BOOKSELLERS AND THEIR CATALOGS
IN HAMIDIAN ISTANBUL, 1884-1901

Sinan Çetin

Boğaziçi University 2010

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Sinan Çetin

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This thesis has been approved on 26 February 2010 by:

Prof. Dr. Zafer Toprak   _____
(Thesis advisor)

Assoc. Prof. Nadir Özbek   _____

Assoc. Prof. M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu   _____

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Title: Booksellers and Their Catalogs in Hamidian Istanbul, 1884-1901

This study focuses on the role of booksellers' catalogs, namely Esami-i Kütüb
(Names of the Books), and in particular, of Kitabçı Arakel's catalog published in
1884, as a vehicle to promote the printed book as a commodity in the last quarter of
nineteenth century Ottoman Istanbul. With the increase in the number, and the
variety, of printed material in the Hamidian Era, booksellers proliferated in Istanbul,
acting as the agents who defined themselves as a distinct branch of commercial
enterprise only dealing with printed material, especially books in contrast to the still
existing commercial as well as institutional activities organized around manuscripts.
It argues that the booksellers' catalogs provide a basis for understanding and
evaluating this emergent publishing industry centered in Istanbul and how this
industry defined, categorized and in that sense ordered the printed book. This process
also converged with the reform in the educational institutions of the Ottoman Empire
and communicational infrastructure, which had a decisive influence on the activities
of the bookshops. Booksellers tried to utilize the opportunities to expand their
markets opened up by these reforms by way of catalogs. In addition, this thesis
engages in a theoretical discussion of how meta-data about the books available in the
catalogs should be collected and represented as a way of providing a platform of
evaluation in conjunction with the available modern bibliographies.

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü'nde Yüksek Lisans Derecesi için Sinan Çetin Tarafından Şubat 2010'da teslim edilen tezin kısa özeti

Title: II. Abdülhamid Dönemi İstanbul'unda Kitapçılar ve Katalogları, 1884-1901

Bu tez kitapçı kataloglarının, yani Esami-i Kütübün ve özel olarak Kitabçı Arakel'in 1884'de yayınladığı kataloğun, bir meta olarak basma kitapların ondokuzuncu yüzyılın son çeyreğindeki Osmanlı İstanbul'unda yaygınlaştırılmasında oynadıkları role odaklanmaktadır. II. Abdülhamid döneminde basılı materyallerin sayısında ve çeşitliliğindeki artışla beraber, kendilerini, yazmalar etrafında organize olan ticari ve kurumsal hareketliliğin aksine sadece basılı materyaller ve özellikle basılı kitabla uğraşan ticari girişimin farklı bir kolu tanımlayan kitapçılar çoğaldı. Kitapçı kataloglarının, İstanbul odaklı gelişmekte olan bu basım sanayini ve bu sanayinin aktörlerinin basılı kitabı nasıl tarif ettikleri, sınıflandırdıkları, bu anlamda düzenlediklerini anlamak ve yorumlamak için bir zemin sağladığını iddia eder. Bu süreç aynı zamanda, kitapçı dükkanlarının etkinlikleri üzerinde belirleyici etkisi olan, Osmanlı imparatorluğunun eğitim kurumları ve iletişim üstyapısındaki reformlarla çakışmaktaydı. Kitapçılar, bu reformlar aracılığıyla önlerinde açılan pazarlarını genişletme fırsatlarını kataloglar aracılığıyla kullanmaya çalıştılar. Buna ek olarak, bu tez kitapçı kataloglarında kitap hakkında bulunan meta-verilerin nasıl toplanması ve mevcut modern kaynakçalarla bir arada değerlendirilmesini sağlayacak bir platform sunmak üzere nasıl sunulması gerektiğinin yöntemleri hakkında bir deney teşebbüsüne girişir.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION: CATALOGS, BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND THE
REPRESENTATION OF DATA

This study emanated from the wider question of how the Ottoman literate population

responded to the printed book in terms of reading practices during the last quarter of

the nineteenth century, which had arisen during my undergraduate education and

bifurcated into different paths as progressed with my research. On the first hand, the

original question, or problematic, was strongly related to knowing the parameters of

how printed media was produced and distributed in the nineteenth century Ottoman

Empire. On the second, entailed the question of the differences constructed with the

existing manuscripts and the printed book as a new medium.

While I was trying to get acquainted with the existing scholarly works

written on the history of publishing and printing in the Ottoman Empire, I was

confronted with two basic problems: The first was the availability of different printed

languages existing side by side in the imperial context dispersed throughout the vast

geography of the Ottoman Empire. The second was the limitations of the existing

modern bibliographies covering that period.

To overcome the first problem, I decided to limit the focus of my research

on Ottoman-Turkish printed books and the geographically Ottoman capital, which

"more than ever, . . . became the interface between the major forces at play in all sorts

of new experiments, tensions, and conflicts" in that period.[1] The second one is a bit

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[1] Edhem Eldem, "Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital," in *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, ed. Edhem Eldem, Bruce Alan Masters, and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 201.

more complicated because of the eclectic characteristics of the bibliographies in question. There are two available bibliographic studies with two different time scope and methodology. The first one is the electronically reproduced by-product of a national union catalog project maintained under the supervision of *Milli Kütüphane* (National Library of Turkey), namely *Eski Harfli Türkçe Basma Eserler Bibliografyası (Arap, Ermeni ve Yunan Alfabeleriyle) 1584-1986,* (The Bibliography of Turkish Works Printed in Non-Latin Arabic, Armenian and Greek Characters 1584-1986, [onwards abbreviated as EHTBEB]).[2] The second one is the colossal work of Seyfettin Özege comprised of printed material available in Ottoman Turkish from the introduction of printing press up to 1928, namely *Eski Harflerle Basılmış Türkçe Eserler Kataloğu,* (Catalog of Ottoman-Turkish Printed Books [onwards abbreviated as EHBTEK]).[3] Özege donated his own library to Atatürk University in Erzurum in prospect of having them cataloged. However, he had not approved the outcome result published so as he prepared his own catalog. Özege's work has been preferred by scholars in terms of reliability, authenticity and stability because he did not include any book mentioned by other sources unless he had personally confirmed its availability. As a result it has not been thought to be a classical work of "bibliography, but rather it is appropriate to name it as a catalog fitted to the

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2 Kudret Emiroğlu and İlker M. İşoğlu, eds., *Eski Harfli Türkçe Basma Eserler Bibliografyası (Arap, Ermeni ve Yunan Alfabeleriyle) 1584-1986 = The Bibliography of Turkish Works Printed in Non-Latin (Arabic, Armenian and Greek) Characters*, CD-ROM Edition. (Ankara: Milli Kütüphane, 2001)(onwards EHTBEB). This work is partly based on previous bibliography printed in fascicles from 1990 onwards; Müjgan Cunbur and Dursun Kaya, eds., *Türkiye Basmaları Toplu Kataloğu: Arap Harfli Türkçe Eserler, 1729-1928*, 6 vols. (Ankara: Milli Kütüphane Basımevi, 1990).

3 M. Seyfettin Özege, *Eski Harflerle Basılmış Türkçe Eserler Kataloğu*, 5 vols. (İstanbul: Fatih Yayınevi Matbaası, 1971)(onwards abbreviated as EHBTEK).

requirements of various considerations."[4]

Though both works are invaluable for assessing the bibliographic information of a specific book and overall production for a period,[5] they fall short of giving any help to determine whether a book printed in 1856 was still available in terms of trade. That is to say, they do not provide the life span of a book printed once in 1876. I realized that in order to get an answer to the list of available books for consumption or in circulation for a given period, I needed to use contemporary sources from the period in question.

This drive, to get a list of the available books in circulation in a given period converged with a gap in the literature on Ottoman publishing and printing history for the end of the nineteenth century: the lack of bibliographic and historical studies on booksellers' practices of printing commercial catalogs of books in Ottoman-Turkish from 1882 onwards.

But before going into detail on these catalogs and their value as primary sources for the history of the book in the Ottoman context, I should mention that what turned my attention to these catalogs is a passage of information in a mémoirs. In the first pages of his mémoirs, Hüseyin Cahid [Yalçın] (1875-1957), a prominent journalist and a literary as well as political figure in both Ottoman and Republican

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4 . . . *bunun bir bibliyografya değil, çeşitli düşüncelerin icaplarına uygun olarak hazırlanmış bir katalog olduğunu belirtmek yerinde olur:* M. Seyfettin Özege, "Önsöz Yerine Bazı Açıklamalar," in *Eski Harflerle Basılmış Türkçe Eserler Kataloğu*, vol. 1, 5 vols. (İstanbul: Fatih Yayınevi Matbaası, 1971) For details on the preparation of catalog / bibliography see Fahrettin Kırzıoğlu, "Mehmet Seyfettin Özege (7 Şubat 1901-27 Nisan 1981)," *Müteferrika*, no. 8-9 (1996): 95-108.

5 Türesay criticizes the integrity of EHTBEB as a database failing to provide an overall quantity of printed books because of its double entries compiled from alternative sources without elimination of different editions: Özgür Türesay, "II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Yayımcılığı, Matbaa-i Ebüziya ve Bastığı Kitaplar," *Müteferrika*, no. 34 (2008): pp. 17-19.

times, gives a lively account of his childhood and his relation to books. His first

books were cheap editions of popular epics, such as *Aşık Garip*, *Hayber Kalesi*,

which were sold in the streets by peddlers. Beside these books, so to speak *halk*

kitapları (chapbooks), he also enthusiastically describes how a family gathering at

night was also the time when his sister read novels from Ahmed Midhat. His

mémoirs are full of book names, books that marked turning points in his life. The

passage which is interesting to me was the passage on a certain bookseller's *(kitabçı)*

catalog, namely the *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esami-i Kütübü,* a bookseller's catalog

published in 1887: "I studied the catalog, which was sent by Arakel, at length. I

picked up a good number of books. There are all kinds of works among the ones I

ordered ranging from a brochure about games of checkers to *Şevahiddün Nübüvve.*"[6]

This triggered my overall interest in the catalogs which had started as a

naïve quest to find the books that Hüseyin Cahit had ordered in the catalog he

mentioned. Later on, I realized that Arakel's catalog has never been studied as a way

of assessing information related to the printed books and how they were categorized,

described and promoted for the readers by the booksellers' in Istanbul. None of these

catalogs has been systematically studied in detail, but only touched upon within a

limited framework that has taken an evolutionist hypothesis for granted: the

nineteenth century book sellers were the predecessors of modern booksellers. Except

for the account of Erol Üyepazarcı describing the catalog of bookseller Arakel's

[Tozluyan] (?-1912) catalog published in 1884[7], these catalogs, as Strauss writes

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6 Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Edebiyat Anıları*, ed. Rauf Mutluay (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1975), pp. 5-6, 9.

7 Erol Üyepazarcı, "Arakel Efendi'nin Kitap Kataloğu Yahut Evlad-ı Arab'ın Mertliği ve Yahut Esrar-ı Farmason," *Müteferrika* 1 (1993): 57-61.

"have been hardly tapped by the modern researchers."[8]

There can be two possible explanations for this lack in the literature. The first can be the presence of the colossal project of Özege and its dominant position in the literature. That is to say, these catalogs have been considered historically worthless because what they contain can also be found in Özege's bibliography. This stance imagines catalogs as passive and fixed inventories, as simple containers of bibliographic data. The second reason can be found in the mainstream framing of nineteenth century printing activities. They have been considered at their best as imitations of the western printing practices which were abandoned two centuries ago, thus banal and not worthy of studying. The belated introduction of printing press to the Ottoman social life and its central importance in the literature overrides a possible historicist interest in nineteenth century printing practices themselves as well as the other printing press oriented cultural activities in that period.

As part of my naïve quest mentioned above, I finally found a copy of Arakel's first catalog published in 1884, and looked through it in order to find the books Hüseyin Cahit ordered. Yet I could not find them and realized that Hüseyin Cahit would have been nine or ten years of age and would have read one of the other catalogs that Arakel published after the first one. But the astonishing fact was unavailability of such a work as *Şevahiddün Nübüvve,* which was published as early as 1876. How could it be available in the later catalogs while it is absent in the first catalog of 1884? Was it due to different imprints circulating at the same moment on the market? Or did Arakel's 1884 catalog have some peculiar characteristics?

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8 Johann Strauss, "'Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute' Printing and Publishing in a Multi-Ethnic Society," in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy* (New York: Routledge-Curzon, 2004), p. 230.

Nevertheless, this little quest turned out to be the beginning of this study, which sought to utilize not only the Arakel's 1884 catalog but also some others published between 1882 and 1901. There are 44 commercial catalogs published by 11 different booksellers operating in Istanbul from that period.[9] These catalogs can be considered to have been the first "commercial" catalogs including the basic information directed at consumers in the Ottoman capital, that is to say the literate population at the time of publishing.

Yet Arakel's 1884 catalog differs from the others by its scope and audience. It includes the list of inventories (list of the books that could be obtained by the bookseller), and enumerates and in a sense summarizes the *matbuat-ı cedide* (the new press) organized under headings of *cins* (category / variety) and *nev'* (genre) specific to the title alongside the names of *müellif*s (author, which sometimes means "compiler" or simply "writer") and their prices as much as possible. The others follow the framework of Arakel's catalog but with variations: In Arakel's catalog every title is followed by a brief explanation of the advertorial description of the book intermingled with explanation of its value to the group of readers who are supposed to buy it. Other catalogs of the period (Asir, Kasbar, etc.) usually provides this type of detailed information only as long as the books were published by themselves. Other available books were listed as tables giving standard information including title, author and price. It is important to remember that the booksellers' were not one-to-one examples of modern bookshops but also they were "simultaneously printers,

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9 See web site prepared by cross-referencing EHTBEB and EHTBEK: Sinan Çetin, 25 October 2008. *Booksellers' Catalogs in the Nineteenth Century Istanbul*. Available [online]: http://catalogs.dev3.webenabled.net/ [11 January 2010]

publishers and booksellers"[10] without a clear distinction between these overlapping functions.

In that sense, they stand as hybrid catalogs that fulfill both functions, publisher catalog and dealers' catalog. Such varieties were available in Europe as early as in the seventeenth century and widespread in the eighteenth century, as described by Archer Taylor.[11] The basic data on which the European counterparts of the Hamidian catalogs rely were the short title catalogs that started to be standardized from the seventeenth century onwards within the Western European book trade. Yet they also utilized data retrieved from the transaction records on the quantity of production of books and the prices of books. The compilation of this type of data serves for developing a statistical time series for representing the long-term patterns and trends in the book trade.[12]

This study also focuses on compiling data from the above-mentioned catalogs, albeit on a smaller scale and in a smaller scope, in order to single out some developments and trends that became apparent in the print culture prevailing in the nineteenth century Ottoman capital. In addition, the hybrid characteristics of these catalogs enable us to ask questions about how booksellers defined the printed media in terms of its physical characteristics in relation with its content and appropriateness for different reader's necessities. In other words, I will try to use series of catalogs[13]

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10 Strauss, "'Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute'," p. 233.

11 Archer Taylor, *Book Catalogues: Their Varieties and Uses*, ed. William Pusey Barlow, 2nd ed. (New York: F.C. Beil, 1987), pp. 70-86.

12 David McKitterick, "Book Catalogues: Their Varieties and Uses," in *The Book Encompassed: Studies in Twentieth-Century Bibliography*, ed. Peter Davison (Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 161-75.

13 See *Booksellers' Catalogs in the Nineteenth Century Istanbul* for the ones used for

in order to ask questions about the role of the booksellers in the construction of printed book as a commoditized artifact in the last quarter of nineteenth century Istanbul.

The questions that can be meaningfully directed towards the series of catalogs are innumerable compared to what is possible within the confines of a master thesis. Did booksellers start to use more standardized categorizations as well as more standard constituent elements in defining the book in terms of its author, translator, physicality and price over the time? Can we find overlapping titles and categorizations between different booksellers? If so, how many of them were repeated in consecutive catalogs? Can we identify recurring titles in the following catalogs of the same bookseller? What were the reasons for dropping a title out of a catalog? Which titles were included and which ones were excluded? Which could be the criteria and rationale for this kind of selection?

This thesis also contains a novel experiment in terms of the representation of historical data contained in the bookseller's catalogs. In that respect, one of the significant facets of this study is the experimental construction of a web site of booksellers' catalogs, the *Esâmi-i Kütüb,* that serves to identify titles and other pertaining information provided in the catalogs, such as category and price in conjunction with information provided by EHTBEB and EHTBEK, as much as possible, to complete missing elements.[14] Furthermore, *Esâmi-i Kütüb* itself is experimental in the sense that it is open to modifications and additions by third

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the study.

14 See web site prepared: Sinan Çetin, 25 October 2008. *Short List of Booksellers' Esâmi-i Kütüb (Names of the Books)*. Available [online]: http://catalogs.dev3.webenabled.net/arakel1884 [11 January 2010]

parties and flexible in terms of importation and representation of data thanks to the preferred web-based, open-source publishing framework, namely Exhibit.[15] EHTBEK is not only commercialized, sold for a certain price on a CD-ROM but it also uses a cumbersome graphical user interface which is dependent on a certain branch of operating system, namely Microsoft Windows. In addition to that, the copyright protected data structure embedded in the programmed database of EHTBEK makes the importation of data to other databases or similar platforms impossible for comparison and filtering reasons or similar modifications and additions. Yet, data represented by using publishing frameworks, such as Exhibit, benefit from its platform independent structure as well as the flexibility of alternative copyright schema that enable the modification of the code of the program according to one's research needs. This flexibility makes data suitable for modification for another mode of inquiry that is completely different than the one for which it was originally prepared.

This type of data representation which is flexible and open to modification appears to be mostly relevant as output of and for further research in Ottoman book and printing history since the field is still in its foundation period –simply in terms of linguistic "re-unification". In the second half of the nineteenth century in the Ottoman capital newspapers and books were published and read in more than 10 languages and several scripts (Arabic, Latin, Greek, Cyrillic, Armenian, Hebrew) and

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15 See Appendix C, Fig. 5. For details on Exhibit publishing framework see: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2006-2009. Exhibit. Available [online]: http://www.simile-widgets.org/exhibit/ [11 January 2010] and also Josef Dabernig, "Creating Interactive Web Pages Using the Exhibit Framework" (BA Thesis, University of Applied Science Technikum Wien, 2008)

hybrid ethnic language-script mixes, like Turkish in Armenian script (Armeno-Turkish), or in Greek script *(Karamanlıca)* etc.[16]

Furthermore, the focus on how to represent the data obtained from the catalogs is not only founded on pragmatic reasoning but also on methodological preferences of the thesis. I have tried to state at several instances during the thesis that the categories under which books are represented, namely the form of representation is relevant to the ways of interpreting the content of the book by the reading public. The printed book was constructed as a commoditized artifact by way of opting for specific types of representations and excluding others. Today's web-based modes of representation also have implicit and explicit preferences of construction. The aim of this thesis is to explicate them within the confines of this study.

The first chapter starts with a general evolution of the printed book and literary review of Ottoman studies concerning booksellers and how they have been represented in modern studies. The focus will shift to commodity and how it can be evaluated and reevaluated in accordance with the lack of a pure capitalist market in the case of Ottoman booksellers in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

In the second chapter, I will demarcate the outline of this new publishing enterprise from the perspective of trade, i.e. the distribution of books as commodity. In order to draw its contours, the first section presents the booksellers' dispersion throughout Istanbul. Special attention will be paid to the assumed distinction between *sahhaf*s and booksellers in the "modern" sense made by the historiography of the Ottoman print culture. The next step will provide for a brief description of the

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16 Johann Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th--20th centuries)?" *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6, no. 1 (2003), pp. 39-76.

developments of regulations concerning libraries as standing institutions of the manuscript culture. Lastly this chapter will focus on the booksellers' catalogs, taking Arakel's 1884 catalog as a reference in order gain an insight into how the printed book was organized and defined on the way to its commodification. In addition, it relates the printed book to the expansion of both periodical publishing and the postal services.

The third chapter seeks to understand and give a basic path on which booksellers operated alongside with the infrastructural modernization attempts, especially education reform. For this, it scrutinizes the bifurcation of booksellers' catalogs to serve the specialized needs arising from this development, taking the 1891catalog of Kasbar as an example. A further part of this chapter is dedicated to printing presses in terms of two competing printing technologies, namely lithography and typography. Their relation to the existing literary market in terms of printed books and pamphlets in circulation will be accompanied by a brief account of two autobiographical stories providing a glimpse of popular literature which the booksellers' catalogs displays a reluctance to include. This chapter closes with the discussion of Necip Asım Yazıksız's book on books, *Kitab*, in which he gives definitions and distinctions of different facets of the printed book in 1901.

CHAPTER 2
THE PRINTED BOOK AS A COMMODITY

It can safely be argued that, up to the nineteenth century, there was no clear-cut

compartmentalization in the field of book production in Western Europe, not even in

England and France.[17] True, publishing was one of the first large-scale industries

characterized by the mass production of durable goods oriented towards a market

economy. This, in turn, led to the development of a new kind of entrepreneurship

organized around the physical production, distribution, marketing and financing of

books in Europe during the eighteenth century. Until the beginning of the nineteenth

century authors, booksellers and printers shared the economic role of the modern

publisher in a variety of ways, whereby today only publishers are viewed as the

entrepreneurs in this market.

