Loci of Islamic Text Production:
Print and Publishing in Republican Turkey

Ayşen Baylak Güngör

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Approvals

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Declaration of Originality

The intellectual content of this dissertation, which has been written by me and for which I take full responsibility, is my own, original work, and it has not been previously or concurrently submitted elsewhere for any other examination or degree of higher education. The sources of all paraphrased and quoted materials, concepts, and ideas are fully cited, and the admissible contributions and assistance of others with respect to the conception of the work as well as to linguistic expression are explicitly acknowledged herein.
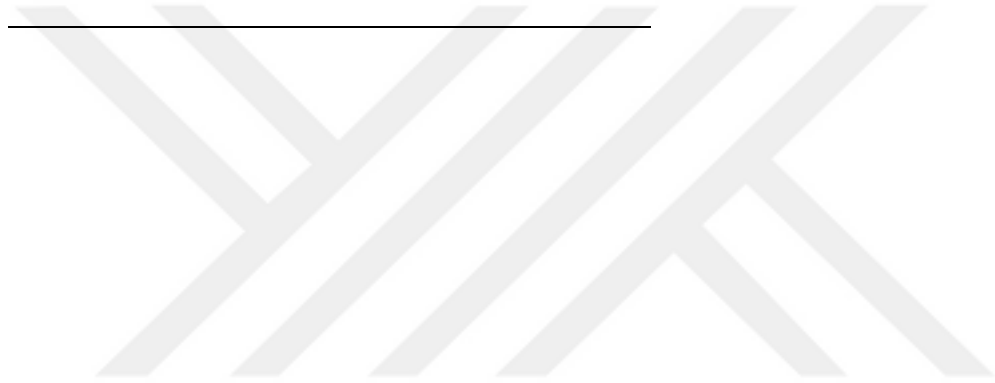
Abstract

Loci of Islamic Text Production: Print and Publishing in Republican Turkey

Ayşen Baylak Güngör, Doctoral Candidate at the Atatürk Institute
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Assistant Professor Seda Altuğ, Dissertation Advisor

This dissertation examines Islamic print and publishing from the early Turkish republican period up until the 2010s. It examines Islamic books produced throughout the Republican period in terms of the number, subjects and genres of books published, as well the spectrum of publishers. It undertakes a qualitative and quantitative examination, puts forward statistical data about the number and type of religious books published in different periods of the Republic, and discusses closely the meanings and implications of print Islam.

It offers a broad view of Islamic publishing in different phases of the sociopolitical history of Turkey, from the late Ottoman Empire into twenty-first century. In doing so, it contextualizes Islamic publishing within the broader socioeconomic, intellectual, and political features of the state and society, using Islamic books as a lens to analyze the latter. That is, it examines the role of Islamic publishing in changing, shaping, and transforming religious discourses and practices in Turkey.

By closely examining the main features of the Islamic book publishing sector as well as various agents, and publishing actors, it provides insights into the dynamics of religion, individual and communal religious organizations, and state institutions. By showing the pluralization of subjects and genres, - the interrelatedness of the loci where religious learning, reflection, and activity take place- this study also contributes to ongoing discussions of Islamic revival and political Islam in Turkey.

100,000 words

Özet

İslami Metin Üretiminin Mahalleri:
Cumhuriyet Türkiyesinde Matbuat ve Yayıncılık

Ayşen Baylak Güngör, Doktora Adayı, 2020
Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü

Doktor Öğretim Üyesi Seda Altuğ, Tez Danışmanı

Bu tez erken Cumhuriyet döneminden 2010'lara kadar İslami matbuat ve yayıncılığı incelemektedir. Cumhuriyet dönemi boyunca üretilen İslami kitapları yayınlanan kitap sayısı, konuları, türleri ve yayıncı yelpazesi bakımından ele almaktadır. Nicel ve nitel bir araştırma yürüterek Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin farklı dönemleri boyunca yayınlanan dini kitap çeşitleri ve sayılarına dair istatistiksel veri sunmanın yanı sıra matbu İslam'ın anlam ve ifade ettiklerini de detaylı bir şekilde tartışmaktadır.

Türkiye'nin sosyo-politik tarihinin farklı fazlarında, geç Osmanlı'dan yirmi birinci yüzyıla kadar, İslami yayıncılığa dair geniş bir bakış açısı sunmaktadır. Böylece dini yayıncılığı, devlet ve toplumunun daha geniş sosyo-ekonomik, entelektüel ve siyasi özellikleri içerisinde bağlamsallaştırmakta ve dini kitapları toplumu analiz etmek için bir lens olarak kullanmaktadır. İslami yayıncılığın Türkiye'de dini söylem ve pratiklerin değişim, dönüşüm ve şekillenmesindeki rolünü de incelemektedir.

Farklı yayın aktörleri ve faillerle beraber İslami kitap yayıncılığı sektörünün temel özelliklerini yakından inceleyerek, din, birey ve cemaatsel dini örgütler ve devlet kurumlarının dinamiklerine dair de önemli bir kavrayış sağlamaktadır. Konu ve türlerin çeşitlenmesini, dini öğretim, düşünüm ve faaliyetlerin yer aldığı mahallerin ilintiliğini göstererek bu çalışma, devam eden İslami ihya ve Türkiye'de siyasal İslam tartışmalarına da katkı sunmaktadır.

100.000 kelime

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Curriculum Vitæ

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- Baylak, Ayşen. *Visibility through Ritual: The Shiite Community in Turkey: An Ethnographic Survey on Muharram Processions.* Saarbrücken: Lambert, 2011.
- Baylak, Ayşen, and Maryam Kamali (Translated). "Tarikh va Zandagi e Shieyan e Imamiyya e Turkiya." *Payam-e Baharestan* Quarterly Research on Documents Periodical and Texts 4, no. 13 (2011): 617–708.

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- Islam-in-Print: Mapping the Islamic Literature in Turkey, *British Association of Islamic Studies 3rd Annual Conference (BRAIS 2016)*, April 11-12 2016; London, UK.
- Soğuk Savaş Döneminde Ümmeti Tahayyül Etmek: İslam Mecmuası ve İslam Âleminden Taşıdıkları (Imagining Umma in the Cold War Era: Islam Journal and Its Depiction of the Islamic World), *1. Uluslararası İslamcı Dergiler Sempozyumu – İLEM*, March 13-14, 2015; Istanbul, Turkey.
- Ashura Commemorations in Istanbul: Re-formulation of Ritual, Re-articulation of Piety, *World Congress of Middle East Studies – WOCMES 2014*, August 18-22, 2014; Ankara, Turkey.

- Subjects and Genres: A General Outlook to the History of Print-Islam in Turkey, *The University of Chicago 29th Annual Middle East History and Theory Conference*, May 2-3, 2014; Chicago, USA.
- Between Tradition and the Public Gaze: Representation and Re-articulation of Muharram Rituals among Shiites of Turkey, *BSA SocRel Annual Conference on Material Religion*, April 8-11, 2013; Durham, UK.
- New Approaches, New Vocabularies: Studying Religion and Religiosity in the Middle East, *Mardin Artuklu University International Conference – The Middle East: Change, Conflict, Transformation*, November 16-18, 2012; Mardin, Turkey.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

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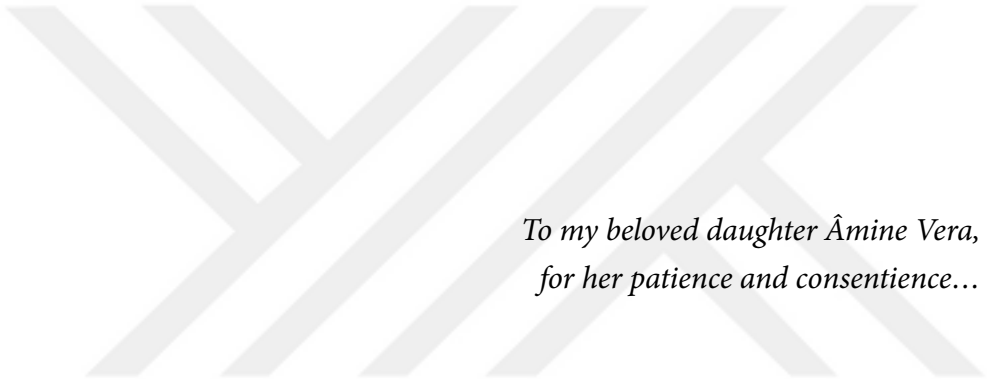- Research Assistant, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Istanbul Commerce University, 2013-2016

LANGUAGES

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To my beloved daughter Âmine Vera,
for her patience and consentience…

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CUP	Congress of Union and Progress
DCC	Dewey Decimal Classification
DRA	Directorate of Religious Affairs
IPA	International Publishers Association
ISBN	International Standard Book Number
LLC	Library of Congress Classification
MNE	Ministry of National Education
POP	Place of Publication
TDV	Turkey Diyanet Foundation
TSI	Turkish Statistical Institute
YAYFED	Federation of Professional Publishers Associations

A Note on Transliteration

For transliteration, the International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES) system of transliteration for Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish has been used with some exceptions. For religious concepts such as *namaz*, *dua*, and *Mevlid* I preferred the modern Turkish orthography and provide English equivalents in parenthesis. For Arabic and Turkish terms that are commonly used in and listed in English-languae dictionaries, I preferred Anglicized spelling rather than Turkish spellings – such as Qur'an, hadith and madrasa. The same principle is applied to proper names, as well, such as in the examples of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, Ali Shariati, and Sayyid Qutb. For local book titles and proper names, I preferred the modern or Ottoman Turkish spellings depending on their chronology. For widely known Arabic classics I preferred the Arabic transliteration such as *al-Dalail-al'Khayrat* instead of the Turkish *Delail-ü'l-Hayrat*.

Preface

When I started to primary school, a mosque began to be built next to our home. It was to be the largest in the neighborhood of our central Anatolian city. Though it took years to complete the construction, the first floor was largely complete by the next summer, and despite the ongoing construction, people started to worship in the completed areas. Together with other kids of the neighborhood, I was among the first students of the mosque's summer Qur'anic school, which was organized to teach the basic skills of reading the Qur'an. The instructors for girls were three new graduates of the city's Imam Hatip High School, three women who volunteered to teach the Qur'an to more than two hundred kids of varying ages. They even arranged afternoon classes to teach basic religious knowledge to those who succeeded in learning to read the Qur'an. When the three-month summer holiday came to a close, the kids were given an unofficial exam on what they had been taught, and the three most successful students were awarded a book. I was among them, and the book I won, which had a green paper cover and was poorly printed was entitled *İslamda Kardeşlik* (Brotherhood in Islam). It was an adult book and difficult to read for a kid entering the second grade, but it was the first Islamic book that I owned. Probably, the books given to the kids in the mosque's summer school were donated by one of the two bookstores in the city that sold such books. However, it was unclear how such unpopular, disinteresting books intended to help or be useful for a young child who recently learned basic Islamic knowledge and to read the Qur'an.

The book stayed in our family library for years, but neither I nor any other family member attempted to read it. Even in the late 1980s, during which Islamic texts were hungrily consumed by pious people, this book was not popular. When I reached the age when I could read such books, it was out of fashion, out of date, and still uninteresting.

