

THE OTTOMAN GEOGRAPHER OSMAN B. ABDÜLMENNAN AND HIS VISION  
OF THE WORLD IN  
*TERCÜME-İ KİTÂB-I COĞRAFYA* (ca. 1749-1750)

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## Abstract

The Ottoman Geographer Osman b. Abdülmennan and his vision of the world in  
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This thesis examines a little known example of eighteenth-century Ottoman geographical literature: *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, a comprehensive world atlas with extensive references to Copernican theory. Osman b. Abdülmennan, who was a convert to Islam and who was most probably of western European origin, completed this geographic treatise ca. 1749-1750, while he was the second official translator of the Belgrade Council. Through a careful analysis of selected parts of the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, this study demonstrates that Osman b. Abdülmennan's book was a translation of the combined edition of the works of Bernhard Varenius' *Geographia Generalis* and Nicolas Sanson's *Geographic Description of all the World*, and not solely of the first of these texts, as has been previously claimed. At the same time, however, Osman b. Abdülmennan exercised an authorial function. He transferred only specific parts of the original texts, while he changed the presentation form and added significant information. By examining carefully the editorial choices and authorial interventions made by Osman b. Abdülmennan, this study further argues that the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* was deeply informed by the author's role as cultural intermediary on the one hand and by the intellectual and political concerns of the Ottoman ruling elite, with whom he was affiliated, on the other. In a more general sense, the goal of this thesis is to show that the

geographic quest of the first half of the eighteenth century, namely “mass” atlas production and translations of western European geographical works, was the outcome of wider social and political processes. Against the dated notion of “westernization” and without regarding the Ottoman cartographers/geographers as simple mouthpieces of western European thought, it is further argued that the Ottoman geographic literature of this period was shaped as much by global as by local currents and in this regard bears a closer resemblance to the new geographic turn taken in western Europe than is generally accepted.

## Özet

Osmanlı Coğrafyacısı Osman b. Abdülmennan ve onun *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*'sındaki (ca. 1749-1750) dünya tasavvuru

Konstantinos Thanasakıs

Bu tez onsekizinci yüzyıl Osmanlı coğrafya literatürünün az bilinen bir örneğini incelemektedir: *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, Copernic'ci teoriye zengin referanslarla dolu kapsayıcı bir dünya atlası. Çok büyük ihtimalle Batı Avrupa kökenli olan ve daha sonra İslam'a dönen Osman b. Abdülmennan, bu coğrafya çalışmasını 1749-1750 yılları civarında, Belgrad Divanı'nın ikinci tercümanlığı resmi görevinde bulunurken tamamlamıştır. Bu çalışma, *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*'nın seçilmiş bazı bölümlerinin dikkatli bir analizi yoluyla, Osman b. Abdülmennan'ın kitabının, Bernhard Varenius'un *Geographia Generalis*'i ile Nicolas Sanson'un *Geographic Description of all the World* adlı eserlerinden yapılan bir derleme olduğunu, daha önce iddia edildiği gibi sadece Varenius'un kitabının basit bir tercümesinden ibaret olmadığını iddia etmektedir. Üstelik, aynı zamanda, Osman b. Abdülmennan yazarlık işlevi de üstlenmiştir. Orijinal metinlerin sadece belli bölümlerini çevirirken, özgül sunuş formlarını değiştirmiş ve kendisi de kaydedeğer bilgiler eklemiştir. Bu çalışma, Osman b. Abdülmennan'ın yaptığı editorial seçimleri ve özgün müdahalelerini dikkatlice inceleyerek, *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*'nın bir yandan yazarın “Doğu” ile “Batı” arasında bir kültürel aracı olarak üstlendiği rolden, diğer yandan Osmanlı yönetici elitlerinin politik ve entellektüel ilgilerinden derin bir biçimde etkilendiğini iddia etmektedir. Daha genel bir anlamda bu tezin amacı onsekizinci yüzyılın ilk yarısındaki coğrafi araştırmaların, “kitlesele” atlas

retiminin ve Batı Avrupa'daki cođrafi alıřmaların tercmesi faaliyetinin daha geniř sosyal ve politik srelerin bir sonucu olduđunu gstermektedir. Klasik "batılılařma" paradigmasının dıřına ıkılıp, Osmanlı kartograflarını/cođrafyacılarını Batı Avrupa dřncesinin basit birer tekrarcısı ve uygulayıcısı olarak grmeden, bu dnemin Osmanlı cođrafya literatrnn, global olduđu kadar yerel akımlar tarafından da řekillendirildiđi ve bu bađlamda sz konusu cođrafya yazınının Batı Avrupa'da gerekleřen yeni cođrafi dnřmle aralarında, genelde kabul edilenden daha fazla benzerlik olduđu iddia edilmiřtir.

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The biggest “thanks”, however, is addressed to my grandmother, who, unfortunately, had to “depart” for her “travel” a little before the end of this thesis.

To Maria, Socratis and Yannis;  
my fellows in the terrestrial sphere  
To Xanthi;  
my fellow in the celestial sphere

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Circa 1749-1750 Osman b. Abdülmennan, the second official translator of Belgrade Divani, completed his treatise under the title *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* (*Translation of the Book of Geography*)<sup>1</sup>. This book, which is a translation of the combined edition of *Geographia Generalis* by the famous German geographer Bernhard Varenius (d. 1650) and *Geographical Description of all the World* by the French royal cartographer Nicolas Sanson, is basically a world atlas with extensive references to the heliocentric system. While several Ottoman geographers had already taken note of and written about Copernican theory before him, Osman b. Abdülmennan was the first Ottoman cartographer to unequivocally argue for the superiority of Copernican theory over Ptolemaic, to illustrate its logicalness through an examination of the relation between the celestial and terrestrial matters; and to underline the advantages it offers in such practical matters as navigation. *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* is also rather unusual for combining a discussion of the structure of the universe with one about the countries of the world with extensive ethnographic references.

The text peculiarities may stem in part from the author's personal background. Osman b. Abdülmennan was a convert to Islam and most likely of western European, possibly Dutch, background. He had, however, stayed long enough in the Ottoman

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<sup>1</sup> Today we have only three copies of Osman b. Abdülmennan's work. The first one was dedicated to Köprülüzade Ahmed Paşa when he was the governor of Belgrade in 1749-1750. This copy it is located in the Köprülü Library in Istanbul. The other two copies of the book were presented to Abdi Paşa, the next governor of the province, and are located in the Topkapı Library. For the needs of this thesis any reference to Osman b. Abdülmennan's work corresponds to the first edition of the book with call number Köprülü, II. 175.

Empire to become proficient in both Ottoman Turkish and Arabic and appointed the second official translator of the Council of Belgrade. In addition to Turkish and Arabic he had a good knowledge of Latin, Dutch/German and French. He also appears to have shared the broad scientific interests of this period. In addition to *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, he had translated works of botany and medicine, two of the most important scientific disciplines of the eighteenth century.

For all the “peculiarities” of the author and his text, however, the purpose of this thesis is not to study the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* as a unique or superior example of Ottoman geographical literature. It is rather to make sense of this text within both the wider geographical corpus and the wider intellectual currents of the eighteenth century. With this aim the present study undertakes a detailed study of selected parts of the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, identifies the sources utilized in these sections, examines the subtle authorial interventions Osman b. Abdulmennan undertook in making use of these sources, and finally sets out to demonstrate how this act of translation/authorship was actually deeply informed by the socio-political realities of eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire.

### Approaching Geography/Cartography<sup>2</sup>: Theoretical Observations

This study is premised on the theoretical insight that all pictorial or textual maps conform to the specific realities of their society. Rhetoric, the art of constructing arguments and images, permeates all layers of a map. As J.B. Harley underlines, as

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<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of the seventeenth century and till the end of the eighteenth century the term “geography” corresponded to the examination of the relation between celestial and terrestrial matters. On the other hand the term “cartography” was used for all the different kinds of representations, whether pictorial or not.

images of the world, maps are never neutral or value-free or completely scientific<sup>3</sup>. Each map argues its own particular case. From this perspective, the reading of maps should move away from the canons of traditional cartographical criticism, with its opposition between maps that are “true” and “false”, “accurate” and “inaccurate”, “objective” and “subjective” or “literal” and “symbolic”<sup>4</sup>. Maps can never be regarded as value-free representations<sup>5</sup> because they are actuated a priori by social messages. Both in the selectivity of their content and in their signs and styles of representation, maps are a way of conceiving and constructing the human world, which is biased towards particular sets of social relations. In addition, maps acquire a social dimension because they promote knowledge.

In this regard, if we define cartography as a process of knowledge production, we have to observe this knowledge as a form of social and political discourse. Like all discourses, maps are at once “controlled, selected, organized and distributed according to a certain number of procedures”<sup>6</sup>. The socio-political cartographic discourse, however, takes place on three basic and integrally connected grounds: the first directly or/and indirectly effected by the representatives of state power upon the cartographer and the cartographic process, the second uttered by the cartographer’s interpretation of the societal context and his/her integration in the knowledge construction process; and the third articulated by the cartographer to his/her audience and vice versa. In other

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<sup>3</sup> J.B. Harley, “Historical Geography and the Cartographic Illusion”, *Journal of Historical Geography* 15 (1989): 84-86.

<sup>4</sup> *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, eds. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, 9, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988) 278.

<sup>5</sup> With the term “map” I denote pictorial as well as textual representations. As T. Michell argues “[...] all maps are a kind of language and all texts are maps.” See, W.J.T. Michell, eds., *The Language of Images*, (Chicago: Phoenix books, 1980).

<sup>6</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, (trans. A.M Sheridan Smith, NY: Pantheon Books, 1972), 216.

terms, cartographic/geographic knowledge production takes place as a sequence of indirect but still immediately linked social dynamics.

The political act of state power upon the cartographer is basically grounded in an assumption of the legitimacy of the political status quo and its values. Its utterances through maps are intended to prologue, preserve and develop the “truths” and achievements initiated by the political system and the political needs of a specific era<sup>7</sup>. The more authoritarian a political system is, the more it intervenes in the way knowledge is produced. It is not accidental, for example, that mass production of maps started in Europe during the Renaissance. During this period the effort of most of the west European states to safe-guard and control geographic/cartographic knowledge as a medium for territorial expansion was greater than ever<sup>8</sup>. The Marxist argument that authoritarianism, militarism, colonialism and corporatism, as well as various forms of “centrism” interfere with the production of knowledge comes most of the times in agreement with the historical examples of map production<sup>9</sup>.

The second hierarchy involved in this power-knowledge relation -the power of the cartographer over his audience- can be distinguished and analyzed in two phases: one facing the cartographer as the immediate transmitter of the knowledge that the state power asks to be promoted, and the other facing the map-maker as an individual author. The cartographer has figured in many map philosophies, markedly in the so called communication model<sup>10</sup>, as a mind that registers impressions from the external world

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<sup>7</sup> J.B. Harley, “Silences and Secrecy: The hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe,” *Imago Mundi* (1988): 76.

<sup>8</sup> Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, (Yale: Yale University Press, 2005).

<sup>9</sup> Harley (1988), 76

<sup>10</sup> A. Kolacny, “Cartographic Information- a Fundamental Concept and Term in Modern Cartography”, *Cartographic Journal* 6 (1969): 47-49.

and translates them into graphic form. Thus, the cartographer has to be considered not only as an individual but also as a member of society in the broadest sense. As a member of a specific social framework the map-maker assimilates a priori notions of the political context in which he/she lives and works. The cartographer translates the intentions of the non-cartographers, meaning those who drill the authority, and decodes the intentions again of non-cartographers, this time meaning the general social groups to which the cartographer belongs. In other words, the cartographer corresponds to the external power that the non-cartographers practice on the cartographer with an internal power of interpretation. To put it differently, cartographers respond to the dictates of external powers by exercising their internal power<sup>11</sup>. The cartographer is rarely objective, and cartography is seldom what cartographers say it is<sup>12</sup>.

#### Overview of Ottoman Cartography in the Early Modern Period

In the Ottoman realms, as in every polity, the geographic/cartographic quest, namely the representation of “our” space and the exploration of the “outer” world, the “unknown”<sup>13</sup>, was always linked with the specific prerequisites of the era. Most Ottoman cartographic examples that are extant date from after the mid-fifteenth century. Unfortunately, not much is known about Ottoman cartographic activity before Mehmed II (r. 1451-1481). It is clear, however, that the latter was the first Ottoman sultan who systematically cultivated geography; and patronized medieval Arabic cartographic practices and west European map-making simultaneously. During his reign we find in Istanbul seven copies of al-Istakhrî’s *Kitaâb al-masâlik wa-al-mamâlik* (*Book of roads*

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<sup>11</sup> John A. Wolter and Ronald E. Grim, eds., *Images of the World: The Atlas through History*, (NY: McGraw –Hill, 1997), 165.

<sup>12</sup> J.B. Harley, “Deconstructing the Map”, *Cartographica* 26:2 (1989): 1.

<sup>13</sup> Guy Rosolato, *La relation d’ inconnu*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1978), 7-18.

and Kingdoms)<sup>14</sup>, and the translations of the works of the famous Greek geographer Claudius Ptolemeus (d. 170) *Almagest* and *Geographia*<sup>15</sup>. He was also very much interested in maps of the Balkan and Italian peninsula<sup>16</sup>.

Coming closer to the sixteenth century the Ottoman cartographic examples multiply significantly. As expected, the need for maritime charts emerged in the period the Ottomans became a major naval power. The sixteenth century started with “translations” of Persian and Arabic geographic treatises<sup>17</sup> (like the “translation” of Ibn Zunbul’s work *Kanīm ’ūd-dünyā*); while in the first half of this century the works of the famous cartographer Piri Reis (d. 1554) inaugurated the Ottoman art of navigation. The need for accurate knowledge about the world and maritime matters is very well illustrated in Piri Reis’ work. In 1517, Piri Reis presented to Sultan Selim I (r. 1512-1520) in Cairo a world map, which was based, as Piri Reis confirms, on various Arabic and west European sources. Especially for the depiction of the “New World”, it is believed that he used a map of Columbus<sup>18</sup>. Also important is his *Kitâb-i Bahriye* (translated as the *Manual of maritime or sea matters*), which is a comprehensive account of sailing directions based on the Italian technique of *isolario* and it was presented in 1526 to Selim’s son Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520-1566)<sup>19</sup>. Apart from the detailed depiction of the Mediterranean Sea, the *Kitâb-i Bahriye* offers an accurate and detailed outline of the development of Portuguese exploration till the establishment of

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<sup>14</sup> Karen Pinto, *Ways of seeing.3: Scenarios of the world in the medieval Islamic cartographic imagination*, (Ph.D diss., Columbia University, 2002).

<sup>15</sup> Adnan Adivar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1970), 22

<sup>16</sup> Franz Babinger, “An Italian Map of the Balkans, Presumably Owned by Mehmet II, the Conqueror (1452-53)” *Imago Mundi* 8 (1951).

<sup>17</sup> Giancarlo L. Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration: Spices, Maps and Conquest in the Sixteenth-Century Indian Ocean* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2004), 44-45

<sup>18</sup> Svat Soucek, *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus, The Khalili Portolan Atlas* (London: The Nour Foundation, 1992): 49-78

<sup>19</sup> Svat Soucek, *Piri Reis, The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (new ed., Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960-).

Portuguese hegemony in the Indian Ocean; and highlights the significance of Bartolomeu Dias' discovery of the Cape of Good Hope<sup>20</sup>.

In the field of portolan charts we find also in the second half of the sixteenth century three noteworthy examples: the anonymous *Deniz Atlâsı* and *Atlâs-i Hümayun*; and the *Atlâs* of Ali Macar Reis. The first two maritime maps underline the significance the Ottomans attributed to the Indian Ocean<sup>21</sup>. Especially, the *Deniz Atlâsı* is the only known Ottoman chart that exclusively depicts the Indian Ocean from the Red Sea to the Siamese peninsula, including the islands of Java and Sumatra<sup>22</sup>. The atlas of Ali Macar Reis is a naval atlas consisting of six portolan charts and one world map. Interestingly enough, this atlas does not include a depiction of the Indian Ocean basin<sup>23</sup>.

The maritime charts group is not the only one that corroborates the Ottoman expeditions of the sixteenth century. Military maps and plans of sieges in accordance with textual descriptions are distinctive elements of the imperial imagery that emphasize on the “actuality of contemporary history” according to J.M. Rogers<sup>24</sup>. Works such as those of Matrâkçı Nasûh (d. 1564) *Târîh-i feth-i Şaklâvûn (Şiklôs) ve Ustûrgûn ve Ustûnibelgrâd (Conquest of Siklos, Esztergom and Szekesfehervar)* and *Beyân-ı menâzil-i sefer-i Irâkeyn-i Sultân Süleymân Hân (The stages on Sultan Süleymân's campaign in the two Iraqs)*, known by its brief title *Mecmûa-i Menâzil*, constitute very important examples of Ottoman cartography for they combine both narration of historical events

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<sup>20</sup> Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World*, (NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 110.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas Goodrich, “Atlas-ı Hümayun: A Sixteenth century Ottoman Maritime Atlas Discovered in 1984,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 10 (1986): 88.

<sup>22</sup> Svat Soucek, *Islamic Charting in the Mediterranean*: 280.

<sup>23</sup> Kemal Özdemir, *Ottoman nautical charts and the Atlas of Ali Macar Reis*, (Istanbul: Creative Yayıncılık ve Tanıtım, 1992).

<sup>24</sup> J.M. Rogers, “Itineraries and Town Views in Ottoman Histories”, in *The History of Cartography, Cartography in the Traditional Islamic in South Asian Societies*, eds. J.B. Harley and D. Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 228.

and pictorial representations. We have to note also the multiple city views of this period that appear, as Kathryn Ann Ebel argues, “[...] not individually but in a sequence, thus giving expression to the size and shape of the Ottoman territories”<sup>25</sup>.

The geographic/cartographic production of the sixteenth-century also included works based on traditional Islamic geography/cosmography such as Mahmud al-Hatib al-Rumi’s *Nevādirü ’l-garā’ib ve mavāridü ’l-‘acā’ib* (composed in 1563) and Mehmed al-Maraşi’s *Iḳlimname* (completed in 1584). Perhaps the most important of these texts is Mehmet Aşık’s work *Menāzirü ’l-avālim* of 1597. According to Giancarlo Casale, “the primary purpose [of this encyclopedic compilation] seems to have been to provide an Ottoman audience with a definitive synthesis of the sum total of Arabic geographic knowledge, while at the same time expanding and improving upon this body of knowledge by including new information on Anatolia, the Balkans and other areas about which earlier Arabic cartographers had known comparatively little”<sup>26</sup>.

In the early seventeenth century, the works of the famous polymath Kâtip Çelebi (d.1657) signify the beginning of a period when the Ottoman cartographers/geographers attempted, by focusing on the translation of west European sources, to transmit to the Empire the modern theories over cosmography, geography and cartography that emerged in Western Europe around the same era. In almost all cases, however, (as well as in translations from Arabic) the translator did not simply transmit information but made significant alterations in the original texts. Moreover, one could argue that the

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<sup>25</sup> Kathryn Ann Ebel, *City Views, Imperial visions: Cartography and the Visual culture of Urban Space in the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1603*, (PhD diss. University of Texas at Austin, August, 2002), 39.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 298

seventeenth century signify a turning point, for the intellectual arena of the Empire transposed also outside of the Palace<sup>27</sup>.

Kâtip Çelebi's *Levâmi el-nûr fî zulmet-i Atlas Minor*, the translation of Mercator's *Atlas Minor*, and *Cihan-nüma*, a work written completely by him, acquire first place in Ottoman cartographic history for being the prime books of analyzing and assimilating Mercator's cartographic solutions for accurately calculating the longitude and latitude measurements. However, these two books are not only important because they discuss extensively and endeavor to transmit west European geographic innovations. What is more is that both of these works are of the earliest known example in the Ottoman Empire of exploring the entire world as a single unit. Thus, one can surprise that atlas production was actually inaugurated in the Ottoman Empire by Kâtip Çelebi.

The next geographer who attempted to revive Ottoman geographic knowledge and to solve further cartographic issues in light of recent developments in European cartography, is the well known intellectual Ebû Bekr el-Dîmaşkî (d. 1691). In 1688 el-Dîmaşkî translated John Blaeu's *Atlas Major* under the title *Nusret el-İslâm ve'l-sürûr fî tahrîr-i Atlas Mayor*. The first book of this treatise confers the general principles of geography and cosmography, while the other eight present more expansively than ever the different states of the world<sup>28</sup>. In reality, the major advantage of *Nusret el-İslâm ve'l-sürûr fî tahrîr-i Atlas Mayor* is that it deals in great length with Copernican theory.

Although the heliocentric hypothesis was pioneered in Ottoman literature through Zigetvarlı Tezkireci Köse İbrahim's *Secencel el-Eflak fî Gayet el-İdrak* (a translation of

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<sup>27</sup> Gottfried Hagen, "Afterword: Ottoman Understanding of the World in the Seventeenth Century," in *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya*, Robert Dankoff, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), 215-256

<sup>28</sup> Ekmaledin İhsanoğlu, ed., *Müslümanlarda Tarih-Coğrafya Yazıcılığı*, (Istanbul: İSAR, 1998), 314

the French Noel Durret's work *Nouvelle Theorie des Planetes*) el-Dımaşkı is the first one who combines, even in a theoretical level, the new astronomical perception of the skies and practical geography. Regardless of his concluding remark over the superiority of the Ptolemaic system, his treatise is significant for opening the era in which Ottoman geographic writing will put Copernican theory and the whole world under systematic investigation. Despite the fact that most of the greatest states of the world, such as the European countries or China, had already been a topic under examination, el-Dımaşkı's work moves to the exploration of the entire world as a united system.

Following the accomplishment of el-Dımaşkı's world depiction, subsequent examples of the multi-folio atlas format come from the middle eighteenth century and differentiate in certain means from the previous examples. However, before the turn of the century the work of the Palace historian Seyyid Lokman, *Zubdetü't-tevârîh*, contains a detailed map of the entire world. Lokman's work combines geography, religion and history. From the three parts of his book, the first deals at length with geography, the second is a collection of stories about the prophets of the Islamic tradition, and the third a brief history of the Ottoman dynasty. Nevertheless, the importance of the book is in the fact that although the geographic section is based on popularized medieval Arabic sources, its world map depicts all the recent western discoveries<sup>29</sup>.

Generally speaking, the eighteenth century appears very fruitful in the field of geographic literature. At the beginning of this century we find İbrahim Müteferrika (d. 1742) and his printing activity. Among the books he published two are of geographical value: the late sixteenth century *Tarih-i hindi-i garbi*, which among others topics dealt

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<sup>29</sup> Casale, 285

with the history and geography of America<sup>30</sup>; and Kâtip Çelebi's *Cihan-nüma*, in which Müteferrika added an introduction. This introduction was basically a brief presentation of Müteferrika's own understanding of the three different views of cosmography: the Platonic, Copernican and Tyconic. However, it seems that Müteferrika denies the Copernican system, and similar to el-Dımaşkî, recognizes the supremacy of the Ptolemaic. During the same period, another book which coped with the geographic perception of the world was Petros Baronian's translation of Jacques Robb's *Méthode pour apprendre facilement la géographie*<sup>31</sup>. This treatise, under the title *Cen-nümâ fî fenn el-coğrafya*, also analyzed the Copernican theories of the world but from a more practical viewpoint than the above mentioned work. More precisely, this book underlined the advantages of modern mathematics and physics. Accompanied by many maps, *Cen-nümâ fî fenn el-coğrafya* aimed to introduce modern western European cartographic techniques to its readers.

The next geographic books to written were two atlases composed circa 1749-1750. The first one, Bartınlı İbrahim Hamdi's *Atlâs-ı Cihân*, is a comprehensive description of the entire world with special emphasis on Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire. By highlighting in the introduction the importance of western European geographic and cartographic progress, Bartınlı İbrahim Hamdi describes extensively all western European states with reference to some historical facts and the way these states were organized<sup>32</sup>. Interestingly enough, he examined in the same terms the Ottoman Empire too, but not the other states of the world. The second is the treatise

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 242

<sup>31</sup> Ishanoglu, 323

<sup>32</sup> Cengiz Orhonlu, "XVIII Yüzyıllarda Osmanlılar'da Coğrafya ve Bartınlı İbrahim Hamdı Atlası", *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, X:14 (1959).

of Osman b. Abdülmennan, which is the subject of this thesis. Before discussing this text more extensively, nevertheless, it might be useful to first say a few words about the modern scholarship on Ottoman eighteenth-century geography and delineate how this study departs from the extant literature.

### Approaching Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Cartography

To date, studies on Ottoman geographical production in the eighteenth century have been dominated by the “classical” view of Adnan Adıvar<sup>33</sup> and Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu<sup>34</sup>, who consider the Ottoman geographic literature of this era either as the product of “a society in decline”, or at the periphery of west European thought. On the one hand, Adnan Adıvar, despite his rather important work on Ottoman science, falls often to the fallacy of reproducing the stereotypic approach that considers the Ottoman eighteenth century in the scheme of “an empire in decline”. In his work, most eighteenth-century Ottoman cartographers/geographers are taken outside of the intellectual realities of this period, and are presented as simple representatives of a state where geographic knowledge simply follows the “superior” developments of the western European world. On the other hand, although Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu focuses on Ottoman geographic history and science, he also presents the Ottomans geographers (especially those in eighteenth century) as simple mouthpieces of west European thought. Again with no reference to the social, political and intellectual circumstances that drove these geographers/cartographers to translate west European works, Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu

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<sup>33</sup> Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1970).

<sup>34</sup> Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, ed., *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi*, (İstanbul: İslâm Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi, 2000).

presents the intellectual arena of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century as formatted by sporadic examples instigated by west European knowledge.

For the wider eighteenth century Ottoman cultural and intellectual context this thesis draws on the studies of such scholars as Bernard Lewis<sup>35</sup>, Suraya Faroqhi<sup>36</sup>, Shirine Hamadeh<sup>37</sup>, Fatma Müge Göçek<sup>38</sup> and Franco Cardini. While some of these scholars such as Lewis and Göçek have located the beginning of Ottoman westernization or Ottoman “discussion of the West” in the eighteenth century, others like Faroqhi and Hamadeh have preferred to represent the eighteenth century Ottoman interest in things west European as constituting an interesting chapter in a long history of Ottoman-west European relations. In all cases, however, the veil between “West” (strangely perceived as a unified area) and “East” emerges with one way or another. Even recent scholarship has not yet succeeded in regarding the Ottoman intellectual realities of the eighteenth century in its realistic/global background.

Regarding the further secondary literature, the studies over the Ottoman geographic and cartographic literature stand rather weak. Most of the studies basically stand as extensive overviews of Ottoman geography and cartography. No matter how important such works are, the field of Ottoman cartography, and especially that of geographic literature, needs to be expanded and more accurately surveyed. As referred above, till recently the mainstream position was represented by Adnan Adivar and Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu. This framework started changing lately with scholars such as

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<sup>35</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (London: Phoenix Press, 2000).

<sup>36</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, *Kultur und Alltag im Osmanischen Reich*, (München: C. H. Beck, 1995).

<sup>37</sup> Shirine Hamadeh, “Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the ‘Inevitable’ Question of Westernization”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 63:1 (March 2004).

