TURQUIE.

Livres Turcs.

The Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Jews, Christians and Muslims

Edited by

Lehrstuhl für Türkische Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur
Universität Bamberg
Staatsbibliothek Bamberg

PREFACE

On the occasion of the 28th German Orientalist Conference (Deutscher Orientalistentag) at the University of Bamberg The Chair of Turcology (Lehrstuhl für Türkische Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur) and the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg is mounting an exhibition of the history of printing and books in the Near and Middle East. The exhibition, which is entitled "The Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Jews, Christians and Muslims" covers the period from the oldest examples of printing in Hebrew, from the late 16th century, down to the textbooks in Turkish, printed in Latin script to aid the Kemalist introduction of the Latin alphabet in Turkey in 1928.

The 41 printed works described in this catalogue, which date from the 16th to early 20th centuries, and originate from such different places as Saloniki, Choueir in Lebanon and Teheran, were intended as much for religious edification, practical and scientific purposes as for the entertainment of the mass public.

As is to be expected, Istanbul was the major site for printing in the Near and Middle East. It was here that the first printed works were produced in Hebrew, and here, in the seat of the Sultan and Caliph, after a long period of initial problems, the printing of both Greek and Armenian works eventually flourished. In 1727 printing also began at the officially-sponsored press of the Hungarian renegade, Ibrâhîm Müteferrika, of works in Ottoman Turkish, the official language in the "well-protected domains", making use of the Arabic alphabet.

At the beginning of the 19th century the officials of the Ottoman state printing works decided to publish both popular and intellectual works from the Islamic tradition; however the printing of Hadīth (works and deeds of the Prophet) and Tafsīr (exegesis of the Koran) was still forbidden. More generations had to wait, until 1874, for a manuscript of the Koran to be printed. This was encouraged by the circulation of "dubious" prints of the Koran, put out by the Persian colonies in Istanbul. The invention of lithography by Senefelder in 1797 created a true revolution in the Islamic book world. In 1831/2 the first lithographed work in Turkish was published, a book on drill regulations from the Cayol press in Istanbul. Particularly in Iran, where type-printing was not valued, this newly available technique was considered adequate within the cadre of their traditional views of the art of book production.

Within the Ottoman Empire, there were almost as many languages in which use was made of moveable type, as there were typefaces. Turkophone Armenians and Greeks used their own characters to publish and distribute books and magazines in the Ottoman language. The 19th century saw the Ottomans as pioneers in book printing in distant outposts such as Yemen. Two hundred years after Müteferrika's pioneer work, the Arabic alphabet was replaced in Turkey by Latin letters. There were certainly already printers making use of Western letter cases at that time, as this exhibition shows with a number of examples.

Literature dealing with Islamic cultural history touches on the subject of the "delayed" use of printing with noticeable embarrassment. Amongst the reasons given for this delay, the jealousy of "90,000 scribes", about whom the well-informed Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (1658-1730) had already written, is mentioned as often as an alleged reticence to defile the sacred nature of the Scriptures by the technology of reproduction. Along with these reasons, which deserve to be taken completely seriously, inadequate capital and the high price of books also prevented the rapid spread of printing. The long experience of non-Muslims in casting type plates made it necessary for the major religious communities to work together in book production. Armenian masters and Armenian publishers were heavily involved in the production and publication of Turkish books right into the early 20th century.

The history of printing is certainly also a good way of considering the question of the life and co-existence of the different religious and language groups in the Orient. In contrast to the situation in Europe, the beginnings of printing brought hardly any improvement in the reading abilities of the broader masses. The fact that book production was concentrated in Istanbul made it easy to censor of books and periodicals. Whilst the Christian communities in the empire could count on a

constant flow of books from abroad (from Venice, Rome and elsewhere), there was no Ottoman Diaspora in other countries until the 19th century.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

This exhibition has been made possible by the generous help of the Bavarian State Library in Munich and the willingness of public and private collectors to loan works from Bamberg, Basel, Gotha, Göttingen, Freiburg, Istanbul, München, Nürnberg, and Strasbourg. Even if all the "first editions" were not available or could not be displayed due to lack of space, this presentation may still claim, both in the exhibition and in the treatment of the subject by a small group of experts, to have collected for the first time material for a comparative history of printing in the "Orient".

The editor and the organizer of this project would like to thank all the institutions that have lent us their works and the writers for their willingness and enthusiasm. We would also like to particularly express our gratitude once more to the General Director of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Dr. Hermann Leskien, and the director of the Bamberg State Library, Prof. Dr. Schemmel. Particular thanks go to Dr. Winfried Riesterer from the Orientabteilung of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and Bernd Vennebusch, M.A. for their continuous assistance.

<p style="text-align:right">Klaus Kreiser</p>

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Jewish printing and publishing activities in the Ottoman cities of Constantinople and Saloniki at the dawn of early modern Europe (cat. 6-9)

Sultan Bayazid II's generous offer of refuge in expelled in 1492 from the Iberian Peninsula was gratefully accepted. The Sultan the Ottoman Empire's provinces in Asia Minor and Europe to the Jews who had been instructed his governors to welcome these Jewish refugees and to assist in their settlement, hoping that the Iberian immigrants would contribute to the improvement of social and economic conditions in their host communities. This remarkably open attitude on the part of the Muslim regime became inherited in the collective memory of the Jewish people and prompted later generations of Jews, who were being persecuted by pogroms in central and eastern Christian Europe, to likewise seek shelter in Ottoman-ruled regions.

Whereas Muslim sages and scholars unanimously opposed the use of printing as a means of reproducing religious books, Jews were eager to take advantage of moveable type as a practical way to generate virtually unlimited numbers of books in nearly error-free, affordably priced editions. Jews were not prohibited from printing their books within the Ottoman Empire, although at the same time, the Sultan had imposed a strict ban on the printing of Muslim works within the Empire.

The first incunabula printed in the Ottoman Empire was published in the late 15th century (on December 13, 1493) at Constantinople. This four-volume edition of *Arba'ah Turim* (Engl.: 'Four Rows'), which contained the standard code of Jewish law and practice, was typeset and printed by the brothers David and Samuel ibn Nahmias. The brothers were refugees from Spain who had settled in the Ottoman Empire's capital after apparently having made a brief attempt, a few years earlier and under precarious circumstances, to set up a printing shop in Naples. Most of the typographical material used in printing this religious tome was similar to that used in other Jewish incunabulae that originated in Spain and Naples. The paper on which the text was printed is of northern Italian provenance.

The first Hebrew book to be printed in Saloniki appeared nine years later. The first Salonikan Jewish book to bear the printer's name came out in 1504 and was a Pentateuch printed by Don Yehuda Gedalya, a Jewish refugee from Lisbon, Portugal, who had settled in Saloniki and who, together with his two sons, Yoseph and Ya'akov, had established a printing shop there.