In the second decade of the 2000s, the book was recycled with boxes of Islamist literature from our family library. These books which were considered unnecessary and out-of-date included the once popular literature of the 1980s and 1990s, such as Seyyid Qutb, Hasan al-Banna, Abu'l A'la Mawdudi, and Ali Shariati.

Although many Islamic books share the same fate (unread and ended their life cycle in a recycling machine), with respect to engagement with potential readers, enormous efforts has been spent in order to produce texts with Islamic content and concerns, especially in the last fifty years of Turkish history. The reception of those texts, the degree to which they were read, and their mental, social, and intellectual impact on readers are huge questions, but not of this study.

Though I started to read the hidayet novels as young as nine years old and continued during my early adolescence, the ideological adult books of the 1990s were mostly translated works from Muslim intellectuals of countries like Egypt, Iran, and Pakistan as well as basic resources on Qur'anic exegesis, Hadith, prophetic life, and Islamic history. When I matured enough to reading these books, the trend had changed, and the spectrum of my reading preferences (author, subject) shifted not only in fiction but also in adult books. With respect to Islamic literature, my basic resources were the works of mostly local and some global contemporary Muslim intellectuals on contemporary Islamic thought together with contemporary *tefsir* and *siyer* reproductions.

When we cleaned our family library, only classical works and modern works on classical issues such as tefsir, fıkıh, and siyer – along with a couple books of contemporary Islamic thought – survived the trash. These books are supposed to be used by future generations of the family or were needed as source of reference unlike the outdated, ideological books that were the sources of political Islam (Islamist literature) or that were produced in the discursive fashion or with the limited vision of their authors and time.

Another interesting note about the common library of my family is that, the individual who owned the least number among almost a thousand books was my father. He was a prayer leader and served for more than thirty years in several of the city's mosques, but his personal collection was comprised of a set of the *tefsir* of the late Ottoman ulema Mehmed Vehbi Efendi, a couple of volumes by al-Ghazali, several *mushaf*s and prayer collections, several religious volumes printed in Ottoman Turkish, and few volumes of classical hadith collections. Just these were sufficient resources of Islamic knowledge for his lifetime. I should add old copy of *Vesilet-ün Necat*, popularly known as the *Mevlid* of Süleyman Çelebi, also printed in Ottoman Turkish and worn due to

overuse, among this small library. Moreover, the only religious book he bought for me was a collection of Islamic lyrics and poetry, *İlahiler, Kasideler ve Nat-ı Şerifler Demeti* (Hymns, kasida and poets for the prophet) which he got when he heard that as a kid I memorized and sang hymns that I heard on audio cassettes or that had been recited by instructors in the mosque.

The humble library of the family was built upon books owned by my elder sisters and brother. My father was of a generation of intensive readers while his kids were of a generation of extensive readers. The books he owned in his lifetime sufficed for his learning, teaching, and prayer and his observant life-style that he always lived with a high degree of contentment and satisfaction, free of the intellectual confusions and conflicts with which his children grappled.

Today, our reading practices are mixed with digital experiences and audiovisual media. Despite this pluralization of form and content, figures show that the number of religious books produced in recent years has exceeded the total produced over almost the whole of the preceding century. The diversification of authors, genres, subjects, and readers are tremendous and difficult to follow. Nevertheless, unlike during my childhood, it is possible today to find a comparatively rich literature produced for kids and designed to help them learn basic religious concepts, principles, and practices - sued anyone want to reward a child with a religious book suitable for their age and tastes.

Books as artefacts of print technology together with the social processes around them deserve the attention of researchers and anyone trying to understand human phenomena. In this regard, religious books constitute a special, rich intellectual geography and a plateau of political, social, and even psychological phenomena, occurrences, and formations paving the way for infinite questions and queries.

Therefore, this work is the result of personal curiosity both as a reader or potential audience of the books in question and as a fledgling scholar in the field trying to make sense of the changes that Islamic books have undergone.

In different stages of this study and in writing this dissertation, I have been indebted to so many people that I cannot mention them all. But, if I do not mention the following names, this work would remain incomplete. First, Ayşe Polat was was the midwife of the very idea of this study. She encouraged me

search. My conversations with all three of them opened my mind and supported me with incredible discernment on the field of publishing and print Islam.

Mehmet Erken, a fellow researcher in the field shared his work, findings, experiences, and observations whenever I asked and was always up for a good talk.

Hasan Kadir Tosun, helped me to transfer the raw data into table format – that is, thousands of pages of text into tens of thousands of lines in Excel. I am thankful to him for contributing his technical skills to this project.

ILEM and Lütfi Sunar deserve special thanks due to their efforts to improve academic studies related to the fields of Islamic print and thought in Turkey and allocating their sources and facilities to researchers. By providing opportunities to contribute to the IDP project, they helped me to develop my thoughts and encouraged me to produce works beyond the dissertation. Moreover, to facilitate my study, they generously shared their database even before its official publication.

Boğaziçi Yöneticiler Vakfı provided occasions to share my accumulation with Boğaziçi University students and gave me a chance to serve the community and feel more productive and dignified. The warm atmosphere of the foundation and the sincerity of the fellows there are part of the richness of my social life.

I am thankful to Boğaziçi University Library for providing a rich collection on the issue of book history and print culture. The library of İSAM deserves appreciation for offering a comfortable place of study for the researchers. Both institutions were the places I often visited to study except my home and their workers deserves a special thank you.

I should also mention Necdet Subaşı, who listened enthusiastically during our rare encounters and shared related documents including a difficult to obtain, well-organized, comprehensive list of the publications of Diyanet.

Nihal Yıldız and Çiğdem Ber supported me with their invaluable labor and relieved me when I felt suffocated by the heavy burden of housework as a mother, wife, and doctoral candidate. My mother-in-law Perihan Güngör was among the women who supported my small family with her delicious meals

and hospitality. In her personality I am grateful to all productive, hard-working women.

Doctoral study is a long and challenging process and it deserves mental and psychological perseverance. I am grateful to Serpil Kızıltaş Günyüz for her guidance and assistance in facing and handling such challenges as well as turning this period to a renaissance of my life.

As much as I am indebted to people for this study, I am mostly indebted to the unique man in my life, my husband Mahmut Sami Güngör. The search for old publishers and men of letters with whom to discuss many unwritten experiences and narratives paved the way for a lifetime attachment and companionship. The contributions of his technical skills and ideas to this dissertation are enormous, let alone his emotional, motivational, and mental support. His incredible efforts while using STATA, repeatedly putting drafts into the required dissertation format after almost every revision, and fulfilling all the technical regulations with great care deserve special gratitude and appreciation. His over involvement with every stage for the completion of this study is beyond words.

During the eight years that brought this manuscript into being, the most spectacular of the countless events in my life was the birth of my daughter, Âmine Vera. Though I expected the opposite, she supported me with serenity and tranquillity even with her pre-birth existence in my body. The natural slowness to which I am exposed with her being, facilitated the infusion and allocation of the thoughts in my mind.

My deepest gratitude is for my advisor Seda Altuğ for her immense tolerance and support throughout the research and writing process. Despite hard times, she did her best as an advisor. Umut Azak and Umut Türem both fed this study with thought-provoking and challenging questions and mind-expanding comments. Last but not the least, I am thankful to the defense committee members for their comments and contributions.

Nun. Consider the pen,
and all that they write [therewith]!

– "Sura al-Qalam" ("The Pen"): 1, Holy Qur'an

Read: In the name of thy Lord who createth
Createth man from a clot
Read: And thy Lord is the Most Bounteous
Who teacheth by the pen
Teacheth man that which he knew not.

– "Sura al-Alaq" ("The Clot"): 1-5, Holy Qur'an

1

Introduction: Tackling Print Islam in Modern Turkey

The identity search of migrants (1), found Islam at the crossroads (2). This was the enlightened dawn of dark nights (3). A conscience was waking up (4). This was the religion (5). We heard the call of Islam (6) and took the first step to Islam (7), to the street of serenity (8). Its name was Islamic revival despite Satanism (9). A new generation a new society was about to born within the living jahiliyya (10), it had to be. The missed dawn (11) was Islamic society (12). But first of all, what would being Muslim necessitate (13)? We had to adopt Islamic ethics with examples (14) and the life of our prophet (15), pictures from the lives of companions (16) were necessary for us. At least, we had to learn the concise Islamic law (17), concise Islamic ethics (18) and concise Islamic philosophy (19). We filled our pockets with pocket book of hymns (20), pocket Shafii catechism (21) and pocket size Qur'an. We said why we believe in Allah? (22) And we found the truth under the shadow of Qur'an (23). We saw that it was Islam: Idea-action-revolution (24). We opted for thought first, so we experimented essays on thinking as a Muslim (25) and met with the problems of reflection in the Islamic world (26). What are the halals and harams in Islam (27). What are the

Islamic principles? (28) How is social justice in Islam? (29) How the solidarity in Islamic society (30) will be? How necessary is the revival of Islamic sciences (31)? How is the state of indispensability in Islamic law (32)? Who is the human suggested by the Qur'an (33)? We learned them all.[1]

– Mehmet Efe, *Mızraksız İlmihal*

§ 1.1   Prologue

The quotation above is from *Mızraksız İlmihal*[2] a novel by Mehmet Efe who "tells the story of the Islamist generation during the post-1980 period through the voice of an 'Islamist' male student of his own age."[3] The novel tells the transformation of the Islamist protagonist through falling in love with a girl to the "emerging Muslim subject,"[4] and his fall is from a doctrinal world

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1   See Appendix A for a Turkish translation of the epigraph and the bibliograph of book titles used to build the text.

2   *Mızraklı İlmihal* (Catechism with a spear) is an anonymous, classical example of Ottoman catechism literature; one of the earliest and most common of the everyday *ilmihal* books that shaped the religious understanding and practices of Ottoman people. It was first printed in 1842 and twenty six reprints before 1922 can be found in Özege catalogue. It was transcribed into Latin script and printed dozens of times by several publishers during the republican period. One contemporary reprint of the book was prepared by Professor İsmail Kara in 1989. The meeting of the word "Mızraklı" in the title is unknown, and some researchers suggests it stems either from the spear or the banner depicted on the book cover or else from the phrase of "Mızraklı Efendi" which appears in one of the manuscript copies of the book. See Kamil Yaşaroğlu, "Mızraklı İlmihal," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İSAM Yayınları, 2005). For the text itself, see, İsmail Kara, Mızraklı İlmihal, 6th edition (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2012).

   Mehmet Efe refers to this classical, traditional Islamic source with a language game, by naming his novel *Mızraksız İlmihal* (Catechism without a spear), which signifies its divergence from traditional approaches and its search for alternative religious guidance vis-à-vis the challenges of modern life. Mehmet Efe, *Mızraksız İlmihal*, 4. baskı (Istanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, n.d.).