<sup>38</sup> Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth century*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

Gottfried Hagen<sup>39</sup>, Karen Pinto<sup>40</sup>, Giancarlo Casale<sup>41</sup> and Kathryn Ann Ebel<sup>42</sup>, who by focusing on the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth century, regarded Ottoman cartography within its sociopolitical framework. Nevertheless, no systematic attention has yet been directed to the eighteenth century Ottoman geographic and cartographic production, and this field still remains in the dark.

### The study of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*

In a general sense this study emerged from the concern to understand and explain the eighteenth century “mass” atlas production in the Ottoman Empire and translations of west European cartographic/geographic books. Regarding cartography as a sector of social life this thesis’ initial concern was to exemplify to what extent the Ottoman eighteenth century cartographic process was a result of the specific political and intellectual concerns of this era. The specific interest about Osman b. Abdülmennan was an outcome of the silence about his work. In most surveys of Ottoman cartography the eighteenth century is mentioned only through the work of İbrahim Müteferrika. The names of geographers/cartographers such as Petros Baronian, Bartınlı İbrahim Hamdi or Osman b. Abdülmennan are either absent or simply cited as further examples that signify the so called “influence” of western thought in the Ottoman realm. My interest in Osman b. Abdülmennan was also initiated by the fact that the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* is a world atlas with no reference to picture-maps. Despite the proclamations

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<sup>39</sup> Gottfried Hagen, *Ein Osmanischer Geograph bei der Arbeit: Entstehung und Gedankenwelt von Katib Celebis Gihannüm*, (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2003).

<sup>40</sup> Karen Pinto, *Ways of seeing.3: Scenarios of the world in the medieval Islamic cartographic imagination* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2002).

<sup>41</sup> Giancarlo L. Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration: Spices, Maps and Conquest in the Sixteenth-Century Indian Ocean* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2004).

<sup>42</sup> Kathryn Ann Ebel, *City Views, Imperial visions: Cartography and the Visual culture of Urban Space in the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1603* (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2002).

of some scholars that he copied most of the information of Varenius' *Geographia Generalis*, this thesis started with the logical assumption that no translation is a simple transmission. In the course of my reaserch this assumption was multiply proven, for Osman b. Abdülmennan's work was neither a literal translation of the *Geographia Generalis* nor was the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* based only on Varenius work.

After having acquired the original of Osman b. Abdülmennan's work copy, my next goal was to purchase the copy of Varenius. When I managed to get hold of the original Latin copy of the book, I realized that these two works had nothing in common. Examining more copies of Varenius' book, I found a specific edition of the *Geographia Generalis* that included the work of the famous French cartographer Nicolas Sanson. This volume, which circulated in most western European book markets of the period must have been the one that Osman b. Abdülmennan used.

The primary sources of this thesis are the multiple texts of Osman b. Abdülmennan, Bernhard Varenius and Nicolas Sanson. From the three copies *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* we have today -one in Köprülü and the other two in the Topkapı Palace Library- I managed only to get a copy from the first library. Despite my initial intention to study all three copies, I was not able to get a hold of the other two. For some inexplicable reason, the Topkapı Palace Library denied my request to get a copy of one of its manuscripts. However, in the case of Varenius and Sanson, I managed to get more than one copy of their works. I compared the *Geographia Generalis'* English editions of 1733, 1734 and 1736, as well as the original Latin copy of the book from 1681. I purchased the English copies from the Princeton University Library and the Latin one from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Considering the *Geographical Description of all the World*, I worked on the Varenius/Sanson publications of 1682, 1683, 1693,

which I acquired from the British Library and the Princeton University Library. Moreover, I consulted the French copy of Sanson's book found today in both the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in Netherlands.

In addition, in the process of my research I worked in the Ottoman Prime Ministry Archives in search of biographical information about Osman b. Abdülmennan. This attempt, however, was not productive and the biographical references in this thesis come either from the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* or from secondary literature.

### Outline of the Study

The first chapter of this thesis focuses on those parts of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* that discuss Copernican theory and the practical advantages of physical geography. By comparing Varenus' *Geographia Generalis* and *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* this chapter attempts to establish to what extent these two works are related; to highlight the level of information Osman b. Abdülmennan copies; and to challenge the argument of modern scholars that Ibn Abdülmennan made a literal translation of the *Geographia Generalis*. This argument, based mainly on what Osman b. Abdülmennan claims in the epilogue of the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, is completely inaccurate. As our research proves, Osman b. Abdülmennan consulted Varenus' book but ended up writing a text written largely of his own. Moreover, this chapter brings to light the importance Osman b. Abdülmennan attributed to the Copernican universal system. My intention, however, is also to turn against the existing misconception that places Ottoman geographers on the periphery of west European thought. My purpose is to underscore that Ibn Abdülmennan's study of the heliocentric theory is not just a result of his desire to transmit western knowledge to the Ottoman readers; but an outcome of his

desire to contribute to the general discussion about the new theory on planetary motion that had emerged in the intellectual circles of the Empire in the late seventeenth century.

The second chapter focuses on the second part of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* that deals with the “different states of all the world”. To be able to deal with the text in detail the discussion here is limited to three states: England, France and the Ottoman Empire. The choice of these countries is not accidental, but is based on the place Europe acquires in the narration. Moreover, the selection of these countries corresponds to Osman b. Abdülmennan’s “preference” for the continent of Europe, in which he places also the Ottoman Empire. This chapter also establishes that Osman b. Abdülmennan’s discussion of the different states of the world is basically a translation of Nicolas Sanson’s *Geographical Description of all the World*, a treatise which, as already referred, was circulated in the book markets of Western Europe in a compact volume with Varenus’ book. The differences between the two texts as well as other sources Osman b. Abdülmennan may have consulted in this section of his treatise are also discussed in this chapter.

The third and most crucial chapter of this thesis focuses on the socialization of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*<sup>43</sup>. My intention is to argue that although Osman b. Abdülmennan based his work on west European sources, his treatise did include aspects of its greater social environment. More particularly, by taking into account the social background of this era, I seek to explain why Osman b. Abdülmennan concentrated on the European continent and why his narration of the western European countries and the Ottoman Empire differed from the other states. In other terms, this part of the essay

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<sup>43</sup> I use the notion of “socialization” to refer to the simultaneous process through which a text assimilates and corresponds to its social background. See Jerome McGann, “The Socialization of Texts,” in *The Book History Reader*, eds. David Finkelstein, and Alistair McCleery, (New York: Routledge, 2002), 39-47.

attempts to unlock some of the symbolic nuances that emerge in Osman b.

Abdülmennan's work and show whether they correspond to the needs of this period. For this reason, this chapter also raises questions about the author. Considering translation as authorship, this chapter explicates the role of the author as a mediator between social enquires and the reader. To put it differently, my aim is to observe how the dictates of social/external powers are mirrored in the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* and to whom they are addressed. For reasons of clarity and coherence, this chapter poses from the beginning the goals of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* and then moves on to the exploration of the semantic features of the text in accordance with the specific global and local historical facts that formatted the Ottoman eighteenth century.

A central argument of Chapter III is that the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* is an attempt at reconstructing Ottoman imperial identity. In a more general sense, I decipher the desire to know the world as a consequence of the desire to seek a kind of identity<sup>44</sup>. The representation of territories, the cartographic exploration of other countries, and the need to gain information about other established societies are requirements in the process of identifying oneself through space and time in comparison with the external world. From this point of view, I consider the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* as an effort to re-orient the space the Ottoman Empire acquired in the globe; and as part of the course of "self-identification" (imperial identity) that emerged in this period both in the "East" and the "West"<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> Julia Kristeva, *Soleil noir: dépression et mélancolie*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1987), 103.

<sup>45</sup> The terms "East" and "West" are used strictly with their initial meaning, as simple orientation points in the terrestrial sphere.

## CHAPTER II

### FROM VARENIUS' *GEOGRAPHIA GENERALIS* TO OSMAN B. ABDÜLMENNAN'S *TERCÜME-İ KİTÂB-I COĞRAFYA*: A MID EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN TAKE ON COPERNICAN THEORY

In the few remarks we find on Osman b. Abdülmennan's *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* in modern scholarship, the text is invariably identified as a translation of Bernhard Varenius' *Geographia Generalis*, a treatise that revolutionized the field of geographical knowledge with its application of Copernican theory. In the introduction to his work, Osman b. Abdülmennan, too, presents his work as a translation of the *Geographia Generalis*. Strikingly, however, this claim does not arise from an analysis of the contents of the two books. The aim of this chapter, then, is first and foremost, to establish more precisely the relationship between the two books, and to suggest some reasons for the particular ways in which Osman b. Abdülmennan made use of the *Geographia Generalis*. Secondly, this chapter investigates Osman b. Abdülmennan's take on Copernican theory and tries to situate it in a wider debate on that theory in the Ottoman world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

#### Varenius' *Geographia Generalis*, and the 18<sup>th</sup> Century Geographical Turn: from the Ptolemaic to the Heliocentric System

In 1650 the work of the German geographer Bernhard Varenius or (Varen or Varenii) *Geographia Generalis*<sup>46</sup> was published in Amsterdam by the Elsevier

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<sup>46</sup> The complete title of the book in English is: "A Complete System of General Geography: Explaining the Nature and Properties of the Earth; viz. Its Figure, Magnitude, Motions, Situation, Contents, and Division into Land and Water, Mountains, Woods, Desarts, Lakes, Rivers, &c. With particular Accounts of the different Appearances of the Heavens in different Countries; the Seasons of the Year over all the Globe; the Tides of the Sea; Bays, Capes, Islands, Rocks, Sand Banks, and Shelves. The State of the Atmosphere;

publishing house. From this date until 1765, Varenius' work had at least nine editions both in Latin and English<sup>47</sup>. In addition to the multiple editions and translations of *Geographia Generalis*<sup>48</sup>, the significance of the book can be measured by the fact that some of its editions were supervised by Isaac Newton while he was teaching in Cambridge. Finally, both Varenius and his rather popular work represent one of the best examples for the new turn that geography took during the Scientific Revolution.

To begin with, the author of the *Geographia Generalis* can be considered as a good example of the “new scientist” who emerged in this period. Varenius embodied the spirit of the Enlightenment which prevailed in German universities during this period and which was about to spread throughout northern Europe. He had studied “science”<sup>49</sup>, mathematics and medicine, the three “enlightened” and “revolutionary” sciences which would be fundamental to a radical critique of tradition. Skepticism, methodology, scientific proof and rejection of all non-provable dogmas were some of the principles that these sciences set into action. For a polymath such as Varenius these three sciences were integrally connected. Following the Cartesian model of science, which combined medicine, mathematics and philosophy, Varenius penned treatises on history - *Tabulae Historia Universalis* (Amsterdam, 1649), medicine - *Disputatio Medica Inauguralis, De Febri in Gerne* (Leiden, 1649) and philosophy and physics - *De Definitione Notus*

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*the Nature of Exhalations; Winds, Storms, Tornados, &c. The origin of Springs, Mineral-Waters, Burning Mountains, Mines, &c. The uses and making of Maps, Globes and Sea-Charts. The Foundation of Dialling; the Art of Measuring Heights and Distances; the Art of Ship-Building, Navigation, and the Ways of Finding the Longitude at Sea*”.

<sup>47</sup> Varenius' book was first published in Latin in 1650. We find two more editions of the original book in 1664 and 1671. Later on Varenius' work was edited in 1672 and 1681 by the famous Isaac Newton and in 1712 by James Jurin. All the English translations and editions that I am aware of- those of 1733, 1734, 1736 and 1765- are based on the editions of Sir Isaac Newton and James Jurin. In this thesis, all references to the *Geographia Generalis* will be based on the English edition of 1736 (The copy consulted is located in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, with the call number G 9228).

<sup>48</sup> *Geographia Generalis* was translated also into French, Dutch and Italian.

<sup>49</sup> In this time period, the term “science” covered physics, geography and astronomy, logic and philosophy.

*Aristotelica* (1642) and *De Lineis Curvis, imprimis de Sectionibus Conicis* (unpublished, Amsterdam, 1648)<sup>50</sup>.

The most important work of Varenius, nevertheless, was the *Geographia Generalis*. *Geographia Generalis* is a work that was very much in harmony with the new concept of “science.” Highly influenced by the theories of Descartes, Varenius’ treatise on geography combined the scientific findings of the past with those of his time. To be more specific, Varenius’ book on geography was based on the scientific assumptions of Copernicus<sup>51</sup> on the one hand, and on the other hand it worked as a basis for the Newtonian hypothesis<sup>52</sup>. By taking for granted the spherical form of the Earth, the main point of the book is to re-define the position of the Earth in the universe, to explore in detail the surface of the terrestrial globe and to explain how it “works” in accordance with the celestial phenomena. Following the Platonic theory of the world, a conjecture which had become totally accepted by the scientific circles of that period, and against the Aristotelian view that the Earth is the center of the Universe, Varenius takes the Copernican theory as the basis of his treatise. Copernicus, who had been very much influenced by Plato, Ptolemy<sup>53</sup> and Cusa<sup>54</sup>, had set up his heliocentric model of the world by concluding that: the Earth is not the center of the universe, but rather only of

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<sup>50</sup> William Warntz, “Newton, the Newtonians, and the Geographia Generalis Varenii”, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 79:2 (1989): 171

<sup>51</sup> In the preface of the translator in the English edition of the book the reference to Copernicus becomes prominent: “In the Astronomical part, we have strengthened our Author’s Argument in Favour of Copernican Hypothesis; [...]”. Varenius, vi

<sup>52</sup> About the Newtonian hypothesis again in the preface of the translator, we read: “*In the Philosophical and Physical Part we have rejected the improbable Conjectures of the Antients, and the unwarrantable Suppositions of Des Cartes, which our Author seems to be fond of: Instead whereof, we have (with the learned Dr Jurin) introduced the Newtonian Philosophy to solve the Phenomena, as being much more eligible than the Cartesian for the Agreeable and Geometrical Manner of it’s Conclusion*”. Varenius, vii

<sup>53</sup> Copernicus, while studying law, medicine and philosophy, learned Greek as well, which enabled him to read Plato and other classical writers. See, John Freely, *The Emergence of Modern Science, East and West* (Istanbul: Boğaziçi University, 2004), 263.

<sup>54</sup> Cusa was one of the first who rejected the idea of the Earth centered Universe. He also proposed that the Earth is rotating on its axis. *Ibid.*, 259

the moon's orbit and of terrestrial gravity, and that the Sun is the center of the planetary system and therefore of the universe.

Varenius' treatise, which has as its epicenter the Copernican theory, deals with the two basic divisions of geography: the *general* or *universal*, which "[...] considers the whole Earth in general, and explains its Properties without regard to particular countries" and the *special* or *particular*, which "[...] describes the Constitution and Situation of each single Country by itself"<sup>55</sup>. In this chapter we will explore the *universal* or *general* part of geography, for in reality these are the only existing parts of *Geographia Generalis*. As we will discuss in the following chapter, Varenius planned to dedicate a special part in *Geographia Generalis* to the *special* or *particular* geography; but he died before concluding his attempt.

General geography is subdivided into three parts: the "absolute" or "independent" part (Book I), which covers the first twenty-one chapters, the "relative" part (Book 2), which ends at chapter thirty, and the "comparative" part (Book 3), which constitutes only ten chapters. The first part deals mostly with the form, dimension and position of the Earth; the distribution of lands, water, mountain, woods, deserts; hydrography and the atmosphere. As can be understood from its length, the first book on the "absolute part of geography" is the most important. In Book I, Varenius attempts to explain scientifically the relationship between celestial and terrestrial matters and to argue that the Earth, as part of a universal system, behaves in accordance with celestial matters. In other words, Varenius promotes the idea of the "unity of nature". This "unity" is expressed on two different levels: one that deals with the relation between the Earth and the universe and another that deals with the relationship between terrestrial

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<sup>55</sup> Varenius, 2

phenomena. The first level becomes obvious from the beginning of Book I. The first book starts by posing Varenius' Copernican assumptions in a straightforward manner. From Chapter III to VII- and under the titles - "Of the figure of Earth"<sup>56</sup>, "Of the Mensuration and Magnitude of the Earth"<sup>57</sup>, "Of the Motion of the Earth"<sup>58</sup>, "Of the Earth's Place in the System of the World"<sup>59</sup> and "Of the Substance, internal Structure, and Composition of the Earth"<sup>60</sup> - Varenius expresses at once his conviction that the Earth is a spherical planet in a heliocentric system. The significance attributed to the heliocentric motion of the stars also becomes clear with the presentation of each specific phenomenon. For example, Varenius draws correlations between the movement of air and the movement of the Sun. The significance of the Sun also becomes apparent in the discussion of climatic variations and zones.

As far as the second level is concerned, the key to understanding the relationship between terrestrial and celestial matters is to project the correlation of universal incidents onto the Earth. The close relationship between lands and waters is taken for granted just like the relationship between the motions of the Earth and the Sun. The Earth is divided into different parts because of the relation between lands and waters<sup>61</sup>. Water is the force that divides the lands or else lands are the elements that interrupt the "water-unity". Waters, similar to the Sun at the celestial level, are represented as the central point of terrestrial matters. This is because in his attempt to provide a scientific explanation for the origin of lands, Varenius pays special attention to waters. In his

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 27

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 41

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 64

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 78

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 87

<sup>61</sup> The explanation of the correlation between land and waters was one of the basic topics of geographic inquiry during the seventeenth century. See, E.G.R. Taylor, "The Origin of Continents and Oceans: A Seventeenth Century Controversy," *The Geographical Journal* 116:4/6 (1950):193-198.

chapter “Of the Division of the Parts of the Earth into integrant Parts of the Sea”, he argues that the division between lands exists as a result of the fact that some parts of the Earth are covered with water while some others are not<sup>62</sup>. On the same topic, he continues by describing the ten great, ten medium-sized, ten small and ten smallest islands of the world, and then moves on to peninsulas, isthmuses and capes.

After having argued that waters are the principal factor in the division of the parts of the world, he carries on with hydrography. The hydrographic part, which begins with Chapter XII entitled “Of the Division of the Ocean by the Interposition of the Land,” provides an analytic representation of all the water-forms that exist on Earth by explaining their motion and how they are connected to each other. Varenius starts his analysis with the oceans, continues with lakes, moors, bogs and rivers and concludes with the explanation of mineral-waters and springs. While Varenius’ major concern is to provide a scientific explanation of natural facts, the chapters that refer to the seas and the forthcoming chapters of the first book that deal with the atmosphere also cover practical needs such as navigation.

The author’s dual interest in scientific explanations and practical matters is particularly evident in his discussion of winds. The motion of the air, winds and the points of the compass are the focal point of the chapter that follows the analysis of the atmosphere. After clarifying that winds are “a commotion of the air which may be felt, or which hath some Force”<sup>63</sup> and that most winds blow from one point to the opposite, Varenius focuses on the points of the compass. As he stresses:

The explaining of the Points of the Compass doth not belong to this Section of Geography [Absolute Part], but to the third, of the Comparative

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 103

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 477

properties; but because the several Winds are called by them, or they by the other, therefore we here anticipate treating of them<sup>64</sup>.

According to Varenius, the points of the compass need to be re-defined for scientific and practical reasons. While talking about the Greek and Latin names of the winds, a result of the division of the winds in special categories, Varenius concludes that the ancient names are of no practical value for navigation and geography and that the division of the moderns is more accurate<sup>65</sup>.

In the next Book of *Geographia Generalis* the author underlines the properties of the Earth with respect to the Heavenly Bodies and deals mostly with the conceptual division of the surface of the Earth into zones. More precisely, in the “relative” part he attempts to evaluate how the Earth is divided, what causes the division of the Earth in different parts, and what are the results of the motion of the Sun in specific places. The second part begins with the definition of globes and maps. For Varenius “the Artificial Terrestrial Globe is a Globe made by Art, on whose Superficies the Parts of the Earth are represented, in their proper places, in the same proportion which the Globe’s Superficies hath to that of the Earth” and “a Map or Geographical Table, is a plain figure, in which is represented the Situation of the parts of the Earth’s Surface; and is universal or particular: the one shows the whole Superficies of the Earth; the other a part only”<sup>66</sup>.

What seems rather interesting is the equation of maps and geographical tables.

Geographical tables mostly list longitudes and latitudes and are not usually identified as maps, meaning representations. Still for Varenius, it appears that a map, whether we consider it as a picture or a written expression, is a representation that has to do more

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 478

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 482

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 530

with precise arithmetic measurements<sup>67</sup>. Moreover, he defines such concepts as the Poles, axes, parallels, circles of latitudes, tropics, polar circles, the meridian and the horizon as devices of measurement that help determine the specific place of each region, without forgetting to mention the ways these measurements are shown, as straight or crooked lines<sup>68</sup> in order to help us estimate the exact coordinates of each place. In the same context, he puts great effort into the calculation of latitudes.

Thus, Varenius, after having defined the necessary methodological tools for determining the coordinates of a location, moves on to the main topic of the second book: the division of the Earth into zones. The answer to the question “what causes the division of the Earth into zones” is the Sun<sup>69</sup>. Due to the annual or diurnal motion of the Sun the Earth is divided into five zones: the torrid zone, which lies between the two tropics, the two frigid and the two temperate zones, which lie between the Poles and the polar circles and between the polar circles and the tropics respectively. The next topic under investigation is the different characteristics of each zone as a result of the motion of the Sun. The survey centers around three phenomena: the days, the climates and time. As expected, in the day-section, Varenius discusses the changing lengths of day and night; in the climate-section, and after having illuminated the advantages of modern

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<sup>67</sup> This belief, that maps are important organs because they offer the chance to calculate accurately arithmetic measurements, becomes clearer when Varenius discusses the terrestrial distances. In the proposition VII of the thirty-third chapter and under the title “Whence it is that the Distance in Journeys is greater than the shortest, or Geographical, distance” Varenius stresses that the difference between terrestrial globes, maps as pictures and itineraries is based mostly on the miscalculation of distances in maps as written expressions. He does not refer to any further differences but underlines only the distance matters. He argues that distances are miscalculated in itineraries because of “[...] the Woods that lie between [two places], and are impassable. 2. High Mountains, and deep Vallies. 3. Bogs, Lakes, and in general the Waters we meet with in travelling by Land. 4. In the Sea Voyages there are Lands that run out into the Sea, and Islands that hinder a straight Passage. 5. A peculiar flowing of the Seas. 6. The Winds”, Varenius, 766

<sup>68</sup> For example, in the theorem about meridians Varenius stresses that: “In right lined Maps the Meridians are straight Lines from the top to the bottom; but in curved lined Maps they are curve, and meet in the Poles”. Varenius, 532

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 544

science in this sector<sup>70</sup>, stresses the dissimilar features of each climate. In the time-section, he points out the time difference among specific regions. Yet, Varenius' concern is not just to describe all the abovementioned phenomena but to explain why they happen. Varenius describes the terrestrial incidents in accordance with universal relations and proves that these occurrences are wholly explicable by empiricism and science. Against all theological beliefs, Varenius' work attempts to provide a purely logical justification of the world.

Another important goal of the author is to bear out the practical advantages of the "new science". As the scientific explanation of the heliocentric system leads to a better understanding of the different observable facts of the Earth, he also recommends solutions to practical problems. Such practical matters, while pinpointed in various parts of the work, are the main topic of the last Book of *Geographia Generalis*. The "comparative" part of the "universal geography", with the subtitle "Of the Properties arising upon comparing one Place with another", is divided in two parts. The first is devoted to the calculation of distances between different places, and the other deals with the art of navigation and the structure of a ship.

The first part begins with the definition of longitude. The longitude of a place is "the Distance of its Meridian, from a certain Meridian (measured on the Equator) which is called the first [...]"<sup>71</sup>. Although Varenius does not accept the term longitude as an

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<sup>70</sup> In proportion XIV of chapter XXV, the author underlines: "The ancient Geographers, especially the Greeks, though there was but a small Portion of the Earth inhabited; thinking the northern places, and Torrid zone, could not be inhabited; and therefore divided only the part they knew into Climates, and counted only six of them from the Equator to the Arctic Pole, which they named from some remarkable Place in the Middle". Varenius, 564

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 669

accurate word for distance calculation<sup>72</sup>, the first part of the third book is dedicated to longitude/distance. This can be easily explained considering that longitude was the last well defined distance measurement that brought about broad changes in the geographic field. For this reason, Varenus proceeds to a discussion of specific methods for calculating longitude. He divides the proposed methods into two groups. The first group contains six proper ways of calculating longitude and the second includes five “less proper” ways. While in the first group Varenus proposes absolute theorems for reckoning longitude<sup>73</sup>, in the second group his proposals appear in the form of mathematical problems, as for example “Having the point given, that one Place lies in from another, and the Latitude of both places, to find the Longitude of the other, and its place on the Globe and Map”<sup>74</sup>. This technique of posing questions and answers is also followed in the next two chapters, which refer to the location of places with respect to one another and to the distances of places. The most important point of these two chapters is the rules Varenus proposes for composing a geographical globe and a general or specific map. In thirty-nine pages Varenus summarizes all his theoretical approach and describes analytically how the depiction of all the explained phenomena produces accurate maps. Finally, the first part of the third book ends with a declaration of forty-one geographical theorems, that are applied a priori and can never be disproved,

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<sup>72</sup> “AND properly speaking, a Place or a Point, hath neither Latitude nor Longitude: and these two different Senses of the Words ought to be well remembered; for the Words frequently occur among Geographical Writers; as when we speak of the Latitude and Longitude of *Spain*, the Words are taken properly for Length and Breadth; but when we speak of the Latitude and Longitude of a Place, taken as a Point we mean it’s Distance from the Equator, and from the first Meridian; and in my Judgment it were better not to use the Words Latitude and Longitude, but only Distance from the Equator, and from the first Meridian: but being so long used they cannot be now abolished; and we shall use them hereafter in this Sense”. Varenus, 671

<sup>73</sup> The six proper ways of calculating longitude refer to the relation between the universe and the Earth and are: a. by the Eclipse of the Moon, b. by the Moon’s place in the Zodiac, c. by the Distance of the Moon from some fixed Stars, d. by the Moon’s entering the Ecliptic, e. by the Satellites of Jupiter and f. by clock-work. Varenus, 678-688

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 689

such as: “In all places situated in a right Sphere, the Circle of the Sun’s Diurnal Motion is still perpendicular, or very near it, to the respective Horizon of such places”.

Moreover, the theorems are followed by a list of some geographical paradoxes with their solution. These paradoxes concern topics that refer to the whole of *Geographia Generalis* and with these Varenius explores some situations that do not take place universally but rather in specific places, as for example the same point of the compass that are shared by three different places<sup>75</sup>.

The part that comes after the analysis of the geographical paradoxes explores the art of navigation. These chapters share the same methodological standpoint as other parts of the book: first comes the definition and clarification of recent terms and second comes the explanation of the determined terms in a “question-and-answer” format. He defines navigation as the art that teaches how a ship may be effectively and safely brought from one place to another through the sea by the help of the winds<sup>76</sup>. The art of navigation consists of three properties: the structure of a ship, the burden to be carried in a ship and the governing of a ship. According to Varenius, the two first belong principally to mechanics and statistics and the third depends totally upon geography<sup>77</sup>. For Varenius, without denying the importance of the first two properties which are elaborated in detail, the main aspect of the art of navigation is the subject of governing a ship. On its term, this last subject is subdivided into four parts: a. the knowledge of space between two places, b. the technique of composing naval charts with the help of mathematics and physics, c. the knowledge of the way through which the ship is to be brought to a designated place and d. the knowledge of the situation of each place the at

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 797

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 800

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 801

which a ship arrives. Among these parts the third is the most vital and the most difficult<sup>78</sup>, because it practically shows the “line” a ship follows in order to reach the required destination. For this reason, it is absolutely necessary to understand the cosmic system thoroughly. In the same context, to find each time the exact position of a ship, after its departure from the original point till the destination place, we have to set in use all the methodological/arithmetical measures that were systematically presented until here. Once more, a great role is attributed to the calculation of latitude and longitude.