After moderate growth as a center of Jewish publications during the dawn of 16th century, Constantinople evolved with ever-increasing scope until the 17th century to become one of the foremost printing metropolises for Jews of both the eastern and western Diaspora. Jews who had manuscripts which they hoped to have printed were attracted to the Ottoman capital, where the likelihood of finding a willing publisher was greatest. The city proudly established itself as a peer with Venice and Amsterdam, two other important centers of printing in the Jewish Diaspora. The documents produced by Constantinople's Jewish printers were highly pluralistic in terms of the typographical materials used (which included Ashkenazic as well as Sephardic typefaces) and in terms of their contents, which ranged from rabbinical literature to the Bible, from editions of the Talmud to Ladino or Yiddish literature and polemical lampoons. Although fluctuations in the prevailing economic and political situations caused Jewish printing in Constantinople to experience sporadic ups and downs, the city remained a focal point of Jewish publishing activity until the early 19th century, when Constantinople's long-established importance waned and Saloniki gradually took over the role that had traditionally been played by the Ottoman capital. Although a great variety and large volume of material passed through the printing presses of Constantinople and Saloniki, one can not define a local typographical style, such as can be seen in works published in Amsterdam or Venice.

Nearly all of the Jewish printing shops in Constantinople and Saloniki were run by immigrant Jewish printers who had arrived from Venice, Poland, Prague, Russia or elsewhere. In most cases,

following the rules of Arabic calligraphy. By furnishing his books with ornate bindings, Zākhir further endeavoured to give the books of al-Shuwayr an appealing outward appearance.

ʿAbdallāh Zākhir's press began operation in 1733 and the following year saw the publication of his first book: the Arabic translation of a treatise written by the Spanish Jesuit, J. E. Nieremberg, entitled *Mizān al-Zamān* ("The scales of time"). Although he did have some assistance from the monks of St. John's, ʿAbdallāh Zākhir remained director of the press until his death. He created the fonts, supervised the printing and read the proofs, and numerous books were published under his guidance.

The aims of ʿAbdallāh Zākhir and the press he established were to provide the Arab clergy with religious books, to distribute an accurate and unified version of the holy scriptures, and to promote a facility in Arabic among the children of Christian families. For this last purpose, the texts of the Psalms and Epistles were equipped with some diacritical signs.

Despite many difficulties which brought work to a temporary standstill more then once, the press at St. John's in al-Shuwayr continued to exist for more than 150 years, until 1899. In all, 33 titles were published there, as well as 36 reprints. Today, thanks to the activities of the Shuwayrite order, the printing shop has been transformed into a museum unique in the Arab world, one that tells the story of ʿAbdallāh Zākhir and the first Arabic publications in Lebanon.

The activities of the Catholics in al-Shuwayr almost certainly inspired an Orthodox initiative in 1751 to establish Beirut's first printing press at the Greek Orthodox monastery of St George. However, it ceased operation shortly thereafter and produced no more than three liturgical books. In 1785, the Maronites opened a printing shop at the monastery of Mār Mūsā in Duwwār, Lebanon, although their failure to create Arabic fonts left them unable to print in any script other than Syriac. Furthermore, the products of both of these ecclesiastical establishments were not only limited in number, but in distribution. Since their content was exclusively religious, the books seldom reached readers living outside of the religious communities that had produced them and thus could do little to raise the general level of knowledge.

Protestant missionaries first attempted Arabic books as a tool for secular education - although in a religious context. In the 1820s, both the British Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) established Arabic printing shops in Malta. In 1834, the Arabic department of the American mission press was transferred to Beirut, where it became the famous American Press of Beirut. The missionaries co-operated closely with locals who worked as authors and proof-readers. In addition to its religious aims, it was also an explicit goal of the press to produce secular books to improve educational standards; hence, the establishment of the American Press had far-reaching consequences. Some years later, the Jesuits followed suit and opened the Imprimerie Catholique, which gave further impetus to the spread of modern knowledge and the revival of the classical Arabic tradition. In the second half of the nineteenth century, many private presses were established in Beirut and elsewhere in Syria, mostly by Christian Arabs. Thus the way was prepared for the famous literary *Nahḍa*.

Carsten Walbiner

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Causes of the Decrease of Ignorance?
Remarks on the printing of books in the Ottoman Empire (cat. 15-34)

Although the Muslims did not begin printing books until the first quarter of the 18th century, there are many indications of a flow of European books into Ottoman lands. As early as during the reign of Mehmed II (1451-1481) the court library in Topkapı Serail housed some incunabula. Spoils of war and purchases were the most important sources for the growth of the collection. One exceptional acquisition was for example the famous *Atlas Maior* of Joan Blaeu presented by a Dutch mission in 1668 to Sultan Mehmed IV. Evliyâ Çelebi, the famous 17th century traveller, reported seeing two hundred printed books in the library of a Kurdish prince in the far-off town of Bitlis. He could not help commenting: "Indeed the art of printing belongs to the tricky Franks".

Among high-ranking statesmen of the 17th and 18th centuries there were notorious bibliophiles who also collected European titles. As a much quoted exception to the rule by which the *Medrese* kept only to hand written literature was the Arabic version of Euclid's "Elements" produced in 1594 in the Medici printing shop in Rome.

This textbook based on Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (1201-1274) redaction was a permanent fixture in the curriculum of the Ottoman *Medrese*. Geometry was a basic component of astronomy, which any student in a religious establishment would had to master. In 1588 Italian merchants procured a letter of protection from Sultan Murâd III which, in a very general manner, dealt with the unhindered import of printed books in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. The text of this letter, printed in Rome, was bound into copies of the Arabic Euclid edition and is one of the earliest examples of Ottoman Turkish typography. However, this was not a *cum privilegio* in the sense of a permit from the Sultan to print Euclid, as Franz Babinger assumed. The first Turkish Euclid was not printed until the end of the 18th century in Istanbul. Then it was no longer intended for the students at the *Medrese* but for engineers preparing for the trade of war.

The absence of printed books was certainly felt painful by some parts of the Ottoman elite. However the lack of handwritten manuscripts also became apparent. In 1716 a decree by Sultan Ahmed III banned the sale of "esteemed books" by Istanbul's "dealer in manuscripts" from pure "unconcealed covetousness" in all possible locations, even beyond the Ottoman lands. "The paucity of valuable books makes the obliteration of the noble science inevitable" the decree lamented.

From the late 17th century numerous independent libraries were founded in the capital and in many provincial towns based on endowments, linked to a mosque or a religious school. Long before the introduction of Arabic characters by İbrâhîm Müteferrika, the Köprülü library was opened in 1678 as the first "public" library on Divanyolu, Istanbul, where it still exists. Other high ranking and wealthy patrons of science followed in short intervals. The head of the chancery Râgib Pasha (1699-1763) founded his library in the neighbourhood of Laleli in 1762. He ordered such important works from Europe as Du Haldes' China *opus* and Newton's *Principia*. At the end of the 18th century there were 35 libraries freely accessible to the public. Giambattista Toderini dedicated his "Letteratura Turchesca" to the thriving world of these libraries in Istanbul, and not long afterwards both a French and a German translation appeared. The new libraries made it possible to donate secular books without the danger of being screened by the conservative Ulema.