3   Nilüfer Göle, "Snapshots of Islamic Modernities," *Daedalus* 129, no. 1 (2000): 103.

4   Göle, 107.

of sublime ideological discourses to a world of mundane emotions. That is to say, the author smartly criticizes the problems stemming from print culture in the 1980s and early 1990s: The toxification of Islamist youth due to the intensive reading practices common among educated young Islamists, while simultaneously inspecting the Islamist literature of the period. In the 12 hundred-word chapter entitled "Our story is behind the book titles" from which the quotation is taken, Efe lists more than two hundred book titles that narrate the transformation of Islamic reflection over a decade through a creative text made up of the books' titles. These titles hints at the texts widely consumed in that period of Islamic revival. Therefore, the novel is also a critique of the fast consumption of the knowledge embedded in the books of his time produced in the name of Islam or religiosity with the aim of creating subjects conscious of Islam and Islamic matters. Likewise, the book targets an undigested form of piety, which it defines as that informed merely by political and intellectual texts rather than deep reflection, feeling, and ethical and spiritual struggles.

A "revival" thesis[5] has been one of the most articulated conceptualizations to explain the increasing visibility of Muslim subjects and Islamic *everything* in the public sphere, especially in the second half of the twentieth century. Turkey was no exception among many other Muslim-majority countries. Therefore, in recent decades, contemporary scholarship and scholarly debates throughout the world and in Turkey addressed Islam, its public presence and the Muslim subject. Sociological and anthropological studies on Turkey have widely problematized the issue, and a noteworthy literature as emerged dealing with the political economy of Islam, particularly with respect to the issues

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5   Bernard Lewis, "Islamic Revival in Turkey," *International Affairs* 28, no. 1 (1952): 38–48. Olivier Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1994); and Martin S. Kramer, *Arab Awakening and Islamic Revival: The Politics of Ideas in the Middle East* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1996). For more critical approaches, also see; Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, John Obert Voll, and John L. Esposito, *The Contemporary Islamic Revival: A Critical Survey and Bibliography* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1991); Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabiʿ, *Intellectual Origins of Islamic Resurgence in the Modern Arab World* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996); and Ira M. Lapidus, "Islamic Revival and Modernity: The Contemporary Movements and the Historical Paradigms," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 40, no. 4 (1997): 444–60.

of veiling, fashion, material culture, rituals, symbolism, the public representation of Islam, political and social organizations, Islamic communities, political parties, Islamist movements, and intellectual debates on Islamic thought.

Dale F. Eickelman, a preeminent scholar who emphasizes the importance of the rapidly expanding public sphere in Muslim societies due to "higher education, the increasing ease of travel, and the proliferation of media and means of communication"[6] also underscores the significance of the printed word in shaping religious belief and practice around the Muslim world, which in turn have influenced religious and political authority in those societies."[7]

In Turkey, the rising visibility and publicness of Islamic symbols, materials, groups, and movements and the proliferation of Islamist discourse since the 1960s have usually been explained by an intense intellectual sphere debate: The dissemination of religious knowledge that has materialized with the mushrooming of translated books that problematize a return to the fundamental sources of Islam and the formation of a pious self, and creation of a social and political sphere that has been shaped by religious ideas and principles (Islamic code of ethics).

Like in Muslim-majority countries like Egypt, Indonesia, and Iran, where different forms of media and new genres with Islamic content emerged in the same period, the most expansive forms of transferring religious knowledge in Turkey have been printed materials and oral speech, whether in traditional or modern formats. It is no an easy task to come up with a comprehensive, all-encompassing inventory of religiously-oriented cultural and intellectual goods produced in Turkey address the pious Muslim consumer, but it is possible to make the general classification of print and non-print materials. Since such a classification is provided in the third chapter of this study, it will suffice to point out the significance of Islamic books among these materials.

In the social science scholarship, discussions of Islam and religiosity usually focus on Islamic movements, organizations and leading personalities (whether political or intellectual). This study claims that by focusing on a set of concrete materials (books, in this case) and their production processes and

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6   Dale F. Eickelman, "Islam and the Languages of Modernity," *Daedalus* 129, no. 1 (2000): 124.

7   Eickelman, 125.

mechanisms it is possible to explore the loci of religious practice and religious reflection in Turkey from a wider perspective and with a more complete map of the intellectual struggle. In this regard, a deep, extensive textual exploration of this material makes it possible to trace the relational networks among various religious groups and movements, the conflicts and consensuses within Islamic discourses, the struggle with antithetical discourses, and the establishment of religious identity and subjectivities.

To associate and confine the tradition of Islamic/Islamist thinking in Turkey to the imported translated religious books of the post 1960s is a parochial perspective that excludes local discussions that took place in local language (dialect) with local concerns in mind. This study makes it possible to follow the non-mainstream (at least for academia) debates and the concerns of the Muslim public as well as the observation of Islamic attitudes, behaviors, feelings, and reflection processes beyond hot button isues. Print as a locus of Islamic reflection or reflection on Islam in Turkey in general as well as the particular books that I examine, shows how this practice of reflection is influenced by the social, economic, and political context and how it is deeply related to global technological and socio political processes. Moreover, one can also observe that traditional patterns, actors and institutions that are presumed to be outdated find new places for themselves in the evolving field. The field of print and publishing is where these new positions are strengthened, challenged, reconfigured, and rebuilt.

On the other hand, when one explores the prominent literature handling the topic, the role of print is strongly correlated to the growth of Islamic reformism given the print and telegraphic revolutions in the Middle East and the larger Islamic world. While scholars usually agree on the outcomes that resulted from the adoption of print among Muslim societies, they often disagree about antecedents that brought those changes into existence. Francis Robinson, for example, emphasizes the impact of print on the very heart of Islamic systems of knowledge transmission what granted it its trustworthiness, value, and authority. [8] That is to say, print undermined the centrality of

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8   Francis Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print," *Modern Asian Studies* 27, no. 1 (1993): 234.

heart-to-heart oral transmission, which was the reason behind early negative attitudes towards print and thereby brought serious transformations in the Muslim world. On the other hand, Juan Cole, problematizes this argument by discussing the impact of print on Islamic reform movements in the urban centers of the Muslim world between 1890 and 1920. He refutes claims about the sovereignty of the oral master-disciple model of the transmission and dissemination of knowledge in Muslim societies.[9] He argues that while common in Islamic sciences such as hadith studies, it was not as common in other fields like philosophy and law as claimed.[10]

Cole considers the rise of print culture in the late nineteenth century as a fertile ground in which Muslim figures and intellectuals like Jamaladdin Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, and Rashid Rida could flourish. He describes them as "fish in the water of print culture who would earlier have had no medium in which to swim [since as] an intellectual but not a fully trained member of the ulama, a publicist but not a poet, a journalist and activist,"[11] they had no precedent in the Islamic world.

According to Cole, the focuses of the Salafi movement brought about a need for direct contact with classical Islamic texts, and the newly adopted technology of print provided an effective tool to accomplish this. In an epoch in which the threat of Western imperialism and colonialism was heavily felt, the defense and revolutionizing Muslims was promoted. For him,

> "the proliferation of relatively inexpensive lithographed copies of the Qur'an allowed the circulation of the sacred text much more widely among the non-elite, whose previous exposure to scripture was largely

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9   Juan R. I. Cole, "Printing and Urban Islam in the Mediterranean World, 1890-1920," in *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, eds. Leila Tarazi Fawaz, C. A. (Christopher Alan) Bayly, and Robert Ilbert (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2002), 344–64.

10   Cole, 348.

11   Cole, 356.

oral, involving memorizing or listening to those who had memorized."[12]

According to Cole, easy access to the Qur'an led to the emergence of a scripturalist approach to Islam, especially among urban notables who were reading reformist Muslim periodicals and were influenced by the discussions in this print public.[13] Furthermore, in addition to the Quran, other classical texts became widespread, circulating and reaching a wide range of middle- and lower-middle class readers beyond the ulema. The urge of reformist Muslim intellectuals to return to the original sources of knowledge instead of sticking to traditional accumulations popularized the Islamic classics, and these widely-available classics served a greater religious individualism and a more detailed knowledge of theological options. Indexing of basic texts such as the Qur'an and hadith literature served to the standardization of traditional fields.

Robinson formulates this phenomenon as "Islamic Protestantism" encouraging better understanding of the Qur'an and fundamental sources of Islam and "the development of a new way of being Muslim alongside those that already existed."[14] He counts it among the three changes related with print and he states "a broadening Islamic vision to embrace a large part of the Muslim community in the world at large" is the second change. In line with Benedict Anderson's analysis of print-capitalism, which made the imagination of a nation possible,[15] it can be asserted that the extensive use of print and the development of the press in Muslim societies made the imagination of a global Islamic "umma" possible. Robinson expresses this as "the symbiotic relationship between the growth of pan-Islamic consciousness and the growth of the press,"[16] and he argues that the boom of the press in India in the course of Russian-Ottoman war in the 1870s, following the British invasion of Egypt

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12   Cole, 352.

13   Cole, 354.

14   Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change" 243.

15   Benedict R O'G Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1991).

16   Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change" 243.

in 1892, and during the troubled years of Ottoman Empire after 1911 are phenomena directly related to the rising interest of Muslim reading public in their brethren in the Islamic world.[17] That is to say, the vision or imagination of the umma triggered the curiosity and interest of the Muslim reading public in political and social developments in Muslim polities. The Islamic press of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century satisfied the curiosity of the members of that imagined Islamic community.

As noted by Cole, this conception of an umma through the press is also evident in periodical publications published by reformist Muslim intellectuals in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which contributed to the development of a public space in which public opinion about several new issues was discussed. Intellectual classes of the period commanded languages like Arabic, Persian, and western languages, and they discussed these issues in those languages. As noted by Cole, "Ottoman Turkish was also widely known, and Istanbul periodicals had… influence in Cairo, Damascus, Tabriz and Bukhara."[18] The rise of printing encouraged greater public literacy and created new audiences for new ideas, and new forms of authorship. Print journalism greatly impaced debates on constitutionalism and the question of women, and its capability to reach readers quickly encouraged pan-Islamic attitudes. In brief, as Cole underscores, printing was more than a medium to debate issues. It helped shape "the perception, language, and articulation of the problems themselves."[19] While Cole pointed to new forms of authorship, Peter Mandaville, on the other hand, emphasizes the catering to a new kind of reader through "a new idiom of selecting, writing and presenting works"[20] brought about by printing technology.

Robinson formulates the third change in his list as "the erosion of authority of the ulama as interpreters of Islam."[21] Robinson further argues that it was

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17   Robinson, 243.

18   Cole, "Printing and Urban Islam" 359.

19   Cole, 361.

20   Peter Mandaville, *Transnational Muslim Politics: Reimagining the Umma*, *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 16, (2001) 156.

21   Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change" 244.

the ulema used print and the press as a weapon against colonialists and Western approaches, and as the men of letters of their time and place, they assumed a great role in the translation of classical works into the vernacular However, this fact did not keep them immune from losing their authority.