With this part Varenus finishes his treatise about universal geography. As stated previously, *Geographia Generalis* attempts to achieve two goals: to approach and explain scientifically the natural facts, and to apply these justifications on a certain practical basis. Thus, Varenus’ effort over geography offers another purpose, which helps us to illuminate the role of geography in this specific time period. For Varenus, geography is “[...] that part of mix’d Mathematics, which explains the State of the Earth, and of it’s Parts, depending on Quantity, viz. it’s Figure, Place, Magnitude, and Motion, with the Celestial Appearances, &c”<sup>79</sup>. Moreover, the principles of geography, as Varenus argues, turn out to be geometrical, arithmetical, trigonometrical, astronomical and empirical. In this regard, it appears that geography is not only about describing countries<sup>80</sup>. Varenus’ book on geography expresses in the best way the geographical turn of the eighteenth century. As early as 1650, Varenus’ work is the first that analyzes systematically and methodically the universal and terrestrial incidents. In contradiction with previous studies, where geography was understood as a simple

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<sup>78</sup> “This is the most difficult Part in all Geography, of which Authors have written so obscurely, and a great many so falsely, that the Readers can only have from them an obscure Idea without understanding them”, Varenus, 852

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 2

<sup>80</sup> In the chapter referring to the definition of geography, Varenus argues that geography “[...] by some is taken in too limited a Sense, for a bare Description of the Several Countries [...]”, Varenus, 2

description of the world with reference to God for the non-explicable parts of it, now it appears as a strictly scientific field where the descriptive part does exist but on another basis. Description is employed not only for states but also to explain how the Earth works.

Varenius' treatise shows the turn in the transformation of geographical knowledge in the seventeenth century. Geography, after having fulfilled the need of presenting the shape of the world, moves now to the explanation of what happens to the world and why it happens. In other terms, geography promotes knowledge of the logical explanation of natural phenomena and the accurate calculation of distances. All in all, with the turn of the seventeenth century, geography "[...] enters both into the sequence of a descriptive language and into the field of mathesis that would also be a general science of order"<sup>81</sup>.

While this new attitude towards geography first emerged in Western Europe, it also had ramifications in a much wider geography. As we stressed in the introduction of this thesis, the Copernican hypothesis and its accuracy was a major debate in the Ottoman Empire, too. As we will see in the forthcoming chapter, the eighteenth century Ottoman polymath Osman b. Abdülmennan approaches geography in the same terms as Bernhard Varenius.

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<sup>81</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, (NY: Pantheon, 1970), 136.

## Osman b. Abdülmennan, and the Translation of the *Geographia Generalis*

For Varenius geographic knowledge is an absolute necessity because “[...] neither Divines, Physicians, Lawyers, Historians nor other Men of Letters, can well proceed in their Studies without interruption, unless they have some Knowledge of Geography [...]”<sup>82</sup>. This necessity of geographic knowledge, which drove Isaac Newton to supervise the English publication of Varenius’ treatise and include it on his lectures at Cambridge<sup>83</sup>, was transmitted to the Ottoman Empire by Osman b. Abdülmennan’s work, *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*. Osman b. Abdülmennan translated Varenius’ *Geographia Generalis* circa 1749-50 possibly upon the order of Köprülüzade Hacı Ahmed Paşa<sup>84</sup>, while he was the second official translator of Belgrad Divanı<sup>85</sup>.

Like Varenius, Osman b. Abdülmennan worked on treatises on medicine and geometry. He translated from Italian into Ottoman-Turkish from Italian the work of Pierre André Matthioli *Materia Medica* under the title *The book of plants (Kitâbü’l nabât)* and he composed an Arabic work about warfare and geometry entitled *The Gift of the Convert (Hadîyyat al-muhtadi)*, which was based on French and German books<sup>86</sup>. In this regard, and once again like Varenius, Osman b. Abdülmennan’s intellectual interests were in perfect fit with those of his contemporaries. Translations about medicine,

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<sup>82</sup> Varenius, 10

<sup>83</sup> In the preface of *Geographia Generalis* we read: “The Reason why this great Man [Newton] took so much Care in Correcting and Publishing our Author [Varenius], was, because he thought him necessary to be read by his Audience, *the Young Gentlemen of Cambridge*, while he was delivering Lectures upon the *same Subject* from the *Lucasian Chair*”. Varenius, iv

<sup>84</sup> While modern scholars have argued that Osman b. Abdülmennan translates *Geographia Generalis* upon the order of the governor of Belgrade, in reality such a statement does not exist in *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*. In the prologue of the book, which is written in Arabic and which exists only in the first edition, Osman Abdülmennan refers to Köprülüzade Paşa and praises his virtues. See, Köprülü, 1b-2a

<sup>85</sup> Orhonlu, 116

<sup>86</sup> Ramazan Şeşen, *The Translator of the Belgrade Council Osman b. Abdülmennan and his place in the Translation Activities*, in *Transfer of Modern Science & Technology to the Muslim World*, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1992), 372.

botanics and geography were in high demand in the Ottoman Empire of this era. Thus, what makes Osman b. Abdülmennan so special is neither his scientific credentials, which are rather doubtful as we will see, nor his attempt at translating *Geographia Generalis*, but the fact that Osman b. Abdülmennan belongs to the special category of intellectuals who helped revise Ottoman geographic knowledge in some specific ways, and more specifically, the fact that he translated the “revolutionary” book of Bernhard Varenius in this particular time period, the mid-eighteenth century. Before exploring the wider Ottoman context in which the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* was written, first we have to analyze its contents.

Upon first examination, *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* seems to have nothing in common with the *Geographia Generalis*. Despite Osman b. Abdülmennan’s statement in the prologue of his treatise that he is translating from German a book that deals with the dispute over universal motion<sup>87</sup> (most probably referring to the debate concerning Ptolemaic and Copernican theory), and the mention of Varenius’ name<sup>88</sup> in the epilogue of the book, the whole structure of Osman b. Abdülmennan’s volume is completely different. Generally, while dealing with translations in the Ottoman Empire we have to keep in mind that translators did not try to make an exact translation of the original text, but rather added to, cut parts of, or otherwise changed the original text. Still, the differences between Varenius’ *Geographia Generalis* and Osman b. Abdülmennan’s work are substantial even by Ottoman standards. As we will see, Osman b. Abdülmennan consulted and copied specific information from *Geographia Generalis*, but he ended up with a treatise the astronomical part of which was his own composition.

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<sup>87</sup> Köprülü, 2b

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 375b

The *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* is basically divided into three parts: an introductory chapter, in which the author deals with general topics about the Earth, four chapters that describe the principal kingdoms/states of the world, and a conclusion, where Osman b. Abdülmennan refers to scientific explanations about terrestrial phenomena.

The introduction of the book starts with the definition of geography. Geography is the science of describing the terrestrial sphere that deals on the one hand with reason/mind and geometrical knowledge; and on the other hand with transferring, meaning relation/hearsay and narration<sup>89</sup>. Although the definition of geography is scientifically approached, the presence of God, as the creator of the world, is declared right from the beginning<sup>90</sup>. Before commenting on the major topics of his treatise (which are the division of the world, the atlases and the motion of the Sun and the Earth), Osman b. Abdülmennan makes clear his acceptance of the spherical shape of the world. He stresses that because of God's power and will, the Earth has the shape of a watermelon<sup>91</sup>. After a brief reference to the points of the horizon and the winds that arise from these points, he arrives at the first topic of his analysis, the division of the world, which taken up the rest of the introductory chapter.

The world can be categorized according to three different criteria: a. mind/reason, b. its natural division and c. its different kingdoms<sup>92</sup>. The first division basically deals with some scientific assumptions, such as imaginary lines, which divide the intelligible world into different parts. In this respect, the author pays significant

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<sup>89</sup> “Bu dahi iki vech üzeredir. Biri akıl ile yani ‘ilm-i hendese ve gayrile ve biri naklile yani rivâyet ve hikâyetiledir”, Köprülü, 11a

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 11a

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 11b

<sup>92</sup> “Ama dünyânın taksîmi üç vech üzere olur. Biri taksîm-i aklûî ve biri taksîm-i halkî ve biri taksîm-i mülkîdir.”. Ibid., 12b

attention to the Poles (*kutb*) and the Equator (*hatt-ı istivâ*), for lines drawn from the two Poles to the Equator divide the Earth into special parts. After defining the Equator, an imaginary line that deals with the motion of the Sun and which concerns the alteration of day and night<sup>93</sup>, Osman b. Abdülmennan goes on to analyze epigrammatically the degrees of each specific part with further attention to days and time; topics that are analytically presented in the last part of the book. Besides, concerning the second division of the world, which is extensively described in the introductory part of the work, the author bases his criteria of dividing the Earth on the distribution of the lands and waters that God created. Lands are subdivided into two groups: the (previously) known and the unknown. The first one contains Europe, Asia and Africa and the second America and Australia. After the division of lands the enumeration of the oceans follows. Osman b. Abdülmennan first gives the Latin names of the oceans while providing explanations for the origin of these names<sup>94</sup>. Interestingly, in this discussion, the author refers to the Pacific Ocean as a sea, while identifying the Ethiopian and the Galician seas as oceans. This confusion, nevertheless, might not have been Osman b. Abdülmennan's entirely, since in this time period the differences between the seas and the oceans were not strictly defined and clarified.

Finally, the third way of dividing the world is according to its states/populations. Interestingly enough, the author argues that the population of the world has never been unified under the rule of a single authority but rather has always been governed by different kings/monarchs and this is the reason why the Earth is divided into different

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 13a

<sup>94</sup> For example, about the Atlantic Ocean the author explains: “[...] Lâtînce Oçyânûs Oksidentâlis yahud Oçyânûs Atlântîkûs yani Atlâs dış denizi derler. Zîrâ Afrikada olan Atlâs dağlarının karşısındadır.”, Köprülü, 15a

kingdoms<sup>95</sup>. Thus, before presenting the lands of the atlas, Osman b. Abdülmennan opens a parenthesis in which, after a brief reference to the motion of the Earth, he informs the reader that he will now explain some geographic terms<sup>96</sup>. He analyzes extensively only maritime terms such as terms that designate seas or ports<sup>97</sup>. Evidently, his major concern was to provide simple and practical definitions of these terms. For example, he explains in a simple way that oceans are big seas which include other seas<sup>98</sup>. What is also important is the definition of lands in relation to waters, a relation that is also described in Varenius, too.

Land is the last topic to be discussed in the introductory chapter. After the above mentioned digression, Osman b. Abdülmennan turns again to the division of the world into different lands and states. This section is separated into two parts, where the first one focuses on map-making and the other on a quick overview of the atlas. In the first part the author stresses that a map may be a narration, depiction or both. In addition, he elaborates the way a picture-map has to be made, underlining that Europe, Africa and Asia have to be represented on the right and the New World on the left side of a map<sup>99</sup>. The second part, although an overview of the continents, centers on Europe, with only a short mention of America and Africa. The author warns the reader to be very careful while dealing with Europe, for the reason that some parts of Europe are united with

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<sup>95</sup> “Memleketlerin hudûdu haritada yani resm kağıdda ufacık noktalar ile terkîm [...]”, Köprülü, 16a

<sup>96</sup> According to the contents of the book this chapter is under the title “Fı beyân al-istilâhat al-coğrafiya”. Köprülü, 1a

<sup>97</sup> All the terms that Abdülmennan explains in this chapter are: *oceanus* (ocean), *mare* (sea), *sinus* (gulf), *lacus* (lake), *palus* (marsh), *fluvius* (river), *insule* (island), *peninsula* (peninsula), *isthmus* (isthmus), *terra firma* (land), *arhipelagus* (archipelagos), *litus* or *litore* (shore), *portus* (port) and *kaput* (cape). Köprülü, 16a-19a

<sup>98</sup> “Şol büyük denizdir ki sa’ir denizleri ihâta etmişdir”. Köprülü, 17a

<sup>99</sup> “Sağındaki olan dâ’irede Avrupa ve Asya ve Afrikadır. Solundaki olan dâ’irede cümlesi Yeni Dünyadır”. Köprülü., 19b

some parts of Asia, which are considered European<sup>100</sup>. For this reason, he enumerates the lands of Europe, describes the length and width of this continent and offers information about the population of each state<sup>101</sup>. Finally, he specifies the seas of Europe and highlights the states that have immediate access to these seas<sup>102</sup>.

After these preliminary observations, Osman b. Abdülmennan continues on to the second and biggest chapter of his work, which explores the kingdoms/states of the world. However, this part will be left aside for the time being -we will return to it in the forthcoming chapter- and for now we will proceed with our analysis of the third part of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* which deals with the scientific surveillance of terrestrial phenomena which is more coherently connected with the topics that we discussed as far.

This chapter starts again with the declaration that the world is a spherical object like a ball or a watermelon<sup>103</sup>! This is proved primarily by the shadow the Earth casts upon the Moon during the lunar eclipse. As the author argues, the round shadow that covers the moon during its total eclipse belongs to the Earth, leading us to conclude that the Earth has a spherical shape<sup>104</sup>. According to the author, in order to explain terrestrial matters we cannot base our investigation only on a terrestrial map<sup>105</sup> but we also have to take the universe into consideration. In accordance with the continuous movement of

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 19b

<sup>101</sup> The information about the population of the European states are drawn from the chronicles of Isaac Vossius (*İsakos Vosius* in the text). Isaac Vossius, son of the better-known humanist Gerhard Johann Vossius, was a Dutch scholar and manuscript collector familiar with Greek and Arabic geography. Until his death (1689) he wrote three treatises: *De septuaginta interpretibus* (1661), *De poematum cantu et viribus rhythmici* (1673), and *Variarum observationum liber* (1685). See, P.R. Sellin, "Isaac Vossius and his Circle: His Life until his Farewell to Queen Christina of Sweden, 1618–1655", *English Historical Review* 119 (June 2004): 720-722

<sup>102</sup> The seas that Osman b. Abdülmennan points out are: the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, the Kalidonicus (the sea around Scotland), the Germanicum (North), the Baltic, the Galician (Biscay Gulf), the White (the sea in the north of Russia) and the Black Sea.

<sup>103</sup> "Pes, bu dünyâ bir müdevver top yahud karpuz gibidir". Köprülü, 328a

<sup>104</sup> As the author underlines: "Eğer dünyâ müdevver olmasaydı gölgesi dahi müdevver olmazdı". Köprülü, 328a

<sup>105</sup> "Zîrâ haritada nakş olunan kürede her nesneyi göstermek mümkün değildir". Köprülü, 328a

the universe, the Earth does not stand still<sup>106</sup> but turns around itself and around the Sun. The result of this motion is the succession of days, nights, months and years as well as climatic changes. As Osman b. Abdülmennan underlines, this is the basic principle of Copernicus' theory. This theory, which is a priori accepted by the author of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*<sup>107</sup>, provides the basic axis around which the spherical shape of the world and the relation between the terrestrial and celestial realms are explained. Furthermore, for the needs of his analysis Osman b. Abdülmennan describes the basic outline of the scientific division of the world.

His first topic is the Poles. The analysis of the Poles comes first because they provide one of the most important explanations for the motion of the Earth. Osman b. Abdülmennan explains that the Poles are two spots located at the northernmost and southernmost parts of the Earth. These two points are static, meaning that the Earth does not move towards them but around them. More specifically, the two Poles are connected with an imaginary axis around which the Earth moves from the east to the west. In other words, the polar axis is a straight line, like a rope or a tree or “a skewer of kebab”<sup>108</sup>, which starts from one pole, passes through the middle of the Earth, and ends at the other pole. What is noteworthy about Osman b. Abdülmennan's description of the Poles and the polar axis is not the scientific explanation it provides, which is absolutely absent, but the simplified manner in which the facts are presented. For example, he argues that the static nature of the Poles is proven by the fact that if someone walks from east to west,

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<sup>106</sup> In order to enrich his argument about the Earth's motion the author offers a rather practical example: “Eğer bir kimesne kebâp pişirmek murâd idip, bir şişe et taksa ma'kûl ve münâsib olan kebâbı ateşe karşı döndürmekdir, yoksa ateşi kebâbın etrafında döndürmek ma'kûl ve münâsib değildir”, Köprülü, 328b-329a

<sup>107</sup> The acceptance of this theory is clearly protested in the text. Osman b. Abdülmennan refers also to Tycho and Batlamyus, whose theories are, as he says, “acceptable”, but it should be added to these theories that the Earth turns around the Sun. See, Köprülü, 228b-329a.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 331b

one part of his/her axis will meet the Arctic Pole (*kutub-i şimâl*) and the other the Antarctic Pole (*kutub-i cenûb*). Moreover, his/her axis will not move/turn<sup>109</sup>.

The next topic of the imaginary division of the world is the Equator. The Equator is simply an imaginary line that goes around the middle of the terrestrial sphere. Just as the Poles prove that the Earth moves, the Equator shows the motion of the Sun. In other words, the Equator proves the connection between the Earth and the Sun, for the Equator is the place around which the Sun moves<sup>110</sup>. Moreover, the result of the motion of the Sun is the accession of days and nights. At this point, Osman b. Abdülmennan calculates the distance between the Poles and the Equator, as is ninety degrees. Thus, the parts between the two Poles and the Equator are further divided by parallel lines drawn on both sides of the Equator. In parallel, the author illustrates the Zodiac Circle and he stresses that the Sun passes once a year from every sign of the Zodiac. Then comes the description of the Tropics where the author explains the double motion of the Sun! He argues that the Sun moves from east to west. In addition, he claims that with this motion the Sun makes a complete round of the world every twenty four hours. Also, he underlines that the Sun, while moving around the Earth, comes periodically closer to the North or the South Pole<sup>111</sup>. Here it has to be underscored that Osman b. Abdülmennan confuses the motion of the Earth with that of the Sun. The Sun moves only around itself. The double motion he describes belongs to the Earth and not to the Sun. As we saw earlier, according to Copernican theory, the Earth is a celestial object of a heliocentric system which moves around the Sun. In that context, the Earth completes a complete

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<sup>109</sup> “[...] biri meşrik tarafından mağrib tarafına yürüse, dingilin bir ucu lodos semtine ve bir ucu yıldız semtine müteveccih olub dönmezler”, *ibid.*, 330a

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 332b

<sup>111</sup> “Şemsin iki türlü hareketi vardır. Evvelkisi meşrikten mağribedir. O takdirde yirmi dört sa’atin içinde bütün dünyâyı dolaşır. İkincisi budur ki dünyânın etrafında devr eder iken, kopduğu yere yine gelmez, hemen her gün ya şimâl ya cenûb tarafına bir miktar meyl eder”, *ibid.*, 336a

round of the Sun every year while it turns around itself every day. The Equator is not the line around which the Sun moves but the stripe in the order of which the Earth turns around Sun. The alteration of nights and days and the climatic variations are indeed facts based on the Equator but deal with the position of the Earth towards the Sun during its double motion. However, despite all this confusion, it is rather interesting that Osman b. Abdülmennan calculates accurately the Equinox. For example, he refers to the particular day of March and September where the length of day and night is equal<sup>112</sup>.

After the discussion of the intelligible division of the world<sup>113</sup> the next part of the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* attempts to illustrate the practical uses afforded by this theoretical division. The first point to be clarified is the horizon. It is very difficult to calculate the horizon, because in reality there is not only one horizon. As Osman b. Abdülmennan states, even if we line up all the people of the world, the horizon of each one will be different<sup>114</sup>. Thus, horizon can be oriented only in comparison to the Sun. More specifically, the horizon of each particular space has as a starting point the zenith of the Sun, meaning the uppermost point of the Sun as seen from that precise place, and as a concluding point the lowest point of the Sun, again in accordance with this place. In other words, the horizon of each place becomes visualized by the Sun. The point where the horizon of each place ends is the antipode of this place<sup>115</sup>.

The second point examined is the calculation of the distance measurement of one place from the Poles and the Equator. Here the author attempts to explain simply how

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 336b-337a

<sup>113</sup> After Equator and tropics the author refers to polar circles and to the zones between the Poles and the tropics. More analytically, he describes: the Torrid Zone, the North and South Temperate Zone, the North and South Frigid Zone and the meridians. Ibid., 338b-344a

<sup>114</sup> “Zîrâ, yeryüzünde ne kadar insân, biri birinin yanında dursalar, her birinin ufuk dâ’iresi başka olur”. Moreover, he adds: “Ve eğer kimesne murâd etse ki, onun ufku benim ufukum ile beraber olsun ol kimesneye lazım olur ki, ya başım üstünde dura yahud ayaklarım altında ola”. Ibid., 345b

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 347

one can accurately estimate the position of a place and to show how its degrees are determined. For the same reason, he describes briefly the climates and analyzes the calculation of longitude and latitude.

The third part of the book ends with a revision of all the topics presented thus far. Osman b. Abdülmennan poses twenty-one questions that are aimed to help the reader better understand the theoretical division of the Earth and the practical applications of this manner of division. Basically, the questions are divided into two groups. The most important questions are the last three, which deal with calculations over the representations of the terrestrial globe. The author describes the methodology of finding distances between places, shows how distances between different points can be measured on a map and how we can find our location while moving from one place to another. With these questions, the author introduces themes that have not been approached in other parts of the book. Nevertheless, the presentation of these topics is again quite simplistic. For example, Osman b. Abdülmennan stresses that weather can help us identify our location. As he puts it, if we are in a cloudy place, we can surmise that we are in a state of the north, like France or Holland or England<sup>116</sup>. With these questions, Osman b. Abdülmennan concludes the scientific discussion of the terrestrial phenomena.

As indicated by our analysis of the presentation of terrestrial and celestial matters in both *Geographia Generalis* and *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, Osman b. Abdülmennan can hardly be considered a translator of Varenus' treatise. While it is true that *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* and *Geographia Generalis* share the same topic, the analysis of Copernican theory, they differ completely in their structure. It can be argued that Osman

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 375a

b. Abdülmennan consulted and took most of the information about the celestial-terrestrial relations from Varenius' treatise, but then presented that information as he understood it and the context that he saw fit. This is primarily demonstrated by the fact that Osman b. Abdülmennan did not transfer all the information he found in Varenius' book. For example, Varenius dedicates a part of his work to offering explanations about mountains, a subject that does not exist in the Ottoman copy. Moreover, despite the fact that the questions posed in the last part of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* -and the question-answer technique in the form of solving practical problems- are definitely copied from *Geographia Generalis*, it seems that Osman b. Abdülmennan chose to transfer only these questions that he probably could easier explain<sup>117</sup>.

The fact that the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* is not a literary translation of *Geographia Generalis* is also shown by Osman b. Abdülmennan's oversimplified style of presenting celestial and terrestrial matters. His approach to the terrestrial subjects includes no reference to scientific justifications; but he describes the universal relations in a simplistic fashion and presents a rather empirical argument to prove that the world is a sphere. Osman b. Abdülmennan's discussion of Copernican theory (and more precisely his misunderstanding of the Copernican basic property) and the metaphors he uses, such as the reference to kebab, it leads further strength to the argument that Osman b. Abdülmennan did not literary translate Varenius' *Geographia Generalis*.

This argument, however, gains further strength if we consider that Osman b. Abdülmennan's treatise includes a part which describes extensively all the states of the

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<sup>117</sup> It is a rather weak possibility that Osman b. Abdülmennan did not transfer specific information and that he did not discuss extensively significant topics because they were also absent in the copy of *Geographia Generalis* he consulted. All the translations and editions of *Geographia Generalis* were strictly based on the original Latin volume of the book or on the revised English edition by Isaac Newton whose main body and text was identical to the original.

world, and which is totally absent in the original copy of *General Geography*. For this reason, in the next chapter, we will focus on this part of the Ottoman book and we will attempt to answer whether the second part of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* is Osman b. Abdülmennan's innovation or whether he based his exploration of the great kingdoms of the world on another source.

## CHAPTER III

### “THE STATES OF THE WORLD” AND ITS EUROPEAN SOURCE

Osman b. Abdülmennan devotes some three hundred pages of his *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* to a description of the states of the world (a discussion that simply does not exist in Varenius' *Geographia Generalis*). The question, then, is: Are we dealing with a text that Osman b. Abdülmennan authored on his own? Or did he base this discussion on another source? In this chapter we shall try to answer this question by undertaking a detailed analysis of selected parts of this text: namely, the sections on England, France and the Ottoman Empire, three of the most extensively discussed states in this work. We shall then suggest that the major source for this discussion was Nicolas Sanson's *Geographical description of the world*, and move on to an analytic comparison of the two texts. We shall argue, however, that Osman b. Abdülmennan exercised also in this part of his “translation” an authorial function; either by integrating to the original text information from other sources or by including his personal perceptions, opinions and sometimes knowledge.

#### Osman b. Abdülmennan's Presentation of the World's Greatest Kingdoms

The presentation of the world's greatest kingdoms, running approximately three hundred and eleven pages, forms, as already mentioned, the second and most extensive chapter of Osman b. Abdülmennan's “translation”. Even before coming to this part the reader gets a first impression of the plurality of the countries into which the terrestrial sphere is divided from the index of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*. The index of the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* offers a comprehensive guide to the different

states/kingdoms of the world. Even when the topic of place names becomes most complicated, as in the case of the lands of the Americas, the Euro-American names of which became stabilized only in the late seventeenth century, the author seems to be up-to-date in his information<sup>118</sup>. Moreover, the index of the book provides the reader with an instant look at the different kingdoms of the world and shows at once the “point” on which the discussion focuses.

More precisely, with his index the author sketches the outline of each continent. Beginning with the European continent, the description takes as its initial point Europe’s south-western borderline, namely Portugal, and continues upwards till reaching the north-western state -Britain, where it starts coming down south again and then moves back to the north; concluding with the Ottoman frontiers<sup>119</sup>. In this regard, the description of the Ottoman Empire, divided in two chapters, the European and the Asiatic-north African, serves as a point of entry into the discussion of Asia and Africa. The description/depiction of the Americas comes at the very end. Contrary to the clear geometric line offered for the European continent, the outline of the lands of the Americas, and to a lesser extent of Africa, seems rather complicated. For example, the

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<sup>118</sup> For example, when Osman b. Abdülmennan refers to North America he stresses that he will sketch the textual diagrams of: Mexico, Florida, Canada, New France, Louisiana, Virginia, New Switzerland, New Holland, New England, Acadia, New Brittan, New Denmark and the North and West Valleys<sup>118</sup>, showing straight away that he is very well aware of the lands of this region. See, Köprülü, *op. cit.*, index p.p. 4b-5a.