When the French traveller Constantin François Chassebœuf, Count of Volney, visited Syria and Egypt, the two most important Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, between 1783 and 1785, he remarked that "barbarism" dominated throughout. He applied the picture he had gained in the provinces to the Ottoman capital, which however he had not visited. Volney held the "lack of good books" (*la disette de bons livres*) and the absence of printing responsible for the demise of the Orient, since this was what actually drove revolutions (*le vrai mobile des revolutions*). Volney knew nothing of the beginnings of the printing of Christian Arabic books in Syria in the 17th century. The fact that since 1504 Hebrew, since 1567 Armenian, and since 1627 Greek works

the owner of such a shop would employ editors, proofreaders, compositors, pressmen's assistants, etc. from the local Jewry. Many of these co-workers later opened their own printing shops, where they helped to meet the needs of a growing market. With praiseworthy diligence, these individuals typeset and printed numerous manuscripts which Sephardic refugees had brought with them when they fled to regions under Ottoman jurisdiction. In some cases, these printed editions emended or augmented the original manuscripts through the inclusion of substantial editorial work and commentaries written by local rabbis. The efforts of these printers enable us to more fully appreciate the scope, richness, and brilliance of the Sephardic Jewish scholarship that was recorded on paper shortly before its abrupt end in Spain and, soon thereafter, in Portugal.

The Jewish community in Constantinople assisted the local printing and publishing business in many ways. It was customary to distribute newly printed pamphlets or quires from soon-to-be-published books during the well-attended Sabbath services at synagogues in Constantinople. The publishers were confident that, during the following week, the recipients would pay for the printed materials that they had received free-of-charge on the Sabbath, or might even decide to order a complete copy of an unpublished book after having read a sample quire excerpted from it.

Certain gaps in continuity exist in our knowledge of the history of Jewish printing and publishing in the Ottoman Empire. In Constantinople, for example, a 12-year-long lacuna intervenes between the publication of the first incunable and the appearance of the second Jewish book. The next interruption in continuity may well be related to the turmoil associated with Shabbetai Zevi and his messianic sect: Zevi's charismatic movement was a source of major cleavage and consequential uncertainty in nearly all Jewish communities, where everyone suspected everyone else of being Shabbataian. It seems likely that the rabbinical authorities in Constantinople and Saloniki, who normally read all manuscripts before granting, recommending or withholding their imprimatur, were now routinely prohibiting every intended publication whatsoever, in order to avoid becoming tainted with messianic aspersions. Whatever the actual causes of these interruptions in publishing activity may have been, the fact remains that no Hebrew book was published in Constantinople between 1683 and 1710, nor was any such book printed in Saloniki between 1655 and 1695. Until the 19th century, when Saloniki gradually took its place, the principal Ottoman center of Jewish publications remained in Constantinople, where more than 800 titles were set with Hebrew letters.

The following four examples are all first editions and *editio princeps* of substantial Jewish works: by virtue of their contents, in terms of their contribution to the erudition and because of their widespread dissemination within the Jewish tradition. It is, however, equally interesting to investigate the typographical traits of each work displayed here. The most striking phenomenon is that all of them were set with similar versions of the Sephardic semi-cursive type style, known also as "Rashi" (because the first appearance of this typeface style was in a commentary to the Pentateuch by rabbi Shlomo ben Itzhak of Troyes, whose name is usually abbreviated as "Rashi"). This is also the first dated Hebrew book, printed in the southern Italian city of Reggio di Calabria, which was then under Aragonian sovereignty (whence the use of Sephardic-style typeface). This distinctive typefaces quickly established itself to become the one most widely used for commentaries and general rabbinical literature. It was invariably set without vocalization marks.

The work of pioneering printers in Constantinople and Saloniki, these samples still bear strong typographical resemblances to the kind of incunable printing used in their antecendents dating from 15th century Spain and Portugal.

Ittai Joseph Tamari

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The Christians of *Bilād al-Shām* (Syria): Pioneers of Book-Printing in the Arab World (cat. 1-5)

Although the printing of Arabic books originated in Europe, the first to appear, in 1514 in the Italian town of Fano, was nonetheless linked to the Arab Christians, for it was a Book of Hours according to the Melkite rite. Eventually, too, it would be the Christians of the Arab East who would introduce the new technique to the Arab world. But, in the interim, further developments were confined to the West, where printing in Arabic advanced steadily during the sixteenth century.

In some of these endeavours - mainly in the Catholic centres of Rome and Paris - Christians from the East, and particularly Maronites from Mount Lebanon, played an active role. Sarkīs al-Rizzī, the Maronite Archbishop of Damascus, was one of those Eastern ecclesiastics who clearly recognised that the new technique provided a means to meet the urgent demand for Christian texts in Arabic. As a student at the Maronite College in Rome and later, Rizzī had taken part in the printing of several books for his Church. Drawing upon his experience, he initiated and financed the establishment of the Arab world's first printing press. In 1610, thanks to his efforts, a bilingual Book of Psalms in both Syriac and Karshūnī (Arabic written with Syriac letters) was printed at the monastery of St Anthony in Quzḥayyā, northern Lebanon. However, after the appearance of this, the first book ever printed in the Arab world, the press at St Anthony's ceased functioning for reasons that are still unknown.

Further initiatives to establish a printing press in Lebanon came to nothing, as did several attempts by bishops and patriarchs of the Greek Orthodox Church to have the books necessary to their community printed in Rome. Indeed, it seems likely that the Vatican wished to maintain a monopoly over the printing of Arabic ecclesiastical books in order to keep a firm grip on church policy in the Arab East.

The Greek Orthodox, in particular, were forced to seek support elsewhere and finally found it in the enlightened ruler of Wallachia, Prince Constantine Brîncoveanu. In 1701, at the request of Athanāsiyūs al-Dabbās, the Greek Orthodox metropolitan of Aleppo and former patriarch of Antioch, who was then visiting Wallachia, the prince founded an Arabic-language press in his realm to meet the needs of his Arab Orthodox co-religionists. When Athanāsiyūs decided to return to Syria in 1704, he received the printing press as a gift and took it with him to his residence in Aleppo. While in Wallachia, Athanāsiyūs had apparently acquired the necessary skills to run a press, for, in 1706, he produced a 'Book of Psalms' dedicated to the prince. This was the first book in Arabic script to be produced in the Arab world. During the next five years, Athanāsiyūs and his assistants printed another ten books, all in Arabic, that were distributed free of charge amongst the clerics of his diocese. Subsequently, however, material pressures forced Athanāsiyūs to stop printing.