In a similar fashion, Francis Robinson defends the claim that "Muslims came to adopt printing only when they felt Islam at stake and print was necessary weapon in the defense of the faith"[22] and argues that "formal religious knowledge was popularized through print in South Asia. This was closely related to a Muslim religious revival."[23]

Among others, the expansion of print weakened heart-to-heart transmission of knowledge and heralded a transition from oral to print-based culture with respect to religious knowledge. For ordinary Muslims, it became easier to join intellectual debates on contemporary matters and to bypass the ulema in the search for true Islam. For Robinson, the forum provided by print led to fervent debates, which resulted in growing sectarianism.[24] While Robinson underlines the rise of sectarianism, for Mandaville, this "objectification" of religious knowledge and the fragmentation of traditional sources of authority "helped to give rise to what Olivier Roy has termed the 'Islamist new intellectuals.'"[25]

In the light of these discussions, one can conclude that the introduction and expansion of print technology in Muslim contexts -especially in the nineteenth century- led to the change in the relative importance of certain methods in the transmission of knowledge and a wider pedagogy (orality vs. literacy); produced new actors in the intellectual and scholarly field, as both producers and consumers or authors and readers (ulema vs. New Muslim intellectuals); and created a new public space where ideas were exchanged, debates occurred, and a new religious language emerged. These phenomena in turn brought about revivalist or reformist understandings of Islam and the reinvention of the classics and fundamental sources – primarily the Qur'an- as well as new ways of being Muslim (individualist and scripturalist).

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22   Robinson, 239.

23   Robinson, 242.

24   Robinson, 246.

25   Mandaville, *Transnational Muslim Politics*, 156.

This study tackles the questions of how print influenced the religious pedagogy, authority, and religiosity in contemporary Turkey. I engage with these debates by undertaking a detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis of the religious books produced during the Republic. I focus on the subjects and genres of the books, their publishers and authors.

The field of print (in either book or periodical format) is one of the most significant fields of operations embedded in oral religious pedagogy and culture.[26] The issue is not only the transfer of religious knowledge or religious discourse to the inner community - or on some occasions to the counter public- through the medium of print. The printing or publishing activity itself is also considered a religious duty or mission.[27] If a word or discourse is produced, and if that discourse belongs to an authority figure or the discourse itself is turned into authority, then the process of storing, archiving, reproducing, protecting, and mediating the discourse is part of the whole process of discourse.[28] In addition, in a field of competition for symbolic superiority (claim to the true or righteous religious discourse and deed), printed material becomes a marker of the communitarian collective identity. Just as the Qur'an is the complementary text of Muslim identity, owning or reading specific books become the identity markers for specific religious interpretations and understandings.

In the beginning of the millennium, books on Sufism were on the rise while the Islamist literature was in decline. This was one untested observation at the start of this project. Therefore, through the exploration of my data, I

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26   Walter J. Ong, "Orality , Literacy , and Medieval Textualization," *New Literary History* 16, no. 1 (1984): 1–12. Guy G. Stroumsa, "Religious Memory, between Orality and Writing," *Memory Studies* 9, no. 3 (2016): 332–40.

27   Dale F Eickelman and Jon W Anderson, "Print, Islam, and the Prospects for Civic Pluralism: New Religious Writings and Their Audiences," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 8, no. 1 (1997): 43–62. For more information, also see David B Edwards, "Print Islam: Media and Religious Revolution in Afghanistan," *Anthropological Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (1995): 171–84, and Robert W Hefner, "Print Islam: Mass Media and Ideological Rivalries among Indonesian Muslims," *Indonesia* 64 (1997): 77–103.

28   Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?," in *The Book History Reader*, ed. David and McCleery Alistair Finkelstein (Routledge, 2002), 225–30.

seek to answer whether Sufism is gaining popularity in real or relative terms, and if so, what are the explanations of this phenomenon?

This dissertation is a history of religious publication in Republican Turkey. Print is a definitive realm of public Islam in Turkey. Despite the multiplicity of print materials, books are a major realm of thinking on Islam. This study shows how print activities, printed materials in general, and books in particular constitute a plurality of genres and subjects. It emphasizes how they serve the diversity of religious and political understandings. I take contemporary Turkey from 1923-2010 to show the social, political and economic contexts these books were produced.

In the context of Turkey, the few studies focusing on the contemporary period of Islamic print usually adopt a micro perspective and focus on a specific author, genre, period, or the exploration of a particular periodical. Therefore, this study objects to the depiction of specific Islamist literatures (limited sets of intellectual works) and intelligentsia as the sole intellectual habitat and publicity of Islam and religiosity in Turkey. The literature directly focusing on Islamic publication and print issues in contemporary Turkey are rare and these rely on common sense observations rather than comprehensive research.

This study draws the attention of researchers of Islam in contemporary Turkey to the wider spectrum of Islamic print materials and media. It offers the richness of materials, genres, and actors in the field of print instead of continuously returning to translated Islamist literature imported into Turkey from the Islamic world in the last few decades. Accordingly, this study offers the broadest possible map of Islamic book publication. This panoramic view of the religious publication field in Turkey tackles the question of how books covering Islam and religiosity changed in Turkey since the establishment of Republic? Related questions follow: What were the social, political, economic and intellectual factors behind this change? In which social and political processes did the production of those books happen? And how did the social and political context influence the production of those texts?

The study of print culture raises questions regarding the impact of printing tools and religious printed materials on the development of religious culture

and the exercise of religiosity. Therefore its actors – be it authors and publishers- deserve thorough exploration. The commercial entities lead religious groups and individuals to establish and strengthen their presence in the public sphere. These establishments also help them to elucidate their identity and their ideas for a general public audience and to adapt to and grow in a rapidly-evolving market of texts. As the economic, cultural, and symbolic capital invested in publishing market increases, the scope of the public created by the print media broadens. Many religious groups or organizations in Turkey -whether traditional or not- are eager to establish a publishing house and to print books and publish periodicals as soon as they can afford it, and they endeavor to deliver their publications to the right audience. Whether individually or within an organizational entity, Muslim subjects struggle to take their place in this field of cultural production.

The core thesis of this dissertation is that book publication and print activities are a significant concern for many Muslim individuals and organizations. Therefore, Islamic books have both been agents of change and a tableau of change for the Muslim public. Besides hot button issues of scholarship emphasizing political Islam approaches, the materials and ideas shaping the religious thought and practice in Turkey are much diverse and heterogenous. Print also serve as a marker and builder of identity, making it possible to build new forms of authority and to publicize new forms of being Muslim and thinking as a Muslim. This print and publication culture carried forward a considerable legacy of the past, such as carrying classics to the present or employing traditional ties in business formations. It also incorporated new symbolic and cultural forms of capital, produced new genres, facilitated new types of relationships with the market and the public, and brought about new approaches to religious literacy and reading practices. Since it sprouted in a modern setting and underlined new engagements of Muslim individuals with modern life, it also contributed to academic scholarship on contemporary Islam, the Islamic public, and the media.

This study has two major components. One is a virtual bibliography of Printed Books on Islam in contemporary Turkey from 1923 to 2010.[29] The second is a cultural-historical study that covers the bibliometric analysis of those books, the collection of printed books on Islam, and the major actors that influenced the Islamic book market. In addition, it puts several debates about wider phenomena such as religious pedagogy, authority, and practice on the agenda.

While the main research question of this study concerns the contemporary political and cultural history of Turkey, its basic research material consists of a specific set of books produced on a certain subject in a given social and political context. The study is therefore pertinent to the disciplinary hinterland of book history and print culture studies, as well.

§ 1.2   Islamic Print or Islam-in-Print: Problems with Naming

Before plunging into further discussion, it is important to clarify what Muslim or Islamic printing implies. In the academic literature, there is a convention regarding the usage of the terms Islamic print or Muslim printing for print activities in the eighteenth and nineteenth century in Iran, India, Egypt and the Ottoman Empire in general -that is referring to printing activities in "Muslim" populated territories- the term print automatically earns the adjective Muslim or Islamic. In this regard, all print activities -if not defined particularly by their initiators such as Christian or Jewish print- are considered de facto Muslim or Islamic.

A stunning example, in the Turco-Ottoman context, is the detail thatthe phrase "Islamic publisher/publication" (*kitabhane-yi İslam*) was first used by Hilmi Çığıraçan in the nineteenth century. *Hilmi Kitabhanesi* (Hilmi Publishing) subsequently printed and published more than one thousand works from late Ottoman period through the early decades of the Republic, but among its book inventory are only a few, pedagogic books printed on Islamic subjects. What led Çığıraçan to define his printing house as "Islamic" was an effort to

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29   For a detailed explanation and the examplary parts from the database employed for analysis and findings of this study, see Appendix B.

emphasize the identity of the publisher. It was an enterprise of Muslim Ottoman Turk in a period most printing and publishing businesses were run by either non-Muslim Ottoman subjects or by foreign entrepreneurs from Europe and Iran.[30]

The products of these printing activities include religious or non-religious literary as well as other types of texts written by Muslim or non-Muslim figures. Strikingly, sometimes even heretical and fanatically anti-Islamic or anti-religious products are evaluated within the cluster of Muslim printing. Irrespective of the content of the books or preferences of the owners and enterprises, all print activities in Middle Eastern and Muslim majority territories are usually considered as Islamic print unless the owner or founder of the press is a member of a different, well-defined religious or ethnic minority -merely because these activities take place in a Muslim polity or demographically Muslim majority country.

However, the defining Islamic or Muslim printing is no so easy as reducing the phenomenon to the identity of the owner of the printing press or the location of the company. In short, it is not always clear whether Islamic print refers to the subjects of the books printed, to the script or language used in the production of the text, to the author, to the personality or identity of the printer who copies the book in question, to the territory in which the printing press operates, or to the regime that rules the country where the printing activity is undertaken.

This confusion prevails in the existing scholarly literature. Some works problematizing Islamic printing, though small in number, refer to printing in Arabic script carried out with the involvement of non-Muslims in European and non-Muslim majority societies, further confounding the issue. As mentioned above, the script and language of the earliest printed texts are the elements through which scholars in the field extend the boundaries of the subject to a wider context.[31] In the writing of the history of Islamic printing, these

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30   For a detailed history of the publishing business of İbrahim Hilmi, see Başak Ocak, *Bir Yayıncının Portresi: Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi Çığıraçan* (Istanbul: Müteferrika, 2003).

31   For example, Jonathan Bloom reports that *Kitab as-Salat al-Sawai,* which was printed by Venetian printer Gregorio de Grigori in 1514 is the earliest surviving Arabic printed text. One of

ambiguities and multiple understandings of the terms blur the conceptual frontiers or parameters deployed for identifying the genealogy.[32]

The concepts "Islamic publishing," "Islamic publisher," and "Islamic literature" are all controversial and contextual. They need further explanation to express what is meant by those concepts. These concepts and undertake different meanings depending on the historical and sociological context. The term 'Islamic print' is also controversial: What makes the act of printing Islamic or what makes printing Islamic remains unanswered. A second option 'Print Islam'[33] or 'Islam-in-print'[34] are more reasonable since it concerns the characteristic of the content being printed. Another option is "pious printing,"

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the most important of these commercial initiatives was the printing of Qur'an in Venice by Paganino de Paganini in 1537-38. Reportedly, it included serious mistakes and was not welcomed by the target audience and their rulers. It ended up a commercial failure. See, Jonathan Bloom, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 219.

Although local printing in Ottoman Turkish with Arabic script started in Ottoman territories in the eighteenth century with the Müteferrika Press, books were printed in Ottoman Turkish in Europe before that date. Geoffrey Roper gives an account of such books printed in England during the seventeenth century. Roper reports that a 28-page Turkish book consisting of the Epistles of St. John was the first ever book to be printed in Turkish. It was translated by William Seaman and printed by James Flesher in London in 1659. For him, the most substantial Turkish text published up to that date was the New Testament, again translated by Seaman, printed by Henry Hall for the University of Oxford in 1666. See Geoffrey Roper, "Turkish Printing and Publishing in England in the Seventeenth Century," in *Printing and Publising in the Middle East*, ed. Philip Sadgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 80-82.