Eventually publishing activity was compartmentalized, similar to the

contemporary publishing industry, closely mirroring technological progress and

changing in line with the expansion of the literary market due to an increase in the

literate population. The booksellers gradually abandoned the role of risk-taking

publishers, and confined their commercial activity to retail-only transactions. Thus,

after a point, it was the booksellers who shifted towards the realm of chain-lending

libraries, railway stalls, and stationeries. Printing houses, on the other hand, started to

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17 Lucien Paul Victor Febvre and Henri Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, ed. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wootton, trans. David Gerard (London: Verso, 1997) esp. chp. 9 and 10; Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) esp. chp. 10.

define themselves as the primary investors in technological development and in the increased production of printed material. Their interdependence, and in most cases interoperability, was replaced by a new system in which the economic role of the publishers depended on the ability of the booksellers to apply their skills to marketing and management. In this way, the booksellers were transformed into investors in textual content produced in the literary market. That is to say, they established a position as the main arbitrator, or facilitator, of authorship by taking an inventory risk when deciding which contents/texts were saleable merchandise. At the same time, by the mid-nineteenth century, publishers strengthened their relationship with authors by mobilizing an organized body of intellectual workers who were specialized in editing, in other words, manufacturing a manuscript for the literary market although until twentieth century "all-rounders" existed.[18]

The formation of the publishing sector went hand in hand with broader developments during the early nineteenth century, such as the construction of authorship, the legal development of intellectual property rights, the expansion of literacy through mass education, and the impact of further industrialization on printing and paper-making. Publishing in its modern capitalist sense, or "print-capitalism" in Anderson's words, consolidated itself as an industrial sector in relation to these consecutive developments entailed by the formation of a mass book market in Europe at the turn of the nineteenth century. As a result, the position of the bookseller became as pivotal to the process of book production for the market as

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18 John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London: Routledge, 2000), esp. pp. 139-169; Christine S. Haynes, "Lost Illusions: The Rise of the Book Publisher and the Construction of a Literary Marketplace in Nineteenth-Century France" (Ph.d. diss., The University of Chicago, 2001).

were the more clear-cut roles of author, editor, publisher, printer and others.[19]

It was mentioned in the introduction that this thesis will examine relevant developments in Hamidian Istanbul with respect to the socioeconomic transformations in the book production. It is suggested that in the Ottoman Empire publishing as an economic activity developed in line with the European example. Rather, it shall be argued that Istanbul experienced a new kind of commercial activity during the late nineteenth century, based on the production and distribution of mass-produced books through the establishment of bookshops in which booksellers functioned as the main co-organizers of both distribution and production of the books. The following chapters will examine how despite the initial adaptation of book production in the Ottoman Empire into more or less traditional, monopolizing networks of power -well serving the needs and aspirations of the regime- this adaptation unwittingly released new socio-economic forces, the most significant of which was the bookseller.

First to respond to the question of who the booksellers were. They were certainly not the old well-established patrons of the Imperial publishing industry. Nor were they similar to the *sahhaf*s (in today's usage) refers to second-hand bookshops whereas in nineteenth century context they usually correspond to the bookshops which were specialized in manuscript, organized around the traditional structure of guilds.[20] They represented, instead, small private enterprises that sought to capitalize on the growing demand in their immediate local markets for the bounty of new books first stimulated by state-driven reforms in the areas of education, bureaucracy and

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19 Haynes, "Lost Illlusions."

20 Yahya Erdem, "Sahaflar ve Seyyahlar: Osmanlı'da Kitapçılık," *Müteferrika* 20 (2001): pp. 3-18.

communications, and later on corresponding to a growing public demand.[21] In other words, they represented, from both their own perspective and according to the modern literature on the subject, an entirely new kind of enterprise.

Nevertheless, the traditional scholarly literature on these booksellers, both as tradesmen and publishers, is scattered and limited. Most scholars have demonstrated very little direct interest in bookselling and the production of the printed book in the Hamidian era (1876-1908). As Christoph Neumann mentions in his survey of the nineteenth and twentieth century Ottoman publishing activities, the main center of focus among contemporary scholars in this field has been the printing press itself and periodical publishing rather than book printing.[22] True, there is a vast body of literature on the introduction of the western style printing press to the Ottoman Empire, largely focusing on the reasons for and impacts of its belatedness.[23]

The early phase of book printing has also attracted a fair share of attention and scholarly research.[24] Yet, the bulk of such studies focuses on the publishing boom that followed the profound socio-economic and political transformations triggered by

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21 Johann Strauss, "İstanbul'da Kitap Yayını ve Basımevleri," trans. Erol Üyepazarcı, *Müteferrika* 1 (1993): pp. 5-17; Christoph K. Neumann, "Book and Newspaper Printing in Turkish, 18th -20th Centuries," in *The Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Jews, Christians, and Muslims*, ed. Christoph Herzog, Raoul Motika, and Anja Pistor-Hatam (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz in Kommission, 2001).

22 Neumann, "Book and Newspaper Printing in Turkish, 18th -20th Centuries," p. 228.

23 A considerable volume of printing history occupied itself with the late introduction of printing press in Ottoman Empire. For a detailed and most updated bibliography, see Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni 1726-1746: Yeniden Değerlendirme* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2006).

24 For general evaluation of the printed book as a medium after its initial introduction, see Orhan Öcal, *Kitabın Evrimi* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1971); Alpay Kabacalı, *Türk Kitap Tarihi*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1989); For the eighteenth century classical study still preserves its importance: Franz Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen in 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verein für Buchwesen und Schrift, 1919).

the events of 1908, describing it as the "long waited" realization of the publishing

industry to its fullest. Only a few writers take a different tack, such as Palmira

Brummet, who laments the lack of reference works on "Ottoman literary

officialdom," that is to say even the studies about the developments after 1908 lacks a

proper prosopographical research showing the relational map of actors active in

publishing industry.[25]

In this respect, the belated introduction of the printing press into Ottoman

social life has taken the center stage in contemporary literature, overshadowing any

other aspect of late nineteenth century printing practices, including the broader

cultural activities centrally or marginally influenced by the very existence of a

printing press in the Ottoman context. Only fairly recently has there been a shift in

Ottoman historiography to incorporate the Hamidian era into the general

modernization narrative of the Turkish national historiography. There is an even more

recent revisionist effort to overcome eurocentricist contextualizations embedded in

the modernization paradigm.[26]

This shift in paradigm is carried over into the field of intellectual history, in

general, and publishing history, in particular. To give a concrete example, Johann

Strauss, with his emphasis on multi-lingual and inter-communal exchanges between

the different ethnic, linguistic, and social communities that constituted the diverse

world of the late Ottoman Empire, paved the way for a challenge to the anachronistic

readings of the traditional Turkish nationalist historiography, in the framework of

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25 Palmira Johnson Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908-1911* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), p. 29.

26 For a detailed analysis, see Nadir Özbek, "Modernite, Tarih ve İdeoloji: İkinci Abdülhamid Dönemi Tarihçiliği Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 2, no. 1 (2004): 71-90.

which the nineteenth century Ottoman print culture becomes nothing more than an ahistorical legitimization of proto-nationalism.[27] In fact, Strauss's recent article invites us to re-think the book and its role in the literary world of the Ottoman Empire from the perspective of the readers, who positioned themselves not only in the Ottoman world of letters, but also in a rich web of relationships with European print culture.[28]

Ultimately, it is appropriate to say that the history of printing and publishing in this period is still short of monographs concentrating on booksellers and their role in the emergence of the broader literary market. The first study on a bookseller belongs to Naşid Baylav and dates back to 1952. Baylav outlines the story of one of the "first" Muslim booksellers, Hacı Kasım Efendi, and his engagement in the book trade of Istanbul. Though invaluable for Baylav's meticulous, yet condensed, account of the early years of booksellers in Istanbul, his book nevertheless remains a sketchy, twenty-page compilation of reminiscences and biographical information rather than being a monograph.[29] Without question, the first "proper" monograph is Başak Ocak's study on Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi [Çığıraçan], in which she, however, emphasizes his identity as a publisher rather than a bookseller.[30]

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27 Johann Strauss, "The Millets and the Ottoman Language: The Contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman Letters (19th - 20th Centuries)," *Die Welt des Islams* 35, no. 2 (1995): 189-249; Johann Strauss, "İstanbul'da Basılan Fransızca Kitaplar (1730-1908)," trans. Erol Üyepazarcı, *Müteferrika*, no. 18 (2000): 3-35; Johann Strauss, "'Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute' Printing and Publishing in a Multi-Ethnic Society," in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy* (New York: Routledge-Curzon, 2004), 228

28 Johann Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th--20th centuries)?," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6, no. 1 (2003): 39-76.

29 Naşid Baylav, *İlk Türk Kitapçılarından Hacı Kasım Efendi* (Istanbul: T.E.N. Tıp ve Eczacılık Neşriyatı, 1962).

30 Başak Ocak, *Bir Yayıncının Portresi, Tüccarzâde İbrahim Hilmi Çığıraçan* (İstanbul: Müteferrika, 2003).

Aside from these two works, there are some noteworthy articles about prominent booksellers in late nineteenth century Istanbul: for instance, Ali Birinci's brief introduction to the career of Kasbar Efendi as a bookseller[31] and İ. Lütfü Seymen's introductory section concentrating on Arakel Tozluyan's central place in the book trade of the time, accompanying the facsimiles of his correspondence with a customer.[32]

All of these studies share a common perspective in their narrative. They represent the booksellers of the late nineteenth century as the antecedents of forthcoming modern booksellers. In the example of Ocak's and Baylav's studies this propensity also is intermeshed with a nationalist predisposition. Despite the fact that Birinci's and Seymen's personas do not neatly fit into the nationalist framework, because of their ethnic origins, the above authors treat them as the modernizing facet of bookselling, which culminated in the period of the Turkish Republic. In an ironic way, the Armenians Arakel Efendi and Kaspar Efendi, are treated by the above authors as nothing less than pioneers of Turkish modernization due to their contributions to the development of a printing culture that later on promoted Turkish nationalism.

Regardless of one's position on the relation of printing culture to Turkish nationalism, a more productive question may be whether any specific contribution singles some booksellers of the period out from the rest, such as Anthony and Nicholas Depasta or Bedros Balentz. What specific characteristic, if any,

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31 Ali Birinci, "Kitapçılık Tarihimizden Bir İsim: Kaspar Efendi," *Kebikeç* 1 (1995): 27-34.

32 İ. Lütfü Seymen, "Erbab-ı Mütalaaya Hizmet: I. Meşrutiyet Kitapçılığı ve Arakel Tozluyan Efendi'nin Mektupları," *Müteferrika* 1 (1993): 67-111.

differentiates them from other Armenian, Rum, or Levantine booksellers? I would argue that such a characteristic does exist: namely, the introduction to the late Ottoman book market of the novel practice of printed cataloging by some booksellers. To be more specific, Arakel Tozluyan published his catalog, *Arakel Kitâbhânesi Esâmi-i Kütübü*, as early as 1884. The catalog was a big success. In the following years, therefore, he published seven more addenda. The catalog of Arakel has 968 titles under 34 headings. A brief explanation accompanies each title. The last page contains an index of the headings.[33] The next catalog in line was Kirkor's catalog: *Asır Kütübhânesi Esâmi-i Kütübü*. It has 232 titles under 14 headings, and except for his own publications, there are no explanations provided for the books.[34] Kasbar published his own catalog in 1891.[35]

And yet, theirs were not even the first: Strauss notes that Anthony and Nicholas Depasta published their inventory as early as 1858.[36] The reason behind my particular interest in Arakel is not related to any "first historic appearance", but to the qualitatively different way in which he tailored his catalogs to books printed in Ottoman Turkish.

As Strauss mentions, none of the existing scholarly works on the book history of the late Ottoman Empire have scrutinized these catalogs as a possible primary source of information regarding the period in question.[37] The only available

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33 *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, 1884).

34 *Asır Kütübhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1889).

35 *Kasbar Kütübhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1891).

36 Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th--20th centuries)?" p. 47.

37 Strauss, "'Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute' Printing and Publishing in a Multi-Ethnic Society."

piece of work that directly addresses these catalogs as a historical source is Erol

Üyepazarcı's article. Nevertheless, Üyepazarcı's approach is very different from this

author's, since he uses the above material only to provide some general information

and commentary from the perspective of today's reader peering in an exoticizing way

into the reading habits of late nineteenth century Istanbul.[38]

To summarize my approach, I consider Arakel's catalogs of particular

importance as they constitute a clear indication that the structures regarding

publishing practices in late nineteenth century Istanbul were undergoing a profound

transformation as a response to a growing popular demand. As will be demonstrated

later on, contrary to the similar practices of the past, Arakel's decision to invest in

books published in Ottoman Turkish reflects the emergence of a new market of

Ottoman speaking consumers of books. This market consisted of varieties of reader

groups, united predominantly in their difference from the erudite Muslim and non-

Muslim elites of the Empire. Starting from this reality, it shall be argued that the

catalogs, originally designed to cater to these newly appearing groups of literate —

and yet not necessarily "educated"— Ottoman readers, started to influence the

preferences of these consumers. In this way, a dynamic network was created between

booksellers and their clients quiet independently from the state and missionary

educational strategies of the era.

For the above reasons, I decided to organize my research around the three

catalogs mentioned above, with a special focus on Arakel's first published catalog in

1884. In short, my argument is that though booksellers initially conceived of

catalogs as a means to respond to the needs of their growing customer base, these

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38 Erol Üyepazarcı, "Arakel Efendi'nin Kitap Kataloğu Yahut Evlad-ı Arab'ın
Mertliği ve Yahut Esrar-ı Farmason," *Müteferrika* 1 (1993): 57-61.

catalogs ultimately became the medium through which the printed book was transformed into a commodity in the late nineteenth century literary market of Istanbul. But what does 'commodity' mean in the context of the books? The next section presents a theoretical exploration of this relationship.

<div align="center">The Commodity and the Materiality of the Book:
Basic Components and Further Elaborations</div>

Commodity, in its most general usage, is anything human beings have access to in the physical world in order to fulfill their needs. Even though the etymology of the word goes back to the fifteenth century, rather political economists of the nineteenth century coined the term as any object produced for use or exchange. Neo-classical economists further marginalized the term into the specialized sense of any primary product without qualitative differentiation.

Marx was not the first one to use commodity in the economic sense, but he elaborated it as an analytical concept that serves as an apparatus to understand how the capitalist mode of production gradually became dominant in the nineteenth century Europe. His explanation of the commodity covers the first chapter of his seminal multi-volume *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*.[39] Although it does not stand as authoritative as once it has been, it will not be exaggeration to suppose that Marx's study of commodity has remained foundational to all subsequent studies involving the concept. Thus, this section also starts with a brief overview of his analysis.

According to Marx, the qualitative properties of a thing imbue "use-value"

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39 Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, trans. Ben Fowkes, vol. 1, 3 vols. (London: Penguin Books, 1992).

of the object. These properties are intrinsic to the physicality of the object in question which human beings access directly in order to fulfill any kind of human needs whether it be related to subsistence or not. In a sense, they constitute the "natural forms"[40] of any object. This use-value is transformed into abstraction because of the exchange between two diverge use-values. By abstraction, Marx refers to the reducibility of use-value to a "mode of expression of value" in which two different use-values could compensate their varied qualities. This mode of expression, which carries out extrinsic and relative "form of appearance" is translated into quantitative properties. Thus, as he writes "use-values, commodities differ above all in quality, while as exchange-values they can only differ in quantity, and therefore do not contain an atom of use-value."[41]

The question of what constitutes the quantification of use-value that is intrinsic to the object in terms of exchange process remains, because the exchange-value is not dependant on the use-value entering the mode of expression of value. For Marx, the continuity of exchange-value without depending on the use-value in the exchange relation is only possible by the amount of "human labor objectified" in it. This quantification depends on the duration of the labor time spent to produce the commodity in question, and "as exchange-values, all commodities are merely definite quantities of congealed labor-time."[42] In fact, the commodity expressed in exchange-value still carries the utility, but not due to its use-value; in other words the natural form. In anthropologist Maurice Godeliers's words, "the use value of a commodity,

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40 Ibid., p. 138.

41 Ibid., pp. 125-8.

42 Ibid., pp. 129-30.

be it a material or immaterial one, its usefulness in other words, is important only insofar as it is the indispensable support for its exchange-value. . ."[43]

This indispensability, in Marx's analysis, entangled with his analysis of the comparability of the values in different forms in accordance with the relation of exchange. He underlines the problematic nature of this basic equation established between two quantities of the same materiality in order to analyze that intrinsic property that is in fact taken as equivalent, namely the objectified human labor embedded in them. The commodity compared occupies a position as an "equivalent form." It holds a value that is equivalent to the commodity compared to it, which has "relative value" in an exchange relation.[44] When an equivalent form is accepted socially as a general value-form something to which all other commodities measures quantitatively, it becomes a "money-form."[45]

Needless to say, that the above summary does not fully establish how Marx defines commodity. Actually, it does not intend to do so. It does, however, try to show that Marx's definition strongly depends on the significance of the money-form as an objectification of commodities. In this way, Marx could use the concept of commodity to analyze the matrix of conditions of exchange, specifically is the capitalist market, but also he inextricably attached this conceptualization to a specific period and geography, namely nineteenth century European capitalism. Commodity, as a Marxian concept becomes an analytical tool to differentiate between stages or levels of particular systems in comparison with European industrialization and the

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43 Maurice Godelier, *The Enigma of the Gift* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 64.

44 Marx, *Capital*, pp. 138-44.

45 Ibid., pp. 162-3.

rise of capitalism as the dominant system in the world. In John Frow's words, "the history of the capitalist mode of production is, on this account, is a history of the progressive extension of the commodity to new spheres."[46]

Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai criticizes this point and provides us with a different set of tools with which to conceptualize the commodity in relation with exchange.[47] What he proposes is in fact simple: Ignoring the set of questions trying to answer what the commodity is. Instead, he advocates focusing on different set of questions, trying to understand "what sort of an exchange is commodity exchange."[48]

By juxtaposing two different forms of exchange, namely barter and gift, vis á vis commodity exchange, he challenges the categorical distinction made between traditional societies and industrialized ones on the grounds that both modes of exchange share commonalities. For Appadurai, one has to be aware of the calculative dimension of exchange in all three forms in order to situate the commodity in a "processual" perspective.[49] The advantage of such a perspective is

> looking at the commodity potential of all things rather than searching fruitlessly for the magic distinction between commodities and other sorts of things. It also means breaking significantly with the production-dominated Marxian view of the commodity and focusing on its total trajectory from production, through exchange/distribution, to consumption.[50]

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46 John Frow, "Gift and Commodity," in *Time & Commodity Culture: Esays in Cultural Theory and Postmodernity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 134.

47 Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, 4th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 3-63.

48 Ibid., p. 9.

49 Ibid., pp. 11-13.

50 Ibid., p. 13.

Therefore, the things in a commodity state are not static, but always in motion, having their own social life in the cultural setting that governs its development.

Appadurai defines that the state of being in motion, its "situational position," as "exchangeability (past, present, or future) for some other thing is its socially relevant future."[51] Furthermore, based on this social relevancy, he separates the commodity situation into three basic combinations: the commodity phase, the commodity candidacy, and the commodity context. These are not stages of an evolutionary schema; they are rather situational categories for discerning the *commoditization of a thing.*

The commodity phase represents the temporal dimension, as so much as things can "move in and out" of being a commodity. The commodity candidacy is about the politico-cultural place of anything in a given social setting in which the exchangeability standards and criteria structure the exchange practices.[52] The commodity context, on the other hand, points out "the variety of *social* arenas, within or between *cultural* units that help link the commodity candidacy of a thing to the commodity phase of its career."[53] Concerning this explanation, Appadurai defines the commoditization as a process in opposition to the static form of categorization. It is a matrix of conditions of three situational practices enmeshed in the web of "temporal, cultural, and political factors prevelant at the time of object introduced."[54]

Furthermore, Apparudai states that in every society, there are "paths" which

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51 Ibid.

52 Ibid., pp. 13-14.

53 Ibid., p. 15.

54 Ibid., p. 39.

determines, or regulates the circulation of commodity situation around social conventions culturally and legally determined. In other words, these paths lay the limits of the circulation in terms of the object and how, where, by whom it can be exchanged. In the West, emerging perhaps with the expansion of bourgeois capital in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries major players could extract advantages from governments in the form of regulations for commodity production and commercialization.

This trend intensified by a general condition of overproduction in the second half of the twentieth century. There occurred an upswing in legal and administrative measures for protecting various productive/commercial/financial interests via the commodity: a multiplication of regulatory bodies, commodity definitions and classification systems, traceability regulations, intellectual property rights, etc.

On the other hand, there are always social groups, classes, communities, or even individuals who sought ways to circumvent the laid out paths in order to fulfill their conflicting needs and interests. These are "diversions." The combination of paths and diversions in the social life of commodity, thus, provides a politically contested area of determining the commodity status and its limits in a given society. In this respect, explaining commodity situation always intermingles with culture and politics: The cultural one relates to the categorization of objects, and the second one relates to decisions on "paths and diversions."[55]

Appadurai's account opens up the possibility to scrutinize commodity as a social relationship, and the commoditization as the social practices governing it. It is an oversimplification for such a complex and path-braking theory, but it certainly

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55 Ibid., pp. 16-29.

provides grounds for asking questions without falling back on commodity as a by-product of industrial capitalism and its market relations.