<sup>119</sup> Osman b. Abdülmennan discusses with great detail the geographic environment of: Portugal, Spain, France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Netherlands and Flanders, Swiss Republic, Italy, Savoy, Milan, Republic of Venice, Genoa, Republic of Lucca, Rome, Naples, the islands of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Styria, Carinthia, Krayn, Bavaria, Oberpfals (Upper Palatinate), Tyrol, Salzburg, Schwaben, Mrain, Main, Franken, Vezer, Westphalia, Innsbruck, East Friesland, Oldenburg, the Dalmatian coast, Bremen, Ferden, Elbe, Schleswig, Holstein, Mecklenburg, Saxony, Magdeburg, Halberstad, Upper Saxony, Maissen, Thuringia, Lauzits, Bohemia, Moravia, Oder, Silesia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, Ukraine, Latvia, Prussia, Curland, Moscow, Tatar, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Dubrovnik, Serbia, Walachia and Moldavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, Albania, Morea, Crete, and Negroponte. See, Köprülü, index 1a-3b.

depiction of the America starts with Mexico and Florida, but then “jumps” north to Canada to return south again, to Louisiana.

Judging by the index of the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, it seems also that the primary interest of this part of the “translation” lies in Europe. While 250 pages are devoted to the description of Europe, the description of Africa, to give just one example, takes no more than 84. Likewise, Spain is depicted in fifty-six pages while only a few pages are spent on the other great kingdoms of Asia, such as China, India or Persia<sup>120</sup> (See Appendix).

Following the importance attributed to European continent, the first kingdom to be included in our research is England. The description of England covers roughly ten folios. The discussion begins with some general observations about the location of England and focuses on explaining its shape in a simple way. For this purpose, the first thirteen lines of the description are dedicated to the chorographic figure of this state. The depiction starts with the affirmation that England is one of the three parts of the great island that is called Britain and is surrounded by water. The other two parts of the island are Ireland and Scotland. The last part is located at the northern borderline of England and has been “for the last fifty years under the rule of the king of England”<sup>121</sup>. Without any further reference to the annexation of Scotland or to the latest conflicts between Scotland and England, the discussion continues with a critical statement about the Scottish people, which legitimizes in an indirect way the dynastic rule of England over Scotland. According to the text, in the past Scotland was inhabited by many “thieves”

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<sup>120</sup> China, India and Persia are depicted in eight, twelve and ten pages in accordance.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 47a

who continuously entered the land of England and caused great damage to its people<sup>122</sup>. In order to protect themselves, the English people built up a “forty-hour wall”, which was ruined after some years and which is hardly visible today<sup>123</sup>.

After the abovementioned parenthetical remark, however, the description returns to the cartographical depiction of England. It is repeated that this region is a part of “Britannia Magna”, surrounded by water and linked to Scotland which if added to the glory of England make it the biggest island of the world<sup>124</sup>. With this begins a more systematic description of the island, starting with the seas around it. The author informs his audience that England is surrounded by three seas: the Sea of Britain (*Mare Britanicum/Britâniya Denizi*), the sea of Germany (*Mare Germanicum/Nîmçe Denizi*) and the Sea of Ireland (*Mare Hibernicum/İrlanda Denizi*). The first one, the Sea of Britain, which, as the texts indicates, is also called Manche in French, is located between the southern part of England and France. The second one is found on the right side<sup>125</sup> of England but it also borders Flanders. Moreover, the reader learns that in this sea one can find “strange common mackerels” (*‘acâ’ib skomri balıke*)<sup>126</sup>. The third sea, the sea of Ireland, is on the left side of England. The presentation of the seas of England is followed by the enumeration of its famous rivers, which are again three in number: Thames which runs on the south-right part of England and ends in the German Sea<sup>127</sup>;

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid, 47a-47b

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 47b (Later in the same chapter, we read latter that the people of Scotland are still considered as “thieves”, See, ibid., 48b).

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 47a and 47b

<sup>125</sup> The use of right, left, up, down, etc. as orientation remarks is based on Osman b. Abdülmennan’s way of description.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 47b [Common mackerel or scomber, scombrus in Latin, is an important food fish of the northern Atlantic and Mediterranean. The kinds of common mackerel that are found in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean are not the same. See, *Oxford Dictionary of English*, (eds. Catherine, Soanes, and Angus, Stevenson, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)].

<sup>127</sup> “Tâmzâ aşâğında sağından Nîmçe Deniz[in]e akar”, ibid, 47b.

Surana which runs on the top-left side of Ireland<sup>128</sup>; and Tarnat which ends in the Great Sea<sup>129</sup>. Before continuing with the analysis of the English landscape the author sums up characteristics of England he had discussed them far and moves for a second time to a general sketch of Great Britain. Once again we find the comment that Great Britain is the union of two states: England, which is united with Scotland and surrounded by the British, German and the Irish Sea, and Wales, which is “at the edge of the Sea Hibernicum”<sup>130</sup>.

The next topic under investigation is the scenery of England. The discussion about the countryside begins with a short reference to the origins of the English people. As stated in the text, English people came from Germany, and after conquering the entire county they changed its name from Britannia to England and established seven kingdoms<sup>131</sup>. Without any specific note about the people who lived in Britannia before the English conquest, the discussion goes on to analyze the “kingdoms” (*krallik*) of Kent, Essex, South Essex, West Essex, East England, Mersiya and Northumberland. The manner of analysis is strictly topographical. The “compass-technique,” which was followed in the previous general description of England and its waters, is also utilized in this part of the study. We read, for instance, that Kent is located between England and France, at the edge of the small strait, which is also called the Fortress Strait. Further on, Essex is located above Kent; South Essex is near the Manche strait; and West Essex is on the left side of England and at the edge of the channel near the Sea of Ireland; and it is called West Essex because it is located on the side where the sun sets. Also, East

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<sup>128</sup> “Sûrânâ yukarıdan akar. Solundan İrlanda Deniz[in]e akar”, *ibid.*, 47b

<sup>129</sup> “Tárnât büyük deniz Çağildiya akar”, *ibid.*, 47b

<sup>130</sup> “Vâles İrlanda Deniz kenarındadır”, *ibid.*, 48a

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 48b

England is that part of the country that is found on the right side of the German Sea and it is named after its topology, for in comparison to London- the capital (*baş sehri*) of South Essex- it belongs to the side where the sun rises. Mersiya or Middle England is at the middle of the country. Northumberland lies between Mersiya and the northern border ends where England meets Scotland<sup>132</sup> and it is called Northumberland and not just Humberland because again in comparison to London it is located in the north.

The same “compass technique” is also used in the description of the towns of each kingdom. However, when the topic turns to the provinces of each of the seven kingdoms, London and the river Thames become the most prominent orientation points. The co-ordinates of every single place are given with reference to London or the Thames. For example, the only direction point given about Katem is that it is found next to the Thames<sup>133</sup>. Similarly, the only clue given about Roster’s exact location is that it is found in the middle of the road between London and Canterbury<sup>134</sup>. More importantly, the description does not end in simple topographical matters but also includes historical details. For instance, we read that London geographically belongs to Middlesex which in turn belongs to the kingdom of Essex. London, the capital of this kingdom and of the entire country, sprawls around the Thames. Next it is remarked that London is bigger than Paris and that these two cities rival each other in the height of their palaces and houses. Likewise, London has many more houses than Paris. Even though London lost 13.000 of its 65.000 houses during the Great Fire, today the city has 87.000 houses while Paris has only 23.223<sup>135</sup>. Without any reference to the important and advantageous

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 48b-49b

<sup>133</sup> “Kâtem nehr-i Tânzâ yanındadır.”, *ibid.*, 50a

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 50a

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 50b

location of London, the next topic is the royal domains, namely Westminster. The reader is informed that Westminster is that part of the city where the palace of the king is found<sup>136</sup> and that it contains the chapel of Saint James (*Sant Yames köşkü*), inside which the king is crowned. Besides, it has an inner castle which is the residence of the chaplain and inside of which is kept the king's crown. After this description, the "Great Fire of London"<sup>137</sup> comes in the foreground. Accurately enough, the commentary indicates that because of this incident the houses of London are now being built in stone which is black and has an awful smell<sup>138</sup>!

While the non-geographical references are particularly prominent in the depiction of London, the discussion contains historical references also when other cities are described. For example, it is stated that the kingdoms of England have big cities but not great castles. In addition, they have important ports, but these ports are still overshadowed by those of Flanders<sup>139</sup>.

These references are often coupled by linguistic and religious observations. Considering language, we read that English has its origins in German and that in Great Britain one also finds two Welsh dialects: the northern and the southern<sup>140</sup>. Likewise, referring to religious matters, the author underlines that English people are Christians and more specifically, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Puritans, Conformists and non-Conformists<sup>141</sup>. Following this remark, the different sects of Christianity are discussed.

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<sup>136</sup> "Onun içinde [Westminster] kralın saraylarıdır.", *ibid.*, 51b

<sup>137</sup> The term "The Great Fire of London" is not indicated in the text. The text speaks about a great fire; but unfortunately does not give us the exact year. However, it is much possible that it talks about the fire of 1666, which destroyed a very important part of the English capital and is known today as "The Great Fire of London".

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 51b

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 49b

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 55b

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 57b

The text refers to Old Christians (*a'tik/ eski nasârâ*), Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists,<sup>142</sup> and designates a basic religious map of Europe<sup>143</sup>.

The references to Christianity become more numerous in the section on France. In the description of almost all the cities of France, there is always reference to the religious administrative center to which a city belongs<sup>144</sup>. However, religious information is not given straight from the beginning. The description begins with the comment that France is located in the western part of the terrestrial sphere<sup>145</sup>. Following the manner of description we saw in England was represented the text first provides the general coordinates of the state and then deals with its seas, rivers, provinces and towns. We read that France borders Spain, Germany, Switzerland and Savoy, which are respectively on its left and east side<sup>146</sup>. Moreover, on its left side the Strait of Manche is found while its south right part is surrounded by the Mediterranean Sea<sup>147</sup> and its west side by the “outer sea” (*dış denizi*), meaning the Atlantic Ocean. Further on, the major rivers of France are identified as the Loire and Garonne, which run on the top left and on the lower left side of the state to the Atlantic Ocean; the Seine, which crosses the upper part of the countryside and flows to the Manche; and Rhone, which originates in the southern part of France and flows to the Mediterranean Sea.

After this broad description of the borders and waters of France, the commentary centers on the French landscape. The hexagonal land of France is divided into twelve

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 57a

<sup>143</sup> For example, he stresses that one finds Catholics in France and Old Christians in the lands of the Ottoman Padishah and Moscow. See, Köprülü, 57a-57b

<sup>144</sup> In example, when he describes Noyon and Roison he underlines that they belong to the Episcopo of Reims. Ibid., 30a

<sup>145</sup> “Fransa memleketi dahi gün batısı tarafındadır”, ibid, 27d

<sup>146</sup> “Solunda İspanyaya muttasıldır. Gün doğusu tarafından Nîmçe ve Halveçyaya ve Savoyaya muttasıldır. Gün batısı tarafından Dış denizidir ”, ibid, 27b

<sup>147</sup> “Solunda La Manşe denizin boğazıdır. Lodos tarafında sağında Ak Denizin bir parçadır”, ibid, 27b

administrative components but actually, as the text warns, it contains fourteen if we take into account Lorraine and the Free County (of Burgundy)<sup>148</sup>. However, the text counts only thirteen governmental parts, reckoning Lorraine simply as a nominal administrative fraction<sup>149</sup>. According to the commentary, of the twelve major compartments of France, the one that is located in the middle of the country, Ile de France, is the most important<sup>150</sup>. On this basis, Ile de France becomes the center of the imaginative compass with which the French lands are surveyed. Subsequently, Orleans and Lion are the components on top of Ile de France; Britannia, Normandy and Picardy cover the surface on the left part of Ile de France; Guyenne and Province are on the bottom of the central compartment; and Dauphine, Bourgogne and Champagne spread on its right part. However, we read that apart from Paris and some other port cities, which are prosperous, France does not include towns equal to those of Flanders and Spain<sup>151</sup>. Paris is described as a city that was built next to river Seine and which has 23.223 houses and 487.680 inhabitants. With the exception of some hints about the existence of a library or the prison of Bastille, the text offers information only about the palaces of the French king. Both the palaces of the king and the area where they are located, close to Paris, are called the Loire. Versailles, the royal palace which was built in the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century near the city of Paris (and not in the Loire valley as erroneously insinuated in the text) acquires specific place in the commentary. The palace of King Louis is underlined as a joyful residence made with the world's marvelous works of art/techniques (*ma.snûa 'at-i*

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<sup>148</sup> Indeed, Free County was a part of the kingdom of France since 1667 but Lorene was annexed during the reign of Lois XV. Although Lorene became a part of France in 1766 it was since earlier periods under the surveillance of the king of France. See, *Histoire de France*, (ed. Jean de, Gigor, Paris: Librairie General, 1932) 255 and 292.

<sup>149</sup> Köprülü, 28b and 29a.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 28b

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 29a

*'aca'ib*)<sup>152</sup>, while references are also made to every single palace found in the surrounding forests. However, aside from a few cases such as the Fontainebleau turret or the Saint Germaine residences, which are described in detail<sup>153</sup>, the rest of the Paris suburbs are depicted in a very general manner. It is rather peculiar, though, that the “list” of palaces does not include the Louvre. Even though Louvre was not a permanent mansion of King Louis in this time period, still it was architecturally a very significant and grandiose building in the heart of Paris. In a sense, however, the absence of the Louvre can be explained. If we pay extra attention to the manuscript, it appears that the text refers only to those places of Paris which were used as entertainment residences of the French king. In accordance of Paris the text pinpoints only those places, such as forests, where entertainment residences are found<sup>154</sup>.

In the description of the French provinces, the “compass technique” used in the section on England, disappears. The description of each place according to its coordinates, no matter what its magnitude is, is replaced by broad-spectrum observations. For example, Marly is depicted as a place close to Paris<sup>155</sup>; while other places are simply characterized as “beautiful”, “big” or “small”<sup>156</sup>. Yet, the cartographically dubious descriptions of the French provinces are accompanied by detailed historical information. The facts that are presented about French history pertain to events in the past as well as to political, architectural, geological and economical

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<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 29b

<sup>153</sup> For Fontainebleau Abdülmennan writes that a palace for joy and entertainment at the lower side of Paris, while Saint Germaine, again a place for leisure of the French king, is located in the western part of Paris. “Fontenblo Parizin altında bir teferrüc sarayıdır. Sen Çermen Parize yakın kralın bir teferrüc yerdir”. Ibid., 30a

<sup>154</sup> For instance, his single comment of the Vincennes forest is that it contains a beautiful turret. Ibid., 30a

<sup>155</sup> “Bir dahi Parize yakın bir yerdir”, ibid., 30a

<sup>156</sup> Where Osman b. Abdülmennan was unable to find specific information he just writes: “bu güzel bir yerdir”, “bu büyük bir yerdir” or “bu küçük bir yerdir”. Ibid., 37a-37b

issues. In other words, the description of France departs from the standard cartographic approach we have seen until this point and tags along a more coherent historical “logos”. The first example comes from the depiction of Brittany. After a brief presentation of Brittany’s position in the French chorographic environment, the discussion focuses on the conflict between France and England by noting that Brittany was for four hundred years under the rule of England and that after peaceful negotiations<sup>157</sup> the province passed to French sovereignty<sup>158</sup>. The same happens when the city of Lusignan is discussed. Apart from stating that Lusignan is a city blessed by God since old times, the only remark we find is that Lusignan is the region from where the kings of Cyprus came<sup>159</sup>.

While even today it is difficult to locate Novalia on a map, it is underlined as a famous place of worship, as a monastery<sup>160</sup>. Although it is not the first time we find comments on a monastery in describing a region to be described -we find also extensive references to the wealthy abbey and royal inner “cemetery” of Saint Denis in Paris<sup>161</sup>- the Novalia example is rather extraordinary; for it is the first time a work of architecture is used for proceeding to explanations considering the social/religious structure. More specifically, after Novalia’s short topographic description, we find clarifications about Christian clerical terminology. The explanations begin with the double affirmation that the Christian religious body is divided into priests and monks, and that between these two the competent path is to be found<sup>162</sup>! Leaving aside this last statement, the

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<sup>157</sup> Indeed, Brittany passed nonviolently to France in 1532 when king Francis I married the daughter of the Duchess of Brittany. See, *Histoire de France*, .

<sup>158</sup> Köprülü, 31b

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 32a-32b

<sup>160</sup> “Novâlia bir meşhur abdhânedir, yani monastır gibidir.”, ibid., 32b

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 30a

<sup>162</sup> “[...] mabeynlerinde onlara ehl-i tarik derler”. Ibid., 32b

discussion carries on by elucidating that above all the priests the Patriarch or Cardinal is enthroned while the head of the monks is called Abbes or Prelate. This preliminary distinction is followed by the gradation of the different ranks of priests and monks<sup>163</sup>. The intention to enlighten the reader about ecclesiastic terminology is shown by the short lexicon Osman b. Abdülmennan added at the edge of the page the different Christian clerical titles are described.

However, returning back to his procedure in mapping the French provinces, we have to stress that monasteries are not the only architectural works on the basis of which regions are described. We find often the stockphrase of “beautiful buildings” for describing many towns. Aix (en Province), in example, is a city with “big and beautiful buildings”<sup>164</sup> whereas Antibes, “a castle”, has “three imposing towers”<sup>165</sup>. In the context of the “beautiful buildings”, the presentation of castles and towers acquires a special place. Yet, “beautiful buildings”, castles and towers are not simply another characteristic of the landscape but also sketch what the economic profile of the depicted area is. If we look carefully at the manuscript, we see that the references to “beautiful buildings” are always a part of the wider description of a port-city. For example, Aix (en Province) is described as having beautiful buildings because it is close to Marseille, one of the richest and most famous ports of France. Strangely, there is no comment about Marseilles’ buildings, even though Marseilles’ architectural background goes back to the early Middle Ages. Antibes, an important port-city, is simply categorized by its castle.

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<sup>163</sup> He names the positions of bishop (episkopus/vlatika), archbishop (arch episcopus//büyük vlatika) , patriarch (patriarhus/patrika), cardinal (cardinalis/cardinal), abbes (abbas/abd), prelate (patralatus/patralat and abbatial (abbadisa/abdişan). Ibid., 32b-33a

<sup>164</sup> “Eks mefîn ve büyük ve güzel bina olunmuş şehrdir.”, ibid., 40a

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 40b

Nevertheless, France's wealth is not simply a result of its ports. According to the text, France may have a lot of travelers/traders during times of peace and a well developed foreign trade based on its advantageous geographical position<sup>166</sup> but its prosperity is also an outcome of its agriculture. As argued, the soil of the country is cropped with all the necessary products and it belongs to its poor inhabitants<sup>167</sup>. Moreover, France has a few but strong domestic animals that it is said that if they were in Spain and if Spain's burly inhabitants were in France then both of them would have been more sufficiently equipped<sup>168</sup>. The inhabitants of France are good in science and audacious, gallant and quick in battle<sup>169</sup>. Likewise, they serve their king with loyalty<sup>170</sup>; they are good at completing whatever it is that they do in their works<sup>171</sup> and use language in a brilliant way<sup>172</sup>!

These kinds of ethnographic description give the audience an idealized impression of France. As a further affirmation of this impression the text underlines France's dominations in other parts of the world. We read that France's relations expand to the four parts of the world<sup>173</sup>, while special attention is paid to its settlements in America<sup>174</sup>. Considering France's domination in Europe the discussion deals, as expected, with Lorraine and the Free County (of Burgundy). Starting with Lorraine, we find extensive references to the historical background of the region. The reader learns

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<sup>166</sup> "Fransya'ya çok misâfir gelip geçirler ve dahi Fransanın üç taraftan deniz olmağla hariçde olan ticaret için pek münasib yerdir.", *ibid.*, 44a

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 43a

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 43a

<sup>169</sup> "Fransâ ehalisi ta'lim-i fûnûnda ve ta'lim-i cenkte 'acîbdir. Cenkte yürekli ve şecî ve tizdir.", *ibid.*, 43a

<sup>170</sup> "[...] krallarına sâdikâne hizmet idirler [...]", *ibid.*, 43a

<sup>171</sup> "[...] ve her işde uyışlı ve itmam edicilerdi.", *ibid.*, 43a

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 43a

<sup>173</sup> "[...] dünyânın dört tarafa Fransanın alakaları vardır.", *ibid.*, 44b.

<sup>174</sup> The text refers to the "Nova França". *Ibid.*, 44b

that a part of it was annexed to France during the reign of Louis XIV and that the other part is still an object of squabble and claim between France and Germany. Moreover, the bickering between these two countries for this region is so great that, as Osman b. Abdülmennan underlines, many books refer to it in separate sections<sup>175</sup>. The description, however, continues with the specific administrative areas that belong to Lorraine. As always, the chorographical environment of each region is described but in the case of Lorraine the description is enriched with hints that prove and legitimize the presence of France in this region. In every city special notice is given to the castles which were built in most cases after the region's capture by France<sup>176</sup>. Extra attention is paid to the cities that were conquered by kings prior to Louis XIV. For example, we read that Verdun, the city near the river Meuse, was conquered two hundred years ago by king Henry and still belongs to France<sup>177</sup>.

Finally, when the description focuses on the Free County (of Burgundy), the cartographic description becomes relatively laconic. Apart from the declaration that the Free County is still a region under French and German vindication -while in reality one part was added to metropolitan France during the reign of the Sun King- its administrative centers are not analyzed in detail. Only the geographical coordinates of each place are given<sup>178</sup> and the discussion moves on to another country.

The last state of our investigation is the Ottoman Empire. The depiction of the lands of the Sublime Porte is geographically the most problematic in the entire survey. First of all, Ottoman territories are not explored as a whole. Rather, the description of

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 45b

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 45b

<sup>177</sup> “França kralı iki yüz yıl mukaddem [onu] feth etmişdi ve hâlâ Françanıdır.”, *ibid.*, 46a

<sup>178</sup> We read, for example, that Vesul “küçükür” or that Sâlin “kal’edir ve iki kat üç hisar vardır.”, *ibid.*, 46b

the Ottoman lands is often interrupted by the account of other states. To be more precise, while the exploration starts with the European and Asian parts of the Ottoman Empire, it does not conclude with the Ottoman territories in North Africa but first comes the analysis of the chorographic environment of the greatest kingdoms of Asia. In other words, after the sum of Ottoman Asia the discussion focuses firstly on Persia, India, the land of Tatars and China and then returns back to the Ottoman Empire and its North African lands. Second, the approach taken in the description of the Ottoman Empire is completely different from the approach taken in all the previous descriptions of European states. The depiction of the Ottoman lands, separated basically into two parts - the European and the Asian - only sporadically follows the “compass-technique,” and is more historical than elsewhere in the book.

To begin with, the exploration of the Ottoman Empire covers thirty double folio pages, of which nineteen are dedicated to the European and the rest to the Asian lands. Consequently, the reader gets the impression that in the description of the Ottoman lands the center of attention is on the European provinces. Taking as an initial point the description of Hungary the text deals with the provinces of Croatia, Bosnia, Dubrovnik, Serbia, Wallachia, Moldavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, Albania, Morea, Crete and Negroponte. However, the discription does not break the limitations of the usual “compass technique” from the right beginning but changes progressively as we come closer to the southern parts of the Ottoman territories in Europe. The primary province which shows us a clear descriptive differentiation is Moldavia. Although “Wallachia” (the term *Eflâh* appears only once, at the beginning of the description) is the first province where the chorographic depiction is not limited to the special governmental

status of this area<sup>179</sup>, “Moldavia” (*Moldâvâ* also once *Boğdan*) is the earliest province in the discussion where the firm cartographic “logos” gives place to historical facts. We read that Soktsova, the capital of Moldavia, is a medium-sized city next to the river Prot, where in 1123 “Turks” (we will discuss the reference to Ottomans as Turks in Chapter IV) fought with Russians and negotiated the peace treaty<sup>180</sup>. This correlation between places and historical facts becomes more prominent when the discussion passes to the next province, “Bulgaria” (also *Bulgar*). The description of Varna, for example, is based less on chorographic criteria and more on historical information. We read that Varna is a city built “at a corner close” to the Black Sea and it is famous because in 848/1444 30.000 Christians were killed by the sword<sup>181</sup>. Yet, this descriptive style is not followed throughout the description of the whole province. When the city discussed does not contain famous Ottoman military achievements, the depiction is rather brief and still not geographical. For example, the only hint about Sofia is that it is a famous city without a wall around it<sup>182</sup>!

The next province explored is “Romania”<sup>183</sup>. The commentary over today’s Thrace begins with the paradox pronouncement that Romania is a part of the Istanbul province<sup>184</sup>; and continues with the declaration that Romania is the geographic region

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid., 252a

<sup>180</sup> “Sokçovâ bir orta yerdir. Ve dahi bu vilâyetin ortasında Prât akar. Nehir kenârında 1123 senesinde Türkler ile Moskov arasında bir ‘azîm cenk vâki’ olmuşdur. Ve onun ‘akabinde sulh ‘akd olunmuşdu.’”, ibid., 252a-252b

<sup>181</sup> “Varna denizin kenârında bir şehrdir [...] ve 848 senesinde bu şehrin yanında ehl-i İslâm otuz bin kadar Nasârâ kılıçtan geçirdiler.”, ibid., 252b-253a

<sup>182</sup> “Sofya baş şehridir [...]ve etrafında duvarı yokdur.”, ibid., 252b

<sup>183</sup> After the fourth crusade the Latin Emperor of Constantinople acquired the title emperor of Romania and the empire was renamed as “Imperium Latinum di Romania”. The term “Romania” remained active till the end of the eighteenth century. In the text appears also the term “Rûm” but only once and only at the beginning of the description.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., 253a

which's sea is at the edge of the Mediterranean<sup>185</sup>. As it is proven later on, what is meant by the affirmation that the sea of Thrace meets the Mediterranean is the Dardanelles, an area which indeed waters Romania but does not belong at any rate in the geographic region of Thrace. In the same framework, it is also indicated that Romania is connected with the Black Sea through the Constantinopolitan straits. As always, the discussion carries on with the presentation of the greater cities of this region. However, before focusing on the Thracian cities, the author underlines that in Romania a lot of Christians are still found and that this region is under Muslim law, as well as Bulgaria, Serbia and Bosnia.

“Constantinopol” or “Konstantiniye” or “Islambol” is the first city to be discussed in the survey of Romania. Without reference to its geographic position and environment, except for the intimation that it is found near the straits of the Black Sea, the author comments at once on the historical background of the city. Istanbul is the old city of Byzantium (Bizans) which became the capital of the Roman (Rum) Empire when the Emperor Constantine the Great transferred the capital from Rome<sup>186</sup>. Afterward, great attention is paid to the capture of the Byzantine capital by the hands of the Ottoman Padishah in 858/1453. Constantinople was conquered by the “Turks” (Türk) or else by “the people of Islam” (ehl-i İslâm) during the reign of Mehmet II and that all the inhabitants of the city were killed by the conquerors without mercy. Remaining more in the field of the conquest the text provides further historical details, such as the allowance given to the Ottoman army to ransack the city for three days and nights or the prosperity

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 253a

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 253b

the Ottoman army found in Constantinople<sup>187</sup>; but no specific information about the chorographic situation of Istanbul is given. Only at the very end of the description it is pointed out that Istanbul is a very big city with many inhabitants. Still, it is really peculiar that the Ottoman capital is not explored in the same parameters as the west European capitals. There are no hints about the geographic position of Istanbul and no reference to its architectural characteristics, as in the case of London and Paris. Apart from a note that Istanbul is the location of the Palace of the Ottoman Sovereign, there is no further reference to other monuments. The same is true about the description of Edirne. Edirne is merely described in two lines as a magnificent city close to the river Maritzsa where the Padishah of the “Turks” is said once to have resided<sup>188</sup>.