32 Unlike Geoffrey Roper, Orlin Sabev claims that the first Ottoman printed book was the *Ahidname,* a joint venture between the Ottoman Empire and France in 1604. See Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika Ya Da Ilk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni* (Istanbul: Yeditepe, 2006), 182.

33 Dale F. Eickelman, "National Identity and Religious Discourse in Contemporary Oman," *International Journal of Islamic and Arabic Studies* 6, no. 1 (1989): 1–20.

34 Wendell Schwab, "Islam in Print: The Diversity of Islamic Literature and Interpretation of Post-Soviet Kazakhstan" (PhD Thesis: Indiana University, 2011).

which is used by Ami Ayalon to describe any kind of religious printing and publishing in the Middle East, whether Christian, Jewish, or Muslim.[35]

Today, in contemporary Turkey, the issue is addressed using the terms 'Islamist publishing' or 'religious publishing'. The former term refers to a political stance as well as to a religious approach, and it excludes traditional forms of organization and genres such as Sufi texts, official religious interpretations, and popular products. It focuses on contemporary Islamic thought and related literatures produced either in other Muslim-majority countries or in Turkey, and its roots are in nineteenth-century Islamism with twentieth- and twenty-first-century updates.

The term 'religious publishing' is used by the Directorate of Religious Affairs and includes non-Islamist publishers, as well. It considers the field as all publication and media content related to the wider concept of Islam, including almost all of its interpretations and views in the public sphere. In addition to the Book Fair of Religious Publishing/Publications[36] are held in the courtyards of Sultanahmet (the Blue Mosque) in Istanbul and the Kocatepe Mosque in Ankara since 1983 under the leadership of Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı (Turkey Diyanet Foundation), the Congresses held by Diyanet has organized the "Congress of Religious Publications in Turkey" since 2003.[37] The themes included "Audio and Visual Religious Publications"in 2004,[38] "Religious Publication

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35   Ami Ayalon, *The Arabic Print Revolution: Cultural Production and Mass Readership* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2016), 87.

36   The venue moved to Beyazıt square for a couple of years due to restoration activities at the Blue Mosque. the name of the event is officially the Book and Culture Fair of Turkey, though it is commonly known as religious publications fair. Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı. "37. Türkiye Kitap ve Kültür Fuarı İstanbul'da Açıldı," May 20, 2018, https://m.tdv.org/tr-TR/site/haberler/37--turkiye-kitap-ve-kultur-fuari-istanbul-da-acildi-3621.

37   The congresses are organized by the General Directorate of Religious Publications of the DRA. The texts of all speeches given and discusions held at the congress can be found in a papers-discussions book series. Ayfer Balaban, *Türkiye I. Dini Yayınlar Kongresi* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 2004).

38   Ayfer Balaban, ed., *II. Uluslararası Dini Yayınlar Kongresi: Sesli-Görüntülü Dini Yayıncılık* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 2005).

for Kids"in 2005,[39] "The Religious Classics" in 2009,[40] "The Woman in Religious Publications"in 2011[41], in 2013 with the theme "Islam, Art, and Aesthetics" in 2013,[42] and "Publications for Youth" in 2019. The dilemma of this label is that it excludes any non-Islamic religious production, and considers Islam to be the main if not sole religious entity in the public realm.

To cope with these naming problems of denoting a field including that includes all the actors operating in this field that print and publish books and other printed materials that address both pious and secular readers and a consumer audience (the general Turkish public) as well as the products that came into being after all the processes involved in the formation of the field, I prefer to use the term "Islamic print field,"in which the term Islamic refers mostly to the content or general features of the product to be classified within the framework of wider Islamic literature and literature on Islam. However, as mentioned above, to denote a more general conceptualization consisting of different geographies and historical and social setting as well as of all printed artefacts and processes dealing with Islam and Islam-related issues, I prefer to use the terms print Islam and Islam-in-print interchangeably. However, in classifiying the primary materials subject to this research, I tried to be as specific as possible and to differentiate among the concepts Islamic text, Islamic literature, and literature or books on Islam.

In the following sections, I first give a compendium of the literature and discussions on book history and print culture. Since those discussions mostly developed in the Anglo-European world, and Turkish scholarship is not so familiar with them, I allocate a comparatively large space to them in this study. A relatively long review of the literature and theory as well as methodological approaches are the result of that concern. Following the literature review and

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39 Elif Arslan, ed., *Türkiye III: Dini Yayınlar Kongresi: Türkiye'de Çocuk Yayıncılığı* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 2007).

40 İsmail Derin, ed., *Türkiye IV. Dini Yayınlar Kongresi: Dini Klasikler* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 2011).

41 İsmail Derin, ed., *Türkiye V. Dini Yayınlar Kongresi: Kadın Konulu Dini Yayınlar* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 2012).

42 *VI. Dini Yayınlar Kongresi: İslam Sanat ve Estetik* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 2014).

theoretical discussions of print and religious publishing, I present the methodological and case-specific challenges of my study and introduce the outline of the dissertation.

§ 1.3   Literature Review on Print and Religious Publishing

As a distinctive feature of human beings compared to other living beings on earth, philosophers throughout the time have often underscored the capacity to think, speak and imagine and to act with reason and will to express thoughts and feelings. The knowledge of human history on earth depends on the development of tools to communicate and record human experience, which reflects the distinctiveness of human nature.

In *Plough, Sword and Book* Ernest Gellner divides the venture of human being in history into three great stages -hunting/gathering, agraria, and industria- which are shaped by the fundamental human activities of production, coercion and cognition. He enlists key materials representing those stages, such as the plough, sword, and book.[43] Similar to language, which made us social beings and marked cognitive development, the introduction of codification and literacy has disembodied the word, decontextualized speech, and made the storage, organization, and transmission of meaning possible.[44] Like Gellner, Walter Ong by points to writing, which has "transformed human consciousness more than any other single invention,"[45] as the revolutionary moment in the cognitive history of mankind.

The process of thought for the literate mind is no longer the same as that of the oral mind. The technology or the tool by which thought is transferred shapes the development of the thought itself. The activity of transformed not only the content being transferred but also the mind and ways of reflection by which thought is produced. Writing and literacy produces a new mind based

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43   Ernest Gellner, *Plough, Sword, and Book: The Structure of Human History*, Pbk. ed (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

44   Gellner.

45   Walter J Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, *New Accents* (London: Routledge, 1988), 77.

on sight instead of speech, and print comes as a consolidator of this sight-dominating world. In Ong's words, writing "reconstituted the originally oral, spoken word in visual space. Print embedded the word in this space more definitively."[46]

The invention of script and then printing and the recent experience of electronic text are milestones in the history of human communication and thought. These revolutionary developments in the recording of knowledge and transference of technology have changed the approaches and methodologies that evolved around related activities and materials produced throughout those occurrences. The three revolutionary phases in the history of the book in Western culture are considered to be "1) the movement from oral to written cultures 2) the movement from literacy to printing and 3) the movement form print culture to computer generated content."[47]

In addition to the impact of these developments or changes to human cognition, social and cultural life, and even politics, their handling within academic scholarship is new. In fact, as the materials, processes, and relations developed around reading, writing, print, book, publishing, and knowledge production changed and became intertwined over time, the disciplines dealing with those subject matters sought an independent field of study. While some scholars prefer the term book history to frame scholarly approach to book culture, others prefer print culture and some others the sociology of texts. Leslie Howsam puts it as follows:

> The study of book culture is so wide ranging as to be inherently disorienting.… Its practitioners think about the reception, composition, the material existence, and the cultural production of what is called the book only for lack of any better collective noun. The book is not limited to print (it includes manuscripts and other written forms), or to the codex format (periodicals and electronic texts come under examination, as do scrolls and book rolls), or to material or literary culture.

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46   Ong, 120.

47   David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 17.

This vast scope and these blurred boundaries mean that no one can ever be an expert on all its aspects.[48]

The study of the history of books, texts, and print culture are closely associated with bibliography, literary studies, and cultural and economic history in addition to essential links to sociology, communication studies, cognitive psychology, and even politics. Therefore, though encapsulated by the terms "history" and "culture," book history and print culture studies are ipso facto interdisciplinary disciplines. As pointed by Finkelstein and McCleery, "'print culture', 'The sociology of text', 'publishing history', 'textual bibliography' and similar concepts are used in lieu of book history since the term seems exclusionary."[49]

Though the issues covered by book history are as old as the history of mankind, debate in western scholarship starts with Lucien Lefebre and Henri Jean Martin's book *"L'apparition du livre"*(The Coming of the Book) in 1957, which reflects the sociological historical approach of Annales School by focusing on the effects of print technology on medieval society.[50] Marshall McLuhan's *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* appeared in 1962 and explores the effects of the printing press and media technologies on European culture and human consciousness.[51] Both works point to the prominence of print and media in the study of social and cultural history. One of the earliest works on print culture theory, was Elisabeth Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* wherein she explores the role of moveable type technology in social revolutions in Europe such as the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the rise of modern science.[52] Walter J. Ong's *Orality and Literacy: Technologizing the Word,* published in 1982, can also be counted among the classics. It

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48   Leslie Howsam, *Old Books and New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Book and Print Culture*, *Studies in Book and Print Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 3.

49   Finkelstein and McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History*, 15-16.

50   Lucien Paul Victor Febvre and Henri Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800* (London: Verso, 1997).

51   Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*, 1st U.S.A. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965).

52   Elizabeth L Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communicationsand Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980). For

emphasizes intellectual and social effects of writing, print, and electronic culture vis-à-vis oral cultures.[53] Among the anthropological contributions covering similar terrain, Jack Goody's *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (1977), *The Logic of Writing and Organization of Society* (1986), and *The Interface Between Written and the Oral* (1987) are among studies focusing on the impact of writing and means of communication on human societies, culture, and cognition.[54] A 1982 essay by Robert Darnton "What is the History of Books?" defined the field. Darnton notes:

> it might even be called the social and cultural history of communication by print…because its purpose is to understand how ideas were transmitted through print and how exposure to the printed word affected the thought and behaviour of mankind during the last five-hundred years.[55]

Since Darnton describes the basic scheme of the book "as a communication circuit that runs from author to the publisher…, the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader,"[56] both the processes taking place and the figures and agencies that play a role in those processes are the subject matter of book history.

It is not possible to comprehensively list the scholarly work on book history and print culture in this manuscript. However, since the current research owes much to this literature, the following must be counted among useful contributions to the field: Henri J. Martin's *The French Book*,[57] Alberto Manguel's

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more recent work by the author, see also Elizabeth L Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

53 Ong, *Orality and Literacy*.

54 Jack Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977). Jack Goody, *The Logic of Writing and Organization of Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Jack Goody, *The Interface Between Written and the Oral* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

55 Robert Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?," *Daedalus*, 1982, 65.

56 Darnton, 67.

57 Henri Jean Martin, *The French Book: Religion, Absolutism and Readership, 1585-1715* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996),

A History of Reading,[58] Adrian Johns's *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* ,[59] David Hall's *Cultures of Print: Essays in the History of the Book,*[60], Donald F. McKenzie's *Bibliography and The Sociology of Texts,*[61] Roger Chartier's *The Order of Books,* [62] his essay revisiting this early work,[63] *A History of Reading in the West,*[64] that he co-edited with Goglielmo Cavallo and Lydia Cochrane. In the first decade of the millennium, various editions of Simon Eliot and Jonathon Rose's *A Companion to the History of Book,*[65] again Simon Eliot, A. Nash, and I. Wilson's *Literary Cultures and the Material Book,*[66] and David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery's invaluable *The Book History Reader* and *An Introduction to Book History,*[67] join the list.[68]

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58   Alberto Manguel, *A History of Reading* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997).