If Aleppo was the cradle of Arabic printing in the East, it was not solely because of the metropolitan's activities. Among Athanāsiyūs' assistants was 'Abdallāh Zākhir, an Aleppine who later founded a printing house at al-Shuwayr, in Lebanon, that would become the first enduring press in the Arab world. Zākhir, a convinced Catholic, had a falling out with Athanāsiyūs al-Dabbās and was forced to flee from Aleppo. As a destination, he chose Lebanon, where the Greek Catholics had gained possession of several monasteries. He began work on the establishment of his own press soon after his arrival, first, in a monastery in Zūq Mkāyil and, later, at the monastery of St John in al-Shuwayr, where he finally settled. In 1731, he began to build up his famous printing shop in a building adjacent to St. John's. Since he personally possessed the necessary knowledge and experience, Zākhir undertook a large part of the technical work himself, constructing most of the equipment and crafting the type. His model for the font was the script used for copying liturgical manuscripts. The result was a harmonious set of characters and ligatures

were being printed was in any case not of interest to him. However, even if he had been aware of it, the limitation of these activities to printing solely for religious and church purposes would not have impressed the "enlightened" Volney to any degree.

It is however truly astounding that he did not show any interest in Müteferrika's press which was active between 1727 and 1741 and published exclusively "secular" texts. The Hungarian renegade İbrâhîm Müteferrika mentioned "ten advantages" of the art of printing in 1726 in his memorandum *Vasîlat al-ṭibâ'a*. His sixth reason anticipated a reply to Volney: "Since the price of (printed) books is low and they are readily available to everyone, their spread and publication among the population of the towns and villages of the provinces will *be a cause of a decrease in ignorance.*"

A imperial edict for İbrâhîm indicated how rare important lexicographic works had become for the study of Arabic. It pointed out the losses suffered by the Islamic world in wars and fires. It mentioned specifically the attacks by the Mongols and the recapture of Andalusia by the Franks (in times long past). A *fatva* simultaneously and specifically prohibited the printing of works on Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), exegesis (*tafsîr*), traditional sciences (*hadîth*) and theology (*kalam*). There is no mention of the Koran, since the thought of its distribution as a printed work was clearly forbidden in itself.

In 1729 the first work produced using movable Arabic letters left the printers: 1000 copies of the so-called *Ṣiḥāḥ* of Ğauharī (d. before 1010). Named after its translator Meḥmed ibn Mustafa al-Vânî (d. 1592) "Vankuli" it is the most famous Arab dictionary translated into Turkish. A second edition appeared a decade after Müteferrika's death in 1756. The printers of the Mühendishâne published a third edition (800 copies) in 1803. Apparently the "Vankuli" was always in great demand. The first edition was subsidized at the instigation of the authorities. Students of the *Medrese* paid only 35 *kurush*. That is no more than the daily wage of a manual worker for two bulky volumes!

Sixteen more books followed up to 1741, mostly historical and geographical compendia in the Turkish language. The circulation was limited (ca. 500–1000 copies), the price exorbitant. Müteferrika's hopes of expansion in the provinces were not fulfilled. It was not until 1860 that books began to be printed in circulations of any significant numbers. When Müteferrika was given permission to set up a print shop in his home in Istanbul his major worry was how to acquire the characters. In his memorandum he rejected the use of the *maghribî* letters used in Europe. It is not entirely clear where he acquired his first set of characters, although it seems that both Jews from Istanbul and Holland played a crucial role as mediators. In contrast with the situation in the West where Christian craftsmen made the characters for the Jewish minority, in the Ottoman Empire the Jews (and probably the Armenians too from the beginning) were the ones who took care of the technical equipment needed by the majority population.

The design of the first eight books printed by Müteferrika was not very elaborate. However from 1732 onwards there was a growing resemblance with handwritten manuscripts. The text areas were set within frames, the title pages adorned with ornaments. Some purchasers had these decorative elements coloured or gilded, which naturally made them look even more like manuscripts. In Müteferrika's books there are very few punctuation marks in the form of simple stars and C clef–like symbols for internal headings.

The bindings were not different from those of a manuscript. They consisted of a leather binding with a flap as an extension of the back cover. The front cover was ornated with a pressure molding. The illustration of the pile of books in Mouradja d'Ohsson's work (*Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1787, vol. 1, pl. 39) allows only experts to differentiate between manuscripts and printed books, for the latter also bear the title on the edge. Thus books laid down flat on shelves could be more easily identified. The so-called *Risâle* (epistle) by Birgivî printed in 1218 H./1803 D. is particularly noteworthy in terms of its similarity with a manuscript (In the same year the first complete Koran was printed in Kazan in Russia for the use of the Tatar subjects of the Tsar!). The Turkish script is vocalized from beginning to end. This famous Islamic catechism was the first religious work to be produced by the Mühendishâne (school of engineer-

ing), the Ottoman state's printing works in Üsküdar, without neglecting its original task - the printing of text books for the use of future engineers.

It is interesting that until the replacement of the Arabic script with the Latin script both printing and the art of calligraphy did not only co-exist, but profited from each other. On the one hand major works of the famous calligraphers were made accessible to a broader audience by printing. On the other hand lithography helped calligraphers to continue to make a living.

Up to 1839, according to Jale Baysal's reckoning, there had been only 439 titles published in the Ottoman-Turkish. Reliable estimates include less than 20,000 books and brochures printed in the two centuries up to the introduction of the Latin alphabet in 1928. More impressive than the number of titles and editions is the variety of book publishers. In 1899 official statistics listed the 90 following printing houses and the nationality of their owners:

Armenian 32
Turkish 23
Greek 15
Levantine or European 5
Persian 2
Bulgarian 1
Unknown 12

Any conclusions about the of book production based on these figure are bound to be misleading. The print run of individual titles was rarely more than 2000 or 3000. Between 1876 and 1893 the distribution of printed titles among the major language groups was as follows:

Turkish (Arabic script) 2929
   (Armenian script) 50
   (Greek script "Karamanli") 23
Arabic 415
Persian   55
Greek 738
Armenian 710
French 51

*

Müteferrikas Ottoman incunabula did not create a fundamental break with the past as induced by the new technology in Europe (see Elizabeth Eisenstein "The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe", Cambridge 1983). Since the state played the part of the editor and not as in Europe capital owners driven for sales the output was at first minimal. When printing finally did start thriving during the second half of the 19th century rigorous censorship slowed the expansion down again.

The invention of printing was in the beginning only of minor consequence for the Muslims' culture of reading and writing. Likewise Ottoman Jewish and Christian traditions had also been only superficially affected by the new technology even though they had an advantage over the Muslims by two or three centuries. The main aim of elementary schooling for all denominations was not to teach reading and writing, and at least in Turkish. Instead, the children were meant to acquire the correct knowledge of and love for God. If at all, a few folk tales, published as lithographs, contributed to the spread of literacy in Turkish.

Under Müteferrika the printing shop's production profile was characterized by the reprinting of historical or-geographical works. From the early 19th century, religious works dominated. Book production grew slowly even amongst the non-Muslims communities In the case of the Greeks this is particularly surprising since the first book entirely printed in Greek was published in Milan as early as 1476. The spread of printing during the last five or six decades of Ottoman rule did not extinguish calligraphy. On the contrary even in the state schools Ḥüsn-i Khaṭṭ remained a compulsory subject. The mastering of several script styles was a sign of the truly educated.