The description of Romania is followed by this of Greece. Returning to the typical “compass-technique”, we read that “Grecia” (also “Greek” or “Rûm”), is the region on the top of which Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania are found. The left and right parts of the Greek mainland are surrounded by the Mediterranean Sea, and they are called the Ionian Sea and the Archipelagos respectively. Furthermore, this region is divided into mainland Greece, which is also separated into the five provinces of Albania, Macedonia, Thessaly, Livadeia and Morea, and the islands. Starting with mainland Greece, the text focuses first on Albania. The description of the most important cities of Albania, as the description of all the inspected towns of mainland Greece, combines more coherently than before both historical references and geographical information. The description of Avlona, for example, is closer to the descriptive style of the French or English provinces: Avlona is a medium-sized city which has three rich castles and a

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<sup>187</sup> Ibid., 254a

<sup>188</sup> “Adriyanopol yani Edrene nehr-i Meriç yanındadır. Türkler pâdişâhı meks idirmiş.”, *ibid.*, 254a

port<sup>189</sup>. However, on the description of Ulcinj, a coastal town which belonged to the Republic of Venice, the only comment is that this region was conquered by the Ottomans in 1107/1695<sup>190</sup>.

Macedonia, Thessaly and Livadeia are also described in the same perspective. In the province of Macedonia the depiction of Salonica stands out. Built on the gulf, Salonica is a big and rich commercial city with a largely Jewish population<sup>191</sup>. The description of Thessaly, the region downward of the province of Salonica, contains only Yannina, a famous and rich trade city, and Larissa, the capital of the province<sup>192</sup>. Although Thessaly was an important province of the Ottoman Empire, it receives no special attention and the discussion proceeds to the description of Livadeia, which includes the city of Athens. The text which accompanies the description of Athens is rather extraordinary. As in the discussion of Istanbul, there is not even a single word about the topography of Athens; but the analysis is based only on two historical facts. Apart from the affirmation that Athens is a beautiful city, it is stressed only that Athens was a “free republic” (*serbest cumhûr*) from its birth; and that close to Athens is Marathon [described as a place two hours away from Athens (*Atinadan iki sa‘at Maraton*)], a region where Persians were once killed<sup>193</sup>. In addition to Athens Thebes, another city in the province of Livadeia, is also described as a “free republic”<sup>194</sup>.

The depiction of mainland Greece ends with the Morea. The Peloponnese peninsula is portrayed in greater detail than the abovementioned regions. However, the

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<sup>189</sup> “Avlona bir buçuk şehrdir ve metîn üç hisârı ve limânı vardır.”, *ibid.*, 255b

<sup>190</sup> “Bu kal‘e 1107 Venedik cumhûrından muhâdere olunmuş idi.”, *ibid.*, 255b

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 256a

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 256b

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, 256b (Indeed, Marathon is the place where the Athenian army defeated the Persians in 490 B.C.E. ).

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, 256b-257a

descriptive manner remains equivalent to the previous. The only supplementary element is that the text informs Ottoman domination over Morea, a region that the Ottomans had temporarily lost to the Republic of Venice between 1684-6 and 1715. The theme of Ottoman superiority over Venice becomes more evident when the discussion moves to the Greek islands, and more specifically to Crete and Negroponte. Crete, which the Ottomans had captured from Venice in 1669, is described in exceeding specificity. For all the cities of Crete, first a general geographic explanation of their location is given, then the Ottoman siege and the expulsion of the Venetians is described; and only at the very end the topography of each city is given. For example, we read that Candia is a famous and very rich city and that its port is very beautiful. Then the text refers to the long Ottoman siege of the city which ended with the boisterous charge of the Ottomans and the occupation of the city in 1080/1669<sup>195</sup>. Negroponte and the Ionian islands are represented in a similar manner. The survey of the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire closes with the Aegean islands. The discussion of the “Archipelago” region is strictly cartographic<sup>196</sup> and does not contain any important information.

On the other hand, considering the Asian part of the Ottoman Empire, the commentary begins with the broader presentation of the Asian continent. Following the procedure in the description of continents, first the position of Asia is defined, and then the seas, rivers, mountains and states are enumerated. Asia contains the states of “Asiatic Turkey”, “Persian Empire” (*Imperium Persicum/Acem memleketi*), “India” (*Hindistan*), “Chinese Empire” (*Imperium Sinacum/Sin memleketi*) and the Asiatic islands. In the

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<sup>195</sup> Ibid., 258b

<sup>196</sup> For example, the author writes that the island of Paros is close to the island of Naxos while the island of Naxos is at the middle of the Archipelago. “Pârio yani Barra adası Nakşanın yanındadır. Nakşa adası adaların ortasındadır.”, *ibid.*, 260a

process of exploring the greatest kingdoms of Asia, the text clarifies that “Turkey in Asia” (*Turqia Asiaticum/Azya-i Türki*), or else “the Asiatic lands of the Ottoman Padishah” (*Azya[da] olan al-i Osman padişahının memleketleri*), contains the provinces of “Anatolia”, “Syria” (*Süriya/Şam*) and “Arabia” (also *Arabistan*). This part of the Ottoman Empire is very briefly sketched<sup>197</sup>, and apart from the chorographic determination of the provinces does not include much noteworthy information. The only part that contains useful explanations is “Anatolia” (also *Natolia/Anadolu*). The description begins with the reference that the name of Anatolia, the geographic regime to which the provinces of Kütahya, Amasya, Konya and Malatya belong, comes from the Greek language; it means east and it can be used for describing both Asia<sup>198</sup> and Asia Minor (*Asia Minore/Küçük Azya*). Moreover, a part of this region, basically the ancient Ionia and the geographic area around the Mediterranean coast, is often called Levant (*Levante*), too<sup>199</sup>. As the text indicates, it is called Levant, which in Italian means also east, by the western European traders who have established superior commerce relations with this area<sup>200</sup>. In order for these etymological explanations to be clearly understood, the example of Izmir is offered. Izmir, the world famous port city built “on the edge of the sea”<sup>201</sup>, is considered part of Levant by the English and Dutch traders<sup>202</sup> but also part of Anatolia because it is a part of Asia Minor.

Beyond Izmir, though, the depiction of the rest of the Ottoman territories does not offer any further illumination to the descriptive method followed in the text, neither

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<sup>197</sup> More specifically, the description of Anatolia with all its inner provinces acquires three pages; Syria, Arabia, Gürcistan, the land of Turkmen, Diyarbakır, Baghdad are depicted in one page.

<sup>198</sup> “Yunan dilince dahi bütün Azya Anadolu/Anatoli [...]”, *ibid.*, 264

<sup>199</sup> The first reference to the name of Levant was during the description of Greece, where according to the text a part of the insular Greece acquires this characterization. *Ibid.*, 253b

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 264b-265a

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 265b

<sup>202</sup> “İngiliz ve Flamanın tüccârlar bu şehre ticâret için gittikleri [...]”, *ibid.*, 264a

provides important historical information. Similarly, the discussion over the lands of America and Africa is based only on topographical explanations with short-term ethnographic comments.

Even if the descriptions of the landscapes are based on strict chorographic criteria, it is obvious after all that the author of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* is very well aware of his subject. Taking into account the fact that this part of Osman b. Abdülmennan's treatise does not exist in Varenus' *Geographia Generalis*, it is hardly difficult to argue that Osman b. Abdülmennan composed such a chapter based on his own knowledge. For this reason, in the next section we will focus our research on the sources Osman b. Abdülmennan used for composing his world description.

## The Sources of Osman b. Abdülmennan's World Description

According to Varenius' statement in the introductory chapter of *Geographia Generalis*, geography is divided into: "general" and "special", or "universal" and "particular". As we saw in the first chapter of this essay, universal geography denotes that part of geography that deals with the whole Earth in general and explains its celestial properties without regard to particular countries. Special geography, on the other hand, describes the constitution and situation of every single country based on chorographical and topographical observations<sup>203</sup>. Varenius does not elaborate at all on the second kind of geography in his treatise. Although in the prologue of the book he analyzes extensively the "Terrestrial" and "Human properties"<sup>204</sup> that rule "particular geography," there is no further mention of the topic until the end of his work. The absence of a section devoted to the topic, however, does not indicate Varenius' lack of interest. On the contrary, we know that Varenius planned a regional geography of the whole world but died before he could undertake this project<sup>205</sup>.

The attention Varenius paid to special geography is clearly shown by his separate treatise *Descriptio Rengi Iaponiae* which is, as the title says, a description of the state of Japan. The method with which Varenius approached Japan fits exactly within the broad

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<sup>203</sup> Varenius, 2

<sup>204</sup> By terrestrial properties Varenius has in mind those properties that are observed in the face of every country and which are ten in number: 1. the limits and bounds of every country, 2. its figure, 3. its magnitude, 4. its mountains, 5. its waters, 6. its woods and deserts, 7. the fruitfulness and barrenness of the country, 8. the minerals and fossils, 9. the living creatures and 10. the longitude of the place. Accordingly, the human properties deal with the inhabitants of every place and comprise: 1. their stature, shape, color, length of their lives, origin, meat and drink, 2. their arts and the profits which arise from them, 3. their virtues and vices, learning, capacities and schools, 4. their ceremonies at births, marriages and funerals, 5. their language, 6. their political government, 7. their religion and church government, 8. their cities and famous places, 9. their remarkable histories and 10. their famous men, artificers, and the inventions of the natives. Ibid., 4-5

<sup>205</sup> Warntz, 171

scheme of *Geographia Generalis*. From the twenty-eight chapters of this book, two are dedicated to universal geography, one to terrestrial properties and the rest to human observations<sup>206</sup>. Besides, Varenius' treatise on Japan sanctions his views on geographical knowledge<sup>207</sup> and shows us how the world-description part of *Geographia Generalis* would have been formatted if the author had succeeded in concluding his work. However, even without Varenius' contribution, his general treatise on geography reached its initial goal to combine universal, terrestrial and human properties thanks to his publishers and editors. As early as 1682, a book which combined Bernhard Varenius' scientific explanations of the celestial and terrestrial phenomena and Nicolas Sanson's descriptions of the world's greatest kingdoms was circulated in the book markets of London<sup>208</sup>. Judging by the multiple editions of this book that followed its first publication, it was rather popular. Only in England, for example, the book went through three editions during the first ten years of its distribution<sup>209</sup>. Its popularity, though, was not just a result of Varenius' reputation. Nicolas Sanson or Sanson d' Abbeville or

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<sup>206</sup> J.N.L. Baker, "The Geography of Bernhard Varenius", *Transactions and Papers* 21, (Institute of British Geographers, 1955): 53-54

<sup>207</sup> "A knowledge of the Earth" is described as "a subject not only worthy of human study, but one of vital necessity both in the world of letters and for every day use. Not to mention its value to history, whose beacons are rightly said to be Chronology and Geography; or theology, natural philosophy, politics and every such discipline, we may reflect merely on the uses and services by which it assists the arts of trading and navigation". Varenius, 6-7.

<sup>208</sup> The book carries the long title: *Cosmography and Geography in two parts: the first containing the General and Absolute part of Cosmography and Geography, being a translation from the eminent and much esteemed geographer Varenius, wherein are at large handled all such arts as are necessary to be understood for the true knowledge thereof. To which is added the much wanted Schemes omitted by the author. The second part, being a Geographical Description of all the World, taken from the notes and works of famous Monsieur Sanson, late geographer to the French king: to which are added about a hundred Cosmographical, Geographical and Hydrographical tables of several Kingdoms and Isles in the world, with their Chief Cities, Seaports, Bays, &c. drawn from the maps of the said Sanson. Illustrated with Maps.*

<sup>209</sup> We refer to the editions of 1682, 1683 and 1693 which were printed in London.

Monsieur Sanson, as he is usually called, was very much admired, too<sup>210</sup>. The multiple works of this French royal cartographer, mainly dealing with the making of country maps and state descriptions, became greatly popular soon after their publication and were translated at least into two important languages of Western Europe in this time period: Dutch and English. Thus, Sanson's work was not selected to cover Varenius' unaccomplished attempt only because of the popularity of the author. What is more is that his description of the world corresponded exactly to the topographical documentation of *Geographia Generalis* and matched Varenius' geographical perception better than all other world atlases of this time period. More specifically, Sanson's detailed depiction of the terrestrial sphere, with particular references to rivers, mountains, soil, cities and historical facts of every state, worked as an excellent guide both to Varenius' theoretical explanations of the universal phenomena and to his practical concerns such as navigation.

In light of all these considerations, it is quite likely that Nicolas Sanson's descriptions of the greatest kingdoms is the original text that inspired Osman b. Abdülmennan's depiction of the states of the world. We arrive at this conclusion primarily for three basic reasons. First, as we have already discussed, Osman b. Abdülmennan's description of the world's kingdoms does not exist in Varenius' treatise. Although some scholars who have examined *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* argue that Osman b. Abdülmennan copies topographical and historical information from Varenius'

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<sup>210</sup> As Richard Blome, the editor of the book, writes in the prologue of the 1693 edition: "Here are the United Labours of Varenius and Sanson, Two so well known Authors to the Learned and Ingenious World, that they need no other Encomium, than to Name them."

book<sup>211</sup>, in reality this is not possible for the simple reason that Varenius' commentary does not include such discussions in any great extent. Varenius mentions historical facts only sporadically and offers topographical information simply as examples for his theoretical discussion. All this makes it unlikely that Osman b. Abdülmennan based his detailed world description on Varenius epigrammatic chorographical and historical references. Second, the structure of Osman b. Abdülmennan's book is remarkably similar to that of the combined edition of Varenius/Sanson. By and large, Osman b. Abdülmennan and Varenius/Sanson share the same topics: a. scientific justification for the round shape of the Earth, b. argumentation over the accuracy of the heliocentric system (although not very clearly understood in Osman b. Abdülmennan's case), and c. description of the different parts of the world. Third, and most important reason, is the way the world is represented by Monsieur Sanson and the information each state contains. Above all, the descriptive subject of Nicolas Sanson is identical to that of Osman b. Abdülmennan. Sanson describes exactly the same states as Osman b. Abdülmennan did. Moreover, both Sanson and Osman b. Abdülmennan use the same descriptive method. The "compass technique", which we analyzed previously, is also used in Sanson's text. This technique, which was not a well established descriptive practice in this period and which cannot be found in other west European atlases, and the documentary text that follows every state are the major aspects that prove the relation between the work of Sanson and Osman b. Abdülmennan.

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<sup>211</sup> Ramazan Şeşen, for example, argues that for his description of the countries of the world Abdülmennan basically copied information from Varenius' book and added only some historical events. See, Ramazan Şeşen, *The Translator of the Belgrade Council Osman b. Abdülmennan and his Place in the Translation Activities*, in *Transfer of Modern Science & Technology to the Muslim World*, (ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, Istanbul: IRCICA, 1992).

As we will testify, however, Osman b. Abdülmennan exercised an authorial function, too. As in the discussion over planetary motion, Osman b. Abdülmennan's description of the states of the world differs in certain respects from the original French text. Compared to the "translational" attitude towards *Geographia Generalis*, from which Osman b. Abdülmennan transferred specific information, in the discussion of the states of the world he followed Sanson's text more closely; but he also added information either based on other sources or on his personal observations. To bring more light to the relation between the *Geographical description of the world* and *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* we will focus briefly on the three countries, England, France and Ottoman Empire we discussed in Osman b. Abdülmennan's case and see how they are described in Sanson's treatise; to what extent Osman b. Abdülmennan appropriated information; and what supplementary information he integrates.

Before proceeding with the examination of these states, it is notable to examine first the relation between Osman b. Abdülmennan's and Monsieur Sanson's treatise as shaped through the index of their works. Sanson d' Abbeville, as well as Osman b. Abdülmennan, starts the description over the states of the world from the European continent. Like Osman b. Abdülmennan, Sanson, after concluding the description of the Asiatic part of the Ottoman Empire, which is also divided in two chapters: "Turkey in Europe" and "Turkey in Asia", moves on to the exploration of the kingdoms of Asia and then deals with the North African provinces of the Empire, Africa and America. What is also noteworthy, however, is that Osman b. Abdülmennan's authorial function is clearly presented through the examination of the indexes of these two books. First of all, Sanson does not follow Osman b. Abdülmennan's geographic line in his description over Europe. While Osman b. Abdülmennan begins his discussion with Portugal, in example,

Sanson starts with Spain<sup>212</sup>. Moreover, Sanson pays almost equal attention to all the continents. The “preference” for Europe we find in the Ottoman manuscript, is not seen in the *Geographical description of the world*. Although it is true that in Sanson’s text Europe also gains specific significance, especially if we focus on the way Europe is represented in comparison to all the other continents, the length of the description of all the continents is more or less the same.

The description of England in Sanson’s encounter starts with the affirmation we saw in Osman b. Abdülmennan’s text that “the Kingdom of England, with that of Scotland, forms an island which bears the name of *Great Britain*”<sup>213</sup>. Thus, without describing the general geographic position of the state, he proceeds immediately to the exploration of every single region of the seven kingdoms into which England is divided. The topographic depiction of each town is in complete accordance with Osman b. Abdülmennan’s way. More specifically, although Sanson does not refer often to the coordinates of the places he describes, his narrative style is almost identical to that of the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*. For example, he writes with the same style as Osman b. Abdülmennan that “*Reading*, pleasantly seated near Thames, [...] is a large Town, containing three Parish Churches [...]”<sup>214</sup>. Moreover, Sanson also pays special attention to the port-cities and he always underlines the castles of each town<sup>215</sup>.

Still, despite the great number of common elements, the two commentaries differ in certain respects. For instance, Sanson’s description of England is much more detailed

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<sup>212</sup> Differently from Osman b. Abdülmennan, Sanson’s description of the European continent continues after Spain with Portugal, Italy, Turkey in Europe, France, the states between France and Germany: Savoy, Low Countries and Swiss, Germany, Poland, the states towards the Danube and the Black Sea, Scandinavia, Moscovia and concludes with the islands of Great Britain. Sanson, 6

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 118

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 122

<sup>215</sup> For example, he stresses that “*Abington*, the Shire-Town, seated on the banks of the *Thames* [...] has been strengthened with six *Castles* [...]”. Ibid., 123

than Osman b. Abdülmennan's. Sanson focuses on the inhabitants, products and markets of every place. His use of the words "well inhabited" and his references to the weekly market of each region, are two characteristics that appear constantly in Sanson's town-descriptions; but are absent in Osman b. Abdülmennan's exploration. For example, Sanson comments about Royston that "It is a large, well inhabited Town, and hath a considerable Market on *Wednesdays* for Provisions, especially for *Mault*, here, and in parts adjacent, made in great quantities"<sup>216</sup>. In the same context, he notes that in Maxfield "The Inhabitants drive a great Trade in making of Buttons, and its Market, which is on *Mondays*, is well served with Corn, Provisions, &c."<sup>217</sup>

The absence of these elements in *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* need not be considered an omission on Osman b. Abdülmennan's part. As we have seen, Osman b. Abdülmennan transferred the greater part of the technical information he came across. In this respect, there is no possible explanation why he did not include these details in his account, apart from the fact that these specific facts might not have been present in the copy of the book he consulted and translated. As long as we cannot be sure of the exact copy of Varenius/Sanson Osman b. Abdülmennan used (we will refer to this topic extensively later), we cannot conclude with certitude that the author of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* did not submit this information based on his personal criteria. Even if he was not interested in transmitting all this detailed information about the market places one should expect to find such references in his text at least in the description of great cities such as London. In fact, it is quite possible that this "technical" information about

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<sup>216</sup> Ibid., 125

<sup>217</sup> Ibid., 126

England was not even included in Sanson's original copy<sup>218</sup> but added by the English translator and editor of the book. As long as this kind of information does not appear in any other state description of Sanson's book, this explanation seems rather possible. As Adrian Jones underlines, "piracy" was a common practice even after the discovery of printing<sup>219</sup>. We can conjecture in this regard that the translator/editor of the English copy expanded the section about England because he had access to such information; or because such elements were closer to the interest of the readers to whom the book was addressed. A similar argument can be made for the absence of the primary chorographical description of England in the terrestrial sphere in Sanson's English edition. Although Osman b. Abdülmennan depicts the general position of England at the beginning of his discussion of England, Sanson does not. Judging by the existence of such description about all the other states of the world we can assume that perhaps the translator/editor eliminated the topographic synopsis of England because he presumed the awareness of his audience.

In Osman b. Abdülmennan's description of England we find also some elements that are absent in the original book. While all the geographical information Osman b. Abdülmennan submits are almost identical to these of Sanson, he enriches his description with some specific comments and observations that, as already proclaimed, do not exist in the original encounter. If we recall the way England is described in *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, we will see that Osman b. Abdülmennan's comments and

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<sup>218</sup> The original copy of Nicolas Sanson's book should have been written in French. However, the first copy in French we find today comes from 1692, some years latter than the Dutch copy of the text; and it is in Biblioteque National de France, under the call number FRBNF31296314. See, Nicoals, Sanson. *Atlas nouveau contenant toutes les parties du monde, où sont exactement remarqués les empires, monarchies, royaumes, estats* (Paris: H. Jaillot, 1692).

<sup>219</sup> Adrian Jones, *The book of nature and the nature of the book*, in *The Book History Reader*, (eds. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, London: Routledge, 2002), 59-76.

explanations about the origin of English people and their language and religions are not included in the *Geographical description of the world*. Much the same is true about Osman b. Abdülmennan's reference to Scotch people as "thieves" and "barbarians". It is rather possible that during the composition of his "translation" Osman b. Abdülmennan also consulted other sources, from which he copied these specific information. For example, the number of inhabitants of every European capital Osman b. Abdülmennan gives is taken, as the author informs us in the introduction of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, from the book of the famous humanist Isaac Vossius (d. 1689). Considering that one of Isaac Vossius' works, the *Variarum Observationum Liber*, was dealing among others with the origins of the people of Europe and European religious matters<sup>220</sup> the possibility that Osman b. Abdülmennan copied the linguistic and religious references from this source gains further credence. From this perspective it becomes also explicable why Osman b. Abdülmennan calls the Orthodox Christians "Old Christians"; since this term corresponds historically and religiously to the time period before the prevalence of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire and therefore before the break up of the Christian church. It is practically impossible that Osman b. Abdülmennan, an Ottoman subject, did not know the former name of Orthodox Christian. The most likely explanation, then, is that Osman b. Abdülmennan came across the term "Old Christian" in Isaac Vossius' treatise, and mistakenly supposed that it is another name for Orthodox Christian. However, we cannot argue by any means that the classification of Scotch people as "thieves" is copied from Vossius' treatise. At this point it is plausible that

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<sup>220</sup> Most of the texts *Variarum Observationum Liber* contains deal extensively with China, India and Japan. The only chapter from which Osman b. Abdülmennan should have copied information is the "De origine et progressu Pulveris bellicis apud Europeos". See, Isaac Vossius, *Variarum Observationum Liber*, (London: Robert Scott, 1685).

Osman b. Abdülmennan either based this affirmation on oral rumors or other written sources that remain to be identified. However, we should not exclude the possibility that Osman b. Abdülmennan provided some comments based on his personal perceptions. As we will see below, in the exploration of France, this possibility gains important ground.

Sanson's exploration of France starts principally by locating the country on a general geographic scale. We read at the beginning of the commentary that France is "contiguous to England, to the *Low Countries* on the North, to *Germany* and *Italy* on the East and to *Spain* on the South". In accordance with the technique with which Osman b. Abdülmennan introduces a state, Sanson underlines that the French kingdom is "washed on the East with the *Rhine* [...] on the South by the *Mediterranean Seas* [...] on the West by the Aquitain Sea; and on the North by the British Ocean"<sup>221</sup>. Apart from the general observations of the geographical position of France Sanson's description of the French territory is as brief as Osman b. Abdülmennan's. He describes most of the provinces of the France briefly<sup>222</sup>, while he makes extensive remarks only about Paris. As in *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, Ile de France is in this discussion too the geographic fraction according to which all the other regions are identified in the map. In this text also, the first city to be described is Paris. While Sanson, like Osman b. Abdülmennan, never starts his description with the capital of a state, France is the only country where the description begins with the capital. Nicolas Sanson also notes that Paris is one of the most important commercial centers in Europe; and focuses on the palaces of the French capital and its periphery. He enumerates most of the palaces and residences that are included in Osman b. Abdülmennan's Paris description: the Fontainebleau castle, the

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<sup>221</sup> Sanson, 55

<sup>222</sup> For example, all he writes about Marseille is that it is "a place of confident *Trade*". Ibid., 59

Saint Germain and Bois de Vincennes residence and the Saint Denis Abbey<sup>223</sup>.

Contrary to Osman b. Abdülmennan, however, Sanson refers to the Palace of Louvre.

Under these circumstances, it seems rather peculiar why Osman b. Abdülmennan pinpoints only the places where the entertainment residences of the French king were.

As we will discuss later, Osman b. Abdülmennan's integrations to the original text, even when such "technical" information is concerned, were not accidental.

In addition to the parallels between the two descriptions of France in topographical terms, Sanson's book also contains much of the non-geographical information we saw in *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*. First of all, in both texts' treatment of France, the "compass technique" steadily disappears and gives place to a discussion of architectural or historical facts. We read that Calais, a city in the lower part of the Picardy province, "was held by English near 200 years" and that Dauphine "is [...] honoured with the title of the Princes of *France*". Both Osman b. Abdülmennan and Sanson refer more to the architectural monuments of Aix (en Provence) than Marseille; while the latter is depicted in the two texts with exactly the same terms, as a prosperous port<sup>224</sup>. Moreover, in both *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* and *Geographical description of the world* religious references abound. Similar to Osman b. Abdülmennan, Sanson centres the description of certain French regions primarily on a discussion of religious matters. Both Osman b. Abdülmennan and Sanson underscore, for example, that Avignon is a city famous for being the ancient "seat of the popes".

To a lesser extent than in the case of England, Sanson's description of France differs from that found in Osman b. Abdülmennan's translation, and vice versa. In

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid., 56

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., 59

particular, when describing a province Sanson often enumerates cities without giving any topographical hint. Considering that Sanson's text was followed by detailed maps it is quite understandable that he did not see the need to depict every single town extensively. On the other hand, the differences become of greater importance if we consider the elements that are included in the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*'s description of France but not in the *Geographical description of the world*. While Sanson and Osman b. Abdülmennan describe the same port cities, Sanson does not use the adjective "rich" or "beautiful" as often as Osman b. Abdülmennan. Moreover, Sanson refers to Loraine and Free County (of Burgundy) at the end of his discussion of France but does not analyze these regions there, as does Osman b. Abdülmennan. In this respect, Osman b. Abdülmennan's comment that in some books Loraine and Free County (of Burgundy) are examined separately probably refers to Sanson's text. The most important difference, though, is that Sanson's description of France does not include the ethnographic commentary about French people, with which Osman b. Abdülmennan's ends his discussion of France. Judging by the way this text is written, however, it is very difficult to conclude that Osman b. Abdülmennan copied it from Isaac Vossius' book or another source. More likely, Osman b. Abdülmennan based this information either on prevalent stereotypes or on his personal "observations". What is also noteworthy, and will be discussed further on, is that this kind of "observation" appears only in the description of some specific states, such as France, Netherlands and Spain.