This is why it is possible to interpret manuscripts circulating across Europe throughout fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as commodities. Surely they had differed by their visibly limited base of customers from the exigencies of a more illusionary body of readers available in the mass produced book market. In other words, generally a customer commissioned scribes to produce a copy of this or that manuscript for his (more rarely her) personal library, or libraries attached to institutions, such as universities or churches.[56]

On the other hand, it is also possible to propose that the printing press converted the book as a material object into replicas, erasing its materiality as far as it was established by the way of its uniqueness. In fact, the transition from manuscript culture to print culture often invokes the changes related to the book and its surrounding cultural relations in terms of materiality of the book.

For example, Jan-Dirk Müller refers to the body of the book as something that was constructed both by the practices in production of printing or scriptural material, ink, paper, machinery and by / within intellectual and social formations of the period. Thus, he speaks of this very contradiction when he shows that the advent of the printing press severed and re-configured the metaphorically established presence of the author and meaning embedded in the materiality of the book. It was no longer the manuscript that guaranteed the "longevity" of the word, "but rather … numerous institutions that select the constantly growing reservoir of writings and

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56 Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 46.

allow them to become effective."[57] In Müller's account, the printing press with its mass production possibilities paved the ground for re-thinking the materiality of the book in terms of a new totality. The reference to the book turned into a reference to the totality of a tradition and its place among that tradition. The former understanding of the book as the embodiment of generations of scribers who transferred the corporeal presence of the author of the text and chains of generational relations between that transference lost its importance.[58] That is why in my inquiry the conceptual organization involved in the notion of the book is at stake and not the origins of the material practice of book production.

The book as a commodity has some peculiarities. It cannot be defined simply in reference to its physicality. When we hold a book, all we hold is some kind of paper whether it is a scroll, codex, printed volume or having any other form. We sell books, buy them, and pass them from hand to hand. When we speak of *das Kapital* we refer to a book while it is obvious that what we speak of is not only an object but also as the layers/web of meanings into which this book is embedded, out of which it emerges and into which it is reinterpreted. In other words, the book is more than an object; there is difference when we talk about book as a material and book as a notion.

Robert Darnton defines this contradiction prevalent in the notion of the book as follows: The contradiction of the book as a material artifact and a web of meanings is reflected on the two respective scholarly research agenda, namely book

57 Jan-Dirk Müller, "The Body of the Book: The Media Transition from Manuscript to Print," in *Materialities of Communication*, ed. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht and Karl Ludwig Pfeiffer, trans. William Whobrey, Writing Science (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 45.

58 Ibid., pp. 41-5.

history and intellectual history, [59] whereby the former, more recently emerged

discipline looks "less like a field than a tropical rain forest."[60] According to Darnton,

both disciplines "reject the notion of a book as a container of ideas" to a certain

extent they share the idea that the book is an activity in the making by readers and

authors who "appropriate and fashion language in their own way."[61] Darnton

underlines book history as an interdisciplinary field that can enrich the emphasis of

intellectual history on language and its discursive analysis by providing a solid and

material ground for the dissemination of the ideas through printing, publishing and

reading practices. He provides an example based on bibliographical analysis of

Shakespeare in a context of lack of his original manuscripts. In the wake of this

absent body of the authentic book, it is possible to invigorate "fairly definitive

readings" in general thanks to bibliographical analysis.[62]

  In order to tame the tropical rain forest and carve out a 'field' out of the

jungle of books, Darnton calls out for a collaboration of varied methodologies

characteristic of different scholarly disciplines alongside a common agenda or

problematic.[63] An attempt at giving a full picture of this ambivalent scholarly debate

around how book history is defined by Darnton would go beyond the framework of

this study. But the principles he proposes for the studies concerning the printed book

constitutes the backbone of the approach of this thesis to the catalogs containing,

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59 Robert Darnton, "Discourse and Diffusion," *Contributions* 1, no. 1 (2006): 21-26.

60 Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?" in *The Book History Reader*, ed. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 10.

61 Darnton, "Discourse and Diffusion," p. 23.

62 Ibid., pp. 23-4.

63 Darnton, "What is the History of Books?."

categorizing and presenting printed books.

According to Darnton books are facilitators of relations rather inventories of ideas. He defines a "communications circuit" depending on six stages (from authors to publishers, printers, shippers, booksellers and readers) which "transmits messages, transforming them en route, as they pass from thought to writing to printed characters and back to thought again."[64] For him, the book history is simply the study of this circuit as a total and its constituent elements in particular. Catalogs constitute one of the constitutive elements in and within this "communications circuit."

Darnton concurrently emphasizes the notion of the book not as a material object, but the material relations of the production of texts. While doing so he occasionally contradicts his own argument in favor of the bibliographic study of the book as an object when he brought the contribution of such studies into the field in "Discourse and Diffusion" where he discusses how the bibliographic study can contribute to circulation and the diffusion of the books in historical context.

When he published "What is the History of Books?" in 1982,[65] book history as a scholarly field existed but its borders to and relation with literature and analytical bibliography were problematic. Actually, Darnton's insistence on the relational model of the book signified a shift to a cultural materialist stance that resembled to the neo-Marxist formulation of the circulation of commodities for consumption. When he elaborates on his framework in 2007, he clearly underlines that the book "in its

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64 Ibid., p. 11.

65 It was first published in: "What is the History of Books?," *Daedalus* 111 (1982): 65-83 revised version reprinted as the opening article in the first reader compiled especially focusing on book history in 2001.; The revised edition has first appeared: "What Is the History of Books?," in *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York: Norton, 1990), 107-36 and was later reprinted as the opening article in the first reader compiled especially focusing on book history in 2001, see supra n. 48.

materiality" is constructed not only by the printing process itself but also by the cultural involvement of booksellers / publishers and the readers at alternating levels. The example he provides is the significance of the paper and the discourse on its quality, variety and the ways it was produced and obtained in the eighteenth century world of books. It occupied a prominent role in materiality of the book with regard both to the production and consumption.[66]

It is possible to argue that the problematics around the book and its materiality in Darton's ouvre is representative for the overall trends that the book history as a sub-discipline has undergone in the last decade. Even the first internationally acclaimed "The Book History Reader" states in its introduction that the discipline "achieves its relative distinction from both its emphasis upon print culture and the role of the book as material object within that culture."[67]

Where a mode of inquiry focuses on the book rather than on the text, this is done to evoke the material nature of the book imbued in the 'communications circuit'. Thus the study of the book is bound up with the problems of the term "material" in two ways, since it now takes place in a dual optic – on the one hand in the perspective of a renovated study of material culture, on the other in the current versions of cultural materialism.

Here we would be looking the "history of the book" which could and should not be unfolded historically, but which in its essence would have to be framed conceptually: the relations between the material form of the book and its conceptual

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66 Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books" Revisited," *Modern Intellectual History* 4, no. 3 (2007): pp. 497-8.

67 David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, "Introduction," in *The Book History Reader*, ed. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 1.

form which make up the "notion of the book." This approach renders any chronological hierarchy of "cause and effect" in the form of the question – does the material form determine the content or the content the material form of the book?- irrelevant. What is at stake in such an inquiry is not the origins of the pure material practice of book production, but the overall conceptual ordering involved in the notion of book. Thereby catalogs, as books on books and as orderings of books, become an important source of study.

In that sense, the booksellers' catalogs are not only "direct" advertisement and promotion of the printed books, but also books about books in which meta-information is given. This information comprises of the physical aspects of the books as well as of how this physicality is attached to the content; the condition, quality of paper, binding etc.; its readability, appropriateness for specific reader's needs and typography and of course, its price.Catalogs create expectations; they create a notion that is attached to the physicality of the printed book.

That is not to say that the booksellers intentionally tried to define the printed book only in terms of their physicality. In contrast, their catalogs were far from categorizing the books only according to their forms. In fact, these catalogs were organized as a vehicle to order the printed books where this physicality was waiting to be constructed. The catalogs was only an attempt to widen the customer base by providing an easy, or more convenient way to present the latest printed material, though they also served as a way of representing the printed book as a new candidate defined as the tool of knowledge different than traditional media.

In the case of Arakel, Kirkor and Kasbar the catalogs, there is another aspect to be labeled as a conundrum in which nineteenth century booksellers in Istanbul

operated: The illiteracy of the population, or the literacy in variety of other scripts / language; their consumers were limited in number. Furthermore, the manuscript culture had deep roots and could not be eradicated overnight in favor of the printed book. Here we talk about both qualities of manuscripts: status symbols and mediums of knowledge. The book catalog, acting as a medium for establishing meta-narratives for the notion of the printed book, radically changed the context in which manuscript had and made a meaning. The manuscript began to slide into another sphere of "exlusive" exchange, which was managed by auctions, leaving a gap in the existing networks of written culture to be filled within a very short time. This gap was actually filled by emergent enterprises, the booksellers who defined themselves not only in line with the commoditization and profitability but also ideologically as the servants of the advancement of sciences and education.

CHAPTER 3
BOOKSELLERS, LIBRARIES AND THEIR CATALOGS
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Around 1875, anyone might hear a ditty (*tekerleme*) sang by paper distributors

(*müvezzi*s) that intermingles the everyday life concerns such as what to eat in the

Ramazan and what to wear in muddy streets of Istanbul, with how many of *Basiret*

and *Terakki*, two of the prominent newspapers at that time, was sold around

Çemberlitaş.[68] It was one of the places that you could buy *Basiret* or *Terakki* from the

müvezzi. According to Strauss, in his study of nineteenth-century publishing houses

in Istanbul, *müvezzi*s had "a legendary reputation among the bibliophiles of Istanbul"

because of their ability to provide any kind of printed material to their customers.[69]

Their presence dated back to the time of *Tercümân-ı Âhvâl,* another well-known

newspaper. But the word, *müvezzi*, referred to two different occupations: On the other

hand, the "barkers" who were hired by the administrators of the journal[70] or works as

entrepreneur[71] as well as the ones such as Celil Ağa the tobacco-seller (*tönbekici*) and

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68 "*Şok şamur bu memleket fil kundura leyş faide / İsteriz bir şift şorab lâkin kavî
çizmât ile / Ramazan geldi, Haci Abla ister reçel, / Oruç olmaz ya efendi! Sâde makarnât ile,
/ Var bir "Fosfor", burda satmaz hepsi yollar fil Mısır / Rahmet olsun pek çok "Terakki"
sattı "Basûrat" ile.*" Refi Cevad Ulunay, "Takvimden Bir Yaprak: Büyük Bir Gazeteci"
Milliyet, (18 Mayıs 1958.) quoted in Basiretçi Ali Efendi, *İstanbul Mektupları*, ed. Nuri
Sağlam (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2001), xviii.

69 Johann Strauss, "İstanbul'da Kitap Yayını ve Basımevleri," trans. Erol Üyepazarcı,
Müteferrika 1 (1993): p. 8.

70 Münir Süleyman Çapanoğlu, *Basın Tarihine Dair Bilgiler ve Hatıralar* (İstanbul:
Hür Türkiye Dergisi Yayınları, 1962), pp. 122-4.

71 Ali Birinci, "Kitapçılık Tarihimizden Bir İsim: Kaspar Efendi," *Kebikeç* 1 (1995):
p. 30.

Hasan Ağa in Bahçekapı mentioned by Strauss. The second kind of *müvezzi* had a well-known shop whose goods with mostly books and periodicals rather than daily newspapers. Strauss lists a tömbekici, two booksellers (*sahhâf*), a petitioner (*arzuhâlci*), a paper-dealer (*kağıdcı*), a pharmacist (*eczacı*), a book-store (*kitâbcı*), and one individual by name (İsmâil Efendi). He does not include buying directly from the office of the periodical or the option of getting it by postal service. These were the possible places for anyone who wanted to buy *Mecmûa-i Fünûn* in 1862.[72]

Booksellers versus Sahhafs

Yahya Erdem using western travel accounts tries to trace the development of book selling in the Ottoman Empire.[73] His article covers a whole period stretching from fourteenth century up to the nineteenth century although his focus is on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He argues that *sahhâf*s underwent a series of changes: The book production was an important part of their profession before the introduction of printing press, and it continued up to the second half of the nineteenth century. Before the introduction of the printing press, *sahhâf*s were the main distributors of manuscripts as well as commissioners organized as a guild in the Bedestan.[74]

Although they had sold and bought printed books alongside the manuscripts before 1860s, after that time their monopoly over the book trade in Istanbul was

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72 Strauss, "İstanbul'da Kitap Yayını ve Basımevleri," pp. 7-8.

73 Yahya Erdem, "Sahaflar ve Seyyahlar: Osmanlı'da Kitapçılık," *Müteferrika* 20 (2001): 3-18.

74 Ibid., pp. 6-12.

shaken, as can be understand from Erdem's sarcastic sentence about "pouring out books into tobacco shops."[75] The changing patterns of book production accelerated the process: The number of the printed books increased after the 1850s.[76] The printed book replaced the manuscripts gradually, so as the places where they were sold. Unfortunately, there is not specific knowledge about the inventories of those *sahhâf*s or their profiles. The European travelers repeatedly emphasize the absence of the proper catalogs.[77] Hacı Kasım Efendi, owner of the first book-store in today's Sahhâflar Çarşısı in Beyazıd, continued to sell both printed and hand-written books for a long time.[78] Henry Otis Dwight observes the same situation from a different perspective when he states that any person could find beautiful manuscripts alongside the heap of useless pamphlets full of out-dated information in the 1890s.[79]

While the *sahhâf*s were beginning to loose importance, or central role in the distribution of the book, other branches of tradesmen began to share their commercial role, or even to replace them by the 1870s. These were not shops with goods limited to only books, newspapers, pamphlets etc. The printed material usually has secondary importance. Tobacco shops were the most prominent kind of those retailers; their involvement in book trade resulted from their position as the centers in

75 . . . *henüz kitapların tömbekici dükkanlarına dökülmediği 1840'lı yılların. . . .* Ibid., p. 13.

76 Christoph K. Neumann, "Book and Newspaper Printing in Turkish, 18th -20th Centuries," in *The Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Jews, Christians, and Muslims*, eds. Christoph Herzog, Raoul Motika, and Anja Pistor-Hatam (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz in Kommission, 2001), p. 236.

77 Erdem, "Sahaflar ve Seyyahlar: Osmanlı'da Kitapçılık."

78Naşid Baylav, *İlk Türk Kitapçılarından Hacı Kasım Efendi* (Istanbul: T.E.N. Tıp ve Eczacılık Neşriyatı, 1962).

79 Henri Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress* (New York: Young People's Missionary Movements, 1901).

which "the great civil functionaries" used to go and oversee the preparation of tobacco suited to their taste.[80] In 1874, *Afrika Seyahatnâmesi*[81] was only available from Tönbekici Hasan Ağa for a short period of time: Later on it was possible to buy it from the office of the printing house.

Basiretçi Ali Efendi, a journalist, complained about this inconvenience and suggested that it should be also available in order to prevent eager readers from traversing such a distance.[82] He did not want to go to Bahçekapı, changing his usual route in a day just to buy the booklet[83] because he also mentioned that he only asked to the *müvezzi*s whom he met by chance.[84] In fact, his complaints about was repeated for at other times about other titles such as *Kırımîzade Mecmûası*[85] and *Hâbnâme*.[86] He complained not only about the distance but also the unavailability of titles. He went to all the places he could find, but failed to find them, especially *Kırımîzâde Mecmûası*.

The possible solution to that problem, according to him, was the distribution of the booklets (*cüz'*) also to the newspaper dealers. The main difference between the

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80 Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza, *Eski Zamanlarda İstanbul Hayatı*, ed. Ali Şükrü Çoruk (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2001), p. 275.

81 Georges Schweinfurth, *Şivinfordun Afrika Seyahatnâmesi*, trans. Mustafa Said and Ali Said (İstanbul: Basiret Matbaası, 1874).

82 Basiretçi Ali Efendi, *İstanbul Mektupları*, ed. Nuri Sağlam (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2001), p. 150.

83 It was printed in 9 booklets throughout 1872-1875 as we learn from Basiretçi Ali Efendi. He got his booklets to be bound in 1875 after last one: Ibid., pp. 368, 380, 391, 410

84 Ibid., pp. 170-1.

85 Ahmed Reşid Kırımîzâde, *Kırımîzâde Mecmûası* ([İstanbul]: Divitçiyan Tatyos Matbaası, 1874).

86 Pertev Paşa, *Pertev Paşa Hâbnâmesi* (İstanbul: n. p., 1875).

newspaper sellers and the tobacco-shops were not only their location, but also the media they sold. Some booklets were available in both of them whereas some booklets could only be reached in certain places.

His complaints provide us with a basic list about the book-selling at that period: They could be found in different places such as tobacco shops, paper-dealers, newspaper retailers, *sahhâf*s, bookstores, or *imâmeci*s.[87] And it was nearly impossible to differentiate one from another by his criteria, even the meaning of *müvezzi* seem to have indicated a general title given to anyone who took part in the distribution of the printed media beside the fact that there was a specialized branch selling mostly newspapers in specific quarters that were subject to change.[88] He stated only three personal names in 1876: Tönbekici Hasan Ağa, İmameci Mehmed Efendi and Sahaf Çırçırcı Mehmed Efendi.[89] Especially during Ramazan, Basiretçi Ali mentioned book shop-fronts within the courtyard of Beyazıt Cami. He found and bought *Habname* which he tried and had been unable to get from other book dealers.[90]

Books were also available in the places where they were published. Although Strauss stresses the fact that their addresses changed frequently, this option would be available throughout the century.[91] The booksellers in Galata and Beyoğlu were specialized in the books in foreign languages, usually imported from Europe.

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87 Basiretçi Ali Efendi, *İstanbul Mektupları*, pp. 170-1, 188, 194, 200, 272.

88 Ahmed Rasim, "Matbuat Tarihinden Bir Nokta Daha," in *Basın Tarihine Dair Bilgiler ve Hatıralar*, ed. Münir Süleyman Çapanoğlu (İstanbul: Hür Türkiye Dergisi Yayınları, 1962), p. 47.

89 Basiretçi Ali Efendi, *İstanbul Mektupları*, pp. 200, 272.

90 Ibid., p. 194.

91 Strauss, "İstanbul'da Kitap Yayını ve Basımevleri," p. 8.

As Hüseyin Cahid [Yalçın] (1875-1957) mentions in his memoirs that the French Bookstore[92] runned by D. Valéry was prominent among the multi-lingual Ottoman intellectuals. The students of Rüşdiye and Mülkiye also frequented this shop. Others were the shop of Wick, Librairie International of Otto and Keil and the shop of S. H. Weiss opposite the Sweden embassy.[93] Hüseyin Cahid published his first article as the translation of a book he bought from the bookseller Yuvanidis in Babıâli.[94]

In 1908, there were 128 booksellers in Istanbul. The main quarters of their location were given as Hakkaklar Çarşısı, Bedestan, Beyazıt and Babıâli. The smallest group was in Bedestan where the former book trade described by Erdem had taken place. These book sellers were marginalized by the expansion of the printed book as the primary medium of knowledge.[95] The sahhafs around Beyazıd, the tömbekicis and tobacco-shops around Bahçekapı and müvezzis moving throughout the city beginning from Beyazıd, Köprübaşı to Yedikule were the main agents that enabled the distribution of the printed book up to the 1880s.[96] In 1894, most of the sahhafs left their places in Bedestan due to the effects of an earthquake and moved next to *hakkak*s (engravers) near Beyazıt Cami.[97]

It was at that time that bookstores on two sides of the Babıâli (Avenue of

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92 Yalçın, *Edebiyat Anıları*, p. 45.

93 Strauss, "İstanbul'da Kitap Yayını ve Basımevleri," p. 12.

94 Yalçın, *Edebiyat Anıları*, p. 43.

95 Server R. İskit, *Türkiyede Neşriyat Hareketleri Tarihine Bir Bakış* (İstanbul: Maarif Vekilliği, 1939), pp. 114-5.

96 Strauss, "İstanbul'da Kitap Yayını ve Basımevleri," pp. 8-9; Birinci, "Kitapçılık Tarihimizden Bir İsim: Kaspar Efendi," p. 27; Orhan Koloğlu, "Kitapçılar," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5 (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1995), pp. 29-30.

97 Erdem, "Sahaflar ve Seyyahlar: Osmanlı'da Kitapçılık," p. 14.

Sublime Porte) began to proliferate although the first example mentioned dates back the 1870s.[98] Arakel opened his shop at Babıâli Caddesi number 46 in 1875.[99] Other Armenians followed his example: Kaspar opened his own book store named Tedrisat Kütüphanesi in 1888, as did Garabed Keşişyan, Ohannes Ferid, Kirkor Efendi. All of them were former müvezzis.[100]

As Birinci noted, "the establishment of the book stores or in other words the initial phase of the liberation of the books from the tobacco shops and tömbekicis could not be clarified even minimally."[101] The same perspective is also evident in a monograph written about the "first Turkish bookseller" in which the idea of modernization intermingles with Turkish nationalism.[102] Behind this modern outlook, specialized booksellers occupied important positions both in production and distribution of the printed book, which in turn negated their economic identity which defined the book as commodity; instead the book and printing were defined in line with intellectual service associated with the modern education and literacy.