In retrospect the similarities between the introduction of printing in Arabic script in 1729 and the beginning of printing in Latin script in 1928 are striking: In both cases it was of the state who was the motor of change, the number of translations was very high, and the dependency on European technology was obvious. Yet there is an important difference. During the reign of Ahmed III printing presses were above all used to copy already existing texts, Atatürk, however, set the presses to work after Volney's dictum of the typography *vrai mobile des revolutions*.

<div align="right">Klaus Kreiser</div>

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Persian illustrated lithographed books (cat. 33-41)

In Iran, the art of printing was introduced only in the second decade of the nineteenth century. Though historians have noted preliminary attempts at printing in the Mongol and Safavid periods, these did not result in a continuous tradition. The first book printed in movable type in the Qajar period was an edition of the *Resâle-ye Jehâdiyye* by Mirzâ 'Isâ Qâ'em-Maqâm published in 1233/1817. Yet books printed in movable type did not appeal to the Persian aesthetic sentiment. Their characters were stiff and contrasted heavily with the flowing *nasta 'liq* the Persians were used to encounter in manuscripts. Contrary to typography, the process of lithographic printing, invented at the end of the 18th century, permitted the facsimile production of handwriting at a comparatively low cost. Consequently, the new technique was preferred over the old one, and lithographic printing dominated most of the nineteenth century book production. To our present knowledge, virtually not a single Iranian book was printed in movable type in the years between 1272/1855 and 1290/1873.

After the first lithographed books had been produced around 1245/1829, it took the Persian publishers a while to realize that lithographic printing also allowed the continuation of manuscript techniques in yet another way. In addition to producing identical duplicates of any given original in multiple copies, lithographic printing also permitted the easy reproduction of both ornamental illumination (*tazhib*) as well as drawing. As Persians since times immemorial had been fond of illustrating literary texts, this discovery corresponded with an imminent demand. Consequently, it lead to the establishment of the genre of Persian illustrated lithographed books. Even though similar items were also produced in other Islamic countries, this genre may be regarded as a distinctively Persian one.

While the first illustrated lithographed book was produced in 1259/1843, illustrated books remained extremely popular from 1263/1846 until well into the twentieth century. By far the largest body of illustrated lithographed books belongs to Persian literature, predominantly the Persian classics, such as Ferdousi's *Shâh-nâme* (five illustrated Iranian editions between 1265–67/1848–50 and 1322/1904), Nezâmi's *Khamse* (ten illustrated editions between 1264/1847 and 1328/1910), or the collected works (*Kolleyât*) by Sa'di (at least 15 illustrated editions between 1268/1851 and 1310/1892). Next in number are religious narratives of the *rouze-khvâni* genre, treating the tragedy of the Shiite martyrs at Kerbelâ'. Besides, voluminous imaginative narrative compilations such as the Persian translation of the *Arabian Nights* (at least seven illustrated editions between 1272/1855 and 1320/1902), or the prose epics *Eskandar-nâme* (first edition 1273/1856) and *Hamza-nâme* (first edition 1274–76/1875–79) were produced, plus a large and ever growing number of less extensive narratives of a chapbook character. Moreover, lithographic illustration was used in translations of European literature and non-fictional contemporary literature such as travel accounts and works of a scientific nature, whether medical or military, not to forget the use of illustration in numerous journals of the Qajar period.

Ulrich Marzolph

W. Floor, "Cāp," *Encyclopædia Iranica* vol. 4, p. 760–764; O. P. Shcheglova, *Iranskaya litografirovannaya kniga*, Moscow 1979; Sh. Bâbâzâde, *Târikh-e châp dar Irân*, Tehran 1378/1999; H. Golpâyegâni, *Târikh-i châp va châpkhâne dar Irân*, Tehran 1378/1999.

1

The first book printed in Arabic

Kitāb Ṣalāt al-sawāʿī

Fano 1514

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Rar. 1348

This, the first book to be printed in Europe with moveable Arabic characters is shrouded in many mysteries. It is unclear both who ordered the work and where the very inflexible letters originated, which incidentally were never used again. There is also no consensus of opinion as to the potential purchaser. Only one thing is completely clear: this work was in no way intended for European users (who could speak Arabic in those days in Europe?) but for export to the Orient - just like the recently rediscovered Venetian Koran of Alessandro Paganino (ca. 1537/38). Most probably this Book of Hours (Horologium) was intended for Melkite Christians in Syria. The notes printed at the end of the work give us information about the printer, the location where it was printed and the year it was printed. The fact that the well-known Venetian printer, de Gregorij, had this book published not in Venice but in Fano may probably be explained by the fact that he wished to avoid the privileges that were in force in Venice relating to the printing of books in Oriental type. Only some of the at least ten surviving copies (for example the one housed in the Nuremberg Municipal Library) show a title page. It gives the Arabic title in red letters. Nine of the total of 240 pages have noteworthy decorations in the form of edgings, which also show a variety of basic type faces, including three floral embellishments and a fourth kind with a combination of birds and flower patterns. The example shown here is from the library of the humanist and orientalist, Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter (1506-57) and is housed today in Bavaria's state library.

H.B.

2

Ktobō d-mazmūrē d-Dawīd malkō wa-nbīyō ("Book of the Psalms of the King and Prophet David") / *Kitāb mazāmīr am tasābīḥ al-malik wa-l-nabīy Dawūd* ("Book of the Psalms or the Songs of Praise of the King and Prophet David")

Quzḥayyā: Monastery of Mār Anṭūniyūs, 1610

260 pp., 28 x 15.5 cm.

Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Solg.Ms. 21.21

The first book ever printed in the Arab world is a bilingual Psalter which appeared in 1610 in the Maronite Monastery of St Anthony at Quzḥayyā in Northern Lebanon. Besides the title-page, the little book contains an introduction by Sarkīs al-Rizzī, the Maronite Archbishop of Damascus, 151 psalms (the 150 canonical ones and one apocryphal), the ten Biblical odes (*tasābīḥ*), the imprimatur by the Archbishop of Ihdin to whose diocese Quzḥayyā belonged, and a concluding colophon.* The psalms are arranged in two columns, on the right is the text in Syriac and on the left in Arabic, but also written in Syriac letters, the so-called Karshūnī script. As the Arabic version is longer than the Syriac one the wish to keep both texts parallel caused the use of two different fonts: larger ones for Syriac and smaller ones for Arabic. Both sets of types are elegant and harmonious and are cast after a calligraphic model of high quality.

The title page reproduced here is splendidly designed. Framed by an ornamental border it is divided by horizontal lines into four rectangular panels. The one at the top contains the book-title in Syriac printed in red ink. The Serto script has diacritical signs from both the Syriac scriptural traditions. The remainder of the title page is printed in black ink. The information given above in Syriac is repeated in the second panel in Arabic (Karshūnī). The following panel is divided by vertical lines into three fields. In the centre is the coat of arms of Archbishop Sarkīs al-Rizzī who initiated and financed the printing. It is designed in a European manner with an Latin Bishop's mitre on top and an inscription in Latin (Sergius Risius Archiepiscopus Damascenus). The coat of arms is flanked by two stanzas of four lines, which have to be read from top to bottom. The little poem, written in the Lebanese Arabic vernacular, is a hymn to the Virgin Mary who is compared with the Cedar of Lebanon. The lowest panel - again in Arabic (Karshūnī) - gives information in the form of a colophon, on the place of printing, the printers, and the year of printing: "In the venerated hermitage which is situated in the valley of Quzḥayyā on the blessed Mount Lebanon by the master Pasquale Eli and the humble Yūsuf, the son of ʿAmīma from Karmsadda, called deacon, in the year 1610."