The relation between Sanson and Osman b. Abdülmennan becomes even more prominent when the Ottoman Empire comes to the foreground. In the royal cartographer's description of the Ottoman lands, the chorographic accordance between the two texts is greater than elsewhere: Sanson not only portrays exactly the same

regions, cities and islands as Osman b. Abdülmennan but also follows the same geographic/descriptive line. In addition, the technique with which Osman b. Abdülmennan describes the lands of the Ottoman sovereign is completely identical to that of Sanson. More precisely, the techniques that accompanied Osman b. Abdülmennan's description of the different Ottoman provinces and cities are based on the text of Sanson. The descriptive criteria are the same in both texts. The places which Sanson chooses to describe in topographical terms and the areas which he highlights in a basically historical fashion are also the same in Osman b. Abdülmennan. For example, both of them underline that the province of Wallachia is separated from Bulgaria by the Danube while the only descriptive hint both authors offer about Marathon is that it is the place where the Greeks defeated the army of Darius<sup>225</sup>.

At the same time, there are also some differences between the two texts. Paradoxically enough, while a quick reading of the presentation of the Ottoman Empire in the two texts might give the impression that they match more than every other description, a closer reading reveals some divergences that lead to the opposite conclusion. For instance, in Sanson's text the borders of Greece are over-extended. Greece is represented as the geographic area which also contains Romania. Furthermore, Constantinople is identified as the metropolitan city of all Greece<sup>226</sup>. On the other hand, when the French cartographer refers to the Asian parts of the Empire, he uses only the Greek or Latin names with no mention of the Ottoman ones<sup>227</sup> and only provides

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<sup>225</sup> Ibid., 40 and 46

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 41

<sup>227</sup> He mentions Pontus Galaticus, Pontus Capadocius, Metapontus, Bithinia, Licia, Galatia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Caria, Ionia, Aeolis, Lydia, Phrygia Major, Phrygia Minor, Paphlagonia, Lycaonia, Armenia Minor and Mysia. Ibid., 219-224

information concerning Antiquity<sup>228</sup>. These peculiarities of the text neatly reflect the spirit of the Enlightenment that prevailed when Sanson composed his work. The conceptualization of Greece as a territory co-terminous with the borders of the “ancient Greek world”, also a notion that had emerged during the Renaissance with the re-discovery of Ptolemy’s works<sup>229</sup>, was a result of the archaeological-mania that emerged in Western Europe in this period. Much the same factors would account for the reference to the ancient names of Asia Minor and the more detailed “historical/mythological” description of this region.

Once again, however, what seems to be more important is the information Osman b. Abdülmennan incorporates in the original text. None of the Ottoman historical information that the text of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* provides are included in Sanson’s book. Apart from the reference to the fall of Constantinople, Sanson does not include in his discussion the military achievements of the Ottoman army. In addition, Sanson’s ethnographic observations are obliterated in *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*; and his extensive description of Asia Minor is cut short in Osman b. Abdülmennan’s treatise. While the explanations over such terms as “Anatolia”, “Asia Minor” and “Levant” are copied from Sanson’s encounter, the exploration of this part of the Empire is completely different in *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*.

Excluding the semantic dissimilarities between the descriptions of the Ottoman Empire (which will be one of most important topics of the next chapter) the main body of the text in the rest of these books remains the same. While it is not possible to prove

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<sup>228</sup> For example, he writes that “Midium, a place in Phrygia Major, is the Seat of Midas, who covetously petitioned Bacchus that whatsoever he touched should be turned into gold.” Ibid., 223

<sup>229</sup> For the importance of the re-discovery of Ptolemy’s work in the Renaissance map-making see, Naomi Miller, *Mapping the city: The Language and Culture of Cartography in the Renaissance*, (New York and London: Continuum, 2003), 9-21.

that Osman b. Abdülmennan literally translated Sanson's work, we can safely assume that the author of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* consulted and followed at least the basic topographical concept of Sanson's book. Judging by the existence of the Varenious/Sanson book and by the methodological parity discussed above, Osman b. Abdülmennan might have copied all the geographic information and some historical references from Sanson's description. The only problematic point is that Osman b. Abdülmennan does not mention Sanson's name in his account and he argues that he translates Varenius' book from German, although neither Varenius' nor Sanson's book exist in the German language<sup>230</sup>. There might be two different reasons for the absence of Sanson's name: Either Osman b. Abdülmennan was not aware of the popularity of Sanson, and therefore did not consider the reference to his name important, or for reasons of prestige he claimed that he translated Varenius' book. The first possibility, though, seems more correct. After all, we cannot presuppose that the Ottoman readers of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* would have been aware of Varenius' popularity and significance.

While it might also be partially for reasons of prestige that Osman b. Abdülmennan declared that he translated from German, there is also a simpler explanation. It is quite probable that Osman b. Abdülmennan consulted the Dutch copy

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<sup>230</sup> It is rather questionable even if Varenius *Geographia Generalis* was ever translated in German. We know, for example, that the famous German physician Alexander von Humboldt was very much fond of Varenius' book, but it is high possible that he consulted the Latin copy of the book. Nevertheless, the only reference in German books of that age we have today comes from the book of Alexander Ross, *Unterschiedlich Gootesdienst in der ganzen Welt, das ist, Beschreibung aller bewusten Religionen, Secten und Ketzenreyen, so ist Asia, Africa, America und Europa, von Anfang der Welt bis auf diese gegenwärtige Zeit* (Heidelberg: Endtere und Wolffig, 1668). This book was based among others on Varenius' treatise.

of the book and he thought it was German<sup>231</sup>. We come to such a conclusion for two key reasons: a. both Sanson and Varenius were very popular in the Dutch Republic<sup>232</sup>; and b. Dutch was considered a German dialect in this time period<sup>233</sup> and it was spoken in a precise part of Germany. If we consider also the place where Varenius was born and spent the first years of his life, namely Lüneburg a place close to Hamburg in Lower Saxony, where Dutch/German was the spoken language, we assume that Varenius was native speaker of this dialect. With this perspective, the affirmation of Osman b. Abdülmennan that he translates from German seems more sufficient. Nevertheless, the possibility that he might have used the English copy of the book should not be completely eliminated.

To the question whether Osman b. Abdülmennan knew Dutch/German the answer should be positive. It is apparent from the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* that he had good knowledge not only of German but also Latin and French. In *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* the four points of the Horizon, for example, are always in German. Even if we suppose that Osman b. Abdülmennan consulted the English copy of Varenius/Sanson, the fact that he uses often German terminology shows us that he had good knowledge of the German/Dutch language.

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<sup>231</sup> In 1683 Sanson's book was translated into Dutch under the title *Geographische en histirische beschryvingh der vier bekende weerelds-deelen*; and in 1750, the same year that Abdülmennan composed his treatise, Varenius' work was published under the title *Volkomen samenstel der aardryksbeschryvinge in het algemeen*. Today both of these books are located in Bijzondere Collecties in Koninklijke Bibliotheek in Amsterdam. We have references for the combined edition of Varenius/Sanson, translated from English to Dutch, but today no copies of this volume are found.

<sup>232</sup> Especially Sanson is considered as a reviver of Dutch cartography. He was introduced to Amsterdam during the latest decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century by Nicolaes Visscher and he greatly inspired the Dutch mapmaking process. See, Cornelis Koeman, *Atlas Cartography in the Low Countries in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries*, in *Images of the World, The Atlas Through History*, (eds. John A. Walter and Ronald E. Grim, Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1997), 102. Moreover, the importance of Sanson in Dutch cartography and his popularity is also shown by the fact that the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in Amsterdam contains the second biggest collection (30 books) of his works.

<sup>233</sup> Dutch is a south-east dialect of the German language. See, Werner, König. *Atlas der Deutsche Sprache* (Berlin: DTV, 2004), 92.

In this connection, we conclude that Osman b. Abdülmennan used Sanson as a compass: he copied the biggest part of the geographical notes, some historical references and the manner of presenting a state from his book; but he also based his analysis on other sources. However, it is very difficult to identify the sources Osman b. Abdülmennan used because, apart from the book of Isaac Vossius, he does not refer to any other written documents. In my opinion, it is rather doubtful that he directly used other European sources. What seems more plausible is that he consulted western European works already translated into Ottoman Turkish, such as the atlas “translated” by Kâtip Çelebi or other maps and books printed in Müteferrika’s printing house<sup>234</sup>. Moreover, as already stressed, it is also possible that Osman b. Abdülmennan added some remarks, such as the ethnological discussion we saw in France’s depiction, based on his “personal imaginative knowledge”.

In this framework, what emerges to be further investigated now is not what information Osman b. Abdülmennan copied but why he transmitted this non-geographic specific information and what the sub-text provokes. In other words, we shall now focus on the work of Osman b. Abdülmennan as an Ottoman author.

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<sup>234</sup> For extensive information about the printing activity of İbrahim Müteferrika on cartography see William J. Watson. “İbrahim Müteferrika and Turkish Incunabula”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88:3 (1968): 435-441 and also the exposition catalog *Yazmadan Basmaya: Müteferrika, Mühendishane, Üsküdar*, (eds. Turgut Kut and Fatma Türe, Yapı Kredi, İstanbul, 1996).

## CHAPTER IV

### THE SOCIALIZATION OF *TERCÜME-İ KİTÂB-I COĞRAFYA*

As we stressed in the introduction of this thesis, a text-map or a picture-map has a central ambiguity: it is the consequence of an established way of thought, or else in Enlightenment terms, a result of the process to ascertain a “system of ideas”, and it produces “ideology” itself<sup>235</sup>. To be more specific, a text-map like all texts embraces a priori an ideological background because of three sequential transmissions in which it is implicated: a. the effect of society upon the author, b. authorship itself and c. the way a text is received by its readers/audience. Although it is rather difficult in most cases to obtain safe conclusions about the third transmission, the other two are greatly helpful in understanding a text. By recognizing the effect of society upon the author, we signify that the text he or she authors is invariably shaped by the “values,” that is needs, beliefs, choices and ideas current in the social and cultural groups to which he or she belongs. On the other hand, we also recognize that the author as an individual “translates”, “transforms” and projects the social values to the text based on personal criteria and intentions<sup>236</sup>. Therefore, for comprehending a map-text we need to reconstruct the “horizon” of the author, which consists of a unified and coherent system, expectations, norms, limits, typicalities and probabilities common to the writer’s culture<sup>237</sup>; and then

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<sup>235</sup> I use the notion of ideology not in the general and abstract sense but to cover the linked concepts of social formation and the Foucaultean “regimes of truth”.

<sup>236</sup> Kolancy, 47-49

<sup>237</sup> Vincent B. Leitch, *Cultural Criticism, Literary Theory, Post structuralism*, (NY: Columbia University Press, 1992), 22-23.

analyze the function/purpose of that text. It is important in other words to be aware of the “goal” of the text, which is above all directly informed by the author’s “horizon” and the needs of the specific era that produced it.

In this framework, this chapter sets out to examine Osman b. Abdülmennan as an author and explore his work, the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, as shaped simultaneously by him and by the environment in which he lived. It should be emphasized that Osman b. Abdülmennan is considered to be an author and not as a translator, for the primary reason that every attempt at translation implies the notion of authorship in advance<sup>238</sup>. Although “translation” literally means submitting information from one language to another, actually a translated text can never be identical to the original. Especially when we deal with translations of the early modern era, we should be aware that until the late eighteenth century, and in many cases even later, translation was quite different from what we presume today. In the Ottoman realms, translation rarely meant simple transmission of information. In almost all the geographic treatises translated from European languages into Ottoman Turkish in this period, the translator interfered with the original text either by changing its presentation form and by eliminating and adding information and parts<sup>239</sup>. As we have seen in previous chapters, Osman b. Abdülmennan did not only transfer information and facts from the Varenius/Sanson book but also re-wrote specific parts of his treatise from beginning to end. Specifically, he changed the order of presentation, combined and added information from multiple sources and presented his own verdict about the efficacy of Copernican theory.

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<sup>238</sup> Julia Kristeva, *Σημειωτική: Recherches pour une sémanalyse*, (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1969), 10.

<sup>239</sup> For example, although the work of the famous geographer Ebû Bekr el-Dîmaşkî *Nusret el-İslâm ve'l-sürûr fî tahrîri Atlas Mayor* is generally known as a translation of John Blaeu’s *Atlas Major*, in reality it includes some parts such as the commentary over the general principles of geography and cosmography and the discussion over the properties of the Ptolemaic and Copernican theory, that are absent in the original book. See, İhsanoğlu, 314

The reason a translator/author interfered with the original text was in many cases related to the specific socio-political environment in which the act of translation took place. The late sixteenth century anonymous *Tarih-i hindi-i garbi* is a noteworthy example for how translation shifts to authorship and how it corresponds to specific needs in the Ottoman context. While the biggest part of this book consists of translated passages from a number of mid-sixteenth century Italian and Spanish publications about geography and recent history of the New World, its introductory section is considered an entirely Ottoman composition and deals with the Indian Ocean<sup>240</sup>. It describes the Portuguese discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and warns about the harm that the Portuguese continue to pose both to local Muslim shipping and to the long-term safety of Mecca and Medina<sup>241</sup>. For this reason, the text calls on the Ottomans “[...] to seize strongholds and conquer lands, and expel and eliminate the base unbelievers”<sup>242</sup>. In order to achieve this goal the author proposes the construction of a canal in the Suez so that ships and supplies can easily pass from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. Considering the era when *Tarih-i hindi-i garbi* was written, namely the late sixteenth century, we can easily understand the importance attributed to the Indian Ocean and the proclamations of its author. This was the period in which the Portuguese were about to expel the Ottomans from the sea routes of the Indian Ocean and monopolize the trade activities of this region.

In Osman b. Abdülmennan’s treatise, though, we do not find such straightforward proclamations. However, this does not mean that *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı*

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<sup>240</sup> Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, “Ottoman Science in the Classical Period and Early Contacts with European Science and Technology,” in *Transfer of Modern Science & Technology to the Muslim World*, 34.

<sup>241</sup> Casale, 242.

<sup>242</sup> Thomas Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth Century Ottoman America*, (Wiesbaden, 1990), 86.

*Coğrafya* was value free or that its author was not “inspired” by or did not take note of the prerequisites of his era. One problem with identifying the ideological background of the text is that little is known about the author. Most of the information we have about Osman b. Abdülmennan comes from his books. Judging by his patronym and by the Arabic title one of his books, *The Gift of the Convert (Hadiyyat al-muhtadi)*, it seems safe to conclude that he was a convert<sup>243</sup>, probably a west European, and had lived long enough in the Ottoman Empire to be able to work as a translator. At the time he wrote the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, he was actually the second official translator of the Belgrade Council. Moreover, from the dedication in the prologue of the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, we learn that he worked under the patronage of the governor of Belgrade, Köprülüzade Hacı Ahmed Paşa (d. 1769). From the other two copies of the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, we learn also that Osman b. Abdülmennan presented his translation to Abdi Paşa who succeeded Köprülüzade Hacı Ahmed Paşa as governor of Serbia<sup>244</sup>.

Beyond this scant biographical information, the translations completed by Osman b. Abdülmennan reveal that his work closely reflected the scientific interests of his period. Osman b. Abdülmennan’s interest was not only centered in geography. He translated works about medicine and botany, two of the most popular topics of this period. Despite the fact that medicine, botany and geography/astronomy had been systematically cultivated in both the “Islamic East” and “Christian West” since the Middle Ages, new developments in these fields put them at the forefront of scientific

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<sup>243</sup> Şeşen, 371

<sup>244</sup>The two presented to Abdi Paşa copies of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* are more or less the same with the original “translation”. Their only difference is that the Arabic prologue of the original is replaced in the other two copies by a preface written in Ottoman-Turkish; and that these copies include also arithmetical tables that show the differences in measuring longitude and latitude in both Ptolemaic and Copernican theory.

demand in the eighteenth century for both the “East”<sup>245</sup> and the “West”<sup>246</sup>. Furthermore, Osman b. Abdülmennan’s approach to geography, as revealed by his geographical treatise, was in complete accord with the general trends in geographic/cartographic inquiry in the Ottoman Empire in this time period. Both atlas production and Copernican theory had attracted a good deal of attention from Ottoman geographers and cartographers since the late seventeenth century. Most of the eighteenth century cartographic examples we have today, such as Petros Baronian’s *Cen-nümâ fî fenn el-coğrafya* and Bartınlı İbrahim Hamdi’s *Atlâs-ı Cihân*, dealt extensively with the description of the world and the analysis of different planetary theories. To the question whether Osman b. Abdülmennan was aware of the works of other prominent Ottoman geographers, and especially of those who dealt extensively with the Copernican theory, the answer should be positive. Considering the social environment of Osman b. Abdülmennan and his patron, Köprülüzade Hacı Ahmed Paşa it is hard to argue that Osman b. Abdülmennan would not be aware of the greater “discussion” over planetary motion.

Still, it is rather difficult to obtain safe conclusions about the scientific background of Osman b. Abdülmennan. The fact that his translations were compatible with the scientific spirit of the era does not necessarily mean that Osman b. Abdülmennan was scientifically well informed about these topics. Unfortunately, we do not know whether he undertook these translations on his own initiative or not; while his educational background remains also in the dark. Even if we presuppose that he

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<sup>245</sup> A.I. Sabra, “The Appropriation and Subsequent Naturalization of Greek Science in Medieval Islam: A Preliminary Statement,” *History of Science* 25 (1987): 223.

<sup>246</sup> David N. Livingstone, “Geography, Tradition and Scientific Revolution: An Interpretative Essay,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 15:3 (1990): 359-373.

undertook these treatises on his own initiative, we cannot assume by any means that he had a good education and scientific knowledge. Certainly, Osman b. Abdülmennan must have had some acquaintance with the topics handled in these treatises; otherwise, it would have been impossible even to approach such complicated issues. Still, judging by the errors he makes in the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* – for example, the fact that he supports Copernican theory but misunderstands some of its principles- and the oversimplified manner and plain Ottoman Turkish he uses to describe both the heliocentric system and the states of the world, we can speculate that he probably did not have a very strong educational background regarding geographical/astronomical issues. His concern was of course to illustrate the superiority of Copernican theory; but as long as other intellectuals, such as İbrahim Müteferrika or el-Dimaşki, have approached the Heliocentric system with greater accuracy (no matter if they declared the superiority of the Ptolemaic system at the end), it is also questionable whether Osman b. Abdülmennan’s take on Copernican theory was indeed a contribution to Ottoman geographical knowledge.

On the other hand, judging by the plurality of the languages that emerge in *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, we can suppose that Osman b. Abdülmennan had a significant knowledge or he had a great familiarity with a specific number of west European languages. Apart from German/Dutch, which was most probably the language from which he “translated” the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, Latin is a language which appears repeatedly in the text. The navigation, as well as the celestial and terrestrial, terminology, for example, are first given in Latin and then explained in Ottoman-Turkish. Likewise, the names of some states are specified primarily in Latin (in some cases are also repeated throughout the discussion) and then in Ottoman-Turkish.

Moreover, it is rather obvious that his knowledge of Latin was very good, for all the Latin words he gives are orthographically very accurately transliterated into Ottoman-Turkish. Besides, the textual evidence would seem to indicate that Osman b. Abdülmennan knew French as well. Interestingly, the author writes the names of the cities of the Provence region in the local dialect (that is *Langue d'Oc*) although after the establishment of the French Academy by Cardinal Richelieu in 1635 the official names of these places were presented in French. It is not clear whether this linguistic peculiarity of the text indicates an intimate knowledge of the French dialects on Osman b. Abdülmennan's part, or whether it simply stems from the translator's reliance on a text (possibly written before 1635) that presently remains unidentified. Of course, these possibilities are not mutually exclusive. In any case, Osman b. Abdülmennan must have had a good of French and Latin; otherwise, it would have been impossible for him to make accurate nominal distinctions and combinations.

Considering the author's official status as the second official translator of the Council of Belgrade we can assume that his work was "inspired" by and incorporated up to a point the ideological concerns of the ruling elite. In general, being an official translator of the Ottoman state meant being more of a diplomat, to define it in today's terms, than a simple translator. Indeed many subjects occupied such positions because of their good knowledge of foreign languages but they also played often intellectual and political roles and were most of the time firmly attached to the specific concerns of the Ottoman state. The Grand Dragoman Alexander Maurocordato (d.1709), for instance, composed and translated from Italian important treatises on medicine; and played

political and diplomatic<sup>247</sup> roles that went beyond these of a simple translator at the Sublime Port. His diplomatic activity during the negotiations of the Treaty of Karlowitz<sup>248</sup> and his observations about the Ottoman state as presented throughout his correspondence<sup>249</sup> show us that he had assimilated to a significant point, if not entirely, the Ottoman ruling elites' ideological orientation and concerns.

While Osman b. Abdülmennan's "dragomanic" action is not certain, what gives further strength to the argument that he incorporated the ruling elite concerns is also the fact that he dedicated all the copies of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* to the governors of Belgrade: Köprülüzade Hacı Ahmed Paşa (d. 1769) and Abdi Paşa. Unfortunately, about Köprülüzade Hacı Ahmed Paşa we know only that he governed Belgrade<sup>250</sup> twice: from 1751-1752 and from 1754-1755<sup>251</sup>. We do not have specific information about his governorship in Belgrade. Much the same is true of the next governor of Belgrade, Abdi Paşa. In the introduction of the copies presented to the latest Osman b. Abdülmennan refers to him only as Abdi Paşa. However, if we consider that these copies of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* were composed after the governorship of Köprülüzade Hacı Ahmed Paşa, it is highly possible that Osman b. Abdülmennan refers to Abdi Abdülgani Paşa (d. 1753). We know that he governed Belgrade for one year approximately, from 1752 to

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<sup>247</sup> Nestor Camariano, *Alexandre Maurocordato, Le Grand Drogman, son activité diplomatique*, (Thessaloniki : Institute for Balkan Studies, 1970)

<sup>248</sup> Rifaat A. Abou-el-Haj, "Ottoman diplomacy at Karlowitz", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87:4 (1967): 498-512

<sup>249</sup> Αλεξάνδρου Μαυροκορδάτου του εξ απορρήτων, *Επιστολαί*, (Τεργέστη, 1879).

<sup>250</sup> After the Ottoman re-domination of Belgrade in 1739 with the homonymous Treaty, Belgrade was a semi-autonomous region. Especially the first years after the re-domination of Belgrade many of its governors were members of the Köprülü family, which had already since the seventeenth century "close relations" with this region.

<sup>251</sup> Köprülüzade Hacı Ahmed Paşa, the son of Mu'man Paşa, had a great career as an Ottoman statesman. He became the governor of Egypt, Bosnia, Negroponte, Selanic, and of course Belgrade. See, Mehmet Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani: Osmanlı Ürünleri*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), 215.

1753<sup>252</sup>. It is not clear either whether Osman b. Abdülmennan was commissioned in the first place by Köprülüzade Hacı Ahmed Paşa to translate this specific book, still we would maintain that *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* “[...] consolidated the social ideology by supporting those at the center of the power structure and by enjoying obedience to them”<sup>253</sup>. Otherwise, the loyalty of Osman b. Abdülmennan to the governor of Belgrade is stressed in the preface of his work. Whether the governor of the province read the book or whether the book was accessible to a wider public or even whether Osman b. Abdülmennan had in mind a greater prospective readership are issues that cannot be answered with certitude. Nevertheless, the fact that Osman b. Abdülmennan presented two copies of his treatise to Abdi Paşa suggests that *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* awakened some interest among Belgrade’s grandee circles.

To argue that Osman b. Abdülmennan incorporated to his text notions of the Ottoman ruling elite and addressed concerns of this group, should not make us lose sights of the ways in which his rendition of the text also bears traces of his personal deliberation and possibly even innovations and inclinations and preferences. As long as essential information about Osman b. Abdülmennan, such as when he was converted to Islam, his original place of birth, the social background of his family or his occupation prior to his employment as translator at the Belgrade Council is absent, it is rather risky to claim that he assimilated entirely the Ottoman ruling elite ideology. Beyond any doubt, he assimilated specific concepts and needs of the ruling class but we cannot consider that Osman b. Abdülmennan corresponded to the Ottoman elites’ culture as did

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<sup>252</sup> Ibid, 53

<sup>253</sup> Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo’s Middle class, Sixteenth through Eighteenth century*, (NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 141.

the famous historian Mustafa Ali<sup>254</sup> (d.1600) or even the Grand Dragoman Alexander Maurocordato, for his position in the Ottoman bureaucratic system was neither so high nor that immediately connected to the Palace. It would be more accurate to consider Osman b. Abdülmennan as one of the “men from the middle and lower ranks of the bureaucrats and the *ilmiyye*.”<sup>255</sup>

According to Gottfried Hagen, as of the seventeenth century, these middle and low-level bureaucrats and ulema, who were not so firmly attached to the Palace, constituted the “most sophisticated [intellectual] arena of the empire”<sup>256</sup>. Similarly, Fatma Müge Göçek sees at the beginning of the eighteenth century an increasingly “decentralized” bureaucratic “middle-class”. This “class”, which was, as she argues, in close relation with the “West”, constituted a circle out of the Palace for intellectual exchange and knowledge-construction. However, both of these observations have their limitations in Osman b. Abdülmennan’s case. Göçek’s presentation of the “decentralized” bureaucratic phenomenon seems rather problematic in Osman b. Abdülmennan’s case, for she sets as a precondition that the members of this “middle-class” were necessarily in close contact with Western Europe and completely outside of the “Sultan’s control”<sup>257</sup>; something that we cannot presuppose for the author of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*. On the other hand, Hagen’s argument for the “decentralization” of Ottoman intellectual life after the sixteenth century is based on his

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<sup>254</sup> Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: the historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)*, (Princeton,; Princeton University Press, 1986)

<sup>255</sup> Hagen (2004), 253

<sup>256</sup> Ibid., 215-256

<sup>257</sup> Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 44.

analysis of the intellectual circles that existed in Istanbul<sup>258</sup>, while we do not know to what extent similar circles existed in Belgrade and if they did, whether Osman b. Abdülmennan was part of any of them. There is at present little information about intellectual life in eighteenth century Ottoman Belgrade -partly because Ottomans had regained Belgrade only a little before the end of the second half of the eighteenth century- Belgrade should have been one of the main intellectual centers during this period. Still the intellectual activity of the Christian populations in Belgrade suggests that the city must have been an important intellectual center in the eighteenth century at large<sup>259</sup>. Moreover, Belgrade was very close to Italy and Austria, two of the most important intellectual centers of the early modern Europe. It was also a city where most of the west European traders<sup>260</sup> and travelers stopped over<sup>261</sup>. This last is particularly important, because we know several Ottoman intellectuals with an interest in geography to have been in contact with European visitors in this period. For example, the late seventeenth century geographer and historian Hüseyin Hezarfen (d. 1691) had been acquainted with such important figures as Count Ferdinand Marsigli, and Antoine Gallant<sup>262</sup>. Much the same was true of two other prominent geographers, Kâtip Çelebi and el-Dimaşki<sup>263</sup>; or of the diplomat Ahmed Resmi Efendi (d. 1783) who also translated a geographic treatise under the title *Coğrafya-yı Cedîd* and was in contact with

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<sup>258</sup> Gottfried Hagen, *Ein Osmanischer Geograph bei der Arbeit: Entstehung und Gedankenwelt von Katib Celebis Gihannüma*, (Berlin, Klaus Schwarz, 2003).