Birinci is definitely right about the level of studies on the book trade in nineteenth century in Ottoman Empire, but "the liberation of the books" from the tobacco shops, paper-dealers, shop-fronts or peddlers did not occur throughout the

98 In a conversation between Kirkor Efendi and Ahmet Rasim, Kirkor Efendi mentions that a man called Toros was the first person to open a book shop in Babıali. Ahmed Rasim, "Matbuat Tarihinden Bir Nokta Daha," p. 47.

99 İ. Lütfü Seymen, "Erbab-ı Mütalaaya Hizmet: I. Meşrutiyet Kitapçılığı ve Arakel Tozluyan Efendi'nin Mektupları," *Müteferrika* 1 (1993): p. 68.

100 Seymen, "Erbab-ı Mütalaaya Hizmet: I. Meşrutiyet Kitapçılığı ve Arakel Tozluyan Efendi'nin Mektupları," p. 68; Birinci, "Kitapçılık Tarihimizden Bir İsim: Kaspar Efendi," p. 30; Strauss, "İstanbul'da Kitap Yayını ve Basımevleri," p. 10.

101 Birinci, "Kitapçılık Tarihimizden Bir İsim: Kaspar Efendi," p. 31.

102 Başak Ocak, *Bir Yayıncının Portresi, Tüccarzâde İbrahim Hilmi Çığıraçan* (İstanbul: Müteferrika, 2003).

century. The increase in the number of the printed books as well as the variety of available titles expanded after 1875.[103]

Ahmed Rasim (1864-1932), a journalist who worked in various newspapers both in Ottoman and Republican times in Istanbul, wrote about one of his frequent visits to the bookshop of Kirkor in the 1880s. Though his style was sympathetic, the gloomy description of the place was a mismatch with his reason to be there. The store was packed and its odor was awful due to its closeness to a toilet. The narrowness of the place turned the bookseller into "a head truncated from his shoulders behind a 'loomish' table." He almost mocked himself being in such a shabby place. Unfortunately, it was the only place he could find *Gunyet -ül Lügat*.[104] It was a French-Ottoman dictionary of technical terms which seemed to be more significant than *Kamus-i Fransevi* of Şemseddin Sami due to its more varied entries on the subjects of "fishes and docks." He was surely a reader "par excellence," by his own judgments, taste and preferences among the available books in the market.

But before marking the relation with this anecdotal story and the catalogs of this booksellers, it is necessary to take a glimpse into the ordering of the books in the libraries both as the central inventories of manuscripts and centers of cataloging activities.

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103 Neumann, "Book and Newspaper Printing in Turkish, 18th -20th Centuries," pp. 236-7.

104 Ahmed Rasim, *Matbuat Hatıralarından: Muharrir, Şair, Edib*, ed. Kazım Yetiş (İstanbul: Tercüman, 1980), p. 17.

Libraries and Their Catalogs in Print

Around the same time, catalogs of libraries in Istanbul was also prepared. The first one appeared in 1862: *Kütübhâne-i Dâmâd İbrahim Paşa* (Library of Dâmâd İbrahim Paşa). After six years, the second one was available. In eleven years (1883-1894), the number of printed catalogs reached up 40 titles[105] although there were 48 libraries around Istanbul listed by the *Annual of the Ministry of Public Instruction* in 1900.[106] According to İskit, in 1883 there were 46 libraries holding approximately 70,000 books.[107] Each catalog listed single library holdings. Before that period attempts also had been made to prepare a collective library catalog.[108] The first such attempt dates back to 1854. It was hand-written catalog that gives a selection from 46 libraries in Istanbul. Ali Fethi Bey prepared the catalog and the main categories were religious works, the works of literature and history, and last section was reserved for the natural sciences. The first printed collective catalog is considered to have been Abdurrahman Nacim Beg's work prepared around 1870.[109]

These 75 catalogs, namely "catalogs of the Hamidian era" (*Devr-i Hamidi Fihristleri*) in relation with the preceding ones usually use the same structure for

105 Though they cover 75 collections. The number of catalogs do not represent the number of libraries in İstanbul as they included one or number of collection deposited in a library: Nimet Bayraktar, "Yazma ve Basma Kütüphane Fihristleri," *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 21 (1982): 127-59.

106 Ahmed Nezih Galitekin, *Osmanlı Kaynaklarına Göre İstanbul: Câmi, Tekke, Medrese, Mekteb, Türbe, Hamam, Kütübhâne, Matbaa, Mahalle ve Selâtîn İmâretleri* (İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2003), pp. 970-972.

107 İskit, *Türkiyede Neşriyat Hareketleri Tarihine Bir Bakış*, p. 96.

108 Necmeddin Sefercioğlu, "Osmanlı Döneminde Kütüphane Katalogları," in *Osmanlı Devletinde Bilim, Kültür ve Kütüphaneler*, ed. Özlem Bayram (Ankara: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği, 1999), p. 146.

109 Ibid., p. 93.

categorization. The books about religious sciences occupy the first place followed by literature, history, geography and the natural sciences, and the holdings of the libraries of that period were dominantly manuscripts. There were only 86 printed books in Ayasofya Kütüphanesi out of 5272. These numbers were the results of 1990 project by TÜYATOK (*Türkiye Yazmaları Toplu Kataloğu/Union Catalog of Manuscripts of Turkey*). So it shows the accumulation throughout the century. According to Kut, there were the Ayasofya collection consisted of 5090 books in 1886-87.[110]

Hence the usage of these catalogs was another question. As far as we know, the librarians (*Hafız-ı Kütüb*) of the period did not used the printed catalogs extensively. Most of the time, they relied on their former knowledge about the order of the books in the library, because the cataloging efforts did not entail re-ordering of the books according that categorization. The books remained where they had been before. According to Erünsal, between these periods the libraries and their services were not unified but changed according to the responsible officer. There were not standardized policies in order to offer extensive borrowing services.[111]

In 1869, the Ministry of Public Instruction (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti*) published a regulation according to which the libraries were put under the supervision of the Ministry and described as the source of the education. But as late as 1878, Basiretçi Ali complained about improper catalogs and the inability to find any library regularly working. According to him, libraries usually were used by the

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110 Günay Kut, "Sultan I. Mahmud Kütüphanesi (Ayasofya Kütüphanesi)," in *Osmanlı Devletinde Bilim, Kültür ve Kütüphaneler*, ed. Özlem Bayram (Ankara: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği, 1999), pp. 104, 110-2.

111 İsmail E. Erünsal, "Services Offered by the Ottoman Libraries: 1400-1839," *Libri* 43 (1993): 1-18.

theological students and their opening hours, as well as the closing hours was

regulated in line with the theological schools. Hence, he insisted on the regulation of

the working hours according to the daylight.[112] The idea of a public library was

proposed by prominent intellectuals repeatedly. As an example, Şemseddin Sami has

defended the establishment of public libraries fervently.[113] The libraries according to

the abovementioned Annual have 71,886 books in their collection. The new libraries

were scarce and usually attached to the new types of schools, or institutions. In 1884,

Bayezid Public Library was opened. The first book of the collection was a

manuscript of *Naima Tarihi*.[114]

Kitabçı Arakel's Catalog (1884) and Its Aftermath

Naima Tarihi was printed in six volumes between 1864-1867 according to EHTBEB.

The excerpt below shows how Kitabçı Arakel included the printed version of the

Naima Tarihi in his catalog, *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esami-i Kütübü*, published in

1884.[115]

> *Na'ima Tarihi* (History of Naima) * It is prepared upon six volumes, and
> it collects all important events and great victories of the period stretched
> from the establishment of the Ottoman Empire to 1283 of the Hejira. It is
> an illustrious work that is extremely famous and respected among the

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112 Basiretçi Ali Efendi, *İstanbul Mektupları*, pp. 383-4.

113 Özer Soysal, "XIX. Yüzyıl Sonlarında 'Türk Ulusal Kütüphanesi'ni Kurma Girişimi," *Türk Kütüphaneciliği* 1, no. 1 (1987): 9-16.

114 Halit Dener, *Süleymaniye Umumî Kütüphanesi* (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1957), p. 7.

115 Kitabçı Arakel, *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, 1884)

histories of Ottoman Empire.[116]

There was no price information, the printing house was not mentioned and he did not

provide any information about the author because of its obvious title. It only states

the chronological limitations and what kind of historical information was included as

well as how this particular book ranked among the others in terms of its rendition of

Ottoman history.

Little is known about Arakel's life beyond the details from 1886 to 1912, the

period in which he was active in the book trade in Istanbul. He was born in Afyon,

and moved into Istanbul when he was 18 years old. He started, or was initiated into,

publishing activities, as a *müvezzi*, then opened a bookshop in Galata after 1870. His

bookshop, which was moved to Babıali in 1875, was part of the printing activities

proliferating around the educational reforms that accelerated after the 1880s. As a

part of the newly emerging network of publishing and bookselling, he actively

participated in publishing school books as well as in introducing collections of

certain titles in series, such as *Osmanlı Kütüphanesi* (Ottoman Library) starting from

1886 onwards, and *Arakel Kitaphanesi Cep Romanları* (Pocket Novels of Arakel's

Bibliotheca) between 1891 and 1894.[117]

Like other publishers competing in a relatively small, but gradually growing,

market base because of the the low level of literacy, even in urban areas, Arakel's

motivation was to invent new vehicles to disseminate information about printed

works. *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esami-i Kütübü* and other lists and catalogs appeared after

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116 *altı cild üzere müretteb olub devlet-i aliye-i 'osmaniyenin ibtida-i zuhurundan 1283 sene-i hicriyesine kadar mümtedd olan zamanda zuhura gelen bi'l-cümle vakayi-i 'azime ve fütühat-ı cesimeyi cami' olub tevarih-i 'osmaniye sırasında gayet meşhur ve mu'teber bir eser-i celildir.* Ibid., p. 135.

117 Ocak, *Bir Yayıncının Portresi, Tüccarzâde İbrahim Hilmi Çığıraçan*, p. 11.

1884 met a clear need for a way to introduce more systematical ways to assess printed

works in regions some distance from Istanbul, not to mention Istanbul itself, as the

seat of a growing body of bureaucracy and the students.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Ottoman book publishing

enjoyed an increase in quantity and a change in orientation with regards to literary

works. As Türesay notes, it was not only the numbers, but also a cultural

transformation which manifested itself in the assortment of contemporary popular

novels and "second-rate" literary works in contrast to the classical works that had

been favored in the Tanzimat period.[118]

On the other hand, this increase in book production was essentially limited

to certain urban centers, such as Istanbul and Salonica.[119] In addition, publishing

books and running a printing house in provincial urban centers gradually became

cumbersome with regards to obtaining permission from *Encümen-i Teftiş ve*

Muayene (Committee of Inspection and Control), established in 1881 to which books

to be printed first had to be submitted. Apart from censorship and its institutionalized

bureaucracy's impact on the decrease in political periodicals and newspapers, it also

crippled the flourishing book production in provincial urban centers, such as Izmir.[120]

As a result, even booksellers, let alone the readers, in sizable provincial towns such as

Trabzon had to place orders with Istanbul booksellers. Arakel's catalog, besides his

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118 Türesay, "II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Yayımcılığı, Matbaa-i Ebüziya ve Bastığı Kitaplar," pp. 7-9.

119 Irvin Cemil Schick, "Osmanlı Döneminde Matbuat Kapitalizmi," *Virgül*, no. 126 (2009): 58-64.

120 Erkan Serçe, *İzmir'de Kitapçılık, 1839-1928*, 2nd ed. (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2002), p. 50.

further initiative to open branches in the provinces,[121] was a novel tool that served both other booksellers and their clients at the same time.

In that respect, Arakel's work was one of the earlier commercially-driven attempts to catalog all Ottoman-Turkish books printed after the introduction of the printing press, at a time when booksellers were scrambling to come to grips with the means of promoting the printed book as much as trying to find ways to keep up with the available printed material in Istanbul. In his *Mukaddime* (Preface), Arakel explained that although there had been remarkable progress in publishing and printing up to his time, a *fihris* (catalog) which included matbuat-ı cedide's categories and variety alongside the names of *müellif* (writers / authors / compilers) and to some extent the prices was still lacking. He succeeded to publish this fihris (catalog) the lack of which had been felt for a long time in order to easily access to the books desired to be read.[122]

However, as Arakel makes clear in his preface, he considered his work to be far from being complete; rather, he had had to exclude some titles in order to keep the size of the book within tolerable limits.[123] He intended his catalog not only to convey information about the latest printed material but also to give the price information next to each title, which he failed to do so because of the authors and translators who

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121 Seymen, "Erbab-ı Mütalaaya Hizmet: I. Meşrutiyet Kitapçılığı ve Arakel Tozluyan Efendi'nin Mektupları," p. 70.

122 . . . *kütüb ve resailin tab ve neşrince şimdiye kadar pek büyük eser-i terakki görülmüş iken matbuat-ı cedidenin cins ve nevini ve müelliflerinin esamisiyle bir dereceye kadar fiatlarını mübeyyin olarak henüz bir fihris vücuda getirilmemiş idi. . . . lüzumu çokdan beri his olunan böyle bir fihrisi . . . neşre muvaffak oldum.* Kitabçı Arakel, "Mukaddime," in *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü* (İstanbul : Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, 1884), n.p.

123 *Kitabhane-i acizanemde bulunmayan bir çok kütüb-i diniye ve sairenin esamisi dahi bu fihrise derc edilmek istenilmiş ise de . . . kâffesinin bu kitaba dercine kalkışılsa cesametçe bir kaç misli büyük bir kitap tertip etmek lazım geleceğinden . . .* Ibid.

did not sell the rights to a bookseller but published and decided on the price. This resulted in varying levels of pricing and the absence of fixed prices which, in return, prevented the bookseller, in this case Arakel, from providing a fixed price in his catalog.[124] Despite these shortcomings, the catalog was a big success. In following years, he published seven more addenda and different reprints with additions and updates. The other booksellers were also keen on adaptation to this new way of "showing off" their own inventories. [125]

Each title was accompanied by a description. The most ordinary observation about the description for each title was that all of the books were worthy of reading more or less in respect of their inclusion in the catalog. A description that could be called "standard" had three basic elements: The *müellif* (author), *mütercim* (translator), or both, the content and scope of the book, and the price, if available. *Akaid ül-İslam* under the category of *Edyan ve Mezahib* (Religions and Sects) and fullfills the basic components that Arakel himself defined in his *Mukaddime*:

> *Akaid ül-İslam* (Tenets of the Faith of the Islam) * It is the praiseworthy work of İbrahim Natıkî Efendi which was written out in Ottoman language with sufficient arguments concisely demonstrating only the tenets of the faith of the Sunnis among the theology. It contains a good deal of precepts pertaining to particular tenets and matters of religion and chapters of canonical jurisprudence and theology. Its price is 10 *guruş* (piaster).[126]

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124 *Kitaplar . . . müellif ve mütercimler tarafından kendi hesaplarına tab olunmuş ve her müellif ve mütercim ise kitabın fiatını bir kararda bırakmamış olduğundan bunların . . . fiatları yazılamayıp yalnız fiyatları sabit olanlar gösterilmişdir.* Ibid.

125 See web site *Booksellers' Catalogs in the Nineteenth Century Istanbul*. Available [online]: http://catalogs.dev3.webenabled.net/

126 *İbrahim Natıkî Efendinin 'ilm-i kelamdan yalnız aka'id-i ehl-i sünnet ve cemâati muhtasıran isbata kafî edillesiyle beraber lisan-ı osmanî üz(r)e kaleme aldığı eser-i cemili olup 'akaid ve mesa'il-i dakika-yı diniye ve mebahs-i fıkhıyeyi ve 'ilm-i kelâma müte'alık hayli kava'id ve feva'idi havi ve fiyatı 10 kuruşdur. Arakel Kitabhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü* (1884), p. 1.

Yet it is hard to suggest that all of the descriptions follow this same pattern. First of all, the distinction between *müellif* and *mütercim* was not clear cut. Often, Arakel's catalog did not necessarily included that information most of the time and did not clearly distinguish between who had written, translated or compiled the book published. This modern categorization of copyright ownership, depending on how the book was produced and who owned the text as a commodity, was the result of modern legislation over copyright and developed alongside the classification practices and diversification of the publishing industry from the eighteenth century onwards. In the example of Arakel's catalog, they did not correspond to a fixed category, and *müellif* was used rather as a category that combined translator, compiler, editor as well as only the author proper. Most of the books were missing that information. To be exact, 366 books out of 922 had no information regarding *müellif.* Several books had no information about its author, translator or editor such as *Afrika Seyahatnamesi*,[127] or you can find the information about the translator, but cannot find any information on from which author it was translated, such as *Sergüzeşt-i Robinson*.[128] These books usually were defined as praiseworthy, or worthy works, or desired works (*asar-ı mebrure, or asar-ı mergube*). The price information was also scarce in Arakel's 1884 catalog. 729 out of 922 titles had no information regarding prices.

There also was no standardization between the lengths of descriptions following the titles. These differences in the length of the descriptive texts also

127 Ibid., p. 86.

128 Ibid., p. 75.

served some kind of hierachization.

The lengthier descriptions usually belonged to Ahmed Midhat's corpus of works, which had a separate index on the back cover,[129] despite the fact that some of his works did not share the same privilege. There was also an index that enumerated his works according to pages they appeared at the back of the catalog alongside an index of the works printed in Ebüzziya Tevfik's printing house. Nevertheless, the lengthiest description belonged to the last book *Salon Eğlencelerini Muhtevi Bir Vecih-i Atidir*. It lists all the titles of content throughout six pages in which there was nothing about its price, author or translator.[130]

But these missing informations were all related to the scale of the catalog because the other following catalogs that he published did not necessarily display the same tendency. In the catalog published in 1887, Arakel lists 141 books and 102 of them had information about *müellif*. In addition, the differences between compiled works, authored works and translated works were much strongly emphasized. The words used in relation with the provided names differed from the previous ones. He emphasized the differences by using different compounds as *tasnif-kerdesi* (compilation done by), *tercüme-kerde* (translation made by) for different roles. Besides, the missing titles clearly overlapped with the recurrent tiles form the previous catalog, just like in the case of price information. The price information was also more available in that catalog, by providing price for more than half of the titles; 73 out of 141 have price information. The catalog published in 1898 had only one title that did not have price information. And only five of the books out of 41 had no

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129 Ibid., pp. 13, 177, 186.

130 Richard, *Salon Eğlenceleri* (İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1884).

information about *müellif*.

This tendency towards standardization was related to the scale of Arakel's 1884 catalog. It contained titles that were still in circulation in comparison to other addenda, which had most of the time latest additions only. As can be seen in Figure 1 below, the distribution of the titles according to their publication date indicates this distinctive characteristic of the 1884 catalog in comparison to others.
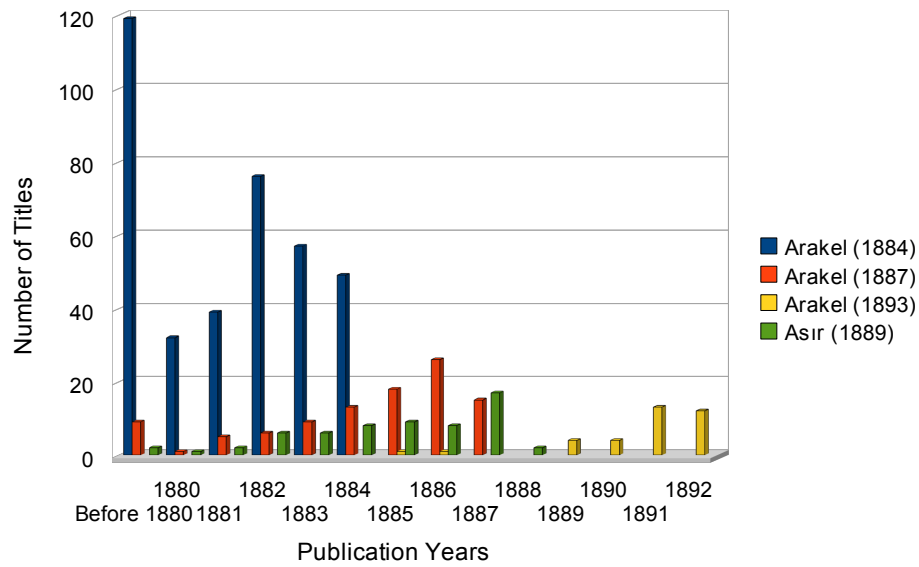

Fig. 1 Distribution of titles according to publication dates
Source: EHTBEB and EHTBEK filtered through the titles available in *Short List of Booksellers' Esâmi-i Kütüb (Names of the Books)*. Available [online]: http://catalogs.dev3.webenabled.net/arakel1884 [11 January 2010]

Arakel's catalog was a hybrid between a booksellers' way of providing access to the latest titles and providing access to the books that remained in circulation up to date. The gap between the books published before 1880 and afterwards increases dramatically when the books which had multiple publication dates, but all before 1880. It is, therefore acceptable to say that Arakel's catalog stood separate in comparison to others by trying to provide to a larger set of titles which did not share the same conditions and characteristics in term of production and distribution. The

discrepancies described above can be attributed to this characteristic.

