and charts in certain copies of the printed edition are

103 See Hagen and Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography*, x-xiii.

104 Sonja Brentjes, "Mapmaking in Ottoman Istanbul between 1650 and 1750: A Domain of Painters, Calligraphers or Cartographers?" *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West*, eds. Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki and Rhoads Murphy, vol. 2 (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 126.

105 Gottfried Hagen, "Kātip Çelebi's Maps and the Visualization of Space in Ottoman Culture," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 40 (2012): 293.

106 See also N. Akmal Ayyubi, "Contributions of Muslim Turks to Geography," *Belleten* 51, 199 (1987): 73.

107 *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, 3; Hagen and Dankoff (eds.), *An Ottoman Cosmography*, 36.

108 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Supplément turc 215.

109 See Sezgin, *Kâtip Çelebî'nin Esas Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ'sı.*

110 More detailed analysis on the Paris copy and its similarity with the 1732 Müteferrika edition will be provided in my forthcoming book: Orlin Sabev, *The Müteferrika Press: Arabic Typography in an Ottoman Context* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2025).

111 Sarıcaoğlu, "Osmanlılarda Harita," 310; Ehrensvärd and Abrahamowitz, "Two Maps Printed by Ibrahim Müteferrika": 57-58.

additionally colored by hand.[112] Remarkably, an unbound copy with uncolored maps was priced at 30 piasters, while a bound copy with colored maps was 44 piasters.[113] However, not all the copies were equipped with the full set of maps and charts.[114] Over time, it appears that some of the 40 copper plates used for the printed reproduction of the *Mirror of the World* vanished. This is evident from the fact that the printing equipment acquired from the estate of İbrahim Müteferrika following his demise in early 1747, contained not 40 but 37 "copper *Cihânnümâ* plates" (*bakır Cihânnümâ eşkâlleri*).[115]

Müteferrika expressed his hope to publish a second volume that would cover the descriptions of Europe, Africa, and America, living up to its title *Mirror of the World*.[116] Regrettably, this vision remained unrealized, possibly hampered by a combination of technical challenges, as speculated by some authors, and the scarcity of reliable sources and adequate financial support.[117] However, Müteferrika's failure to print the second volume could be attributed to his struggles in enhancing Katib Çelebi's first version of the *Mirror of the World*. Katib Çelebi's dissatisfaction with the initial version stemmed from the absence of reliable Western sources, leading him to abandon the project completely. It is possible that Müteferrika may have considered enhancing the publication with "supplements of the printer," incorporating additional information, as he did with the publication of Katib Çelebi's second version. There are indeed some indications that Müteferrika translated excerpts from Italian and French texts focused on specific European countries. Notable examples include Benedetto Varchi (1503-1565)'s *History of Florence* (*Storia Fiorentina*), published in 1721[118] (of which Müteferrika translated certain parts[119]), and a text on Germany attributed to the French renegade Claude Alexandre Comte de Bonneval (Humbaracı Ahmed Paşa, 1675-1747).[120] On the other hand, Müteferrika might have been disappointed with the sale figures of the first volume. His probate inventory, dated 1 April, 1747, reveals that the printed edition of the *Mirror of the World* sold only 249 copies out of a print run of 500, amounting to just 50 % of the total number. This was notably lower than the sales figures for most of Müteferrika's earlier prints.[121] This disappointment might have made him more cautious and reluctant to pursue the envisaged second volume of Katib Çelebi's extensive text.

112 National Library, Sofia, no. O II 159; I. Y. Krachkovskiy, "Turetskiy pervopechatnik Ibrahim Mutafarrika i ego rabotiy po geografii," *Tyurkologicheskiy sbornik* 1 (1951): 122; Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, 81-83.

113 Edvard Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi ve Bastığı İlk Eserler/Ibrahim Müteferrika's Printing House and Its First Printed Books*, ed. Mustafa Akbulut (Ankara: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği, 1979), 11; Babinger, *18. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Kitabiyat*, 27.