59   Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

60   David D Hall, *Cultures of Print: Essays in the History of the Book* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996).

61   D. F. (Donald Francis) McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

62   Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

63   Roger Chartier, "The Order of Books Revisited," *Modern Intellectual History* 4, no. 03 (2007): 509–19.

64   Guglielmo Cavallo, Roger Chartier, and Lydia G Cochrane, *A History of Reading in the West*, *Studies in Print Culture and the History of the Book* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999).

65   Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, *A Companion to the History of the Book*, *Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

66   Simon Eliot et al., *Literary Cultures and the Material Book*, *The British Library Studies in the History of the Book* (London: British Library, 2007).

67   David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, *The Book History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2002). Finkelstein and McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History*.

68   For researchers and scholars in the field, the following contributions to the literature deserve mention. The *Oxford Companion to the Book* is a monumental two-volume reference work with more than forty essays dealing with the history of books and related issues from ancient to modern times in different regions and cultures of the world. It includes more than five thousand entries related to diverse aspects of the subject. See Michael F Suarez and H R Woudhuysen, *The Oxford Companion to the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Leslie Howsam's edited work *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book,* consisting

There are two major schools of scholarship in book history and print culture. The French Annales school focuses on the social and cultural history of book, and the Anglo-American approach focuses on historical and analytical bibliography. While the subject and earliest examples of book history and print culture studies were inspired by Annales school scholars, it has since largely been an Anglo-American oriented field of study considering the magnitude of the publications related to the field. The book history volumes of western societies are among the most significant examples. Some scholars interpret the production of national book histories (of the United States, Canada, and Britain, for example) as the convergence of two diverse traditions. Fiona A. Black states that the Annales school embraces "a holistic view and scholarly awareness of contextual factors affecting the culture of print in a given time and place" while the Anglo-American approach, which takes the book as the focus of enquiry produces studies dealing with "detailed scholarly bibliographies of the production of particular presses, authors, regions, languages, and related biographical and business information about the rich variety of agents of the press."[69]

Despite the multitude and comprehensiveness of book culture studies and its sub-subject matters in western societies, work in the disciplines of book history and print culture in other regions in the world started to increase only in recent years, and the quantity and content of these studies is far from satisfactory in scope and comprehensiveness.[70]

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of fifteen essays is another recent supplementary work on the subject. See Leslie Howsam, ed., *The Cambridge Camponion to the History of the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

69   Fiona A. Black, "Construing the Spaces of Print Culture: Book Historians' Visualization Preferences," in *Geographies of the Book*, ed. Miles Ogborn and Charles W J Withers (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 79-80.

70   The three volume set of Routledge: Geoffrey Roper, ed., *The History of the Book in the Middle East*, New editio (Ashgate Publishing, 2013); Francesca Orsini, ed., *The History of the Book in South Asia*, *The History of the Book in the East* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013); and Cynthia Joanne Brokaw and Peter F Kornicki, *The History of the Book in East Asia*, *History of the Book in the East* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013) are among the stunning studies in the field. Yet, one can add the following to the list of works covering the print culture and book history of "Eastern"

Another common, defining subject covered in print culture studies is the role of print in transforming religious thought and practice. In fact, religion is one of the most crucial phenomenon that led to the emergence and development of this field from the time of scribal culture. In this regard, the role of Protestantism in Western Europe in the spread of print technology is often mentioned. Elizabeth Eisenstein is one scholar that points to the history of reformation and emphasizes the agency of print in change in European history. Several books focusing on the issue of religious printing and publishing or on the relation between religion and print and book culture followed hers.[71] Such studies, as G. Adam Scott and P. Clart underscore,

> have begun to unearth the deep connections between the development of print cultures in the modern era and changes in many aspects of religious culture, including new roles for and understandings of sacred texts, the formation of religious identities through shared participation

societies and cultures: Peter F Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, Pbk. ed (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period*, Asia-Local Studies/Global Themes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), Joseph Peter McDermott, *A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literaticulture in Late Imperial China*, *Understanding China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006). Zeev Gries, *The Book in the Jewish World, 1700-1900 /*, *Littman Library of Jewish Civilization (Series)* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2007); and Philip Clart and G. Adam Scott, *Religious Publishing and Print Culture in Modern China, 1800-2012*, *Religion and Society, 1437-5370* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2015).

71 Leslie Howsam, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); David Paul Nord, *Faith in Reading: Religious Publishing and the Birth of Mass Media in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Charles L. Cohen and Paul S. Boyer, *Religion and the Culture of Print in Modern America*, *Print Culture History in Modern America.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008) are some books featuring the issue of religious printing.

in print, and its role as a medium in the new public sphere of mass print media.[72]

Print and religion or religion-in-print is a vivid and fertile field of research and scholarship since both owe much to the other. However, academic interest in book history and print culture studies regarding Islamic societies and polities is scarce. As Michael W. Albin points out, not only books but also "the books as social, economic and cultural artefact have been ignored" by both Orientalists and Muslims.[73] A shortlist of some noteworthy works regarding print and Islam includes the following:

One of the earliest and most remarkable works on book history and print culture in Islamic lands is Johannes Pedersen's *Den Arabiske Bog* (The Arabic Book), which focuses on the book and literary culture in medieval Islamic society. It was originally publishedin Danish in 1946 and translated into English in 1984.[74] Surely, it is a classic introduction handling many features of book production and culture from calligraphy to paper making and book illustration to bookbinding; however, today there are diverse, up-to-date literatures handling these issues separately and more accurately. Anthropologist Brinkley M. Messick's *The Calligraphic State: Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society* is also among the notable works, and it explores the relation between writing and authority, law, literacy, and bureaucracy in Yemen employing ethnographic and textual sources.[75]Although a sophisticated style, Messick's engagement of history and anthropology and his approach and methods for examining the transformation of sharia and authority through

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72 G. Adam Scott and Philip Clart, "Introduction: Print Culture and Religion in Chinese History," in *Religious Publishing and Print Culture in Modern China, 1800-2012* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 4.

73 Michael W. Albin, "Islamic Book History: Parameters of a Discipline," in *The History of the Book in the Middle East*, ed. Geoffrey Roper (Ashgate, 2013), 4.

74 Johannes Pedersen and Robert Hillenbrand, "The Arabic Book," *Modern Classics in Near Eastern Studies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

75 Brinkley Morris Messick, *The Calligraphic State: Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society*, *Comparative Studies on Muslim Societies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

his ethnography in highland Yemeni town of Ibb is impressive. He emphasizes how the Qur'an and other legal texts that are used in daily life shape power relations, the concept of authority, and the uses of physical space and construction of social institutions in a paradigm as he called 'textual polity'. What makes Messick's study noteworthy for print culture is chapters that discuss educational practices and the relationship between recitation or listening and reading or writing in pre-modern Islamic schools.

The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East, edited by George N. Atiyeh, includes several articles covering discussions ranging from printing to modern literature, and manuscript tradition to orality.[76] Since the book is collection of conference papers presented at the Library of Congress in 1989, the method, content, and the scope of the papers lack coherence. Some papers contribute little to or remain at the margins of the main theme of the volume; nevertheless, the book provides a good introduction regarding the value, status, and production of the book in the Middle East. As mentioned above, Geoffrey Roper's *The History of the Book in the Middle East* is a voluminous collection of principal essays on the subject. However, since the chapters were not penned specifically for the project, were produced at different times, handle the issues from the perspectives of different disciplines and approaches, and were written for different purposes, their use is more difficult. Moreover, few studies cover contemporary times, most of the papers deal with the books and print cultures of the past. However they provide historical insight into the book and print culture of the Middle East. One should add two volumes that are products of symposia *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East* (2004) and *Printing and Publishing in the Middle East* (2008), under the editorship of Philip Sadgrove as well as a third volume *Historical Aspects of Printing and Publishing in Languages of the Middle East* (2014), edited by Geoffrey Roper, as significant works about print and publishing in Middle Eastern and largely

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76   George N Atiyeh, *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East* (Albany: State University of New York Press; Library of Congress, 1995).

Islamic contexts.[77] Despite being collections of conference papers and sharing the shortcomings of such collections, the studies in these three volumes are more up to date, and the handling of the issues reflects a disciplinary approach to the book and print culture that parallels the theoretical and methodological approaches developed in the scholarship.

Nelly Hanna's *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*,[78] Jonathan Bloom's *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World*,[79] Ami Ayalon's trio covering printing, press and readership focusing on Palestine and Arab Middle East and appeared with almost decade long intervals,[80] Dale F. Eickelman and Jon W. Anderson's *New Media in the Muslim World: Emerging Public Sphere*,[81] and Konrad Hirschler's *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices* [82] are important contributions to the field that handle different aspects of reading, literacy, print technology, and

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77   Philip Sadgrove, *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East*, *Journal of Semitic Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Philip Sadgrove, *Printing and Publishing in the Middle East: Papers from the Second Symposium on the History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, 2-4 November 2005 = Contributions Au Deuxièm*, ed. Philip Sadgrove, *Journal of Semitic Studies. Supplement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Geoffrey Roper, *Historical Aspects of Printing and Publishing in Languages of the Middle East: Papers from the Third Symposium on the History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East, University of Leipzig, September 2008, Islamic Manuscripts and Books* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

78   Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo's Middleclass, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, *Middle East Studies beyond Dominant Paradigms*, 1st ed (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003).

79   Bloom, *Paper before Print.*

80   Ami Ayalon, *The Press in the Middle East: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). Ami Ayalon, *Reading Palestine: Printing and Literature, 1900-1948* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004). Ayalon, *The Arabic Print Revolution: Cultural Production and Mass Readership.*

81   Dale F. Eickelman and Jon W. Anderson, *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).

82   Konrad. Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).

communication systems in Islamic societies. Moreover, almost all appeared since the millennium. Hanna's work rests on historical methods and takes books as a tool to explain multiple issues. By using court records and the estates of the deceased of a so-called middle class, Hanna challenges euro-centric discussions of the modernization of Egypt as well as state-based narratives of nineteenth century. Her work also suggests further study of Ottoman provinces, middle-class culture, and the impact of book culture on the dynamics of society.

Bloom considers the history of paper and the technology of paper making as a revolutionary development over medieval Islamic civilization, culture, art, and society. Despite the minute details about the history of a specific material and its spread in comparatively large geography, his work can be criticized for overvaluing paper as a historical actor and dismissing many complex processes that accompanied serious cultural and social developments taking place in history.

Hirschler's groundbreaking work offers strong evidence with respect to the adoption of book culture, eye-centered learning practices, and the diminishing of orality long before the use of print in the medieval period. He emphasizes "the process of textualization and popularization of book culture"[83] in the Mamluk realm with reference to variety of sources ranging from historical accounts to writing manuals and library catalogues.