A hand-written note in Latin on the lower margin summarises the information about the book. The work was acquired in 1611 by a German traveller and scholar while he was in Lebanon.

Schnurrer, Chr. F. v. *Bibliotheca Arabica*, Halle/S. 1811, pp. 351-354; Aggoula, B., "Le livre libanais de 1585 à 1900", in Aboussouan, C. (ed.), *Exposition: Le livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900*, Paris 1982, pp. 297-300; Gdoura, W., *Le Début de l'Imprimerie Arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie: Evolution de l'Environment Culturel (1706-1787)*, Tunis 1985, pp. 59-64; Nasrallah, J., *L'Imprimerie au Liban*, Harissa 1949, pp. 1-7.

C.W.

* The description of the content follows partly the copy in the library of the Université Saint-Esprit, Kaslik (Lebanon).
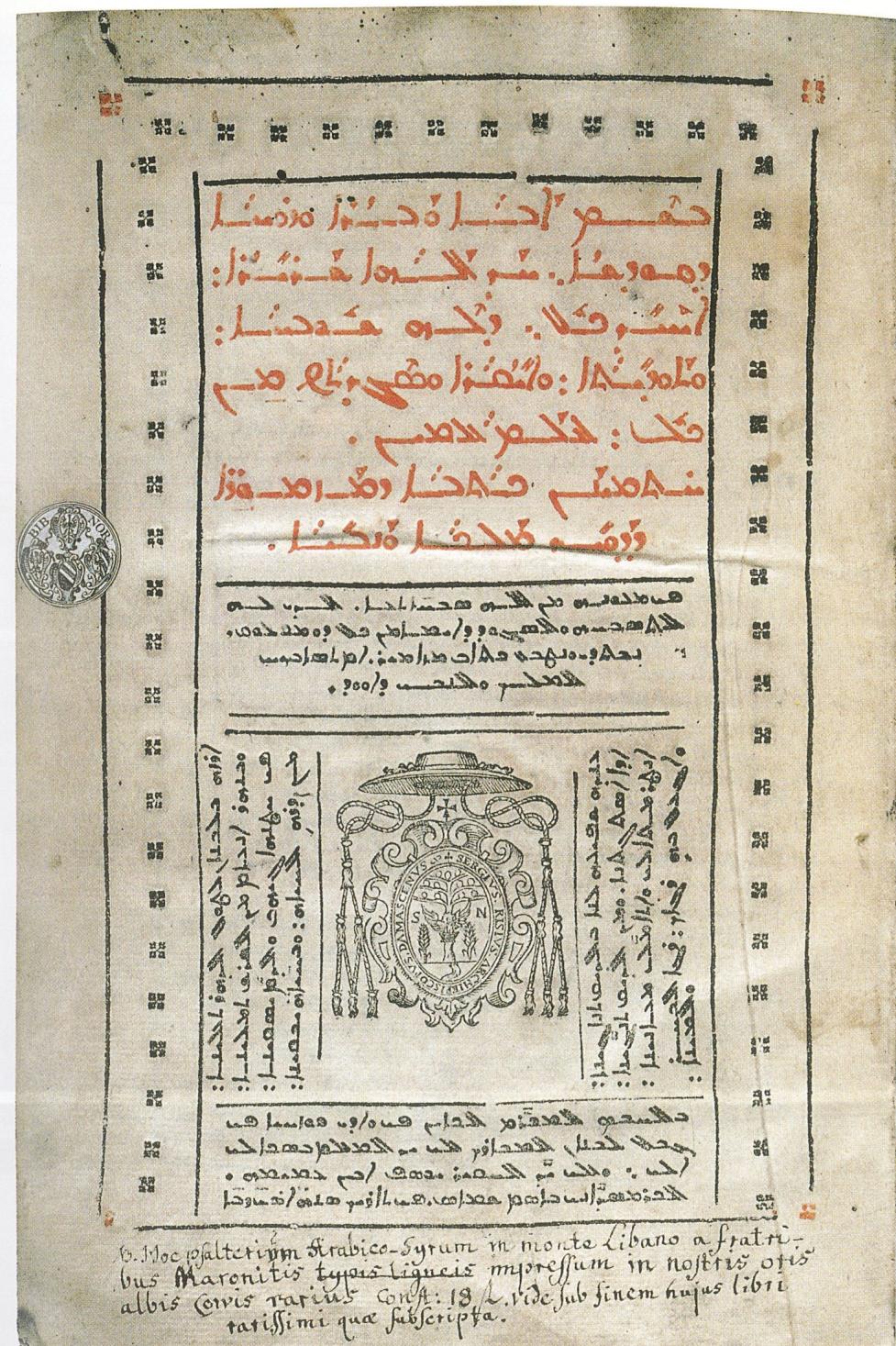
Kitāb al-injīl al-sharīf al-ṭāhir wa-l-miṣbāḥ al-munīr

al-zāhir ("The Book of the honourable pure Gospel and the illuminative lamp")

Aleppo: Greek Orthodox Metropolitanate, 1706

584 + 8 hand-written pp., 29.3 x 19 cm.

Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Theol.2 F 58/3

The first printing house of the Arab world that printed in Arabic letters was opened in Aleppo in 1706 by the Greek Orthodox metropolitan Athanāsiyūs al-Dabbās. In the very same year two books appeared: a Book of Psalms and a Gospel book.

The latter one—which shall be presented here—comprises an arrangement of texts from the four Gospels according to the necessities of liturgical practice. In a short introduction the editor Athanāsiyūs al-Dabbās explains the importance of the Gospels and mentions that he did not start to print the book before he had revised it according to a Greek copy and after having made many improvements to the Arabic (fol. 3b).

The work proper starts with the readings for Easter from the Gospel of St John with pericopes from the other Gospels following suit. Some of the pericopes have commentaries. Furthermore the work contains several compilations of Gospel readings for special occasions in the Church year, which open with a Christian *basmallah* (*"in the name of God"*).

The double page reproduced here shows on the right side (fol. 4b) the Evangelist John depicted in a way typical in iconography: he sits on an easy chair, his eyes elevated to heaven. In one hand he holds the Gospel, in the other a stylus. Beside him there is an eagle, the traditional iconographical symbol for St. John the Evangelist. The illustration shows Greek influences, but the names of the Evangelist and the eagle are written in Arabic. The opposite page (fol. 5a) has the beginning of the text. After a repetition of the title and short explanation of how the material is arranged—written in red ink—there follows the reading for Easter Sunday, the beginning of the Gospel of St. John: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (John 1:1). On the left side of the lower margin there is the first word of the following page, a technique used to keep manuscripts and early printings in order.