Yet, Arakel's first attempt was notable in conception, scale, and content in comparison to others.[131] First of all, Arakel's first catalog, and all of his following addenda, clearly differentiated itself by listing books with a brief advertorial explanation, or description of contents (*mündericat*) in terms of catalog accompanying each title,[132] whereas the other booksellers, such as Kitabçı Kirkor, sometimes relied on short lists,[133] comprised of the names of the title and author, translator or editor followed by the price for the books which had not been commissioned by themselves. Secondly, the categorization was much more detailed in comparison to his addenda as well as the other booksellers' catalogs because of its scale. Lastly, in relation these two characteristics, it provides a snapshot of which books, at least the Ottoman-Turkish ones, were still in circulation in 1884.

The catalog had 980 items under 34 categories according to genres as well as related subjects. The last page contained an index of the categories[134] followed by an index of Ahmet Mithad's novels and the publications of Ebüzziya Tevfik. As can be seen from the Table 1, the headings, however, can be grouped according to their

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131 In relation with those differences, the first catalogue was not available for free, unlike the others. Arakel legitimizes the price tag of the catalogto the limited sources he had despite the fact that his work's comprehensiveness: ". . . *hacmine nisbetle haylice mesarifi müstelzim olmakla meccanen verilmeyib fakat yalnız bir kısım mesarifimizi kapatabilmek üzere bi'l-nisbe ehven bir fiyat vaz' edilmiştir.*" Kitabçı Arakel, "Mukaddime."

132 See Appendix A, Fig. 2.

133 See Appendix A, Fig. 3.

134 For the index see Appendix A. Without periodicals (*risale-i mevkute*), which have its own space comprised of 26 titles, and counting books only under the heading in which the description of content is provided with the exclusion of double entries referencing to other categories number of the books decreases to 944; if the books repeated under more than one categories and some book series such as *Meşahir-i İslam* is excluded number drops down to 922.

connotative subject headings preceeded some categories, *edebiyattan . . .* (from literature) *ulum ve fünundan . . .* (from sciences) despite the fact that index does not include this extended categorization. The headings standing as independent, so to say, not sub-categorized under more general headings to a certain extent familiar categories which are not in need of any further affiliation.

Table 1. The Distribution of Titles According to Categories in Arakel's Catalog of 1884

General	Subject Headings	# of Items	# of Items (repetitions excluded)
Edebiyattan	Münşeat Kitabları	32	29
	Edebiyat Kitabları	55	52
	Milli Hikayeler	57	57
	Tiyatro Kitabları	114	112
	Divan ve İşar ve Gazeliyat	47	43
	Romanlar	48	47
	Mudhik Hikayeler	11	11
	Sergüzeşt ve Teracim-i Ahval'e Mensub Kitablar	39	37
	Seyahatnameler	13	12
	Tarihe Dair Kitablar	89	86
	Edyan ve Mezahib	56	51
	Asar-ı Siyasiye	28	16
	Kavanin ve Nizamat	37	37
	Kavanin ve Nizamata Taalluku bulunan Kitablar	4	4
	Kütüb ve Resail-i Fıkhiye ve Adliye	29	29
	Mu'ahedat Mecmuaları	5	5
	Mekteb Kitabları	47	46
	Yine Mekteb ve Edebiyat Kitabları	15	15
	Sarf ve Nahiv ve Kavaide Dair Kitablar	36	36
	Hüsn-i Hatt Risaleleri	5	5
	Kütüb-i Lugat	29	27
	Elsine-i Muhtelife Üzerine Mukaleme Kitapları	12	11
Ulum ve Fünundan	Kimya Kitabları	5	5
	Usul-i Defteri Kitabları	5	5
	Hesaba Dair Kitablar	12	12
	Cebir Kitabları	3	3
	Coğrafya Kitabları	10	10
	Hendese Kitabları	11	11
	Hıfz-ı Sıhhat Kitabları	14	14
	Kozmografya Kitabları	4	4
	Tıb Kitabları	21	21
	Ziraat ve Ona Taalluku olan Kitablar	14	14
	Kütüb-i Muhtelife	51	51
	Risale-i Mevkute	26	26
		980	944

Arakel, in that sense, found it appropriate to put the new books, or new genres, into accustomed and accepted general categories. To illustrate, theatrical texts were labeled *Edebiyattan Tiyatro Kitapları* (Playbooks from literature) while it was

not necessary to depict *Divanlar, Eşar ve Gazeliyat* (Collection of Poems, Poems and Lyric Poems) in detail. On the other hand, *Romanlar* (Novels) was not treated the same as the others, alongside *Mudhik Hikayeler* (Stories of Laughter). Some categories also were divided into subcategories, such as *Mekteb Kitabları* (School Books), which was divided into two; *Elifba Kitabları* (Alphabets) and *Kıraata Dair Kitaplar* (Reader Books). This extensive categorization is the result of the scope as well as how Arakel composed the catalog over a time period. Likewise, there are overlapping categories repeated, such as *Mekteb Kitapları* and *Yine Mekteb ve Edebiyat Kitabları* (Also School Books and Books pertaining to Literature), probably, in order to prevent re-composing the sections all over again when a new title appeared to be included as we know that Arakel spent several years completing it.[135]

The order of the categories in the catalog, also does not necessarily follow a pre-configured pattern of keeping similar headings next to each other as can be seen from the index page. Arakel began with *Edyan ve Mezahib* (Religions and Sects) followed by *Kütüb-i Fıkhiye ve Adliye* (Books of Islamic Jurisprudence and Justice), and *Kavanin ve Nizamat* (Canons and Regulations) then jumped to *Divanlar, Eşar ve Gazeliyat* just after *Kavanin ve Nizamata Taalluku Bulunan Kitablar* (Books pertaining to Canons and Regulations). He, furthermore, places *Hıfz-ı Sıhhat* (Books pertaining to Preservation of Health) and *Tıbbî Kitablar* (Medical Books) between *Tiyatro Kitabları* (Playbooks) and *Tarih* (History Boooks), which is an odd decision when he had a section just depicted as "from sciences. . ." In addition, the groupings of the titles under these headings were not basically apparent in every addenda.

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135 "*böyle bir fihrisi bir kaç sene çalışarak . . .*" Ibid., n.p.

For example, Arakel did not use any headings in his last addendum, published in 1899.[136] The subject headings were also absent in the addenda published in 1888, 1893 and 1898.[137] These addenda cover 50 or fewer books in each, completely different than the first one because of its scope. They include mostly the latest books published under Arakel's commission. They were aimed at advertising his own publications rather than providing substantial information about his own inventory as a bookshop. He used subject headings both in the ones following the first one, respectively in 1887, 1888, 1889.[138] The first and the second catalog were an extension of the first one, including not only the latest titles, but also recurring titles available in the first one published in 1884.

At any rate, the categories did not stay the same. New ones replaced the old ones and there were new groupings and combinations depending on the new titles and the ones included from the previous catalogs. As an example, the independently standing categories of *Tarih*, *Lugat* (History and Dictionaries) and *Teracim-i Ahval* (Biographies) became one category as *Tarih, Lugat ve Tercüme-i Hal* (History, Dictionary and Biography), alongside the new grouping of *Hikaye ve Roman* (Story and Novel) and *Edebiyat ve Hikemiyat* (Books Pertaining to Literature and Wisdom). A new category was introduced, namely, *Adab, Ahlak ve Terbiyeye Dair Kitablar*

136 Kitabçı Arakel, *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü, Zeyl 6* (İstanbul: Arakel Matbaası, 1899)

137 Kitabçı Arakel, *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü, Defter 2* (İstanbul: Artin Asadoryan Şirket-i Mürettibiye Matbaası, 1888); Kitabçı Arakel, *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü, Zeyl 5* (İstanbul: Nişan Berberyan Matbaası, 1893); Kitabçı Arakel, *Arakel kitabhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü, Zeyl 5* 2nd Ed. (İstanbul: Nişan Berberyan Matbaası, 1898)

138 Kitabçı Arakel, *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü* (İstanbul: Cemal Efendi Matbaası, 1887); Kitabçı Arakel, *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü, Defter 1* (İstanbul: Mahmut Bey Matbaası, 1888); Kitabçı Arakel, *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü, Defter 3* (İstanbul: Artin Asadoryan Şirket-i Mürettibiye Matbaası, 1889)

(Books Pertaining to Manners and Morality) and some categories simply were not mentioned, but assembled under a general headings, such as *Sıhhiye ve Fenniye Kitabları* (Books Pertaining to Sciences).

These differences could be considered pragmatic preferences easily: the number of books decreased translated into fewer detailed categories. On the other hand, it also provides a sample for which books were considered as akin to each other in terms of classification hand in hand with which books were transferred from the previous catalogs under which new, or modified headings. That is to say, which subject headings were considered more permeable. There were 60 titles recurring in both 1884 and 1887 catalogs. The distribution of these titles and their previous placement can be observed in Table 2:

Table 2. Recurring Titles and their Categorical Relations in 1884 and 1887

Categories in 1887	#	Previous categories in 1884
Books kept under the same categories		
Fıkhiye ve Adliye Kitabları	4	Kütüb ve Resail-i Fıkhiye ve Adliye
Tiyatro	8	Edebiyattan Tiyatro Kitabları
Letaif ve Mudhik Hikayeler	3	Mudhik Hikayeler
Edyan ve Mezahib	2	Edyan ve Mezahib
Asar-ı Müteferrika	4	Kütüb-i Muhtelife
Münşe'at ve Mektubat	1	Edebiyattan Münşe'at Kitabları
Books moved to combined categories		
Hikaye ve Roman	4	Edebiyattan Milli Hikayeler
	5	Romanlar
Edebiyat ve Hikemiyat	1	Eş'arat
	1	Edebiyat Kitabları
Sıhhiye ve Fenniye	2	Ulum ve Fünundan Hıfz-ı Sıhhat Kitabları
Tarih, Lugat ve Tercüme-i Hal	3	Tarihe Dair Kitablar
	1	Kütüb-i Lugat
Mekatibe Mahsus Kitablar	3	Sarf ve Nahiv ve Kavaide Dair Kitablar
	1	Yine Mekteb ve Edebiyat Kitabları
	2	Kıraata Dair Kitablar
	1	Hesaba Dair Kitablar
Books moved to new categories		
Adab, Ahlak ve Terbiyeye Dair Kitablar	3	Edebiyat Kitabları
Letaif ve Mudhik Hikayeler	2	Kütüb-i Muhtelife
Edyan ve Mezahib	1	Edebiyat Kitabları
Tarih, Lugat ve Tercüme-i Hal	2	Asar-ı Siyasiye
Edebiyat ve Hikemiyat	1	Kütüb-i Muhtelife
Fıkhiye ve Adliye Kitabları	1	Edebiyattan Münşeat Kitabları
Zam Olunan Kitablar	2	Eş'arat
Lisan, Mukaleme ve Tercüme	1	Sarf ve Nahiv ve Kavaide Dair Kitablar
Asar-ı Müteferrika	1	Ziraat ve Ona Taalluku Olan Kitablar

The first glance at the above table does not reveal much except from the obvious fact that changes reflected pragmatic replacements in terms of the scope and aim of the later catalog of 1887. Arakel moved some titles from the combined categories which encompassed the specific titles used in the previous catalog, and he moved some titles into more appropriate categories that had been misplaced, or overlooked in the previous one. But a more closer look at the category of *Adab, Ahlak ve Terbiyeye Dair Kitablar* in relation with cross-referenced repeating titles reveals a little bit more about the mechanisms of classification.

The three books moved under the newly devised category of *Adab, Ahlak ve Terbiye*, were *Feyz-i Yezdan*, *Bergüzar*, and *Vezaif'ül İnas*. All three books were repeated under two different categories in 1884. These repeated titles under more than one title were part of Arakel's catalog which was not available in other bookseller's catalogs, at least not in Asır and Kasbar's catalogs. To illustrate, *Feyz-i Yezdan* was categorized under two headings in 1887: under *Mekatibe Mahsus Kitablar* (Books for Schools), where there was a reference saying that its description of the content could be found under other category which is *Adab, Ahlak ve Terbiye,*[139] and *Edyan ve Mezahib* and *Edebiyat Kitabları*.[140] In that respect the same title moves form one category passing through three other categories referencing to each other on the way. This way of cross-reference was also the case for the other two examples. This cross-referencing usually highlights how transparent a category was. In other words you do not find these kinds of repetitions in such categories of

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139 "*Mündericatı içün adab ve ahlak ve terbiye cedveline müraca'at oluna.*" Kitabçı Arakel, *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü* (İstanbul: Cemal Efendi Matbaası, 1887), p. 45

140 Kitabçı Arakel, *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, 1884), pp. 2, 105.

Edebiyattan Tiyatro Kitabları, as is discernible from the high number of recurring

titles that were not moved into a combined title.

Shortly after Arakel's 1884 catalog, Kitabçı Kirkor also stepped in where

Arakel had opened the door. Kitabçı Kirkor, originally working in partnership with

his two brothers Kasbar and Ohannes who were also owners of bookshops as well as

printing houses, issued catalogs of the Ottoman Turkish titles available for sale in his

own bookshop, and published five catalogs in 1888, 1889, 1891, 1892 and 1895.[141]

Kirkor's first catalog had 119 titles in seven categories, and except for the selected

publications and the ones financed by himself, the descriptions of the contents were

not available for previous books which simply were sorted into a list comprised of

name of the book, author (*müellif)* and the price. Thirty-five out of 119 were included

in this list, in addition, there was a separate list containing the names of the fascicle

(*cüz*) and volumes of multi-volume works, totaling ten items.[142]

The categories available in Kirkor's catalog is somehow reflected the same

groupings in Arakel's catalog in 1887 with some exceptions. His catalog began with

the titles pertaining to history (*Tevarihe Dair Kütüb*) rather than works on religion.

Followed by books on literature and morals (*Edebiyat ve Ahlaka Dair Kütüb ve

Resail*), on various sciences (*Fünun ve Ulum-ı Mütenevvieye Dair Kütüb ve Resail*),

on laws and regulations (*Kavanin ve Nizamat*), novels and stories (*Roman ve Hikayat*)

and lastly playbooks (*Tiyatrolar*). The absence of some categories in his first catalog

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141 Respectively Kitabçı Kirkor, *Asır Kütübhanesi Esami-i Kütübünü Havi Fihrist-i Hususidir* (İstanbul: Cemal Efendi Matbaası, 1888); *Asır Kütübhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1889); *Asır Kütübhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1891); *Asır Kütübhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1892); *Asır Kütübhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü, Zeyl 1 ve 2* (İstanbul: Malumat Matbaası, 1895)

142 Kitabçı Kirkor, *Asır Kütübhanesi Esami-i Kütübünü Havi Fihrist-i Hususidir* (İstanbul: Cemal Efendi Matbaası, 1888)

does not necessarily reflect an established practice. In the following catalog, he preferred to start the catalog with *Akaid-i İslamiyeye Dair Kitablar* (Books on the Principles of Islam).[143]

On the other hand, the second catalog introduced new categories and combinations because of slightly increased coverage as well as providing descriptions of the contents and information about all of the titles available without simply listing them: There were 142 titles available in 16 categories. In addition to new combinations, such as grouping the books on history and geography in the same category of *Tarih ve Coğrafya* (History and Geography), he preferred to divide some categories instead of combining them into one; for example, the combined subject headings *Edebiyat ve Hikemiyat* (Books on Literature and Wisdom) used in Arakel's 1887 catalog were divided into two seperate categories as *Edebiyat* and *Kütüb-i Hikemiye* (Books of Wisdom). In that respect, it is also significant to find an independent category of books on morals (*Ahlaka Dair Kitablar*), which had been integrated into *Edebiyat* in the previous one.

In addition to these changes, Kirkor's catalog was designed as a marketing aid; while Arakel listed a handful of books, such as *Talim-i Kıraat,* and later on the titles included in the series of *Osmanlı Kütübhanesi,*which he financed as a publisher, Kirkor's catalog of 1889 contained a specific category of *Asır Kütübhanesi Külliyatı* (Corpus of Asır Bibliotheca). Under that title, Kirkor divided the books into three sub-catagories namely *Mekteb-i Asır* (School of Asır), which was comprised of school books printed or commissioned by himself, *Asır Kütübhanesi Romanları* (Novels of Asır Bibliotheca) and lastly, *Asır Kütübhanesi Hikâyeleri* (Stories of Asır

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143 *Asır Kütübhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1889), pp. 17-18.

Bibliotheca). He also provided a detailed schema of subscription to the forthcoming titles that had been planned to be published under the same category for a periods of six month, a year both for Istanbul and the provinces.[144] According to this schema, he also provided a number of free promotional books for subscribers, a list of which he also printed on the back cover of his own publications. In the catalog, this list was re-printed, with 13 titles of biographies of Ottoman sultans.[145] Kirkor's catalogs differentiates itself from Arakel's by devising a serviceable promotional instrument represented as a distinct part of the catalog as much as including a substantial number of the books printed for or sold by himself.

He also gave references to these books by way of including titles both into the conventional categories and his own promotional category. Most of the books included under the corpus were referenced from three catagories of *Mekteb ve Kavaid Kitabları* (Schoolbooks and Books on Principles of Language), *Roman ve Hikâyat* (Novels and Stories) and *Tarih ve Coğrafya.*

As Üyepazarcı noted in his article, some titles do not seem to have fit under the categories proposed when the placements are considered from the perspective of the modern classification of literature.[146] But it is important to remember that the definition of literature, though I used it consequently to translate *Edebiyat,* did not necessarily cover books produced in modern genres such as novels and playbooks, which was also the underlying fact that they preferably stood as distinct categories which had more strict limits when compared to the changing categories of recurring

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144 Ibid., p. 86.

145 Ibid., p. 87-91.

146 Üyepazarcı, "Arakel Efendi'nin Kitap Kataloğu Yahut Evlad-ı Arab'ın Mertliği ve Yahut Esrar-ı Farmason."

titles. There was no recurring title listed once under the category of *Romanlar* ve

Tiyatrolar and then moved under the category of *Edebiyat*. As it is clear from the

above description of how recurring titles moved from one category to other, *Edebiyat*

seems to had flexible limitations to which other categories, especially *Ahlaka Dair*

Kitablar, were ordered and moved across the others.

In fact, both catalogs also served as tools to cope with the new genres and

the printed media that had begun to be associated with diversified functions, contents

and social groups. The modern Turkish reader probably could not find what (s)he was

looking for in these catalogs. Do not look for Robinson Crusoe in novels or literature,

it was considered as "Sergüzeşt" (Adventure) and listed under that title.[147] The choice

seems to have been legitimate, because it was suited only to that already existing

category. Most of the time there was no need to multiply the existing categories to fit

the new genres according to the European equivalent. The penetration of the

European literature through translation introduced new literary categories mostly in

prose, such as "novel" with which it was difficult to cope. Most of the titles, though

they were not numerous, could be labeled from the perspective of the former

literature in circulation.[148] "To ignore" its original European context can be

understood as a strategy to open up the book for reading.

In this respect, the most clear structured part of the descriptions was given

for "Poetry Compilations" (*Divân*). There were no further elaborations on the content

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147 "Ser-güzeşt-i Robinson: Her lisanda meşhûr ve bütün âleme menşûr olan işbû ser-güzeşt bir hikâye-i garibe ve vakıa-ı acayibe olub..": Kitabçı Arakel, *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, 1884), p. 75

148 See for a similar description of Shakespeare: Üyepazarcı, "Arakel Efendi'nin Kitap Kataloğu Yahut Evlad-ı Arab'ın Mertliği ve Yahut Esrar-ı Farmason," p. 60

except for references to the particular divân(s) of the former times.[149] The problematic

pertaining to that part of the catalog concentrates on another aspect. Usually, Arakel

find it meaningful to mention the print quality, and typeface of the available titles.[150]

Two books could be twins, from their bindings to the typeface but might not

have the same function. And this function did not have to be same for two different

people. The brief explanations provided for the content of the books gives us a clue

about the differentiation among the society of readers in specific communities. In the

descriptions the most significant feature seems to be the linkage established between

certain communities of readers and certain books. In fact, there are three terms

frequently used and attached to certain genres grouped under specific headings:

erbab-ı mütalaa, *erbab-ı merak* and *erbab-ı ma'arifet*. Further, these three general

headings, some books which were considered as functionally and practically usable

in certain jobs, occupations, enterprises, and so on, were directly attached to more

specific groups: "The learned counselors in the cannon law" have to obtain and read

or study *Zübdet ül-Ferâiz*,[151] the acquisition of *Teşrîh ül-Kavâ'id-i İlkîn* for "the ones

related to a law suit are very important and most necessary,"[152] *Biyânkî* is a "famous

dictionary which is printed to typeset for the ambassadors and diplomats, embassy

secretariats, dragomans, Frenchmen who travels to the Orient, Ottomans who travels

to France and Oriental merchants."[153] Some headings directly related to occupational

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149 *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü*, pp. 39-55.

150 Ibid., pp. 39-42.

151 "*bi'l-cümle ulema-yı alamın tedariki elzem hükmünde bir eserdir.*": Ibid., p. 4

152 "*da'vayla intisâbı bulunanlarca iktisâbı ehemm ve elzemdir.*": Ibid., p. 25

153 "*diplomat ve sefâret-i seniyye ve kançelorya me'mûrları ile tercümânlara ve şarka seyâhat eden Fransızlara ve Fransaya seyâhat eden Osmanlılara ve şark tüccârlarına*

groups, as bureaucratic titles and others. These are most of the time comprehensible, such as the books under the heading *Kavanin ve Nizamata Dair* and their attachment to students of law, lawyers, judges, and the others. Just like *Mekteb Kitapları* and their direct relation with the students of primary or secondary education.