Ami Ayalon's three books and almost a dozen articles on the issue deserve special emphasis and attention. His works are historical ones enriched by various primary and secondary materials from archives to memoirs, newspaper and journal collections to biographies. They are well-written studies that reveal an important part of the history of the Arabic press, journalism, and publishing.

As he describes it his *The Press in the Middle East: A History* is intended "to chart the main phases in the evolution of the Arabic press and consider some of the major issues that shaped its role in state and society between 1800

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83   Hirschler, 5.

and 1945."[84] He does so by focusing on newspapers and periodicals with political content that were exclusively published in Arabic rather than in other languages in the region he examined. The 'Arab' in his studies are the Arabs of Egypt, the Fertile Crescent, and some parts of Arabian Peninsula. He covers the aforementioned time-period that is, the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, whether as a whole or divided into shorter periods in his studies. In *Reading Palestine*, Ayalon focuses on literacy and reading -including books in addition to periodicals – in Palestine in the first half of the twentieth century. In *The Arabic Print Revolution*, Ayalon considers the geographical scope of Arabic speaking Ottoman provinces in the long nineteenth century (1800-1914). In this single volume, he examines all three aspects of the communication circuit, which are production (print and publishing), reception (the rise of mass readership), and dissemination (formation of diffusion channels). His main argument that print is revolutionary is open to discussion; in other words, over-emphasis of the role of print in the social and political change and overlooking continuities can be major points of criticism. However, this does not change the fact that Ayalon's works are important references for the history of the Arab press, publishing, and readership.

Works in English on either general print and book culture or on Islamic print and media in the context of Turkey are rare. Moreover, that scant literature focuses on the historical venture of print technology in the Ottoman context in relation to usual modernization debates.

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84   Ayalon, *The Press in the Middle East: A History*, xi.

In Turkish, the works of Selim Nüzhet Gerçek,[85] Server Rıfat İskit,[86] Alpay Kabacalı,[87] and Jale Baysal[88] are the leading studies on the history of the printing press in the Ottoman Empire and the legal and political history of print, the press, publishing, and Turkish book history.

Putting Franz Babinger's *Muteferrika and Ottoman Printing House* (Turkish edition in 2004)[89] and Giambattista Toderini's *Ibrahim Muteferika and Turkish Printing* (Turkish edition in 1990)[90] to the side, one can count Orlin Sabev's *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni. 1726-1746* (Turkish edition 2006),[91] Hüseyin Gazi Topdemir's *İbrahim Müteferrika Matbaası ve Türk Matbaacılığı* (Ibrahim Muteferrika print house and Turkish printing),[92] Turgut Kut and Fatma Türe's *Yazmadan Basmaya: Müteferrika,*

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85 See Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı: Iki Yüzüncü Sene-i Devriyesi Münasebetiyle* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, 1928), Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk Taş Basmacılığı* (Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1939), and Selim Nüzhet Gerçek and Ali Birinci, *Türk Matbuatı* (Ankara: Gezgin Kitabevi, 2002).

86 See Server Rıfat İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat Rejimleri* (Istanbul: Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü, 1939), Server Rıfat İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat Idareleri ve Politikaları*, *Başvekâlet Basın ve Yayın Umum Müdürlüğü Yayınlarından* (Istanbul: Tan basımevi, 1943), and Server Rıfat İskit, *Türkiyede Neşriyat Hareketleri Tarihine Bir Bakış*, *Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 2000).

87 Alpay Kabacalı, *Türk Yayın Tarihi: Başlangıçtan Tanzimat'a Kadar* (Istanbul: Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1987), Alpay Kabacalı and Alpay Kabacalı, *Türk Kitap Tarihi*, *Kültür Dizisi*, 2. baskı (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1989), and Alpay Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze: Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın*, *Literatür Yayınları* (Istanbul: Literatür Yayınları, 2000).

88 Jale Baysal et al., *Müteferrika'dan Birinci Meşrutiyete Kadar Osmanlı Türklerinin Bastıkları Kitaplar 1729-1875: (Kitapların Tam Listesi)*, *Hiperlink Yayınları: 12*, (Istanbul: Hiperlink, 2010).

89 Franz Babinger, *Müteferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası* (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2004).

90 Giambattista Toderini, Rikkat Kunt, and Şevket Rado, *İbrahim Müteferrika Matbaası ve Türk Matbaacılığı* (Istanbul: Tifdruk Matbaacılık, 1990).

91 The book is the Turkish translation of originally published book in Bulgarian in 2004 with revisions by the author Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika Ya Da Ilk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni.*

92 Hüseyin Gazi Topdemir, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Türk Matbaacılığı*, *T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları; Yayımlar DairesiBaşkanlığı Kültür Eserleri Dizisi* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2002).

Mühendishane, Üsküdar (from manuscript to print: Muteferrika, Mu-hendishane and Uskudar)[93] are among the most featured studies of early print-ing history in the Ottoman and Turkish context.

In the case of Turkey, especially for the Republican period, academic stud-ies on the issue of Islam-in-print and Islamic and Islamist publication activi-ties and related actors are almost non-existent. As mentioned earlier, despite the fact that Islamic movements, organizations, political movements, and Is-lamism as an intellectual and political framework are among the most attrac-tive and embraced subject matters for both international and local scholars and researchers interested in Turkey, the neglect of print activities and lack of any attempt to trace the roots and genealogy of thinking on Islam and Islamic ideas, ideologies, and discourses via exploration of print is perplexing. Among the scarce works in the field, İsmail Kara covers religious publication and the stages of the development of religious reflection in his two-volume *Cumhuri-yet Türkiye'sinde Bir Mesele Olarak İslam* (Islam as an issue in republican Tur-key).[94] He problematized te topic and called for scholarly attention to the issue in a brief article published in 1985.[95]

While the literature on the topic of 'Print Islam' in Turkey is limited, the following are important contributions that deserve mention. Though it covers a short period of time (1945-1955) and explores only periodicals, which are at the periphery of the official discourse, Gavin Brockett's *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk: Provincial Newspapers and the Negotiation of Muslim National Identity* [96] is a valuable contribution that focuses on periodicals published in

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93 Turgut Kut and Fatma Türe, *Yazmadan Basmaya: Müteferrika, Mühendishane, Üsküdar* (Is-tanbul: Yapı Kredi, 1996).

94 İsmail Kara, *Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Bir Mesele Olarak İslam*, *Dergah Yayınları*, 6.baskı (Is-tanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2014). İsmail Kara, *Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Bir Mesele Olarak İslam 2* (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2016).

95 İsmail Kara, "Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Dini Yayıncılığın Gelişimi Üzerine Birkaç Not," *Top-lum ve Bilim*, no. 29/30 (1985): 153–77.

96 Gavin D Brockett, *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk: Provincial Newspapers and the Negotia-tion of a Muslim National Identity /*, *Modern Middle East Series*, 1st ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011).

the aftermath of Second World War and in the early years of multi-party period. Kenan Çayır's work on Islamic novels, *Islamic Literature in Contemporary Turkey: From Epic to Novel,* [97] is a pioneering study in its field that covers a small part of a larger Islamic book and intellectual product inventory in Turkey. Hatice K. Arpaguş's *Osmanlı Halkının Geleneksel İslam Anlayışı ve Kaynakları* (Ottoman people's traditional understanding of Islam and its sources)[98] is another valuable work since it documents the most common written materials of Islam used and retained by the masses in the Ottoman period.

Brett Wilson's *Translating Qur'an in an Age of Nationalism: Print Culture and Modern Islam in Turkey,*[99] analyses one of the fault lines of late Ottoman and the Republican periods via the problematic of translation and printing of the Qur'an. Necdet Subaşı's article "1960 öncesi İslami Neşriyat: Sindirilme, Tahayyül ve Tefekkür" (Islamic publication before 1960: Suppression, imagination and contemplation),[100] and Yücel Bulut's "İslamcılık, Tercüme Faaliyetleri ve Yerlilik (Islamism, translation activities and locality)[101] can be counted among rare literature directly related to Islamic and Islamist publishing in Turkey. Among recent contributions focusing on Islamic print –though prioritizing periodicals – are the volumes published as the end product of the IDP (Islamist Periodicals Project)[102] in addition to a massive volume of papers

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97   Kenan Çayır, *Islamic Literature in Contemporary Turkey: From Epic to Novel* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

98   Hatice K. Arpaguş, *Osmanlı Halkının Geleneksel İslam Anlayışı ve Kaynakları*, 3rd ed. (Istanbul: M.Ü. İFAV Yayınları, 2015).

99   M. Brett Wilson, *Translating Quran in an Age of Nationalism: Print Culture and Modern Islam in Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

100   Necdet Subaşı, "1960 Öncesi İslami Neşriyat: Sindirilme, Tahayyül ve Tefekkür," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce 6- İslamcılık*, ed. Yasin Aktay, 4. Baskı (Istanbul: İletişim, 2014), 217–35.

101   Yücel Bulut, "İslamcılık, Tercüme Faaliyetleri ve Yerlilik," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce 6- İslamcılık*, ed. Yasin Aktay, 4.Baskı (Istanbul: İletişim, 2014), 903–26.

102   Vahdettin Işık, Ahmet Köroğlu, and Yusuf Enes Sezgin, eds., *1960-1980 Arası İslamcı Dergiler: Toparlanma ve Çeşitlenme* (Istanbul: Nobel Yayıncılık, 2016), Lütfi Sunar, ed., *İslam'ı Uyandırmak: Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e İslamcı Düşünce ve Dergiler* (Istanbul: Nobel Yayıncılık, 2018), Lütfi Sunar, ed., *Bir Başka Hayata Karşı: 1980 Sonrası İslamcı Dergilerde Meseleler, Kavramlar ve İsimler* (Istanbul: Nobel Yayıncılık, 2019).

collected from the Islamism and Islamist Movement in Turkey conference held in 2013.[103] The seven volumes, six of which were edited by Lütfi Sunar, included the contributions of participants in three symposia held on the issue in addition to chapters written by dozens of researchers interested in the subject. Despite the fact that the focus of the latter is more comprehensive, a dozen among its forty-four papers are related to the translation of Islamist literature into Turkish, its reception, and the reflections of Islamist thought in literature and print. Hence, they deserve a place among the related primary sources in Turkish.

§ 1.4   Theoretical and Analytical Framework

Parallel with theoretical discussions on the issues of studying the book as a material, as text, and social and historical artefact, the processes of production, consumption, and reception involved, are also subjects of debate with respect to the methodology of studying these interrelated processes and phenomena. In this study, I refer to three basic models or frameworks employed in the study of book history and print culture. The first is the "communication circuit" model put forth by Robert Darnton in his 1982 essay "What is history of books?." Darnton considers book history to be "international in scale and interdisciplinary in method,"[104] and he offers a model to analyze the emergence and spread of books in society that connects authors and publishers to other actors in the book trade such as printers, shippers, booksellers, and the readers (see figure 1.1).[105]

One alternative scheme offered for the study of books is Adams and Barker's diagram. They also put the book at the center of the cycle and imagine five events in the life of a book, which are; publishing, manufacturing, distribution, reception, and survival.[106] Darnton's model focuses on actors and the

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103 İsmail Kara and Asım Öz, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi ve Hareketi*, (Istanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2013).