The book is bound in wine-red leather and actually covered by a satin wrapper of the same colour, which is embroidered with golden ornamental elements. In the centre glitters the monogram of Jesus Christ surrounded by an aureole.

The copy now in possession of the Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek in Gotha was purchased by the well-known orientalist and explorer Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1767-1811) who, at the beginning of the 19th century, travelled throughout the Near East where he acquired hundreds of Oriental manuscripts and books for the ducal library in Gotha.

Schnurrer, Christian Friedrich von, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, Halle/S. 1811, p. 374; Nasrallah, Joseph, *L'Imprimerie au Liban*, Harissa 1949, p. 23.

C.W.
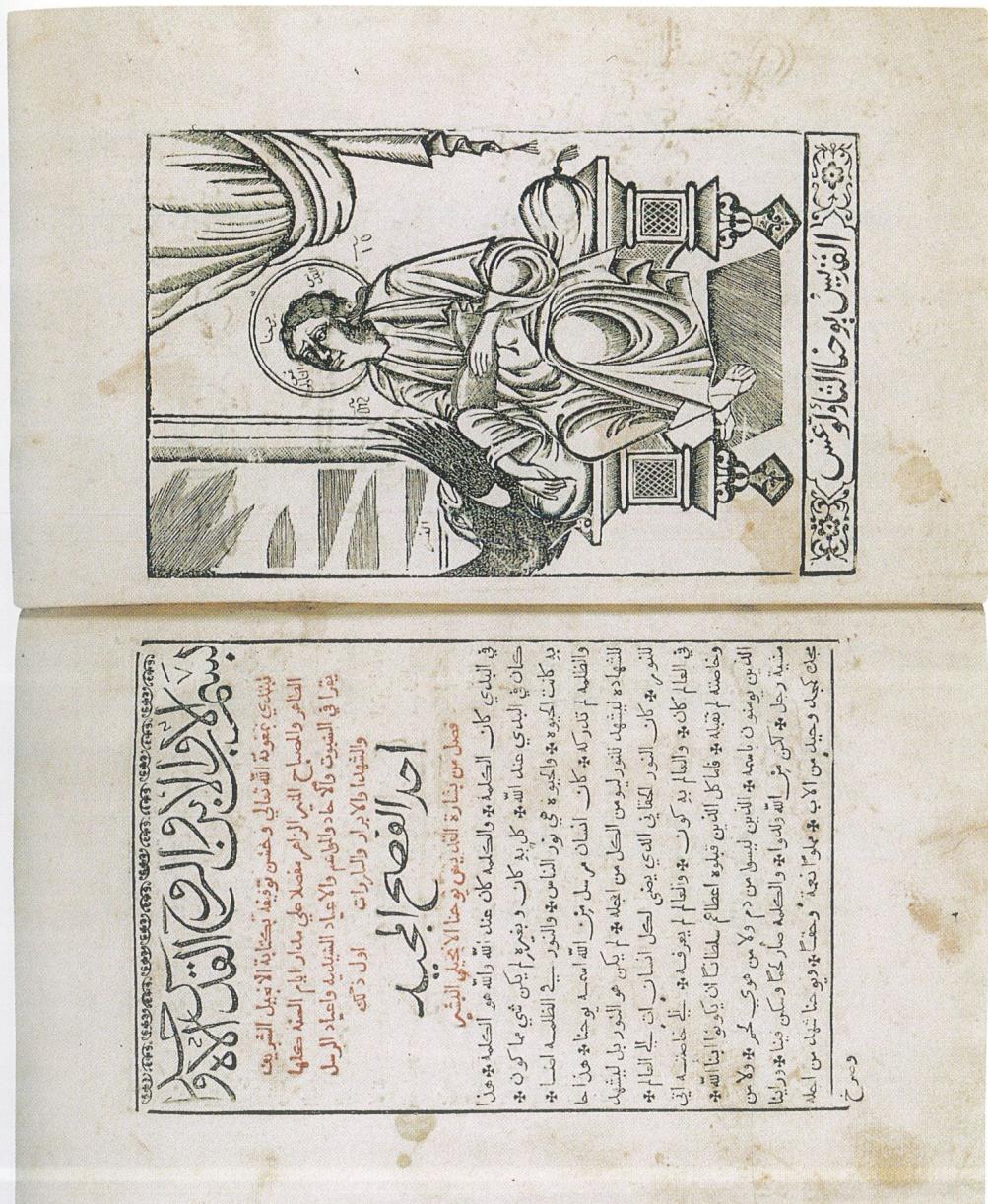
Juan Eusebio Nieremberg: *Mīzān al-zamān wa-qisṭās abadiyyat al-insān* ("The scales of time and the measure of man's eternity")

al-Shuwayr: Monastery of St. John the Baptist, 1734

XIV + 362 pp., 23 x 17.5 cm.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4° A.or. 1352

In 1734 the Arab world saw the first printing of a work translated from a modern European language. With the publication of a religious treatise by the Spanish Jesuit Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595-1658) - originally published in Madrid in 1640 under the title *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y lo eterno, y Crisol de Desengaños* - the printing shop in the Greek Catholic monastery of Shuwayr (today's Lebanon) began its activities. Nieremberg's book had become very popular in Europe and was translated into many languages. A first Arabic version made from an Italian edition dates back to the second decade of the eighteenth century. It was executed by the Maronite priest Yūsuf ibn Jirjis of Aleppo. But in the introductory remarks to the printing of Shuwayr it is said that the work had recently been translated (anew) from Italian into Arabic without reference to the first version, which was full of mistakes and confusions. Although the person who carried out this new translation is not mentioned explicitly it is generally believed to be the work of the French Jesuit Pierre Fromage (1678-1740) who supported the establishment of the printing shop in Shuwayr and was - at least for a certain period of time - in close relations with ʿAbdallāh Zākhir, the initiator and director of the establishment who certainly revised the Arabic text before printing it.

The very first page of the book, which is reproduced opposite, reveals some peculiarities of the whole printed text. The work begins in an Oriental manner without a title page. It begins with a Christian *basmallah* and an introduction follows (*al-fātiḥa*), mentioning that printing was commenced in 1733. The introduction is then followed by a foreword (*muqaddima*) on the person of the author and an index (*fihris*). While these introductory passages are not enumerated, the text proper does have page numbers. The whole text is set in a frame formed by a black double line. At the top of every page there is a header indicating the treatise (*maqāla*) and the chapter (*faṣl*) respectively. Two kinds of typefaces were used for the printing: a larger, bold one for the *basmallah* and the titles, a smaller and finer one as the standard type for the text. The text is partly vocalised, it is divided into parts by asterisks. At the beginning and the end of chapters decorative elements were used. The first word of the next page is given on the left side of the bottom margin.

On the last page (p. 362) there is a colophon-like remark indicating the completion of the print on February the 26th 1734. The book is bound in light brown leather in the European manner. The spine is divided into four ribs. The cover - on the back and front - is decorated with ornamental embossments which are inlayed with gold. The punches for the embossing were the work of ʿAbdallāh Zākhir. They became typical of the outward appearance of Shuwayrite publications. The copy at the Bayrische Staatsbibliothek München was acquired by the French traveller de la Roque who sent it to Europe in August 1735.