<sup>259</sup> Peter Sugar, *South-Eastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*, (Washington: University of Washington Press, 1983)

<sup>260</sup> *European and Islamic trade in the Early Ottoman State: the Merchants from Genoa and Turkey*, eds. Kate Fleet, and David Morgan, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

<sup>261</sup> See, Stephane Yerasimos, *Les Voyageurs de l' Empire Ottoman, XIVe-XVIIe siècles: Bibliografie, itinéraires et inventaire des lieux habités*, (Publications de la Société turque d'histoire. Série 7) and Ioli Vingopoulou, *Le monde greque vu par le voyageurs du XVIIe siècle*, (Athenes: IRN/FNRS: Fondation National des Recherches Scientifique, 86, Collection: Istoire des Idees, 2004)

<sup>262</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), 157.

<sup>263</sup> Hagen (2004), 251-252

İbrahim Müteferrika and Humbaracı Ahmed Paşa (Comte de Bonneval, d. 1747)<sup>264</sup>. At present, we do not know whether Osman b. Abdülmennan was also in close relation with other Ottoman or west European intellectuals. As a translator, though, it would be hard to imagine he would not be in contact with Europeans of one sort or another. Moreover, as a client of a “Köprülü court”, increases the possibility that Osman b. Abdülmennan was in close relation with west European and other Ottoman intellectual increases. In this regard, it would have been of great help to know for example how Osman b. Abdülmennan got hold of Varenius/Sanson’s book, namely whether the book was given directly to him or passed on to him by the governor of Belgrade, but unfortunately we do not have such hints.

As a last point, we should always pay attention to the author’s self-image, namely how the author regards and projects his own existence within his text<sup>265</sup>. In *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* we find some hints that allow us to elaborate at least on the authorial “I” that he cultivates. Namely, it is obvious to today’s reader that Osman b. Abdülmennan intends to play the role of the “learned” both in his explanation of Copernican theory and in his description of the states of the world. While he falls into many errors in both parts, his manner of presentation projects an image of the author as someone who was scientifically well informed about celestial and terrestrial phenomena. Although, as we have shown, he does not have accurate knowledge about geographical inquiries, he represents himself throughout his work as a scientist/intellectual whose concern is to explain to his reader complicated geographical matters. In order to convince his reader about the accuracy of his writings, he often resorts to a pretense of

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<sup>264</sup> Virginia Aksan. *Savaşta ve Barışta bir Osmanlı Devlet adamı: Ahmed Resmi Efendi (1700-1783)*, trans. Özden Arıkan (İstanbul: Terih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997), 45-47.

<sup>265</sup> Philippe Lejeune, *L’ Autobiographie en France*, (Paris: Colin, 1971), 4

sharing his “personal observations” as in the case of the exploration of England analyzed in the second chapter. As we will illustrate later on, this self-image Osman b.

Abdülmenan promotes is directly related to the goals of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*.

Taking all these observations into account, we can presume that Osman b. Abdülmenan, as an author, “nourishes his text, which is to say that he exists before it, thinks, and lives for it”<sup>266</sup>. Consequently, we have to examine Osman b. Abdülmenan’s writing as shaped concurrently by the author and his environment. From this standpoint, what remains is to investigate the “goals” of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* as such and how they are realizing in the text. On what we should focus is the meaning of the text: its connotations and other semantic features intrinsic to the text and its socialization. However, before continuing with the interpretation of images and symbols in Osman b. Abdülmenan’s work, it might be methodologically more sound to define briefly from the beginning the goals of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*; and then analyze how these goals appear in the discussion and whether they assimilate and correspond to specific historical prerequisites of the Ottoman Empire in this time period.

First of all, Osman b. Abdülmenan’s treatise does not have as a single aim to produce “pure” geographical knowledge. The knowledge it attempts to produce is laden with practical and, as already underscored, ideological nuances. On the one hand, the practical ambition of the book is apparent at once. By translating and compiling both the most recent scientific works on the spherical shape of the world and its application in all the states of the world, Osman b. Abdülmenan aims to introduce the new geographical theory into the Ottoman realms and show its clear advantages in such matters as

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<sup>266</sup> Roland Barthes, “The Death of the Author,” in *Image-Music-Text*, ed. and trans. Stephen Heath, (NY: Hill and Wang, 1977), 145.

navigation. In addition, even though we cannot be sure whether Osman b. Abdülmennan was commissioned to translate Varenius/Sanson's book or whether he undertook the translation on his own, his effort shows us at least a concern within the elite group for which Osman b. Abdülmennan composed his treatise to be well informed about the recent scientific findings. On the other hand, the ideological denotation of the book is also connected to similar needs. Osman b. Abdülmennan's description of the kingdoms of the world moves around the Ottoman Empire and attempts to re-construct Ottoman imperial identity. Osman b. Abdülmennan strives retrospectively to place the Ottoman Empire in the world scene, to reconfirm its authoritative image and to exemplify its European profile/orientation.

More to the point, if we focus on the way the Ottoman lands are represented we will see that Osman b. Abdülmennan aims above all to underline the authoritative image of the state. More specifically, in his description of the European parts of the Empire the author applauds its glorious past and cultivates the image of a strong and powerful present. In this regard, the continuous references to the Ottoman military achievements are not fortuitous but show Osman b. Abdülmennan's intention to reaffirm the dominant character of the Empire as a polity that was able to restrain and control all of its provinces and conquer new lands. This attitude can be attributed to multiple factors. First of all, his way of describing the European territories of the Empire is very close the literary form of combining the triumphal narration of military achievements with geographical descriptions, like chronicles of campaigns and official histories, which was a common practice in the Ottoman Empire since the time of Mehmed II<sup>267</sup>. As we saw in

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<sup>267</sup> Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans," in *The History of Cartography, Cartography in the Traditional Islamic in South Asian Societies*, 210-215.

the previous chapter, not all the historical information included in the description of the Ottoman territories comes from Nicolas Sanson's book. Osman b. Abdülmennan must have drawn most of this information from other sources such as chronicles; and perhaps he was inspired by or followed the military triumphal model of narration. What lends strength to this possibility is the fact that this way of description collapses in the description of the other states of the world. Even when he describes the military achievements of other European states, as France's capture of Franche Comté or Lorraine for example, his presentation is considerably more distanced despite the detailed information he gives and the overall glorious image of France he intends to convey. Second, if we consider both the status of the author and the addressee of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, we understand more precisely why the Ottoman lands are represented as a well protected domain. The third and most important reason is based on the historical realities of the first half of the Ottoman eighteenth century. After the second Siege of Vienna and the Treaty of Karlowitz, the victorious wars of the first half of this century constituted an important reinforcement of the Ottoman imperial image. Despite the fact that the wars with Russia, Venice, Safavids and Austria/Venice ended successfully due "as much to luck as to competence"<sup>268</sup>, the Ottoman sultan had succeeded to retain and even expand his dominance. This victorious atmosphere is reflected in Osman b. Abdülmennan's discussion. The special place the description of Morea acquires in the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* can be considered as Osman b. Abdülmennan's indirect mention of the advantageous position of the Ottoman Empire

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<sup>268</sup> Bruce McGowan. "A perspective on the eighteenth century," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire: 1600-1914*, eds. Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994), 643-644.

during the latest Ottoman-Venetian wars. Osman b. Abdülmennan's special references to these islands of the Aegean Sea Ottomans captured in the last war with Venice can also be regarded in the same light.

The subtext behind the extended references to the Republic of Venice in the description of the Ottoman lands, nevertheless, seems to go beyond the latest Ottoman-Venetian conflicts of the author's time. Osman b. Abdülmennan's persistence in underling all the Venetian places the Ottomans conquered since the sixteenth century, such as the south-western regions of today's Albania; and the analytic description of the capture of the islands of Crete and Negroponte are two examples that suggest a desire to accentuate a kind of permanent superiority of the Sublime Porte over Venice. On a symbolic level, the continuous indication of the greatness of the Sultan's dominions in comparison to the lands of the Doge, would have signified Ottoman supremacy over the ultimate naval power of the Mediterranean world, which Venice was traditionally considered to be by most of the European monarchs. No matter how powerful the Empire was perceived to be in the eighteenth century by other states; the final defeat and expulsion of Venice from the Aegean and the Mediterranean Sea increased Ottoman prestige on both the international and regional level. From this perspective, it becomes more explicable why Osman b. Abdülmennan declares that the Mediterranean is an Ottoman sea.

The sentence with which the author concludes his description of the different parts of Ottoman Europe -“This is a land of the Ottoman Padishah” or “This is a land under Muslim/Ottoman rule”<sup>269</sup> also seems, even if in a roundabout way, to be the product of a specifically eighteenth-century Ottoman frame of mind. On the one hand,

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<sup>269</sup> For example see, Köprülü, 252a and 253b

Osman b. Abdülmennan's emphasis on the Ottoman presence in essential regions can be related to his larger goal of bolstering the authoritative image of the Empire. It seems meaningful that the author sees the need to affirm Ottoman sovereignty only in his exploration of the Ottomans' north-western provinces. This would suggest that the affirmation of Ottoman rule over these regions is a reference to the Ottoman successes during the latest conflicts with Austria. In the last war of the first half of the eighteenth century, Ottomans had succeeded in taking back from Austria that part of Wallachia and Serbia they had lost in the preceding conflict. In addition, Osman b. Abdülmennan might be stressing the still strong and powerful Ottoman rule of this region for the supplementary reason that these provinces were expected to become the object of Austria's military ambitions from this time period onwards. If we consider that Osman b. Abdülmennan lived and composed his work in Belgrade, which was one of the most significant centers of this region, as well as a major object of contention between Austria and the Ottoman Empire, then we can better understand why he attributes such an importance to the powerful Ottoman rule of this area.

All this notwithstanding, it is still strange that Osman b. Abdülmennan does not make the same proclamations of Ottoman dominion for Anatolia. The Asian part of the Empire is not only very laconically presented, but also there is not even a single note of the past Ottoman military progresses in this area. Neither does the concluding sentence "This is a land of the Ottoman Padishah" or "This is a land under Muslim/Ottoman rule" appear at any point in his description of Anatolia, as it does in his description of the Ottoman lands in Europe. This can be partly explicable if we consider that Anatolia had not yet become an object of systematic controversy between the Sultan and other European monarchs, as had the north and south west European parts of the Ottoman

Empire. Only Russia had started expressing its ambitions in the Black Sea region, but still not as consistently as it would during the last decades of the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth centuries. Moreover, the conflicts between the Ottoman Empire and Russia in the first half of this century ended up victoriously for the Ottomans. In the first war Russia returned Azov, the only Russian foothold near the Black Sea, and in the last war of this time period the Tsar did not manage to win at the negotiation table of Belgrade any of his demands in this region<sup>270</sup>. The Black Sea remained till the late eighteenth century as an “Ottoman sea”<sup>271</sup>. From this perspective, it is possible that Osman b. Abdülmennan did not consider compulsory to stress the Ottoman strong presence in this region.

Another reason could be that Osman b. Abdülmennan does not use the concluding remark “This is a land of the Ottoman Padishah” or “This is a land under Muslim/Ottoman rule” in the description of Anatolia, for he regards this region as religiously more “unified”. Of course this does not mean that that Ottomans conceived of their sovereignty in relation to the religion of their subject population. As we saw Osman b. Abdülmennan used these concluding sentences basically for the regions that were under systematic dispute between the Ottoman Empire and west European states. Considering, that these were also the provinces where the Christians constituted significant percentage of the population<sup>272</sup>; it becomes clear why such expressions do not appear in the discussion of Anatolia. Anatolia was indeed religiously more homogeneous, namely Muslim, than the European provinces till at least the end of the

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<sup>270</sup> McGowan, 661

<sup>271</sup> Carl M. Kortepeter, “Ottoman Imperial Policy and the Economy of the Black Sea Region in the Sixteenth Century,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 86:2 (1966): 86-113.

<sup>272</sup> Nikolai Todorov, *Balkan City, 1400-1900: Its Socioeconomic and Demographic Development*, (Washington: University of Washington Press, 1982)

eighteenth century<sup>273</sup>. To be exact, there were Christian populations but only in very particular areas, such as in the central Anatolia and the Black sea regions; and by any means not as much as during the second half of the nineteenth century

What is also noteworthy about the description of Anatolia, and to a lesser extent also about the description of the European territories of the Empire, is the fact that Osman b. Abdülmennan retains Sanson's all-too Empire terminology and without making always explanatory remarks for his Ottoman readers. Above all, he divides the Ottoman Empire into a European and an Asiatic part in the typical European fashion. Although the division of the world into continents was instantly accepted by the Ottomans since the translations of the works of the famous Greek geographer Claudius Ptolemeus (d.170) *Almagest* and *Geographia* during the reign of Mehmet II<sup>274</sup>, the separate examination of the Ottoman lands as European and Asian was not a common phenomenon. Moreover, the peculiarity of Osman b. Abdülmennan's description of the Ottoman Empire is not limited to this point. He adopts further west European geographic terminology in his characterization of the Asian part of the Ottoman Empire as "Turkey in Asia". Despite the fact that this characterization is followed by the comment/clarification "the Asiatic parts of the Ottoman Padishah", the absorption (or even the reference to) of this kind of western terminology is rather unusual. What seems more significant is that such a characterization appears only for the Asiatic lands and not for the European parts of the Empire. Considering that he based his treatise on a west European source, it could not be maintained that he was not aware of what is called

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<sup>273</sup> See the first part of Σία Αναγνωστοπούλου, *Μικρά Ασία, Οι Ελληνικές κοινότητες από το Μιλλέτ των Ρομιών στο Έθνος των Ελλήνων: 190ς αιώνας-1919*, (Ελληνικά Γράμματα, Αθήνα, 1997). [Sia Anagnostopoulou, *Asia Minor: The transition of Greek communities from Millet-i Rum to Greek Nation, 19<sup>th</sup> century-1919*, (Athens, 1997)]

<sup>274</sup> Brotton, 100-101

“Turkey in Europe”. However, his short description of the Asiatic part of the Empire does not allow us to elaborate more on what his intentions were by making this classification.

Could it be that Osman b. Abdülmennan incorporated in his treatise this terminology for informing his reader about the west European geographic “language” for this region? This is a possibility but then we would expect him to explain these terms for the benefit of his Ottoman readers. In fact in some cases he offers this kind of explanation. Good examples would be his explanations of such terms as “Levant”, “Asia Minor” and “Ionia”. He also always gives the name of every city in both Ottoman-Turkish and Latin/Greek. For example, he informs his audience that Edirne (Edrene in the text) is called Adrianople, too. In other cases, however, he simply retains this terminology without offering any explanatory remark. For example, he refers to “Greece”, “Bulgaria”, “Anatolia” or “Turkey in Asia”. Is it that he had no idea what they corresponded to in the Ottoman geographical concept? Or is it that he did not know how to render them in Ottoman Turkish? Or did he take them for granted? It is possible that Osman b. Abdülmennan regarded these specific notions from a European perspective and accepted them as accurate. In other words, it is rather liable that he corresponded positively towards certain terms because of the ambiguity inherent in a cultural intermediary, which Osman b. Abdülmennan was by profession and perhaps by origin (he was convert to Islam and most likely of west European origin). It would be argued that Osman b. Abdülmennan “combined” elements from his possible west European and Ottoman profile.

This last hypothesis, wins ground if we also consider the continuous references to the term “Turk” in the depiction of the European fraction of the Empire. Despite the

fact that the Ottomans were aware that west Europeans called them Turks, before the late nineteenth century they did not use this term of identification for themselves<sup>275</sup>. It cannot be argued that Osman b. Abdülmennan uses this term simply because he came across it in the original text, since he uses simultaneously both the terms “Turk” and “Ottoman”. Considering also his status or his addressee it can hardly be argued that he uses this term in a contemptuous manner. (Incidentally, as Lucette Valenci has pointed out, neither did the term in west European usage always have a negative connotation)<sup>276</sup>. In Osman b. Abdülmennan’s text the word “Turk” is most of the times accompanied by the expression “the people of Islam”; (this equation of the Turks with Muslims is also very European in the early modern era) and appears only in descriptions of military campaigns such as the capture of Constantinople or the re-capture of Sokjova or Belgrade. Only once the term is used outside of a military context. In the depiction of Edirne, Osman b. Abdülmennan notes down that Edirne is the place where the Palace of the Padishah of the Turks was. Although it is obvious that he accepts the term “Turk” as accurate regarding it from a European point of view or with the ambiguity of a cultural intermediary, it is rather inexplicable why this term is most of the times followed by descriptions of fights.

It is also noteworthy that it is only in depicting Anatolia, or more specifically İzmir, that the author gives hints about the economic profile of the Empire. İzmir, and to a lesser extent the Aegean coast, is depicted with detailed fiscal information. As we saw, Osman b. Abdülmennan dwells far more on İzmir than he does on the rest of the

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<sup>275</sup> Salih Özbaran, *Bir Osmanlı Kimliği, 14.-17. Yüzyillarda Rûm / Rûmi Aidiyet ve İmgeleri*, (Istanbul: Kıtıp Yayınevi, 2004)

<sup>276</sup> Lucette Valenci, *Venise et la Sublime Porte, La naissance du despote*, (Paris: Hachette, 1987)

Anatolian provinces, but he focuses on trade matters extensively. Also, by stressing İzmir's international trade activities and referring to it as one of the most famous port cities in the world, he cultivates the impression that İzmir is the only noteworthy profitable center of the Empire. Indeed in this era İzmir was fast becoming a major port city of the Empire but İstanbul and Salonica also continued to be vital as port cities despite the fact that Osman b. Abdülmennan makes no reference to this. In fact, west Europeans did not regard İzmir to be of greater importance than İstanbul or Salonica. If we compare, for example, the French trade activities in İstanbul and İzmir, we see that İstanbul was perceived as a more important port city than İzmir at least till the first half of the eighteenth century<sup>277</sup>. Only after 1770 France's trade activity in İzmir and İstanbul changes but still not dramatically. In 1776 for instance 41 percent of France trade was represented in İstanbul and 49 percent in İzmir<sup>278</sup>. However, it is rather unlikely for Osman b. Abdülmennan to have been accurately informed about such economical matters. It seems more probable that he approaches this region again from a European or even better from the viewpoint of a cultural intermediary, namely that he considers İzmir as the most important port because of the increasing west European interest in this area. It is also plausible that Osman b. Abdülmennan presupposes his reader's awareness about the importance of İstanbul and Salonica as port cities and he focuses extensively on İzmir to inform his audience about its growing significance in trade matters. Nevertheless, only İzmir is represented in his narration as the economic center of the Empire.

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<sup>277</sup>Daniel Panzac, "International and Domestic Maritime Trade in the Ottoman Empire during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24:2 (May 1992), 189-206

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid.*, 192

Despite Anatolia's brief presentation it becomes apparent that Osman b. Abdülmennan's intention is not to regard this geographic fraction as of lesser importance than the European provinces. In the final analysis, while the depictions of the two major regions of the Empire are rather different, they both serve the same goal: to project an image of a strong Ottoman Empire. Even if he uses "western" expressions, it is doubtless that his intention is to underline the still active and authoritative profile of the Ottoman Empire. Nonetheless, the identity process is not only based on the representation of the still powerful and mighty character of the Empire but it is also linked with the importance Osman b. Abdülmennan attributes to Europe and the way the west European states are represented.

Although Europe constitutes the biggest part of the description of the kingdoms of the world, only England, Netherlands, Spain and France are extensively depicted. Although Osman b. Abdülmennan refers to all the west European states, their representation is rather short. Interestingly, for instance, Venice is described in a single brief "paragraph". Venice was not anymore a powerful naval power; but its short description might be also a result of the author's intention to provoke the superiority of the Ottoman Empire over Venice, as he did in the discussion of the European parts of the Empire. On the other hand, France is depicted as a very strong monarchy. The extensive ethnographic observations about the French people -presented as good workers, strong soldiers and loyal to their king- are some primary hints that show the author's intention to present an idealized image of France. It is true that Osman b. Abdülmennan refers often to the origins of the west European populations or their languages and religions, as in the case of England, but as we saw in the second chapter the ethnological discussion over France goes beyond that. Considering that Osman b. Abdülmennan neither copied

this information from Sanson nor based the French ethnographic references on personal experience, even though he pretends to do so in order to strengthen his arguments and persuade his reader, this discussion becomes even of greater importance. Regardless of whether Osman b. Abdülmennan came across such remarks in other oral or written sources, such as the dispatches of the Ottoman ambassador in Paris, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed, or whether he imagined all these classifications, the fact that these elements appear only in the presentation of France, and to a lesser extent in Spain and Netherlands too, proves clearly the author's desire to differentiate it/them from other kingdoms of the world.

This intention is also apparent from some other elements that appear only in the depiction of France, such as the special attention paid to the ecclesiastical and administrative fractions. Osman b. Abdülmennan never neglects to underline the ecclesiastical unit in which every town or city belongs. In the same context, he mentions all the municipal offices every single region includes. Despite the fact that the reference to the administrative division of France is copied to some extent from Sanson's account and map<sup>279</sup>, what is important is the "sub-text" behind this information imposes. Namely, the emphasis on these facts in the *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, quite apart from a desire for cartographic accuracy, underscores the message that France is a well-organized state. Most of the west European states are represented as well organized, but in the depiction of France there emerges also the notion of the well-governed country. By highlighting the administrative and ecclesiastical centers of France, Osman b. Abdülmennan outlines a state in which all parts are connected to each other as well as to the capital as proposed by the chief geographer of the Paris Observatory, Jean

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<sup>279</sup> Sanson just writes that France "[...] has 10 Parliaments [...]". Sanson, 59

Dominique Cassini. Cassini around 1660 proposed the creation of a network of surveyed triangles that would encompass France. This network would also link Paris to every part of the kingdom<sup>280</sup>. In the same way, while reading Osman b. Abdülmennan's description of France one immediately gets the impression of a "Paris-centric" state. This is done by describing the French capital right at the beginning of the commentary and then by giving the position of every region in relation to Paris. It is noteworthy that this descriptive way is not found in England, for example. As we stressed, London is described not at the beginning of the commentary over England but when the discussion reaches the greater geographic unit to which London belongs.

An examination of all the non-geographical elements of France Osman b. Abdülmennan describes- its powerful economic profile, the advantages of its population and its strong government- also indicates that he depicts France very much as an ideal state. To some extent, this kind of presentation of France could be explicable if we consider that the state of King Louis was perceived as a monarchic archetype in many parts of Europe in this period. Prussians, for example, also started to entertain similar notions about France around this time<sup>281</sup>. Moreover, if we consider the commercial role of France in the Mediterranean and in some important ports of the Empire such as Istanbul<sup>282</sup> and Salonica<sup>283</sup>, the trade markets of which were monopolized by the French traders, then it becomes more understandable why Osman b. Abdülmennan describes France as a state with a powerful economic profile. However, his presentation does not correspond completely to reality but it is very much his construction. By representing

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<sup>280</sup> David Turnbull, "Cartography and Science in Early Modern Europe: Mapping the Construction of Knowledge Space," in *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 16.

<sup>281</sup> *Idee Europa: Entwürfe zum "Ewigen Frieden". Ordnungen und Utopien für die Gestaltung Europas von den Pax Romana zur Europäischen Union*, ed. Marie-Louise von Plessen, (Berlin: DHM, 2003), 253.

<sup>282</sup> Eldem Edhem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the eighteenth century*, (Leiden, Boston: E. Brill, 1999)

<sup>283</sup> Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981,) 18.

France as a model kingdom, Osman b. Abdülmennan was consciously or unconsciously responding to the prerequisite of his era and indirectly addressing the concerns of the Ottoman state. I would argue that Abdülmennan offered an idealized depiction of France, as well as to lesser extent, of most of the other west European states, at least partly to legitimize the close relations the Ottoman Empire had with it/them. Moreover, in the description of France and of most of the West European states Abdülmennan attempts to draw parallels between them and the Ottoman Empire. It is not accidental, for example, that Osman b. Abdülmennan highlights most of the pleasant residences of the French King in his description of Paris. More to the point, in the course of drawing parallel lines between France and the Ottoman Empire, the author pinpoints in his discussion of Paris only the residences that could have been to the Ottomans of some interest in architectural, decorating or garden-shaping.

All this, however, is not to argue that Osman b. Abdülmennan's text bears witness to growing European influence or even westernization. Although historians had long taken both the decline of the Ottoman Empire and its concomitant westernization for granted, recent scholarship has cast doubt on the usefulness of both paradigms<sup>284</sup>. As Jane Hathaway argues the eighteenth century should not be regarded as "[...] the culmination of the Ottoman version of ancient regime" or "as the prelude to modernization-cum-Westernization"<sup>285</sup>. The Ottoman eighteenth century should be considered as an era of transformation based on both the international changes and social and political dynamics within the Empire; or else as an era of "adoption to new imperial

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<sup>284</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, *Kultur und Alltag im Osmanischen Reich*, (C. H. Beck, München, 1995), 108.

<sup>285</sup> Jane Hathaway, "Rewriting Eighteenth-Century Ottoman History", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 19:1 (June, 2004): 29-53.

priorities”<sup>286</sup>. Otherwise the need of political change, and so further transformations in economy, law and army, is evidently depicted in the works of significant Ottoman intellectuals of both prior to and during the eighteenth century<sup>287</sup>. Müteferrika’s essay *Usul ül-Hikem fi Nizam ül-Ümem (Philosophical Principles of Organizing Nations)*, submitted to Sultan Mahmud I in 1731, is an example that shows this need of change. According to Niyazi Berkes’ Müteferrika’s intention was to introduce the idea of government based on reason than religion<sup>288</sup>. Virginia Aksan adds that Müteferrika’s contribution was also “[...] his ability to universalize the Ottoman experience and recognize the virtue of amalgamating the successful attributes of the Christian armies into the Ottoman military.”<sup>289</sup>

To sustain the idea of westernization would mean to regard the eighteenth century as the beginning of the Ottoman-west European relations and so as Shirine Hamedah argues: “[...] to ignore over two centuries of virtually continuous cultural and artistic contact [...]”<sup>290</sup>. It would be completely invalid to accept that the eighteenth century constituted a sharp break with the past<sup>291</sup>. The eighteenth century comprises a point in the perpetual relations between the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe where these two dynamics, as Suraiya Faroqhi had exemplified in her multiple works, systematize in a greater and deeper stage than before. To be more specific, the eighteenth century is a point where the interactions between these two contact zones multiply not only in warfare level but also in a diplomatic, cultural and economic

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<sup>286</sup> Ibid., 46

<sup>287</sup> Virginia Aksan, Ottoman Political Writing, 1768-1808, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25:1 (1993): 52-69.

<sup>288</sup> Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism*, (London : Hurst & Co., 1998), 43-45.

<sup>289</sup> Aksan, 5

<sup>290</sup> Shirine Hamadeh, “Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the ‘Inevitable’ Question of Westernization”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 63:1 (March 2004), 32-51.