It is not surprising to discover the association established between certain profession and the books, yet it is significant to state that this association also entailed definite phrases referring to the books' form. It is hard to sort out a specific map of these relations between the book phrases and loosely defined reading communities. However most of the books under the heading of *Edyan ve Mezahib,* if they were not supposed to belong to sub-categories such as *mübahese-i diniye* or *reddiye*, were defined as great works (*eser-i celile*) or praiseworthy works (*eser-i mebrur*). Books pertaining to *Kavanin ve Hukuk* were respectable works (*eser-i mu'teber*), unless they were not directly related to a group of profession. Then they were depicted as "works among the indispensable readings" (*mütalaası elzem asardandır*). The phrases change for *Divanlar*; usually they are among the desirable works (*asar-ı mergube*) or the rare works (*asar-ı nadire*).

Erbab-ı merak as a phrase for readers is frequently used in the descriptions following *Tiyatro Kitabları* which constituted the great part of the catalog. The books under this heading were represented with phrases like "from which admonition may be drawn (*ibret-amiz*), "comic" (*gülünçlü*), "from which sadness arise" (*hüzn-engiz*). *Erbab-ı mütalaa* on the other hand, was used to refer to books which were usually classified as *Sergüzeşt*, *Tercüme-i Hal*, *Roman* or *Milli Hikayeler*. It would be proper to state that they were used interchangeably for the books which are classified under

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mahsûs tertib olunmuş bir lugat-ı meşhuredir." Ibid., p. 67

different headings. In other words, they were not standard terms only used for only for the books mentioned here. This tendency can be labeled as an intensification of some phrases and terms, or imagined groups of readers under specific headings showing a way to match up a group of ideally defined books with a community of readers. Did these groups only exist as a hope expressed in the pages of the catalogs by Arakel, or did he construct an identity for the potential readers, or were they already out there, somehow showing an established social distinction, or differentiations according to what they read?

In the example of *erbab-ı mütalaa* it is better to remember that it is basically used as a general term instead of "okur" in the Ottoman context. It did not necessarily points out a specific community of readers. On the other hand, it also was usually used in reference to the reading as an act that needs to be studied and learned. It was an ability that was developed on the basic reading acquisition, but meant more than only having the knowledge of how to read. In this sense, to be able to read was not equal to being an *erbâb-ı mütâlaa*.

The absence of titles in Arakel's catalog such of books that were condemned as *Kizbname*s and declared improper for the taste of a "distinguished" reader by Basiretçi Ali, can be taken as a clue to suggest that Arakel's catalog sought to establish itself according to the intellectual conventions about reading, books and readers. I would suggest that Arakel picked up the cultural connotations of such terms about readers and used them in denoting the books, classifying them under different possible headings and formulated a basic model of relations between readers and books in which the bookseller occupied the middle ground.

In this respect, some headings did have a better inner consistency and standardized explanations in comparison with others. When the catalog, in general, is taken into consideration, it is hard to suggest such a consistency as mentioned above. A good example would be the *Divan* section. All of the descriptions are comprised of the name of the author, even though it is usually given in the title such as *Divan-ı Şerif Hanım*, enumeration of poetic sub-genres, and content. Was this about the established position of *Divan* as a printed material as well as literary genre in comparison with the others, which were newly introduced into the Ottoman context?

Periodicals, Advertisement and the Printed Book

As mentioned in the brief survey of bookselling practices, the printing offices also acted as booksellers. *Servet-i Fünûn* in 1895 was posted to at least 102 persons in 45 different cities or towns. These numbers do not cover all the subscribers of the journal. The ones to whom we are accustomed were usually the subscribers with problems about delays in the posting or subscription renewal and so forth. *Servet-i Fünûn*'s distribution and its relations with readers also were conducted through regional representatives. The problems with subscription usually were directed to the representatives, or the postings could be distributed by the hands of these persons. This might have been a result of the limited services offered by the post offices in different regions of the empire.[154]

Servet-i Fünûn served also a tiny catalog of the printed books by the way of advertisements. Many of the entries in Muhaberat-ı Aleniye were about *Nevsal-i*

154“Muhaberat-ı Aleniye,” *Servet-i Fünun İlave Kısmı/Politique de Supplement*, no. 303-377 (1895).

Servet-i Fünûn or Nabizade Nazım's *Zehra* in 1896. Hence these advertisements were usually repeated for a long time and limited to a few books, usually revolving around the promotion of the books that had been published as serialized novels in *Servet-i Fünûn* before its publication in book format. The best examples were *Araba Sevdası* and *Mai ve Siyah*; their advertisements were placed in the main body of *Servet-i Fünun* rather than in the last pages of the supplement. This advertorial relationship was not a "one way road." The books published also could be used as "memo board" for the periodicals, which the same printing press published. After the title page there is a list which contains a small inventory of periodicals and other books that are also available from the same author, translator and printer.[155]

The integrated role of periodical publishing and the printed books also can be observed in the disguise of "progress" as the main theme in the introduction of Kirkor to his "western-style" catalog. In this self-portrayal, Kirkor was vehemently in opposition to a prevailing idea that bookseller's motivation to publish his catalog could only be selling his books in pursuit of his self interest. According to Kirkor, any bookseller was in the service of progress (*terakki*) in the sciences and arts (*ulum ve fünun*) by printing, publishing and disseminating the books and periodicals to the practice of education in the homeland.[156] Throughout the text, Kirkor underlined repeatedly the fact that the bookseller was not only an ordinary merchant, like *sahhaf*s, who considered books as mere objects of sales and purchase, but also a provider of information about the content of new publications available as well as the others. The available information in newspapers was not enough because they did not

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155 Ahmet İhsan Tokgöz, *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm?* (İstanbul: n.p., 1892), p. 1.

156 Kitâbçı Kirkor, "İfade-i Mahsuse," in *Asır Kütübhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1889), pp. 14-5.

usually gives the information about the content. He gives his word to answer the customers'/readers' (He uses three words, "*müşteri*" and "*erbab-ı mütalaa/erbab-ı marifet*", interchangeably) questions in person if they came to his shop and to answer the questions posted about the content and the subject of any book as quickly as possible. Any booksellers' catalog was an extension of this service.[157]

This extended service corresponded with the booksellers' role in the distribution of newspapers to the provinces by the way of subscription. In all of the catalogs the last pages were reserved to the lists of newspapers and periodicals available for the subscription both for Istanbul and the provinces.

Postal Services and the Expansion of the Market

The booksellers in Babıâli took advantage of the possible options in promotion of the printed book: Mail-order. In 1840, the Ministry of Postal Services was established. The services of the postal service developed as much as the need prior to the administrative reforms of the Tanzimat Period. Up to the 1870s, the postal services remained relatively basic and were directed towards administrative communication. The overland mail was carried by horses, which limited the content of the mail to their speed. As Yazıcı points out, services resembling modern ones became possible after 1876. There were two main developments, the establishment of distribution by the postal carrier to the addresses and of the city postal service.[158]

This development paved the way for the expansion of printed media outside

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157 Ibid., pp. 16-17.

158 Nesimi Yazıcı, "Tanzimat Döneminde Osmanlı Posta Örgütü," in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 6 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), pp. 1642-5.

of Istanbul. Although the role of the catalogs in that development is not

clear, the booksellers as well as the printing offices took advantage of that change. In

his memoirs, Hüseyin Cahid mentions an instance about his experience with Arakel's

catalog. When he was in Serez due to his father's appointment, he used Arakel's

catalog to order books. He writes "have examined the catalog which Arakel the

Bookseller sent at length." He ordered several books, among which he openly gives

two names: A brochure about the game of checkers, namely *Dama Risalesi*, and

Şevâhid ün-Nübüvve (Witnesses of the Prophethood).[159] Unfortunately, the rest of the

story is obscure. It is clear that his orders arrived without a problem because he

jumped on the books that he waits impatiently when they finally arrive. But the

question of whether they have requested the catalog or Arakel sent the catalog to a

former customer remains unanswered. At least, we know that around 1884-1887,

Arakel's catalog contains something suitable to the reading taste of a child at the age

of ten.

His customer base, although limited in terms of the literary population, was

certainly not confined to children only. In fact, Arakel and other booksellers of the

period sought to utilize the expansion of centralization affords and the entailing

consequence of rising number of state officials who were appointed to posts all over

the Ottoman Empire. Arakel's correspondence with a customer in Yemen[160] gives a

glimpse into the mechanics of this expansion in terms of how booksellers functioned

both as the retailer of the printed books and periodicals at the same time.

Despite the fact that Arakel and other booksellers presented themselves as

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159 Yalçın, *Edebiyat Anıları*, p. 17.

160 Seymen, "Erbab-ı Mütalaaya Hizmet: I. Meşrutiyet Kitapçılığı ve Arakel Tozluyan Efendi'nin Mektupları."

the servants in the name of progress and education they sought to achieve profitability and efficiency. They adopted book catalogs, although this practice was not their own invention per se, and tried to introduce a new way of classifying and ordering books not only in terms of titles and genre but also in terms of targeting specific "classes." That is not to say that they operated in an ideal market comprised of definitive "social classes," it refers to their effort to categorize, as close as it approached the idea of constructing subsets of readers, in line with the printed matter they sought to promote. They, in the case of Arakel, Kirkor and Kasbar, acted not only as retailers but also publishers and printers.

Though necessarily limited in scope, catalogs indicate how the organization of books in nineteenth century bookshops of Istanbul, and hence the practice of defining them as carriers of pragmatic informations, embodied the idea of assigning new roles for the printed book, as a commodity candidate. The next chapter tries to provide a glimpse to the tendencies and characteristics that catalogs manifested.

CHAPTER 4
INCURSIONS INTO THE NOTION OF PRINTED BOOK

> . . . formerly, [they] had not known to print books like your book. Every word in the books were scripture like in your copy books. Think about how difficult to write this book by hand writing! Count, how many pages you can write in a day without stopping for a moment. Yet, printing machine can print thousands of books in a day. [161]

Ahmed Rasim, wrote (or at least edited) this simple passage as a part of his book for the new beginners in reading, especially children in Ottoman script in Istanbul. His book can be considered an example of the genre of *talîmât-ı kırâat (*reading exercises).[162]

Educational Reform and Kasbar's Catalog (1890)

These kinds of books became prominent because of the reforms taken in the primary school education in the 1870s. In fact, the organization of education system in the Ottoman Empire dramatically changed after the introduction of the 1869 Regulation for Public Education. The new tripartite structure, comprised of the *sıbyanî* (primary), the *rüşdiye* (middle), and the *Darülfünun* (the University), aimed

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[161] *. . . evvelleri sizin kitabınız gibi kitab basmasını bilmezlerdi. Kitabların her kelimesi mecmualarınızda olduğu gibi el yazması idi. Düşünün bu kitabı el ile yazmak ne kadar güçdür! Bir dakika durmaksızın yazmak suretiyle bir günde ne kadar sahife yazabilirsiniz, sayınız. Lakin bir günde bir matbaa makinesi binlerce kitap basabilir.* Ahmed Rasim, "Fünun: Kitablar [ve] Matbuat İşleri," in *Kırâ'at Kitâbı (İkinci Sene)* (İstanbul: Kitâbcı Karabet, 1898), p. 48.

[162] Karahasanoğlu lists down forty five titles dating from 1885-1928: Subutay Hikmet Karahasanoğlu, "Mekatib-i İptidaiye'de Okutulan Kırkbeş Kıraat Kitabı," *Müteferrika*, no. 5 (1995): 113-124; İskit, *Türkiyede Neşriyat Hareketleri Tarihine Bir Bakış*, pp. 77-8.

at the systematization and centralization of the schools throughout the empire. After 1870s, the primary level of education furthermore was multiplied into two different kind of schools with the introduction of *mekatib-i ibtidaiye* (elementary schools) as an answer to the failure of the sıbyan schools to integrate Muslims and non-Muslims and compete with foreign alternatives. These incentives also played a role in the closure of rüşdiyes and the development of *idadi*s (preparatory schools) instead. [163] But these basic organizational decisions also corresponded to the change in the education policy of Hamidian government which shifted from higher education to preparatory level indicated in the creation of the Education Fund in 1884. As Fortna writes, "the lower two levels of the system were unable to produce students sufficiently qualified for the higher levels."[164] The increase in the number of new style elementary schools during the Hamidian era was the result of a shift in policy focusing more on closing this "gap" between preparatory level and higher education. The re-organization of *Meclis-i Maarif* (Education Council) was a response to the need "to be able to handle the work associated with the founding of all of the idadî schools made possible by the newly available education funds."[165]

During the period of Abdülhamid II, approximately 9147 primary schools, 219 middle schools, 104 secondary schools, and 18 higher or vocational schools were established. Although, the Hamidian government struggled to spread the primary and middle schools throughout the empire, the bulk of these schools were established in

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163 Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 115-6; 121-2.

164 Ibid., p. 116.

165 Ibid., p. 121.

Istanbul.[166] Evered writes that the capital

> remained to be the center of higher education due to the large number of
> schools and varieties it had. Law school, agricultural schools, medical
> schools, veterinary schools, teacher-training schools, commerce, fine arts,
> even a university, the *Darülfünun-u Osmani*, filled the landscape of
> Istanbul with their buildings and students. Therefore, Istanbul was a main
> attraction site for those seeking better and higher education. [167]

These newly introduced state schools brought along their own consequences:

The reorganization of the curriculum around new education materials. *Talîmât-ı*

kırâat as a general title showed up to fulfill the requirements of the *kırâat* (reading

classes) established in mekâtib-i ibtidaîye between 1890 and 1904.[168]

The reforms in the education system and the first generation of graduates

from these new schools created a reading public which could not be circumscribed by

the existing system. The publishing activity in Istanbul began to expand with the

establishment of new schools.[169] It was not only a question of a large population to

sustain the books produced, but also the question of its circulation in the city. The

new school buildings included the new teachers from the first generation widely

responsible for the perception of the Western literature. They were usually active

participants in the economic and cultural relations established around printed media

from the 1850s onwards. Moreover Findley's evaluation about the change in its cadres

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166 Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*, 2nd ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), pp. 117, 146-7, 152, 167-87, 199.

167 Emine Onhan Evered, "The Politics of Late Ottoman Education: Accommodating Ethno-Religious Pluralism amid Imperial Disintegration" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Arizona, 2005), p. 47.

168 Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), sec. Appendix A.

169 Alpay Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın* (İstanbul: Literatür, 2000), p. 128.

and the rise of Babıâli as the center of the government and its attached bureaucracy[170] clearly suggests other conjunctions for "the liberation of the book" in relation to reforms and westernization could be taught for the changes in the book trade. The center for the distribution of the books shifted from Beyazıd and Çemberlitaş to Babıâli in the last quarter of the century.

The changing distribution also was related to the regularization of Istanbul in the nineteenth century. Like most of the regularization projects at the time, the reorganization of the Divanyolu took place following the 1865 Hocapaşa Fire, one of the most destructive fires in the history of the city. The scope of the conflagration was huge; an area circumscribed by the Sea of Marmara in the south, the Golden Horn in the north, Ayasofya and Sultan Ahmed Mosques in the east and the Beyazıd Complex in the west were burnt out. The regularization project of the area was carried out by a special commission, namely *Islahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu* (The Commission for Road Improvement). In general, its main duty was to carry out an extensive re-planning project that was mostly meant to widen, straighten and open up streets, and the assignment of lots in an orderly and just way without leaving any room for property holders' objections.

The Commission classified the main streets to be widened with certain categories of width. The Divanyolu connecting the Topkapı Palace in the east to the gate of Edirne was given priority since it was central in the overall street network of the area. Of course, it was not only a central road in the complete street network of the peninsula, but also a crucial site embodying the ideological and aesthetic heritage

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170 Carter V. Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988).

of the Ottoman architecture.[171] It was the "road of the Pashas," and the site that made

the power of the elites visible in the form of splendid waqf works.[172]

Related to the way that the Divanyolu was used ideologically and culturally,

it is important to note that it was not a single line of street, rather it was composed of

bifurcated and parallel streets, every one of which witnessed imperial processions or

important ceremonies.[173] After the replanning activities carried out by the

Commission, the width of the Divanyolu was more or less doubled and irregular

buildings on it were modified into a uniform appearance. But this shift did not

necessarily entail the demise of *sahhaf*s and other kinds of booksellers. What

happened was mostly a reordering of the printed media in line with the emergent

reading communities.

It is not surprising to discover that one of the booksellers' catalogs published

in 1890 which stood out for its detailed listings provided for the books especially

produced for schools.[174] The catalog of Kasbar especially stands out in comparison to

others for its specific categorization of books pertaining to education. It was not only

this categorization, but the proportion of schoolbooks to other titles also included in

the catalog which listed 66 titles in total. Schoolbooks occupied more than half of the

total; 37.

Kasbar, in his *karain-i kirama* (address to the readers) stated that the book

series he named *Kütübhane-i Tedrisat* (Library of Instruction) was created for the

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171 Maurice Cerasi, *The Istanbul Divanyolu* (Istanbul: Orient-Institut, 2004), p. 8

172 Cerasi, *The Istanbul Divanyolu*, p. 8.

173 Ibid., p. 27.

174 Kitabçı Kasbar, *Kasbar Kütübhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü* (Dersaadet: Kasbar Matbaası, 1890)

aim of compiling all varieties of schoolbooks which were re-composed in line with

the curriculum of the all variety of schools.[175] He stressed the fact that the

schoolbooks in his catalog were commissioned to the writers, or translators who were

known to hold the experience in the education system. This kind of meticulousness is

necessary for the public acceptance of the schoolbook as "klasik."[176] In the last

paragraph, he openly asked for the personal involvement of parents, supervisors and

other person related to the institutions of education in order to promote these books

for the school curriculum.

It is well-known, thanks to Ali Birinci, that Kasbar especially sought to

establish himself as a bookseller specialized in both publishing and selling

schoolbooks. In addition, he also established a printing house after separating his

joint venture from Karabet Efendi in 1885.[177] Still, he found it imperative to remind

the readers that although the books listed under *Tedrisat Kütübhanesi* had been

prepared for the schools, they also could be used by anyone without needing an

instructor.[178]

However, his preference to divide the schoolbooks according to not their

function, such as *Kıraat Kitabları,* but their correspondent levels of education is

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175 "*Kütübhane- tedrisat bi'l-cümle mekatibde okunan ve yahud tedris olunmak üzere programlarına muvafık suretde yeniden tertib ettirilmiş olan her nev'-i ders kitablarını cami' olmak arzusuna mebni te'sis edilmiş . . .*" Kitabçı Kasbar, "Kara'in-i Kirama," in *Kasbar Kütübhanesi Esâmi-i Kütübü* (Dersaadet: Kasbar Matbaası, 1890), p. 2.

176 "*ba-husus "klasik" namı verilmiş olan bu makule ders kitablarının . . . müelif ve mütercimlerin iktidar-ı matlubu haiz olmasıyla beraer . . . mekteblerin usul ve edeb-i talimiyesine vakıf bulunmları. . . .*" Ibid.

177 Birinci, "Kitapçılık Tarihimizden," pp. 30-32.

178 "*. . . hatta haceye de muhtac olmaksızın okuyub istifade edebilir.*": Kasbar, "Kara'in-i Kirama," p. 2.

informative about the extent of his involvement in the schoolbook market opened up to the booksellers. There were four subcategories of *Tedrisat Kütübhanesi* which were, respectively, Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye, *Tedrisat-ı Rüşdiye, Tedrisat-ı İdadiye and* lastly *Tedrisat-ı Aliye*.

The authors and translators, he pointed out in his address to the readers, were comprised of 16 different names as a translator or author. Yet, the champion of the authors was Ali Nazima, who was from a family that had immigrated after Ottoman-Russian wars, had been born in Istanbul in 1861 and become a teacher in Galatasaray Lisesi in 1881, with 15 titles commissioned by Kasbar himself, printed in his own printing house, namely Kasbar Matbaası between 1890-96. Ali Nazima's works were dispersed among along categories with a concentration on primary education books. Despite the fact that Kasbar also provided a separate list for books printed in lithography, all the schoolbooks were typographic prints. In addition, the list includes most of the time books with graphics, maps, figures and pictures which were stressed as a constituent element for the school books.

Returning to the opening quotation of this section, Ahmed Rasim's small historicized counsel about the printed book tied the criterion for the differentiation between two kinds of books: The earlier books had been produced in small quantities because there had been no printing press. An additional criterion was scarcity: The earlier books had been expensive. For this reason, people had owned one or two books, which they preserved as treasures. Therefore, contemporary people, as children of the printing press, should be aware of their fortune to have books in abundance.[179] Two criteria seem to have been the decisive ones to make a

179 Ahmed Rasim, "Fünun: Kitablar [ve] Matbuat İşleri," pp. 49-50.

differentiation between manuscript and printed books. Ahmed Rasim evaluated the style of the production, writing by hand and printing, in terms of quantification, and the winner of this comparison was obvious: The printed book.

Just out of curiosity, one might ask how he defined the book in print. Besides the implicit negation above, Ahmed Rasim answered the question as follows: It is the image of manually prearranged black letters pressed onto the continuous [white] papers at once using the printing press with movable types in large quantities. These papers were meant to be read through which the information of the outer world becomes meaningful.[180] There were two constituent elements in his definition. The first one refered to the technical process of the production; the other clearly underlined the final utilization of that product.