Schnurrer, Chr. F. v., *Bibliotheca Arabica*, Halle/S. 1811, pp. 279-281; Gdoura, W., *Le Début de l'Imprimerie Arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie: Evolution de l'Environment Culturel (1706-1787)*, Tunis 1985, pp. 167-168; Aggoula, B., "Le livre libanais de 1585 à 1900", in Aboussouan, C. (ed.), *Exposition : Le livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900*, Paris 1982, p. 306.

C.W.

5
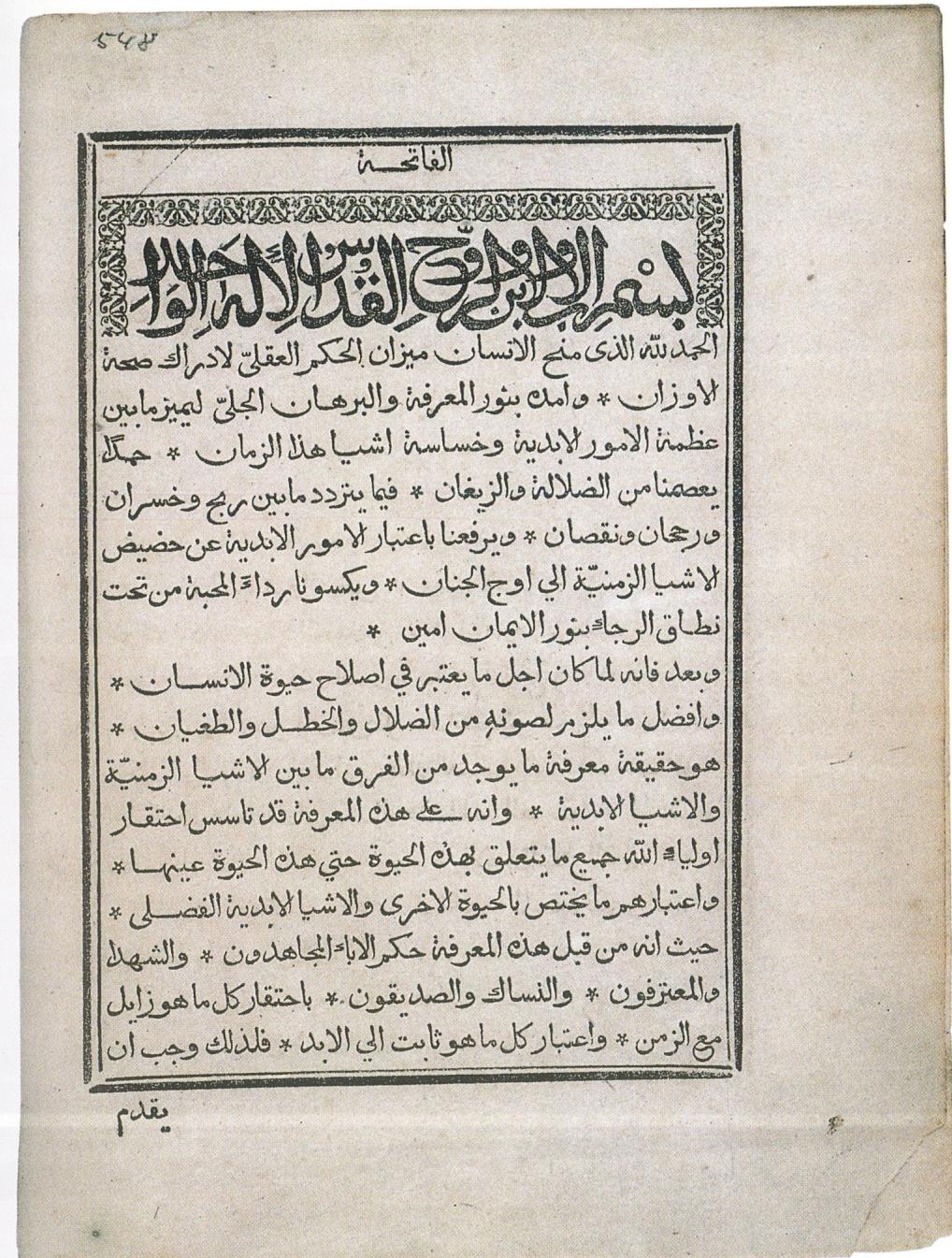
Nāṣif al-Yāzijī: *Kitāb faṣl al-khiṭāb fī uṣūl lughat al-aʿrāb* ("The conclusive discourse on the rules of the Arab's language")

Beirut: American Press (al-maṭbaʿa al-amīrkāniyya), 1836

168 pp., 19 x 12 cm.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, A.or. 1574

This little pocket-sized book which appeared in 1836 in Beirut in an edition of 1000 copies was a true novelty: for the first time a book of secular content was printed in the Arab world. It was printed by the Protestant missionaries of the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" (ABCFM) who had opened a printing shop in Beirut two years earlier in 1834. The author of the concise treatise on Arabic grammar was Nāṣif al-Yāzijī (1800-1871) a local Greek Catholic scholar from a little village south of Beirut who later became one of the most celebrated Christian Arab authors of the 19th century. With his numerous philological works, but moreover with his poetry and rhyming prose he influenced a whole generation of Arab intellectuals and thus became a pioneer and outstanding protagonist of the so called *Nahḍa*, the renaissance of Arabic language and literature.

The grammar book *Faṣl al-khiṭāb fī uṣūl lughat al-aʿrāb* was Yāzijī's first printed publication and laid the foundation for his future reputation. It is a treatise on morphology and syntax in two parts: part one (*Kitāb al-taṣrīf*, pp. 6-93) deals with morphology, part two (*Kitāb al-naḥw*, pp. 94-168) with syntax. The book starts with a title page followed by a short introduction (pp. 4-5). There are some folded tables showing lists of grammatical forms.

The publishers tried to make the book interesting for all circles of readers by avoiding Christian symbols and formulas. This becomes evident from the first page of the introduction (p. 4) which is reproduced here. It starts with a Muslim *basmallah* in the form of a *ṭughrāʾ*, the calligraphic form of giving the Sultan's name on official documents and coins. In this introduction al-Yāzijī briefly explains his aim without referring to religious matters. The few words seen in the reproduction nevertheless show some peculiarities of the print as a whole. The printing quality is poor, some words are difficult to read. The text is partly vocalised, some illustrative sentences even have full vocalisation. The beginnings and ends of the chapters are decorated with simple geometrical elements in the form of rectangles. A header indicates the respective part and chapter of the book.

A footer on the last page mentions briefly that the book was printed in 1836 in Beirut without speaking of the printing house or those in charge of it. This was also surely meant to guarantee wide acceptance from all readers of Arabic irrespective of their religious affiliation. The practical pocket-sized format facilitated the book's use for teaching. The book is bound in a cheap cover of blue boards with a leather spine.

C.W.