114 Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, 171; Watson, "İbrāhīm Müteferriḳa and Turkish Incunabula": 439.

115 Kemal Beydilli, *İki İbrahim: Müteferrika ve Halefi* (İstanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2019), 98.

116 *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, 698.

117 Sarıcaoğlu, "Cihannümâ ve Ebûbekir b. Behrâm ed-Dımeşkî," 139; Ertuğ, *Basın ve Yayın Hareketleri Tarihi*, 111.

118 Benedetto Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina: Nella quale principalmente si contengono l'ultime Revoluzioni della Repubblica Fiorentina, e lo Stabilimento del Principato nella Casa de Medici* (Colonia: Appresso Pietro Martello, 1721).

119 A manuscript copy of this translation is preserved in Bibliothèque national de France (Paris), Département des manuscrits, Sipplément turc 1435 (1-3): fol. 28a-29a.

120 A manuscript copy of this translation dating from 1790 is preserved in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Diez A quart. 96. I am grateful to Thoralf Hanstein who availed me with this information.

121 See Orlin Sabev, "The First Ottoman Turkish Printing Enterprise: Success or Failure (A Reassessment)," *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Dana Sajdi (London-New York: I. B. Tauris & Co, 2007), 63-89.

Afterwards Müteferrika displayed a marked preference for the publication of historical works. However, some authors suggest that in 1738, he might have fulfilled a request to print sheets for a device developed by Pietro Baron. This device, designed as a portable tool for determining the Qibla direction during Muslim prayer (*Kıblenümâ-i âfâki*), featured engraved text, charts, and images, including an image of the Mecca mosque, all engraved by Müteferrika's fellow mapmaker Mıgırdiç Galatavî. Thoralf Hanstein speculates that the sheets used in this Qibla finder might have also been printed at the Müteferrika press, with a minimum estimate of 400 copies.[122] Between 1734 and 1741, Müteferrika abstained from printing due to his diplomatic and various other commitments that kept him away from Istanbul. Nonetheless, in 1738 he returned to the Ottoman capital and potentially became involved in the previously mentioned project.[123] If such was the case, it would provide further evidence of Müteferrika's keen interest and personal engagement in the fields of geography and cartography.

By Way of Conclusion: A Cartographic Workshop?

One notable aspect of the European Enlightenment was its emphasis on history and geography. It would appear that İbrahim Müteferrika, described as an "educated border crosser" by Suraiya Faroqhi,[124] shared an inclination toward these sciences. Out of the sixteen books he printed, nine were historical works, and three others seamlessly combined historical and geographical knowledge (*Gift to the Nobles*; *History of Modern Egypt*, *History of Ancient Egypt*; *History of the West Indies*). The *Mirror of the World* stood out as a voluminous geographical work, while another work was delved into magnetism. Moreover, Müteferrika's treatise *Reasonable Principles of Public Order* emphasized the importance of geography and cartography.

One of Müteferrika's major contributions to Ottoman cartography lies in the geographical maps and cosmographical charts he printed, either as separate sheets or as appendices to his publications. Impressively, he personally drew some of these maps, earning him the title of "draftsman" and "geographer". In contrast to the maps found in manuscript copies of the geographical works he printed, presumably crafted in calligraphic workshops rather than by professional mapmakers, Müteferrika organized his printshop to function as a professional cartographic workshop. According to a report from Genoa, dated 15 March 1731 and published in the Saturday supplement (*Sambstägige Extra-Zeitungen*) of *Mercurii Relation*'*s* issue of 14 April 1731, there were six presses in Müteferrika's printing house, four for books and two for maps.[125] This information was also supported by Jean-Baptiste Daniel Holdermann[126] (d. 1730), whose grammar of the Turkish language for francophones was printed on demand at the Müteferrika press in

122 Hanstein, *A New Print by Müteferrika*, 27-28.

123 See Orlin Sabev, "İbrahim Müteferrika ve Tekirdağ'da İkamet Eden Macar Mültecileri (1720-1740)," *Rodosto'dan Süleymanpaşa'ya Tekirdağ Uluslararası Tekirdağ Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildirileri 26-27 Mart 2015*, ed. Murat Yıldız (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2016), 411-428.