Printing Presses, Their Distribution and Lithography versus Typography

In contrast to Ahmed Rasim's praise, the success of the printed book was not easy handed, at least in the Ottoman context. Up to the 1860s, "fewer than 100 titles came out each year and the scene was dominated by the state press."[181] The total output of the printed titles was estimated to have been 25,554 by Özege and 27,407 by Alpay.[182]

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180 Ibid., p. 50.

181 Neumann, "Book and Newspaper Printing in Turkish, 18th -20th Centuries," p. 235.

182 It is importantt to keep in mind the fact that these numbers only reflect the bulk of printed books in Turkish: Özege, *Eski Harflerle Basılmış Türkçe Eserler Kataloğu*, p. 2392; Meral Alpay, *Harf Devriminin Kütüphanelere Yansıması* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1976), p. 48.

The Ottoman printing press began to take off from the 1880's onwards despite the fact that these were also considered years of strict state censorship on publishing. This take-off was because the total numbers of printing presses nearly doubled along with changes in technological structure.[183] The general negative perspective about the Hamidian Era causes an underestimation of the period in terms of printing activities. As Strauss points out, "technical progress of printing reached a zenith of sorts during his reign."[184] Ahmed İhsan [Tokgöz] provides a quick look at the interior of an average printing house in 1892. What were the basic instruments available? He lists a litographic loom, a litographic press, a plain typographic press and a stall. In 1892, a military officer, Ahmed Naci, walked into this printing house. He was holding a manuscript of *Bahriye İşaretleri* under his arm in which there were the colored flags of countries on its last pages.

Their enthusiastic effort to use the available technology to the extent of its limits was remarkable. They used four different lithographic plates in order to print the flags in color. In this respect, the role of Hafız Efendi, who is described as a master printer, specialized in lithographical work is important.[185] His background is unknown, but his experience came from printing ornamentation in *Kur'an-ı Kerim* and *Enam-ı Şerif*. This kind of experience could have been the result of his previous years spent in the printing houses dominated by Azerbeyjani Iranian printers specialized in the lithographic re-prints of popular religious corpus as well as

183 Neumann, "Book and Newspaper Printing in Turkish, 18th -20th Centuries."

184 Strauss, "'Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute' Printing and Publishing in a Multi-Ethnic Society."

185 Ahmet İhsan Tokgöz, "Matbaacılıkta Bir Hatıra," in *Basın Tarihine Dair Bilgiler ve Hatıralar*, ed. Münir Süleyman Çapanoğlu (İstanbul: Hür Türkiye Dergisi Yayınları, 1962), pp. 133-135.

clandestine literature conglomerated alongside Divanyolu, mostly Bayezid and Mahmudpaşa.[186]

In fact, after the 1880s the printing houses began specializing in producing certain kinds of books. Moreover, usually this overlapped with their spatial distribution: The ones in Babîali were affiliated mostly with newspaper and periodical publication in which the printing house functioned as the publisher. Though it is also appropriate to mention that the culture of periodicals and newspaper which had dominated the publishing industry up to that time, was supplemented to books due to its role in providing a platform to political criticism directed towards Hamidian regime. As a result, the censorship and its new organization under Abdülhamid II controlled the daily and the weekly press published in Istanbul.

The "first"s of several kinds in the world of print in Istanbul date back to that period as well as the first state organ to control all kinds of published material. In 1880, Committee of Examining and Inspecting (*Encümen-i Teftiş ve Muâyene*) was established as a part of Ministry of Public Instruction. In theory, every written word had to be approved by this committee before it was published. Printed material imported from the Europe was also subject to the investigation.[187] The most important aspect of this censorship was its relation to the developments that occurred in the technology of printing. Ahmed İhsan states in his mémoirs that the first illustrations

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186 Neumann, "Book and Newspaper Printing in Turkish, 18th -20th Centuries."

187 Server R. İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları* (İstanbul: Tan Basımevi, 1943); Server Rıfat İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat Rejimleri* (İstanbul: Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü, 1939); Raşit Çavaş and Fatmagül Demirel, "II. Abdülhamid Dönemi'nde Gümrüklerde El Konulan (Ve Elbette Yakılan) Kitaplar," *Müteferrika*, no. 26 (2004): 151-158.

he published in *Servet-i Fünûn* was a turning point for the future of his periodical.[188]

The motivation to print pictures, illustrations and photographs would have been result of the general trend or his travel to Europe but the censorship and its firm reading activity paved the way to practice it under the intervention of Abdülhamid. The content would have been sacrificed to the form; but the limitations of the censorship and its effect on printing press and its technology was not studied from different perspectives. The impact of the Europe and the developments occurring in the field of press technology was indisputable. On the other hand, so far the researchers have not investigate how this technology was appropriated and implemented in Istanbul during the Hamidian Era. Abdülhamid II's interest in photography put constraints on *Servet-i Fünûn* as much as giving opportunities to experiment with the style of the journal.[189] Photographs seem to have played a prominent role in this process as an overlapping interest also shared by Abdülhamid II. During the years he established Âlem Matbaası, Ahmed İhsan's first concern was photo printing.[190]

Though these increased the direct intervention of government in the matters of regulating the press in line with the regimes' ideology did not necessarily encumber the establishment of printing presses. According to Alpay, the accumulated number of printing presses was 149 for the period of 1876 -1907.[191] On the other hand,

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188 Ahmet İhsan Tokgöz, *Matbuat Hatıralarım, 1888-1923*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan Limited Şirketi, 1930), pp. 32-33.

189 See Ahmed İhsan's narrative about his struggle to hire a Parisian engraver: Ibid., pp. 60-4.

190 He explains the reason behind his trip to learn the most advanced ways of photo printing in Europe: Ibid., pp. 53-5.

191 Alpay, *Harf Devriminin Kütüphanelere Yansıması*.

İskit lists 53 printing presses under the year 1883. They were owned by predominantly Armenians and Greeks: 29 out of 53. The number was 52 in Kabacalı. They were concentrated on two quarters; 21 around Beyazıd and Babıâli, and 12 in Galata and Beyoğlu.[192] As it can be observed in Table 1, the distribution of the printing presses in Istanbul was varied in 1900, although 21 of them were located in Babıâli and Çakmakçılar Yokuşu.

Table 3. The Distribution of Printing Presses in Istanbul[193]

	BAYEZID			BAB-I ALİ			GALATA-BEYOĞLU			OTHERS			TOTAL
	Lito	Typo	Both	Lito	Typo	Both	Lito	Typo	Both	Lito	Typo	Both	
1900	5	2	7	0	14	21	0	9	25	2	0	4	89
1883	8	6	5	0	7	1	1	7	3	7	6	2	53

As it can be seen in the list of available languages, as Strauss writes, "the production was by no means limited to books in Turkish."[194] The printing press and its development were also the products of this multi-ethnic and multi-lingual intellectual life. Tuğlacı demonstrates that the place of the Armenian printers and typesetters were indispensable in the development of printing press in Istanbul.[195] Although they were not the first community responsible for the appropriation of the printing press in Istanbul, their engagement in printing was deeper than the role of Ladino-Jewish community.[196] The contributions of Persian printers, gathered around

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192 İskit, *Türkiyede Neşriyat Hareketleri Tarihine Bir Bakış*; Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın*.

193 Galitekin, *Osmanlı Kaynaklarına Göre İstanbul*, pp. 974-83; İskit, *Türkiyede Neşriyat Hareketleri Tarihine Bir Bakış*, pp. 98-9.

194 Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th--20th centuries)?," p. 40.

195 Pars Tuğlacı, "Osmanlı Türkiyesi'nde Ermeni Matbaacılığı ve Ermenilerin Türk Matbaacılığına Katkısı," *Tarih ve Toplum* 15 (1991): 48-56.

196 Yaron Ben Na'eh, "Hebrew Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire," in *Jewish Journalism and Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, ed. Gad Nassi

Mahmudpaşa, to the popular literature of that time was also important.[197]

The most important difference between 1883 and 1900 was not the increase in number of printing houses, but the technological change in the printing presses. In 1883, 30% of the printing presses used lithography as the only option. In 1900 the percentage of lithography was only 6%. Besides, Artin Asadoryan, Manuel Erdini and Arif Efendi, who survived from 1883 to 1900, changed their printing technology from lithography to typesetting during these years. The second important aspect of the differences between two lists was the distribution of the printing presses among the quarters of Istanbul. Printing presses in Beyazıd moved to Babıâli, at the same time new presses were opened in both Babıâli and Galata. This rough estimation does not reflect the situation in its full scale, but at least gives a clue about the general trends about the production of the book at that time. Besides the changes in the quantity, this development also refers to a new kind of commercial activity in which agency of the state played a prominent role.

The question of details on how they were established and operated seems to be out of the reach now, yet it is acceptable to glance at an example. In his memoirs, Ahmed İhsan states that he opened his printing house using money he had saved from the payment for his translations. He translated a book called *Vagabond* from French for Kirkor Efendi under the name of *Bir Serseri.* It was published in Matbaa-i Askeriye in 1886. He states that he was paid 40 *kuruş* for each 16 pages. According to EHTBEB, *Bir Serseri* is 165 pages long. Ahmed İhsan should have earned

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(İstanbul: Isis Press, 2001), 73-97.

197 Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th--20th centuries)?."

approximately 400 kuruş from this translation,[198] which was equal to Macid Cetin's

earning for a month as a reporter for *Saadet* (1884-1892) in 1889.[199] In the following

six years he made other translations from Jules Verne, *Seksen Günde Devr-i Alem*,

Gizli Ada and *Deniz Altında Seyahat* and lastly *Kaptan Gran'ın Çocukları*, which

were commissioned by Kasbar in the first place, followed by Arakel. Although we are

not so sure about his total income from these translations, it seems possible to accept

Ayalon's suggestion for Egypt about the primary investment of 100 pounds (105

kuruş for one gold lira) in order to start up a publishing enterprise in 1887.[200]

Once established, the owners of the printing presses, sough to find ways, as

far as possible, to provide printed matter for an environment in which the state

control over press limits the areas they could operate. The distinction, which basically

was drawn above between printing presses specialized in lithographic printing and

the typography was, in fact was fragile one in terms of the titles printed ranging from

school books like *Rehber-i Sıbyan, Elifba-yı Osmani* to popular religious pamphlets

such as *Serencam* and state documents like *Salname*s (yearbooks). That is to say, the

printing press offered a wide range of printed material to a gradually "segmenting"

market in terms of status, age, gender, and occupation. As a result, more overlapping

areas emerged between what was to be called "traditional" literature and the newly

printed books produced especially for the new emergent class of educated population.

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198 Tokgöz, *Matbuat Hatıralarım, 1888-1923*, pp. 32-33.

199 Çapanoğlu, *Basın Tarihine Dair Bilgiler ve Hatıralar*, p. 17.

200 Ami Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 198.

Two Anecdotal Stories on Reading the Books

Nihat Özön reserves three pages to the readers in his pioneer study on the novel and the reception of this new genre in Turkey. Reading the following sentence does not make sense unless you understand its double meaning. When Özön refers to the "reading activity" he implies the meaning of the education at the same time. His usage corresponds to the shift in the meaning of the "*okumak*" in modern Turkish: It covers both reading and education. In nineteenth century Ottoman Turkish, there was another word which was widely used: *Mütâlaa*. This term was usually used with the reading as an act that needed to be studied and learned. It is an ability that is developed on the basic reading acquisition but means more than only having the knowledge of how to read. In this sense, to be able to read did not equal to be an *erbâb-ı mütâlaa*.[201]

Although Basiretçi Ali used the word in different meanings, he was sure about the existence of a community that shared a certain reading style. This reading style was defined in terms of the reading material as well as how it was read. He often complained about the improper choice of *Aşık Garib*, *Arzu Kanber*, and *Hamzaname*. There is term he uses for this kind of the books: "Magazines of Falsehood" (Kizbnâme)[202] In fact he was also about how they read: "A meddah-like person goes up to an elevated place and reads it aloud in a tune of his own."[203] About

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201 Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Türkçede Roman*, ed. Alpay Kabacalı, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), p. 108.

202 Basiretçi Ali Efendi, *İstanbul Mektupları*, pp. 11, 195.

203 "*Meddah gibi birisi yüksek bir mahale çıkıp kendine mahsus bir ahenk ile onu*

the customers of these coffeehouses he gives us a general expression of "some people from our community."[204] In another instance, he found by chance a pamphlet that was sold for 10 para in Üsküdar and described the men who hurriedly bought and read it as "men without judgment, simple-minded, a few military officers, and the men who has the costumes of tradesmen and porter," although he himself was one of them. The difference between Basiretçi Ali and the other readers was his ability to understand the uselessness of the content of a book immediately. The others were not capable of critisizing the content or the originality of the book.[205]

On the other hand, he wrote small passages about the books that he considered important and suitable for reading (*şayan-ı mütâlaa*). He recommended several titles to be read carefully and studiously. He was keen on suggesting a specific occupational group besides he did not hesitate to include "everybody" and usually citizens– as the possible readers.[206] Even though he did not exhaustively use the term erbâb-ı mütâlaa, he did not considered all kinds of reading to be meaningful. He was sure that reading only certain media and certain genres should be called as a social practise. On one occasion, he clearly dismissed the possiblity that Karagöz could be more meaningful than reading a book and vehemently attacked "the long man in a suit who was around his thirties" for his refusal to buy a book instead of Karagöz.[207]

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okuyor" Ibid., p. 195.

204 ". . . *ahalimizden bazı kesan*":Ibid.

205 "*kitabın mahiyetini bilmez ve mündericatının muhakemesini . . .*":Ibid., p. 274.

206 Ibid., pp. 171, 285, 294.

207 Ibid., p. 200.

One of the Basiretçi Ali's favorite books was *Afrika Seyahatnamesi*.[208] This book about travels of Georges Schweinfurth's travels in Africa between 1868-1871, was also read by six year old girl in the city fourteen years after its publication. The little girl was Halide Edip [Adıvar] (1884-1964), who was an important figure of feminist politics in late Ottoman and Early Republican times. In fact, it can be barely called "reading" as she mentions her difficulty in reading its script without wovel-points (*hareke*). Her enjoyment came from trying to decipher the standard typeset without *hareke*s.[209] *Afrika Seyahatnamesi* was the first printed book she saw during her visit to the room of Saraylı Hanım Teyze. The woman took this book out of her library and read it aloud to Halide, at the same time animâting the stories with her hands and facial expressions. It was this event that caused a passionate need to learn how to read.[210] She was not sent to a local school (*mahalle mektebi*) as usual because her father intented to raise his child in the line of English pedagogy.[211]

Her education was conducted at home by way of private teaching. However while she was excluded from school life, her reading acquisition was not different from that of other children. She first recited the Quran under the supervision of an elementary school teacher at an age of five.[212] It was again her ambition that caused a traumatic reading experience: When she was struggling to read *Afrika*

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208 Georges Schweinfurth, *Şivinfordun Afrika Seyahatnâmesi*, trans. Mustafa Said and Ali Said (İstanbul: Basiret Matbaası, 1874).

209 Halide Edip Adıvar, *Mor Salkımlı Ev*, ed. Mehmet Kalpaklı and Gülbin Türkgeldi (İstanbul: Özgür Yayınları, 1996), p. 71.

210 Ibid., p. 64.

211 Ibid., p. 34.

212 This was not her first education experience, as an unusual situation she was sent to a kindergarten before: Ibid., p. 70.

Seyahatnamesi, Mahmure, the aunty of Halide, gave her another pamphlet which had been published with *hareke*s. The name of the book was *Serencam-ı Mevt.* [213] The shock was caused by the content of the pamphlet. It was about events that had happened after the death of a person. It was 16 pages lithographic pamphlet published several times by several printing presses in Istanbul between the years of 1882-1923, [214] and completely unavailable in all of the catalogs published by Arakel.

In the following pages of the memoirs, Halide Edip describes the effects in a lively manner, citing passages from her memory. Especially, the parts she remembers were about the dead passing in review on their way to Hell. The effect of the text must have been striking so as to cause her to recollect the content: What she remembered revealed that the text was readable for anyone who had an elementary knowledge about reading. As can be understood from her preceding accounts on her progress, she had not completed her own ordinary recitation of Quran. Another point was enlightening. The personal library of Saraylı Hanım Teyze contained a lithographic pamphlet on which Mahmure had enough knowledge to repeat some parts as a threat to Halide to keep Mahmure's secret of smoking.[215] Mahmure's knowledge must have been obtained through reading or listening of the text as it was read aloud. This should have been the second option because it was one of the customary practices of the grandmother of Halide, whose favorite author was Dumas.

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213 Ibid., p. 71.

214 Before 1900, there were only two imprints which Halide could have read:*Serencâm* (İstanbul: Hacı Hüseyin Efendi Matbaası, 1898); *Serencâm* (İstanbul: Rıza Efendi Matbaası, 1883) The others were printed in 1882, 1886, 1896 and 1899.

215 Adıvar, *Mor Salkımlı Ev*, p. 72.

She read it from the translation.[216]

Unfortunately, Halide did not mention the name of the book, and it is difficult to comment on which title it might have been because there were 22 different editions from seven different translators.[217] On the other hand, as Halide said, her grandfather could read but could not write.[218] Halide up to her eighth year probably listened her grandmother while she was reading aloud; on the other hand, the accounts of her own reading are that she read alone, after she gained enough ability to read the books.[219]

On the other hand, inside Hüseyin Cahid's family this practice was common in the evenings after dinner. The setting was described as a gathering where the sister of Hüseyin Cahid read aloud and the other family members listened and tried to follow the story. Usually, the author was Ahmet Mithat and his novels, namely *Felatun Beyle Rakım Efendi*, *Hasan Mellah*, *Hüseyin Fellah*, or Teodor Kasap's translation of *Monte Kristo*.[220] His mother intervened usually in the parts where Ahmet Mithat broke off with the story and wrote about contemporary issues. The reason behind his mother's impatience was her loss of interest and the sense of amusement: "Let's pass by, I'm bored." In fact, Hüseyin Cahid found it exhausting to

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216 Ibid., p. 83.

217 Emiroğlu and İşoğlu, *The Bibliography of Turkish Works*.

218 Adıvar, *Mor Salkımlı Ev*, p. 52.

219 Ibid., pp. 83-4.

220 Yalçın, *Edebiyat Anıları*, pp. 19-20.

follow and fell asleep.[221] His ability to follow would be developed when they were

moved to Serez when he was 8 years old. This should have been the result of the

years he spent in the local school although he did not mention anything about his

primary education.

The two persons share something in common besides the fact that they both

spent their childhoods and adolescence in the Hamidian Era. Both of them

interpreted their engagement with chapbooks (*halk kitapları*) as an important event in

their lives. Halide moved to a new house after the death of his uncle and grandfather.

The new house they rented was in Üsküdar. The new household was responsible for

the initiation of Halide Edip into folk tales; especially she remembered in this respect

her male-servant (*lala*), Ahmet Ağa of Eğin. Through him, she was able to read

Battal Gazi a famous epic story of the champion of Islam which was read widely

among the population of Istanbul.[222] The average pages of printed *Battal Gazi*s

available in the *The Bibliography of Turkish Works* were 316, although she insists on

its thickness that seems to be equal to *Afrika Seyahatnamesi*. That was 911 pages

long. The lively account of the contents corresponds with Hüseyin Cahit's

enthusiastic comments about reading folk tales in his childhood: "Even the novels

read among the family during the nights did not awaken as much enthusiasm as the

the story of Hazret-i Ali before the castle of Hayber."[223]

The same stories about Ali were also part of Halide Edip's inventory

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221 Ibid., p. 20.

222 Adıvar, *Mor Salkımlı Ev*, pp. 86-7.

223 "*Geceleri aile arasında okunan romanlar bile, örneğin Hayber Kalesi önünde Hazreti Ali'nin gösterdiği yiğitlik hikayeleri kadar çoşku uyandırmazdı bende.*" Yalçın, *Edebiyat Anıları*, p. 19.

accessed through her Lala Ahmet Ağa. Having read *Battal Gazi*, she read the story of *Ebu Müslim el-Horasani*. After that epic, the next in line was the deeds of Hazret-i Ali. Unlike the titles before, she mentions Ahmet Aga read this story to her. [224]There were 12 entries for the epic stories of Hazret-i Ali in EHTBEB. But as she mentioned many of these were printed by Persian printers, low quality "yellow paper" of which was sort of their watermark. EHTBEB does not have a single title for Ebu Müslim; but she could have read it from a compilation of epic stories. [225]

Unlike Basiretçi Ali, Halide Edip was convinced about the richness and the level of their readability, but not as a little girl, as a woman author who has grown up. On the other hand, Hüseyin Cahid never became comfortable with these kinds of books after years of experience at reading. Halide Edip's Üsküdar years seem to have been important in two respects: First, it was during these years that she came across popular literature extensively through the reading of Ahmet Ağa. Second, she was accepted to the American College, where she encountered a different literature in a foreign language. Unlike the other children at the same time, her experience of second language acquisition was through English, thanks to her father's interest in English pedagogical literature.

These short anecdotal details of two autobiographies, written in republican times, shows that the printed book was promoted as an ordered and organized way of acquiring the skills necessary in the nineteenth century Istanbul. The nomenclature

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224 Adıvar, *Mor Salkımlı Ev*, p. 89.