<sup>291</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, (München: C.H.Beck, 2000), 74.

basis<sup>292</sup>. Thus, we should not regard the eighteenth century under the stereotypical approach of “East facing the West” but also from the point of “West facing the East”. In other words, we have to examine the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe as “a dialogue and not a monologue: as a mutual discovery process”<sup>293</sup>. During the eighteenth century it is not only the Ottoman Empire that comes closer to the West European countries but also the opposite. It is not only the Ottoman Empire that cannot act without references to the Western Europe but also the west European states that need the alliances with the Ottomans<sup>294</sup>. However, the increasing relations between the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe did not only function in political or diplomatic stages. Despite the “westernization” paradigm and the problematic terminology (such as “East encounters West”) Fatma Müge Göçek uses, some of her examples illuminate the increasing relations between the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe. The “emerging bourgeoisie”<sup>295</sup> of the Ottoman Empire, namely the non-Muslim wealthy Ottoman subjects, started establishing more systematically contact nets with Western Europe. Members of the “Levantine class” do not only visit Western Europe for trade matters but in most of the cases they study in its intellectual centers as well<sup>296</sup>. On the other hand, west Europeans travelers and traders visited the Ottoman lands with greater frequency than before<sup>297</sup>. Only in the first fifty years of the eighteenth century we number more than fifty English travelers/visitors, basically the triple number or even more than in earlier periods. Moreover, if we consider the mass publication of the west European

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<sup>292</sup> Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 3.

<sup>293</sup> Lewis, 12

<sup>294</sup> *Ottoman Diplomacy, Conventional or Unconventional?*, ed. A. Nuri Yurdusev, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 36-41.

<sup>295</sup> Göçek, 81

<sup>296</sup> McGowan, 668

<sup>297</sup> Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire 1580-1720*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

travel encounters, we understand better the tension of re-approaching the “East”. Of course, as Faroqhi argues, we should be also aware of the lower class west Europeans that interacted with their Ottoman counterparts<sup>298</sup>.

Within this framework, it is more accurate to interpret Osman b. Abdülmennan’s description of the European states as part of a wider change in the Ottomans’ perception of themselves as well as of their neighbors. From this perspective, it becomes much clearer why Osman b. Abdülmennan represented the west European countries in an idealized manner and accorded the greatest significance to the European continent in his world description. The special notice given to the European states should be translated in the course of defining “ourselves” through the “other” and constructing “our” space in comparison to the “other”. Thus, we have to note down that “defining in comparison with” does not mean necessarily differentiation or mimesis. Osman b. Abdülmennan explores analytically and idealizes to some extent the European states for he includes the Ottoman Empire in Europe, too.

To this extent, what is important in Osman b. Abdülmennan’s depiction of the European continent is not the fact that he deals extensively with Europe, but that he addresses the Ottomans while depicting west European states. We should regard many of the elements that appear in Osman b. Abdülmennan’s cartographic treatise as traces of “self-conscious” construction process and read the biggest part of his work as a reference to the Ottoman realities. The two major topics of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, the scientific evolution of the planetary system and the exploration of the terrestrial sphere, include elements that point out the author’s intention to re-locate the Ottoman Empire in the modern world. In particular, the analysis of the latest scientific findings

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<sup>298</sup> Faroqhi (1995), 16

over the celestial phenomena does not have as a single goal to attest the advantages of the new theory of the universe over the previous; but intends also to inform the reader about the most up-to-date discoveries in this field. Simultaneously, the depiction of all the kingdoms of the world does not aim just to satisfy geographical curiosity. To put it differently, *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* offers often references to the Ottoman realities, meaning that the represented subjects undertake to present themselves in ways that engage with the re-presenter's own terms, as in the case of France for instance.

Unquestionably, both themes acquire practical dimensions, such as navigation as we have already mentioned, but also move forward to the construction of an imperial image. More concisely, the transmission of the new scientific approach of the universe, the extended description of the states of the Earth, the special attention paid to Europe, the effort to construct a powerful image of the Empire and its acceptance as a European state, show the author's purpose to highlight the "modern" character of the Empire and endorse its place on the planet.

After all, we should regard *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* as an attempt to outline the world system into which the Ottoman Empire belongs and so underline its place in a universal perspective. This conception, shown primarily by the Empire's geographical categorization into Europe, should not be considered as acceptance of the superiority of the west European states or as western imitation. It would have been completely erroneous to submit such a belief for the reason that neither the "west" was perceived as a homogenized space- at least not before the emergence of Romanticism- nor could Ottomans have claimed such a classification. Moreover, as it is proven by our analysis Osman b. Abdülmennan does not intend by any chance to describe the Empire under a total European influence; but on the contrary, he pays great attention to its authoritative

image. From this point of view, what Osman b. Abdülmennan challenges is to pronounce the European orientation of the Empire instead of its westernization. To put it in different terms, the author intends to highlight the Empire's position in the world scene and its global relations.

This endeavor becomes explicable if we also look at the macro historical circumstances of the period when *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* was composed. More precisely, the beginning of the eighteenth century comprised the era when the new dynamics that had started coming into view during the second half of the seventeenth century instigated and changed the world. In particular, traditional naval powers such as Venice, Portugal and Spain started losing their powerful commercial dominance and were replaced by France, England and Netherlands. These powers, having already expanded their profitable sources by capitalizing the greatest part of the New World, gained control over the Mediterranean Sea routes and established their post-mercantilist authority in every part of Asia and Africa<sup>299</sup>. Within this context, the north European monarchies started colonizing the biggest part of the world and enhanced their role as strong universal authorities. At the same time, the beginning of the eighteenth century also introduced forces which multifold action changed the European arena in particular. Russia's effort to establish its commercial ascendancy in important sea routes and Peter the Great's territorial claims to be the only legitimate successor to the Byzantine throne - a perception cultivated since the 15<sup>th</sup> century when Ivan III married Anna Paleologus, niece of the last Byzantine Emperor- perturbed the European status quo. More to the point, the Tsar's increasing involvement in the Black Sea area and his boosting

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<sup>299</sup> J.H. Parry, *Trade & Dominion: The European Oversea Empires in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Phoenix Press, 1980).

interference in the Balkans, supported instantly by Austria which expressed also in this period its desire for the north-western part of the Ottoman Empire, was seen by most of the west European rulers as a threat.

In this time of rapid change, most of the European countries attempted to re-construct their self-image by examining their status in accordance with the parameters of this epoch. In other terms, during the biggest part of the eighteenth century one of the main quests of all the west European ruling elites was to assert their place in the world scene and stabilize their contact zones via diplomatic routes. Likewise, the Ottoman ruling elite circles by corresponding to the new realities tried to re-familiarize the space into which their Empire belonged and to re-construct the Ottoman imperial identity in accordance with their neighbors. Taking also into account the “new status quo” the Treaties of Karlowitz and Belgrade set this intention becomes more explicable.

Thus, it should be stressed that by considering the Ottoman Empire and its ruling class in the same outline with the rest European states, it is not to argue of a homogenous geographic area. On the contrary, the process of the imperial identity construction in the Ottoman Empire, as in other states, was shaped by the dynamics of this time period. Indeed, the re-formation of Ottoman space in the world based on elements that assimilated the specific conditions that emerged in the Ottoman Empire during this period; but in a general sense the need of re-orienting the state-image was a historical consequence eighteenth century brought in every state<sup>300</sup>. From this perspective, by proposing that the Ottoman eighteenth century belongs in the general

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<sup>300</sup> Robert Mantran, “La transformation du commerce dans L’Empire Ottoman au dix-huiteme siecle,” in *Studies in Eighteenth century Islamic History*, eds. Thomas Naff, and Roger Owen, (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977), 234.

corpus of the entire European eighteenth century my intention is to argue that we should not regard the Ottoman Empire on the periphery of the European scene. The process of re-transforming the Ottoman imperial identity and the re-identifying the place of the Ottoman state must be placed before all in its universal dimension and then studied in view of the specific historical conditions.

As a last point, however, we should note that Osman b. Abdülmennan's attitude is very close to the west European practices of constructing "individual" identities and spaces through geography/cartography. In this time period, the portrayal of a landscape with words instead of colors and the use of scientific motives for exploring different states were common practices in most of the west European countries. Thus, as in the case of Osman b. Abdülmennan, both of these elements were followed by "hidden" intentions of self-definition. As Mary Louise Pratt argues, travelers and geographers of this era by setting as initial point their interest in natural history, for example, proceeded in exploring and describing lands<sup>301</sup>. Moreover, as has been repeatedly amended in recent scholarship on travel and geographical writing<sup>302</sup>, such texts, despite their reference to the "other" attempted to re-approach "personal/individual" identities. In other words, in this epoch exploration writing produces "the rest of the world" in accordance to "our" conception; and places "our" position in a universalize context.

By drawing this parallel between Osman b. Abdülmennan's text and other west European geographic texts, it should be stressed again that this is neither to apply in the Ottoman case facts, notions and ways of thought that emerged in the northern parts of

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<sup>301</sup> See the first three chapters of Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London: Routledge, 1992).

<sup>302</sup> See, for example, the two very well elaborated articles about the letters of Lady Mary W. Montagu: Joseph W. Lew, "Lady Mary's Portable Seraglio," in *Eighteenth Century Studies* 24:4 (1991): 432-450, and Mary Jo Kietzman, "Montagu's Turkish Embassy Letters and cultural dislocation," in *Studies in English Literature* 38: 3 (1998): 537.

Europe nor to support the idea of westernization. On the contrary, I do recognize that the Ottoman Empire, like all states, should be examined within its particular dynamics. However, what I strive to highlight is that the attempt to identify “ourselves” and “our” environment was a global tendency from this age onwards. In the same context, I see the tension to combine cartographic descriptions and scientific findings in its global dimension: not as a result of a specific state but as an outcome of an era. In other words, Osman b. Abdülmennan’s attempt to signify the Empire in a global perspective had been already succeeded by his initial decision to translate Varenus’ treatise and to bring together cartographic descriptions and scientific conclusions.

## CONCLUSION

Following the theoretical assumption that maps include silences, I tried in this study to unlock some of the silences that emerge in *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, an eighteenth-century Ottoman geographical treatise, which consists of a world atlas with “dithyrambic” references to Copernican theory. As *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* is silent about its sources, the first and most basic task of this study was to identify the source or rather sources from which Osman b. Abdülmennan translated his book. Through a careful analysis of selected parts of this text, I have demonstrated that *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* is not a literal translation of Varenius’ *Geographia Generalis*, as has been previously believed, but rather that the author took most of the information about the Copernican theory of planetary motion from Varenius’ treatise and most of the geographical information about the different states of the world from Sanson’s *Geographical Description of all the World*. These were two of the most popular books during the second half of the eighteenth century and first half of eighteenth century. Their importance and popularity are attested to by their multiple translations and editions that are extant today. It is possible that the author also incorporated some material from other sources, which are yet to be identified.

More importantly, however, I have argued that both in what he took from and added to the parts translated from Varenius and Sanson and in the subtle changes he made in their texts, Osman b. Abdülmennan also exercised an authorial function. In this regard, the larger goal of this study has been to demonstrate how the text of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* was also informed by the wider social, political and intellectual debates of eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire and how it aimed to intervene in those

debates. Focusing, first, on the cosmographical part of *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya*, I tried to show that although Osman b. Abdülmennan misunderstood some basic properties of Copernican theory, his attempt to exemplify its advantages responded to a wider debate of his time. The discussion about Copernican theory, initiated by the famous geographer Ebû Bekr el-Dımaşkî, was one of the most significant debates of the Ottoman intellectual sphere in the eighteenth century. Osman b. Abdülmennan's desire to prove the accuracy of the Copernican theory is also revealed by his attempt to apply the theoretical background of this theory in practical matters such as navigation. Although the language he uses and the examples he offers are oversimplified, his intention to pronounce the supremacy of the Copernican planetary conjecture is prominent throughout his treatise.

Furthermore, by examining analytically the way France, England and the Ottoman Empire are represented in Osman b. Abdülmennan's treatise, I argued that his presentation does not follow a stabilized descriptive manner; but differs in accordance with the references he intends to convey in each state. For example, while Osman b. Abdülmennan's discussion of England and the Ottoman Empire does not start with the description of their capitals, Paris is the first city to be described in the commentary on France. Moreover, while the biggest part of his description of England is limited to strictly geographical discussion, the representation of France includes many non-geographical elements such as references to fiscal matters and ethnological observations. On the other hand, the Ottoman lands are discussed almost entirely in historical mode.

By paying careful attention to the symbolic nuances and ideological connotations in the way this information is presented in Osman b. Abdülmennan's text, I tried to underscore whether and how these nuances were compatible with the general socio-

political framework of the eighteenth century. Specifically, I argued that the author's emphasis on the power and authority of the Ottoman sultan in the description of the Empire's European territories, and to a lesser extent in the description of its Asian part, refers, on the one hand, to the Ottoman military and diplomatic achievements of the first half of the eighteenth century, and on the other, to the need to re-strengthen the image of the Empire especially after "the formal closure of the Ottoman frontier in Europe"<sup>303</sup>, namely the Treaty of Karlowitz.

At the same time, however, a careful examination of all the semantic features that emerge in the depiction of the Ottoman lands, revealed that the author was using certain peculiarly European geographic conceptualizations such as the division of the Ottoman Empire into a European and an Asian part and the continuous use of the term "Turk" and the characterization of the Asian part of the Empire as "Turkey in Asia". This peculiarity can be explained in several ways. It is possible that Osman b. Abdülmennan followed exactly the terminology he found in the original encounter he translated; or that he incorporated in his treatise certain terms for informing his reader about the west European geographic language. However, a careful look at the way this west European terminology functions in Osman b. Abdülmennan treatise shows the limitation of both of these possibilities; as long as none of them offers explanations about why conceptualizations like "Turkey in Europe", for example, do not exist in the text. What seems more likely is that Osman b. Abdülmennan incorporated in his treatise this kind of terminology, including conceptualizations such as "Greece", "Bulgaria" or "Anatolia", from a European perspective. It is much possible otherwise that Osman b.

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<sup>303</sup> Rifaat A. Abou-el-Haj, "The formal closure of the Ottoman Empire in Europe: 1699-1703" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89:3 (1970): 467-475

Abdülmenan integrated in his work specific west European terminology because of considering it as accurate. Taking into account that Osman b. Abdülmenan was a convert to Islam and most likely of European origin, and his position as an official translator of the Ottoman state, it is very plausible that he regarded certain terms with the ambiguities a cultural intermediary always has.

The importance he attributes to the European continent, the extensive description of west European states, and the idealized manner in which he presents England and France as well-organized states, can be partly explained as a result of the Europhile profile of the author. In the case of France, however, the discussion underscores some more complicated nuances. The chorographic definition of the French provinces in relation to the capital, the emphasis on the administrative and royal domains in the description of Paris and the abundance of ethnographic observations, concerning, for example, the loyalty of the French people to their king, are some elements that form the image of France as ideal monarchy. The idealized presentation of the west European states, however, cannot be attributed simply to the author's Europhile outlook. As I have argued, Osman b. Abdülmenan may have presented an idealized image of the west European states also to legitimize the close relations between the Ottoman Empire and the west European states. By taking into account the historical moment when *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* was written, namely the mid-eighteenth century, I interpreted Osman b. Abdülmenan's way of presenting the west European states to be a result of the intensifying diplomatic and cultural relations between the Ottoman Empire and western European states. Rather than interpreting the concomitant Ottoman interest in things European under the rubric of a supposed Ottoman "westernization" or "imitation" of the West, I regarded Osman b. Abdülmenan's description of Western

Europe as an outcome of the closer relations between the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe in the eighteenth century. By recognizing the systematic and perpetual nature of the relations among these states I consider the eighteenth century as representing not so much a sharp break with the past but rather a point where the two cultural geographies came closer not only in the military, economic and diplomatic fields, but also in a political, cultural and intellectual milieu.

The idealized representation of west European states becomes also understandable through Osman b. Abdülmennan's declaration that the Ottoman Empire belongs to Europe. While it is rather risky to support the idea that the identification of the Ottoman Empire as European was an idea widely shared among the Ottoman ruling elite, the general aim to re-locate the Ottoman polity and redefine Ottoman imperial identity should be understood within the context of the political prerequisites of the eighteenth century. Considering the changes that the eighteenth century brought in both the local and the international scale, I view *Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya* as an attempt to redefine Ottoman imperial identity and to relocate the Ottoman Empire in a global perspective. From this standpoint, I argued that many of the elements that appear in the description of west European states function as references (considering both parallel lines and differences) to the Ottoman realities.

Finally, this study has been an attempt to release the eighteenth century Ottoman cartographers from the misconception that presents them as mouth-pieces of west European developments and on the periphery of west European thought. As I argued Osman b. Abdülmennan functioned more as an author and less as a translator. Moreover, I tried to underscore that his work was deeply informed by the greater socio-political background of the author.

In a more general sense, I argued that the need to re-define past identities was not only a peculiarity of the Ottoman historical circumstances; but rather a universal incident of the eighteenth century. Inspired by the theoretical and critical approach to history represented by such historians as Fernand Braudel<sup>304</sup> and Eric Hobsbawm<sup>305</sup>; I intended to examine the re-definition of the Ottoman space as a result of the global changes the eighteenth century brought. Taking always into consideration the specific historical background of the Ottoman Empire I attempted to place the need for re-delineating Ottoman imperial identity in a global context.

Cartographically speaking, “mass” atlas production should be regarded within the same parameters. First of all, the demand for atlases was certainly not peculiar to the Ottomans in this period. A careful examination of the geographic production in such major western European states as France<sup>306</sup>, England and the Dutch Republic<sup>307</sup> indicates that atlas production was one of the basic cartographic interests during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Moreover, the exploration of the world and atlas production also contributed to a process of “self-definition” in all these states. The need to explore, know and depict the world was immediately linked with the desire to define “our” selves and “our” position in relation to the “other”; and of course in some cases to dominate it. In this regard, Ottoman cartographic production, though, should not be regarded as “westernized”. Neither should the Ottoman geographers be considered as simple mouthpieces of west European thought. As Shirine Hamadeh warns: “[...] the climate of change was accompanied by a receptiveness to novelty that was equally

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<sup>304</sup> Fernand Braudel, *La méditerranée*, (Paris: Flammarion, 1999).

<sup>305</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *On History*, (London: Abacus, 1998).

<sup>306</sup> Tom Conley, *The Self-Made Map, Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France*, (Ph.D. diss. University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

<sup>307</sup> See the first, second and third chapters of Mariët Westermann, *A Wordly Art: The Dutch Republic 1585-1718*, (Yale: Yale University Press, 2004).

inclusive of western and eastern [...]”<sup>308</sup>. Instead of conducting the eighteenth century Ottoman cartographic process in a “declinistic” or “western imitation” framework, its parallel analysis with the further micro and macro intellectual and socio-political environment offers a better understanding of both the geographic/cartographic sequence and the eighteenth century Ottoman society. After all, as Maurice Bloch stresses, every kind of knowledge is always connected with politico-economic constraints<sup>309</sup>.

From this standpoint, a comparative approach to the cartographical/geographical Ottoman incidence is needed. A comparative approach to eighteenth-century Ottoman geographers/cartographers/translators would inform us further about atlas-production and the networks of contact between the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe. After all, as this thesis attempted to prove the study over Ottoman geographic translations should move away from the stereotypical approach of simple transmission of knowledge. The social environment, the identity of the author, the intellectual networks and the political needs/concerns of a state are factors that emerge in every text and help us to understand its silences. The case of Osman b Abdülmennan is one of those.

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<sup>308</sup> Hamadeh, 32-51

<sup>309</sup> Maurice Bloch, *How We Think They Think: Anthropological Approaches to Cognition, Memory, and Literacy*, (Westview Press, 1999), 173-170.

APPENDIX

Tercüme-i Kitâb-ı Coğrafya's table of contents

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في بيان وضع الكره ٣٥٤	في بيان وضع المكان ٣٥٥	في بيان طلب عرض المكان ٣٥٥
في بيان طلب ارتفاع المكان ٣٥٦	في بيان طلب الافق لمكان ٣٥٦	في بيان طلب طول مكان ٣٥٦

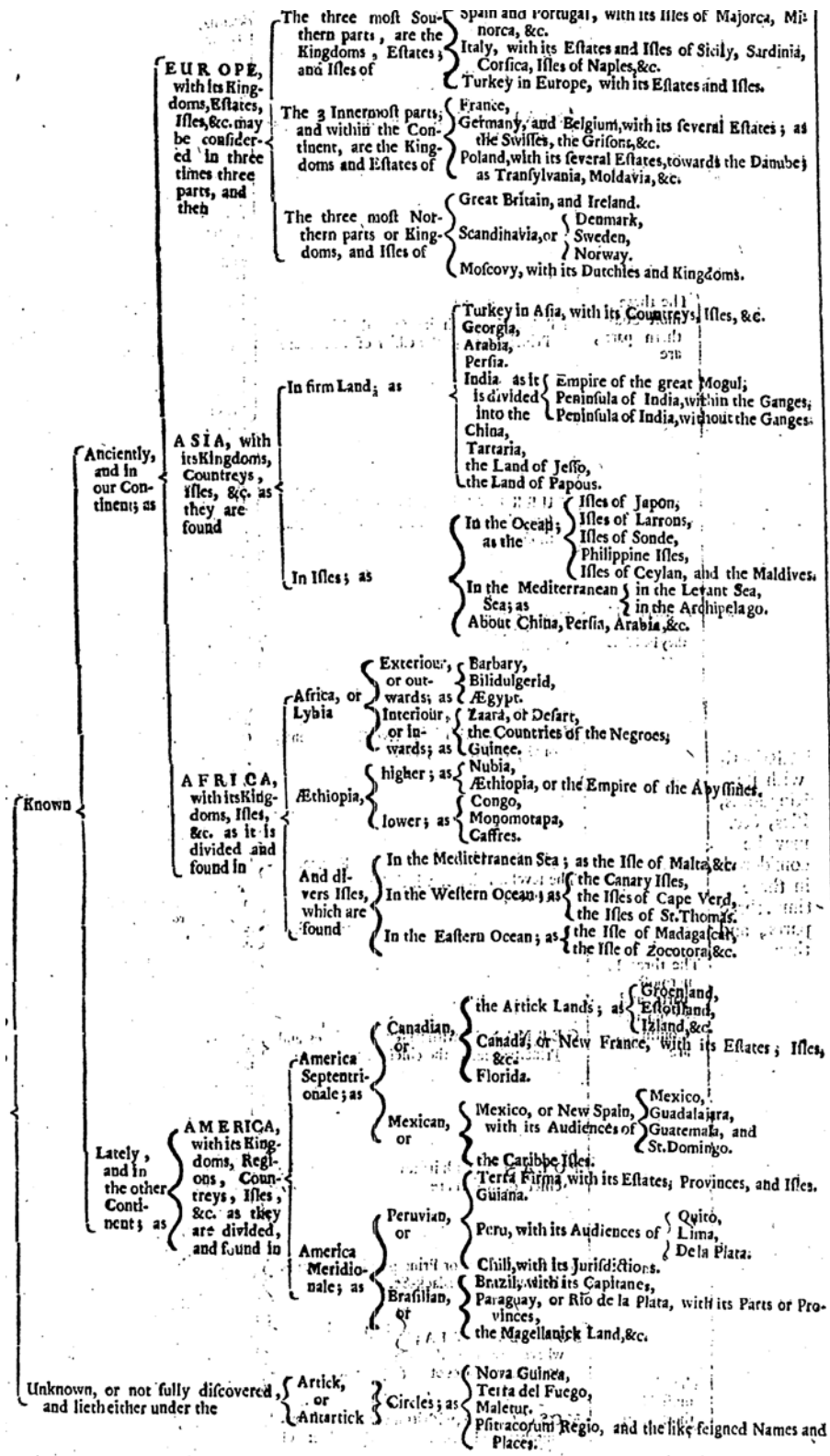
في بيان طلب درجات الشمس ٣٥٧	في بيان معرفة ان الشمس في اي بوج كان في يوم فلا ٣٥٨	في بيان معرفة طريق نصف النهار لمكان ٣٥٨
في بيان معرفة ساعة طلوع الشمس وغيرها ٣٥٨	في بيان طول الايام والليالي ٣٦٠	في بيان هل يستوي طول الايام في كل مكان ام لا ٣٦١
في بيان طول الايام لمن هو سائر تحت القطب ٣٦٢	في بيان تستوي الساعات في كل السنين والاقا وتبديل الفوا ٣٦٤	في بيان اختلاف الليل ٣٦٧
في بيان اختلاف الليل ٣٦٧	في بيان كيفية الاستواء ٣٦٨	في بيان كيفية استقرار الشمس ٣٦٨
في بيان كسوف الشمس والقمر ٣٦٩	في بيان معرفة جهة المكات في الكره ٣٦٩	في بيان معرفة المسافة بين موضعين على الكره ٣٧١
في بيان معرفة المسافة على الخطه ٣٧٣	في بيان معرفة ان رجلاً اذا سافر في اي موضع هو ٣٧٤	تمام ٣٧٥

The Contents of *Geographia Generalis* (*A Complete System of General Geography*)

<b>Book I</b>	<b>The Absolute, or Independent Part</b>
Chapter I	Preliminaries
Chapter II	Preparatory Propositions from Geography and Trigonometry
Chapter III	Of the Figure of the Earth
Chapter IV	Of the Mensuration and Magnitude of the Earth
Chapter V	Of the Motion of the Earth
Chapter VI	Of the Earth's Place in the System of the World
Chapter VII	Of the Substance, internal Structure, and Composition of the Earth
Chapter VIII	Of the Division of the Parts of the Earth into integrant Parts by the Sea
Chapter IX	Of Mountains in general, and the ways of taking their Altitude
Chapter X	Of the Differences of Mountains
Chapter XI	Of Mines, Woods, and Desarts
Chapter XII	Of the Division of the Ocean by the Interposition of the Land
Chapter XIII	Of certain Properties of the Ocean
Chapter XIV	Of the Motions of the Ocean, particularly it's Flux and Reflux
Chapter XV	Of Lakes, Moors, and Bogs
Chapter XVI	Of Rivers in general
Chapter XVII	Of Mineral Waters, Hot-Springs, &c.
Chapter XVIII	Of the Change, and Origin of dry Parts and watery, on the Earth
Chapter XIX	Of the Air and Atmosphere
Chapter XX	Of the Motion of the Air, Winds in general, and the Points of the Compass
Chapter XXI	Of particular Winds, and Storms or Tempests
<b>Book II</b>	<b>The Properties of the Earth in respect to the Heavenly Bodies</b>
Chapter XXII	Definitions and Preliminaries
Chapter XXIII	Of the Latitude of Places, and the Elevation of the Pole

Chapter XXIV	Of the Zones, and the Celestial Appearances in different Zones
Chapter XXV	Of the different Lengths of Days in different Places; and the Division thence arising of the Surface of the Earth into Climates
Chapter XXVI	Of Light, Heat, Cold, and the Seasons of the Year in different Places and Zones of the Earth
Chapter XXVII	Of Shadows, and the Denominations of Places, thence arising
Chapter XXVIII	Of the relative Properties of the Heavens in different Places of the Earth; with the different Denominations of the Inhabitants, thence arising
Chapter XXIX	The Time of different Places Compared
Chapter XXX	Of the different Risings and Settings of the Sun and Stars in different Places
<b>Book III</b>	<b>The Comparative Part, regarding the Earth</b>
Chapter XXXI	Of the Longitude of Places
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Chapter XXXV	Of the Art of Navigation in general; and Ship-Building in Particular
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Chapter XXXVII	Of the Art of Navigation or Conducting a Ship
Chapter XXXVIII	The second Part of the Art of Navigation a Ship
Chapter XXXIX	Of the Line of a Ship's way
Chapter XL	Of the Knowledge of the Place the Ship comes to, at any Time of her sailing; and the Manner of making it on the Sea-Chart

The Contents of *Geographical Description of all the world*



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