124 See Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 92-94.

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

126 Henri Omont, "Nouveaux documents sur l'imprimerie à Constantinple au XVIIIe siècle," *Revue des bibliothèques* 33 (1926): 10.

1730.[127] These claims seem credible, especially considering that two "wooden geographical presses" (*iki ağaç coğrafiyye destgâhları*) were part of the printing equipment bought by the brothers Kadi İbrahim, Kadi Ahmed, and Halil on the 4th April 1747 from the estate of İbrahim Müteferrika upon his demise.[128]

The personnel of this cartographic workshop included İbrahim Müteferrika himself and his fellow mapmakers Ahmed al-Kırımî and Mıgırdiç Galatavî. Everything seems to indicate that Müteferrika, who identified as both a member of the *müteferrika* corps and as a geographer and a draftsman, was the leading figure. Upon examining the accompanying texts in the map section featuring İçel, Karaman, Anatolia, and Sivas in the printed edition of Katib Çelebi's *Mirror of the World* suggest, it becomes apparent that Müteferrika likely created, if not all, then at least some of the templates of the maps and charts. Subsequently, Ahmed al-Kırımî and Mıgırdiç Galatavî took on the task of engraving these designs onto copper plates. An outstanding resemblance can be seen between the 1729/1730 individual map of Iran, created and signed by Müteferrika, and the Iran map engraved by Ahmed al-Kırımî and annexed to the 1732 printed edition of Katib Çelebi's *Mirror of the World*. The 1747 probate inventory, unlike records for other workers at the Müteferrika press, does not mention the names of the two engravers.[129] Following the publication of the maps and charts they engraved for the 1732 printed edition of the *Mirror of the World,* no additional information is available about them, except for the later identification of Mıgırdiç Galatavî as the engraver of the images of the Qibla finder developed by Pietro Baron in 1738.

The maps produced in this cartographic workshop varied in type and quality. The initial map, created by Müteferrika in 1719/1720 and representing the Sea of Marmara, is only known through the preserved wooden matrix, making it more schematic. In contrast, all subsequent maps were engraved on copper plates, resulting in greater detail and elaboration. Most of these maps not only outline the countries and regions but also showcase topographical features like mountains and hills. Additionally, they include depictions of characteristic animals, such as camels in the map of Egypt, and highlight rivers within the depicted areas. Latitudes and longitudes are shown on the maps depicting the world, encompassing the eastern and the western hemispheres, poles, and continents (evident in the maps of Europe, Africa, Asia, North and South America in the *Mirror of the World*). Many maps feature cartouches in Baroque style, suggesting their preparation followed Western patterns. However, a more thorough and comparative examination of the models used by Müteferrika is imperative to ascertain this. Conversely, certain maps by Müteferrika garnered significant acclaim. The reproduction of Müteferrika's map of the Black Sea (1137/1724-1725) in Russian (prior to 1740) and French versions (1768)[130] serves as a testament to the quality and reliability of his printed maps and charts.

İbrahim Müteferrika uses printing technology to make geographical books and maps accessible to a broader audience. Although the print run of 500 copies each, while seemingly modest by Western stan-

127 *Grammaire turque ou Méthode courte & facile pour apprende la langue turque* (Constantinople, 1730).

128 Beydilli, *İki İbrahim*, 98.

129 See İstanbul Müftülüğü Şer'iyye Sicilleri Arşivi, Kısmet-i Askeri Mahkemesi, no. 98, f. 40a; Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika*, 381.

130 Üçsu, "İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Haritacılık Çalışmalarına Bir Bakış": 219; Ucsu, "Bahriyye-i Bahr-i Siyah": 35; Anastas Angelov, "Shabla varhu parvata osmanska pechatna karta na Ibrahim Myuteferika", updated last on 30 August, 2022, maritime.bg/87288/ (retrieved 28 February 2023).

dards and not fully sold during his lifetime, far exceeded the number of available manuscript copies of such texts and images.[131] More significantly, Müteferrika provided the public up-to-date information that undoubtedly broadened the Ottoman understanding of geography and cartography.