225 *İşbu Kitabda Sekiz Aded Gazavât Cem' Olunmuş Birinci Derunda Billûr-i Âzam İkinci Haşiyede Hayber Kalesi Üçüncü Haşiyede Kan Kalesi Dördüncü Haşiyede Berber Kalesi Beşinci Haşiyede Muhammed Hanife Ba-Gazanfer Altıncı Haşiyede Ba-Ejderha Der Magrib Yedinci Haşiyede Gazavât-ı İmam Hasan Sekizinci Haşiyede Gazavât-ı İmam Hüseyin Cem' Tertip Olunmuşdur.* (İstanbul: n.p., 1869).

of the booksellers in terms of their lists, catalogs and other classificatory practices

did not always translate into cultural perceptions of population: Their classification

schema and definition of the printed matter which tried to incorporate the existing

practices alongside the new ones was always open to succumbing to established ones.

Lithography and its way of imitating a manuscript could be hard to cope with when it

intermingled with orally transmitted content, reproduced in print format. This

tendency resonated in the account of Necip Asım's attempt to define the book as an

entity.

A Book on Books: Necip Asım Yazıksız and the Printed Book

İletişim Yayınları, a modern publishing house in Turkey, re-published Necip Asım's

[Yazıksız] (1861-1935) book, named *Kitab* originally, published in 1893 as a

promotion for the celebration of its tenth year anniversary of establishment in 1993.

The re-print is transcribed into the Latin alphabet and simplified in order to make it

accessible to the modern reader.[226] In the preface, the reason behind this selection is

explained as the significance of the title and content of a book that corresponds with

what İletişim Yayınları had been trying to promote during its ten years in publishing

industry, namely the book. This seems to be stating the obvious. On the other hand

the striking, or rather say surprising correspondence between a preface written in

1993 by a modern publishing house and *kara'ine* (a preface addressed to the readers)

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226 Necip Asım Yazıksız, *Kitap*, ed. M. Türker Acaroğlu (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993) Ahmet Yüksel denounces the editorial mistakes and simplifications as a fundamentally altering the content and style of original work published; Ahmet Yüksel, "Necip Asım'ın Yazık Edilen "Kitab"ı," *Kebikeç*, no. 1 (1995): 83-90 For that reasons the original one is used: ; Necip Asım, *Kitab* (Konstantiniyye: Matbaa-i Safâ ve Enver, 1893).

written in 1893, is that in both them distinct optimistic styles resonates with the same

problematic: the lack of interest in books. One passively complains about the low

level of reading still prevailing among a population that had reached 60 million in

modern Turkey[227] while the other hopes that the friends of books will reach two

thousand in the near future, whereas this is measured as two hundred at the

moment.[228]

Necip Asım, who was a professor of Turkish History and Language in

Darülfünun after 1908 and had taught Turkish, French and History in *Harp Okulu*

(Military College) in his former years, was known primarily for his involvement in

the *Bilimsel Türkçülük* (Scientific Turcology) movement later formed around

intellectuals publishing in *Servet-i Fünun* in the 1890s. Likewise, his works published

after 1893 reflects his soon to be lifelong interest in Turcology, whereas before 1893,

he extensively had written and published school books or books related to moral

education.[229] *Kitab* seems to be an exception, even an anomaly in comparison to his

other published titles. Though it also could be considered as an historical account of

the book and development of its form across the ages, Necip Asım did not seem to be

concerned with giving a chronologically organized historical account. As Ahmet

Yüksel states, his motivation was stated as writing an exemplary book about books

while maintaining and following the traditionally accepted forms of writing a

mukaddime (preface) in which *müellif* praises the *sultan* of the period as well as

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227 Yazıksız, *Kitap*, p. viii.

228 Necip Asım, *Kitab*, n.p.

229 Yüksel completes Acaroğlu's list for the missing titles. For a complete list see both: M. Türker Acaroğlu, "Yazar ve Eserleri," in *Kitap*, ed. M. Türker Acaroğlu (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), pp. xii-xiv; Yüksel, "Necip Asım'ın Yazık Edilen "Kitab"ı," p. 85.

explains how the work is written under whose influence.[230]

Nevertheless, his motivation is explained more vividly and in individual tone in the section dedicated to readers: *kara'ine*. In the last paragraph of this section, he states that he is writing in the name of the beloved of our hearts, i.e. the book although it is nearly impossible to comprehend its history and qualities in a work that compact, comprised of only a bunch of paper. In the following closing sentences, he compares his work to a *kıt'a* (a piece of poetry of two or more couplets) whereas a *kaside* (poem of more than fifteen rhyming distichs in which a person is praised) was waiting to be written by a more capable writer.[231]

This analogy established between the book as a beloved one and the friends of the book as the admirer is redolent of somehow far-fetched but befitting similarities to what can be called "objects of desire." It is far-fetched because I only refer to a simple analogy, it is, on the other hand, befitting because of Necip Asım's preceding paragraphs describing how his affection for books was replaced his ignorance to the affection of his parents day by day.

In addition, the connection with this growing affection to books and the quantity of books he owned was constructed on the purchasing power. Because his purchasing power could not fulfill his growing affection for books, he did not only buy what he could but also paid visits to certain sites in order to compensate this, such as the public libraries and the *sahhaf*s.[232] I will return and connect this analogy

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230 Yüksel, "Necip Asım'ın Yazık Edilen "Kitab"ı," p. 87.

231 "*İşte bugün mikdarı 200 ve yakında 2000 olacak dostlarımız için mahbub-i kulubumuzun namına bir eser yazıyorum. Sevgilimizin tarih ve evsafı böyle beş on yaprakla ihata edilemez. Fakat benim bu yazdığım evsaf-ı mahbubu müş'ar bir kıt'adır; kasidelerini de benden daha muktedirleri tanzim etsin, seve seve okuyalım.*" Necip Asım, *Kitab*, n.p.

232 "*İnsan boş kese ile kitabhane doldurabilir mi? . . . Ben sevdiklerimi boş vakit*

with a subtly undergoing tendency to stress manuscripts in terms of aesthetic qualities associated with value in contrast to the idea of giving the development of the book.

Necip Asım organized his book eclectically without following, as mentioned before, a chronological order. The chapters seem to be divided instead according to constituent material elements, technological developments and related to book as Necip Asım defined them from starting from basic towards complex combinations, and making room for sidelines.

Nonetheless, the section following *Kara'ine* is titled *Kitab,* which is comprised of the qualities and history of the "original" beloved one. The following chapter is called *Yazı* (writing), in which he gives a general history of writing systems dispersed throughout the world in different periods. The chapter is divided into the subsections of *Elifba* (Alphabet), *Harf* (Letters), *Hareke* (Vowel Points), *Eşkal-i Hurufun Talimi* (Study of the Shapes of Letters), *Kargacık Burgacık* (Scrawl Writing), *Amalar Elifbası* (Braille Alphabet), Dilsiz ve Sağırların Talimi (Schooling of Deaf and Mutes), *Erkam* (Numbers), *Malzeme-i Tahririye* (Writing Materials) *Kağıd* (Paper), *Papirus*, (Papyrus). Then astonishingly, the next chapter is titled *Kalem* (Reed), which gives way to *Kurşunkalem* (Pencil) followed by *Çakı – Kalemtıraş* (Penknife – Pencil Sharpener) and *Hokka* (Inkstand). The next chapter, in a sense how these materials come together to produce *Yazma Eserler* (Manuscripts), which was produced by the way of *Hüsn-i Hatt ve Hattatlar* (Calligraphy and Calligraphers). I will not give a full listing of contents, but it is significant to say that

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buldukça, umumi kütübhanelerde sahhaf dükkanlarında, ziyaret ederim." Ibid.

the following chapters are concerned with dispersed qualities ranging from *Unvan-ı Kütüb* (Title Pages) to different kinds of *Kitab Meraklıları* (Bibliophiles), or from *Kıraat-ı Umumiye* (Public Reading) to *Yazı Bilgiçliği* (Graphology), which are not necessarily related in a linear way as seen in the previous chapters on manuscripts and its constituent elements.

In its totality *Kitab* was not a "proper" historical account devoted to the development of different forms of the book across ages, it was rather a historicized and peculiar kind of meta-narrative, in which Necip Asım tried to encompass and explain all the occurrences, and diversifications culminated in the notion of the book that were predominant in the Ottoman capital from the perspective of an intellectual who craved more books.

Nevertheless, the peculiarity mentioned is the aesthetic qualities both in terms of rarity and materiality attributed to manuscripts in different places of a 209-pages long book, in which around 100 pages give examples from different periods, and geographies of manuscript culture, as well as the materials, tools and methods used in to produce them. This also stands in relation with their monetary value. To illustrate, some examples can be given: "the most demanded thing in our books are calligraphy, gilding, extremely elegant bindings . . . just only those bindings are worthy of hundreds of liras,"[233] "In ours, the beautification of the books with every means of embellishment is considered to be sources of splendor . . . ,"[234] "today . . .

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233 "*Bizim kitablarımızda en ziyade aranan şey hüs-i hatt, tezhib, gayet zarif cildlerdir ki, o cildlerden bugün yüz lira kadar değerlileri vardır.*" Ibid., p. 17.

234 "*Bizde ise her dürlü esbab-ı tezyin ile kitabların tersimi bile esbab-ı ihtişamdan ad edildiğinden öyle bir eser-i nefisin . . .*" Ibid., p. 102.

older books are not be found,things that have been printed recently are abundant."[235] The other aspect that originally enforces this kind of praise, and direct comparison was the references he made to Europe and the developments that occurred in similar circumstances in terms of manuscript culture. When he tried to compensate for the backwardness, he usually refered to past time practices to overcome the present inequality.

That is not to say that Necip Asım openly ignored the printed book in favor of manuscripts. On the contrary, he was aware of the fact that manuscripts were historical forms in comparison with the mass production of the printing press. But he refrained from an open comparison in order to include and integrate manuscripts into the notion of the book as an "object of desire." In addition, their beauty and rarity added an aura to this very notion. He discussed the material of books such as paper as shared by both forms,[236] or he vehemently described how books were written in terms of both his contemporary situation and Katip Çelebi.[237]

On the other hand, he was critical of the current situation when it was compared to manuscript culture. When he gave the example of Katip Çelebi and his decision on what was worth to commentate or not, he juxtaposed it with the contemporary practices of publishing without serious considerations of what was being done. In his words: "authors in our time have started to write works which serve people's enjoyment rather than their benefit. For this reason novels and periodicals have multiplied." That is why anyone who want Ottomans to progress in

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235 ". . . *eski kitaplar bulunmadığı halde gittikçe bize yakın olan zamanlar matbuatı çok bulunur.*" Ibid., p. 118.

236 Ibid., pp. 74-79.

237 Ibid., pp. 162-65.

education should desire "serious" books.[238]

But what were these serious books? Necip Asım provided a list that should be in everyones' library in a section titled *Hangi Kitapları Okumalı?* (Which Books to Read?).[239] His list consisted of some titles what he was going to propose as the classics of Ottoman Literature in the classics debate occurred in the newspapers of *Tercuman-ı Hakikat*, *İkdam* and *Malumat* between August and November of 1897.[240]

Table 4. Necip Asım's List of Required Books in Arakel's *Esami-i Kütüb* of 1884 and Library Catalogs

Necip Asım's Titles	Arakel	Library Catalog
Tefsir-i Tıbyan	1884	Availabla
Mevlid-i Şerif	1884	Available
Hilye-i Hakani	1884, 1887	Available
Telemak Tercümesi	1884	
Hüsrevname Tercümesi		
İbn-i Haldun Tarihinin Mukaddimesi	1884, 1887	Available
Hümayunname	1884	
Gülistan Tercümesi	1884	Available
Hanifinin Mesnevi-i Şerif Tercümesi		Available
Durub-i Emsal-i Osmaniye	1884	
Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmani	1884	Available
Ahlak-ı Alai	1884	
Koçi Bey Risalesi		Available
Katib Çelebi'nin: Mizan ül-Hak fi İhtiyar il-Ahlak Risalesi	1884	Available
Cidal-i Sadi ba Müddei		Available

But more interestingly, as can be seen from Table 4, most of what he considered to be the serious books overlapped with what Arakel promoted in his different catalogs between 1884-1901. It should be recalled that one of Necib Asım's favorite places to meet the beloved one was libraries. No evidence identifies the library he used regularly, but as was shown in Chapter Three, most of the libraries'

238 "*Zamanımız müellifleri halkın halkın istifadesinden ziyade zevkine hadım eserler yazmaya başladı; bu sebeble roman ve resail-i mevkute çoğaldı . . . Maarifte terakkimizi arzu edenler, ciddi kitaplara rağbet etmelidir . . .*" Ibid., p. 165.

239 Ibid., p. 179.

240 See for the details of the debate: Saliha Paker, "Ottoman Conceptions of Translation and its Practice: The 1897 'Classics Debate' as a Focus for Examining Change," in *Translating Others*, ed. Theo Hermans, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Manchester, [England]: St. Jerome Pub, 2006), 325-48.

inventories consisted of manuscripts in that period.

The other site he mentioned for the same purpose was *sahhaf*s. However, he, under the title of *Kitapçılık* (Book Trade), echoed what Kitabçı Kirkor, Arakel and Kasbar used to build their own distinct identity of "modern" booksellers as opposed to traditional *sahhaf*s. He distinguished the two branches of book trade: One of them specialized in dealing in manuscripts and books for *talebe-i ilm* (students of islamic learning). The other one, like Kitabçı Arakel, Kirkor and Kasbar, whose job description included publishing and book selling as two face of one coin. Though Necip Asım's evaluation seems to have been pejorative in terms of their involvement as the main facilitators of authors and translators, he described them as opportunists who bought authorial manuscripts for a in contrast to how they represented themselves in prefaces of catalogs, It is clear that he considered this booksellers as a new branch of traders who excessively dealt with only "*matbuat-ı cedide*" [241]

All in all, Necip Asım's meta-narrative of the books reflects the booksellers position of being in-between; between the manuscript and the printed book as well as between the book as an object of desire and object of morality imbued with the Hamidian Era's pragmatic stance on matters of scientific and educational progress. Just like his contemporary book lovers, his object of desire was defined using the borrowed characteristics of aesthetically pleasing and traditionally respected manuscripts

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241 Necip Asım, *Kitab*, p. 151.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century Istanbul, the printed book gradually replaced the functions and social meaning of the manuscripts. The former communities of booksellers, although detailed information about their characteristics and practices is insufficient, have a crucial role in this shift. They acted as the medium to convey the existing networks of production and distribution in a society with established patterns of everyday life organized around oral communication practices. The emerging communities of booksellers not only were fed by the reorganized production and distribution networks of the printed book, but were also part of this reorganization. They were active participants in the development of the printed book.

Most of the booksellers were both printers/publishers and booksellers at the same time. It is at that point that catalogs can serve to illuminate the role of bookseller not only as an economic agent, but also a historical agent in the formation of print culture. In this respect, bookseller catalogs can serve as operative inventories for drawing the general contours of taste and choices in a reading community as well as how the booksellers functioned in the construction of these tastes, choices and expectations. They sought to set limits on the set of available books by including and excluding as much as classifying them under subject headings, genres, price, and quality of printing on the basis of different incentives stemmed from commercial, intellectual and ideological interests. This classification also attached certain groups

of readers with certain books in order to standardize the content and meaning of printed book.

It is possible to say that in parallel with the increase in the variety and quantity of printed books, a space was opened up for new genres in conjunction with educational reform and a generation who was educated in western-style schools. That is to say, new genres were introduced to new kinds of readers. Arakel's and other booksellers' role was not limited to the distribution of the printed book; they sought to manipulate and change the established network of relations around book publishing by trying to connect the existing profiles of readers to the books by cataloging them. The commercial bookseller's catalogs are an important part of the circuit of communication during the Hamidian Era. It is not clear whether Kitabçı Arakel can be considered the sole agent in shaping the catalog, but it is clear that the practice of bookselling was also tied to the question of ordering the books as commodities. Kitabçı Arakel published the most sophisticated commercial catalog of his time therefore his approach to ordering books as commodities can be taken as contemporary point of reference.

This study raised much more questions than it could answer itself. Most of the questions seem to be related to the impact of modernity. Since the Ottoman capital was the center of the modernization efforts and the main conduit of western influence, any further study on how the books were ordered as a social practice should address the wider context of European influence: the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual population of Istanbul in the nineteenth century should be studied from a regional and comparative perspective both as an interaction between different communities as well as a part of the expanding influence of the European print

culture.

The co-existence of the manuscripts and printed book could be re-evaluated as an advantage rather than a handicap in the development of the printing press and publishing activities in Istanbul. The role of the cataloging should be studied in detail from the perspective of the readers from different literate social groups. The question of how Ottoman manuscripts fed the development of the printed book is still in need of research.

The autobiographies and mémoirs give a clue to the emerging communities of readers: they were not a direct consequences of the printing press and the dissemination of the literacy by the education reform. On the contrary, they constructed their identities through their involvement in the spheres of readers as authors.

APPENDIXES

A. Sample Pages from the Catalogs

مرآت محمدی یاخود صفای روح * عبد النا فع زاده احمد اسعد افندینك
نظمكردهسی بولنان بوائر عالی، شعرای سلفهٔ هجر بیاننـدن
بر خیلی ذوات کراملك اشــعار كراتبارلرندن مناسباته ومدایح
سنیهٔ حضرت احمدیهٔ متعلق اثار بركزیده ومنتخبهبی حاوی
اولوب غایت نفیس صورتده طبع اولنمشدر • فیأتی هر بر
ایچون یدی بچق غروشدر •

معهای الهی * بودتنی معلم نابی افنـدی حضرتلر یناب جلیله
اثار عالیهلرـنـدن اولوب منـسدرجانی بعش
ســور قرآنیهنك اوائلنده وائع حروف مقطعــه به دائر
علمای اعـطرفنــدن درمیان ایدبلان اقوال مختلفهبی مبیندرکه
مقدمه وخاتمهسی محررلك بو بابده بعض ملاحظـات دقیقه و
مطالعات عیقهلریی شاملدر • اسـتانبول ایچون ٤ ولایات
ایچون ٥ غروشدر

نقد الكلام فی عقائد الاسلام * سیواس والئ والاشـائی
سـعاد تلو سری بی پاشـا
حضرتلر یلنك جلیلهٔ اثار جلیلهلرندن اولوب عقائد اسلامیهنك
برشرح متینی دیك اولان بوكتاب مستطاب عقائد اسلامیهبی
دلائل وبراهینی ابله بیلدیربو براثردرکه بو بولده اثارئ جلیلهسنه
فائقئ ومرجح اولدیغنـدن خیلی رغبت بولشـدر • نفاست
طبعی ابسه بویبولده اثرلرتطربم برنده فیاسقبول ایغزدرجهده
اولدیغی حالده فیاتی ده اجراسی ۲۰ مجلدی ۲۵ غروشدر
ولایات ایچون ٤ غروش بوسته اجرفی اننور •

Fig. 2 Sample page of standard form used by Arakel throughout his catalog, book titles followed by descriptions of content.
Source: Kitabçı Arakel, *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esami-i Kütübü*. (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, 1884), p. 20

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پاره غروش	اسامئ كتب	عدد	مؤلف
٢٠ ٧	افعال سماعیه‌نك تصریفی	١	مهران افندی
٥	ادبیات غریبه‌دن بر انموذه	١	راسم بك
٢٠ ٢	شایان	١	علی فرخ بك
٤	دولت	١	»
٣	تصویر حسیات	١	عبدالحلیم ممدوح بك
٢٠ ٢	فروزان	١	معلم تاجی افندی
٥	سزارین	١	خلیل ادیب افندی
٢٠ ٧	علاوه‌لی نفحة الادب	١	عزت افندی
١٠	جغرافیای حكمی	١	عمر صبحی بك
٥	انبیال	١	زیور بك
٥	كلدسته	١	رشاد بك
١١	مجموعۀ جوامع و اطلاس	١٠	عثمان بك
٣	رومه او ژولیه فاجعه‌سی	١	مهران افندی
٢	ویرونیه‌نك اصلان‌زاده‌سی	١	»
٢	سهو کومدیاسی	١	»
٢٠ ٧	نوشنك	١	علی فرح بك
١٠ ٦	شکوفه زار	٥	عارفه حانم افندی
٤	تطبیق قواعد فن كتابت	١	احمد راسم بك
٢٠ ٣	شام تاریخی	١	لطفی افندی

Fig. 3 Sample page from Kirkor's catalog listing the books without providing a description of content

Source: Kitabçı Kirkor, *Asir Kütübhanesi Esami-i Kütübü*. (İstanbul: Cemal Efendi Matbaası, 1889), p. 80.

B. Index of Arakel's Catalog

فهرس

Fig. 4 Index page of Arakel's Catalog listing the categories and page numbers.
Source: Kitabçı Arakel, *Arakel Kitabhanesi Esami-i Kütübü*. (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, 1884), n.p. [Inner side of the back cover]

Fihris

C. Snapshot of Web Site:

Short List of Booksellers' *Esâmi-i Kütüb* (Names of the Books)

Fig. 5 Snapshot of the web site using Exhibit for listing the books included in four selected *Esami-i Kütüb*.

Source: Sinan Çetin, 25 October 2008. *Short List of Booksellers' Esâmi-i Kütüb (Names of the Books)*. Available [online]: http://catalogs.dev3.webenabled.net/arakel1884 [11 January 2010]

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