Table of Charts and Geographical Maps

Attached to the *Mirror of the World*'s print edition (1732) (129)

No	Map/Chart	Engraver	Position between the pages	Number of pages
1	Armillary sphere	Ahmed al-Kırımî	[27/28]	1
2	Geometrical figures		7/8	1
3	Earth's sphericity	Ahmed Kırımî	19/20	1
4	Cosmological scheme		21/22	2
5	Cosmological scheme after Ptolemy	İbrahim al-Coğrafi (crafted it in 1142/1729- 1730)	25/26	2
6	Celestial chart	Mıgırdiç Galata	27/28	2
7	Shapes of the heavenly spheres	Ahmed al-Kırımî	33/34	1
8	Heliocentric system after Copernicus Heliocentric system after Tycho Brahe		47/48	1
9	Division of the Globe into zones		49/50	1
10	Table of climes Table of distances Chart of horizons	Ahmed Kırımî	51/52	1
11	Chart of climes according to ancient astronomy Chart of climes according to modern astronomy	Ahmed al-Kırımî (the same chart is also included in the *History of the West Indies*)	51/52	2
12	Windroses and compass	Mıgırdiç Galata	59/60	1
13	Compass Deviation of the magnetic arrow in the west direction as seen in 1145 [1732-1733] in Istanbul	The same chart is included also in the *Magnetic Emanations*	65/66	1
14	Eastern hemisphere (Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australia) Western hemisphere (Americas and New Guinea)	Ahmed al-Kırımî (the same map is included in the *Gift to the Nobles* and the *History of the West Indies*)	71/72	2
15	Mediterranean and Black Seas	The same map is included in the *Gift to the Nobles*	75/76	2
16	Adriatic Sea and the Gulf of Venice	The same map is included in the *Gift to the Nobles*	77/78	2
17	Aegean Sea with the islands	The same map is included in the *Gift to the Nobles*	77/78	2
18	World map with the "ancient" and "new" continents		95/96	2
19	Europe	The same map is included in the *History of the West Indies*	99/100	1
20	Africa		101/102	1
21	Asia		103/104	1
22	North and South Americas		113/114	1
23	Arctic and Antarctic regions		119/120	

131 Cf. Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi Esfâri'l-bihâr*, ed. İdris Bostan, 48-59; Hagen, "El Yazmasının Kenarındaki Hayat"; Sonja Brentjes, "Mapmaking in Ottoman Istanbul between 1650 and 1750".

24	Japan		125/126	1
25	New Guinea	Ahmed al-Kırımî	129/130	1
26	East Indies		131/132	1
27	East Indies	Mıgırdiç Galatavî	133/134	2
28	Molucca	Ahmed al-Kırımî	135/136	1
29	Sumatra		143/144	1
30	Borneo and Philippines		145/146	1
31	South China		153/154	1
32	North China	Mıgırdiç Galatavî	165/166	2
33	India	Mıgırdiç Galatavî	195/196	2
34	Iran	Ahmed al-Kırımî	289/290	2
35	Transoxiana	Mıgırdiç Galatavî	347/348	2
36	Azerbaijan		389/390	1
37	Caucasus	Ahmed al-Kırımî	407/408	2
38	Arabian Peninsula	Ahmed al-Kırımî	483/484	2
39	İçel, Karaman, Anatolia and Sivas	Mıgırdiç Galatavî; drawn by İbrahim Tophanevi	629/630	2
40	The Golden Horn and the Bosphorus		671/672	2



Figure 1. Clime of Egypt (courtesy of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Diez A fol. 58, f. 5r).



Figure 2. Map of the Gulf of Venice (courtesy of Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, H/0319).

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Figure 2. Map of the Gulf of Venice (courtesy of Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, H/0319).

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