104 Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?," 81.

105 Darnton, 66-67.

106 Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker, "A New Model For the Study of the Book," in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society*, ed. Nicolas Barker (London: British Library, 1993), 5–44.

relationships among them, and recently updated graphics include contemporary changes to the actors and models of publishing congruent with the digital age. Murray & Squires' Revised Communication Circuit is one such updated version of this model.
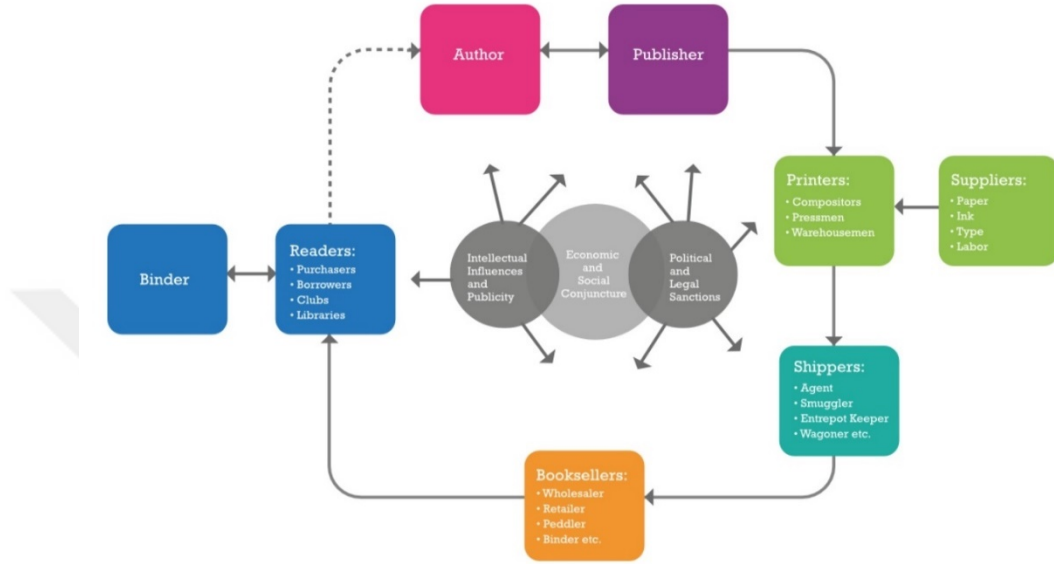
Figure 1.1   Robert Darnton's Updated Communication Circuit[107]

Though the actors and factors or relationships included in the models and the methods developed to study books and print culture vary, a consensus has been reached by historians of books in order to classify the studies on diverse aspects of the subject. The three rubrics involved in the classification are production, distribution, and reception. Joan Shelley Rubin explains these as follows:

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107   For details, see The Book Unbound project by Stirling University and the updated infographics for contemporary publishing practices inspired by Darnton's communications circuit model. The original title of the infographic on the project website is Revised Communication Circuit: Late 20th century print publishing communications circuit (Ray Murray and Squires, 2012) See University of Stirling and Arts and Humanities Research Council. *The Book Unbound: Disruption and Disintermediation in the Digital Age, accessed October 10, 2017, https://www.bookunbound.stir.ac.uk/.*

Under the first heading fall not only authorship and editing but also technological innovations, governmental directives, and economic forces that shape the business of publishing. Distribution refers to all the activities that bring print to people, whether or not they are connected to profit making – advertising, book selling, transportation networks, censorship and self-censorship, learned societies, libraries and schools. Reception is synonymous with reading or use, although the word suggests more passivity than readers' actions entail. Reception maybe public, private, oral, silent, individual and collective; it bears the weight of various emotions, ideologies and identities, and it consequently invites attention to how as well as why and what readers read.[108]

Employing Darnton's communication circuit and the related schemes of his successors and uncovering all the processes that books or print materials underwent is difficult and unmanageable for a research project of this scope given the quantity of books involved. Communication circuit model is more suitable for studying the history of a specific book or canon.

A second model or approach is Donald McKenzie's "sociology of texts" approach. As one of the foremost bibliographers of the twentieth century, Don McKenzie argues that the material forms of texts and the processes involved in their production and reception determine their meanings. For him, bibliography "is the discipline that studies texts as recorded forms, and the processes of their transmission, including their production and reception,"[109] and "it allows us to describe not only the technical but the social processes of their transmission."[110] McKenzie considers bibliography to be "a record of cultural change," since the reproduction, reprint, republishing, and rerecording of texts informs the re-formation of meaning. Therefore, bibliography as a soci-

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108   Joan Shelley Rubin, "What Is the History of the History of Books?," *Journal of American History* 90, no. 2 (2003), 557.

109   McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, 12.

110   McKenzie, 13.

ology of texts, McKenzie underscores, "directs us to consider the human motives and interactions which texts involve at every stage of their production, transmission and consumption."[111]

The third critical approach to studying print culture is Bourdieu's field theory, for which conceptual discussions related to *The Field of Cultural Production* is an important reference point. John B. Thompson successfully carried Bourdieu's conceptualizations to publishing sector and appropriated his concepts of field, capital, and habitus.

In Bourdieu's view, society is comprised of many different fields (politics, education, economy, culture, etc.), and both the fields and the agents and structures within those fields are interrelated in different dimensions. Thompson summarizes Bourdieu's concept of field as follows:

> A field is a structured space of social positions which can be occupied by agents and organizations, and in which the position of any agent or organization depends on the type and quantity of resources or 'capital' they have at their disposal. Any social arena – a business sector, a sphere of education, a domain of sport – can be treated as a field in which agents and organizations are linked together in relations of co-operation, competition and interdependency.[112]

In other words, field is a structured space of positions that enforces its determinations over those that enter the field. On the other hand, it is also an arena of struggle where the agents seek to preserve or revoke the distribution of capital a battlefield wherein the foundations of identity are contested. Within the hierarchy of power relations, the elements of the field (individual or institutional) compete to attain capital. Bourdieu defines several forms of capital for which people or agents in social fields compete. Bourdieu defines capital as "a resource, a form of wealth, which individuals who possess it can invest in dif-

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111   McKenzie, 15.

112   John B Thompson, *Merchants of Culture: The Publishing Business in the Twenty First Century* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), 3-4.

ferent fields to acquire power or some valuable resource, like educational qualifications."[113] The forms of capital described by Bourdieu are economic (financial wealth), social (connections and networks), cultural (skills and titles), and symbolic capital (honor and prestige).[114] John B. Thompson classifies the fivefold kinds of capital important for the publishing field and their equivalents in publishing context as follows: Economic capital (financial resources), human capital (staff employed and their knowledge, skills, and expertise), social capital (networks of contacts and relationship), intellectual capital (intellectual content and rights), and symbolic capital (accumulated prestige and status associated with the publishing house).[115]

With respect to the compatibility of the concept of the field and the world of publishing, Thompson enlists four arguments. The first he puts forward is that "it enables us to see straightaway the world of publishing is not a one world but rather a plurality of worlds or..., *a plurality of fields*, each of which has its own distinctive characters," and the second is that "the notion of field helps...us to look beyond specific organizations and makes us think...in *relational* terms...in the sense that it assumes that the actions of agents, firms and other organizations are ...predicated on calculations about how others may or may not act in the field."[116] The third reason is "the fact that the power of any agent or organization in the field is dependent on the kind and quantities of resources or capital that it possesses,"[117] and the fourth reason to employ the concept of fields is that "each field of publishing has a distinctive dynamic – what I call 'the logic of the field.'"[118] For the publishing field, this logic is set of factors determining the conditions for actors to participate the field and play the game in accordance with the rules and that logic the field imposes.

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113   Malcolm Richardson, "Notes on and Quotations from Pierre Bourdieu," accessed March 10, 2017, http://studymmore.org.uk/xybou.htm.

114   Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. Randal Johnson (Columbia University Press, 1993).

115   Thompson, *Merchants of Culture: The Publishing Business in the Twenty First Century*, 5-6.

116   Emphasis belongs to the author. Thompson, 4.

117   Thompson, 5.

118   Thompson, 11.

As well as employing the concepts of field and capital, the concept of habitus is also related to the subject matter since the terms habitus, field, and capital are internally linked. That is because, in Bourdieu's conceptualization, the correspondence between mental structures (habitus) and social structures (field) generates social action. As Richardson underscores, "just as habitus informs practice from within, a field structures action and representation from without."[119] Hence, when the field of religious or "Islamic print" is refered in this study, it is actually a combination of both the habitus (religious/Islamic), which constitutes the dispositions of Muslim agents and the field (print/publishing), which the social universe in which the operate and which grant them a position in society and imposes certain special conditions that impinge on them.

As mentioned earlier, current research has two components: A comprehensive bibliography of Islamic books printed and published in Republican Turkey and a cultural and political history of Turkey that traces the changes and continuities in the field of reflection on Islam and Muslims via Islamic books as cultural and intellectual artefacts. Though the research question led me to theoretical and methodological discussions of book history and the scholarship on print culture and the various possibilities they offer, I needed to develop my own approach and method of analysis due to the peculiarities of the case and the particular challenges encountered during the research.

In the first step, I compiled a database of books published in Turkey covering Islam. This bibliographic collection revealed what was produced and disseminated in the publishing sector of Turkey. Since I included reprints in the bibliographic records, the database also provided some information about its survival in the circuit. Since author, publisher, publication date, and publication place are the basic parameters of the bibliographic entries, analysis of the data provided a fair knowledge of the life cycle of the books in question. However, since reader response cannot be measured from such a data set, the dimension of reception in the communication circuit is excluded from the analysis of this research.

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119   Richardson, "Notes on and Quotations from Pierre Bourdieu."

On the other hand, by applying conventional content analysis methods to the bibliographic data set and indexing them based on genre and subject matter, I drew a map of reflection on Islam in Republican Turkey through the literature produced over a nearly 90-year period. Moreover, I determined the relations between shifting loci of this intellectual inventory and the general socio political context of the country using bibliography as a record of cultural change, which Don McKenzie discusses with respect to his sociology of texts approach. As a result of this work, the multitudes and extents of Islamic literature in Turkey gives scholars a more panoramic grasp of the field and lessens the chance of overestimation or underestimation with respect to certain issues and groups in the study of Islam.

In order to focus on the actors of the Islamic print sector, discuss the basic actors of print Islam in Turkey, and open up questions of religious authority to debate, Bourdieu's theory of field and related concepts areutilized. The print or publication sector provide a field in which to dig out the courses of ideas and to unearth an intellectual and cultural history. The collectivity of relations in that field or multiplicity of fields bring forth a public space in which diverse actors, regimes, and practices contribute the visibility of alternative political identities and reconfigurations of social life.

In this regard, the field of print gives researchers the opportunity to follow processes of reproduction (concordance of social and mental structures) and transformation (discordance of habitus and field). It is possible to sketch the ideological map of pious citizens in Turkey through deep, detailed analysis of print materials. In the current study, the frequency and distribution of basic genres or subject matters reveal basic points of concern among sets of agents and organizations active in the field. Plus, the frequency of authority figures (authors and publishers) hints at the distribution of symbolic power in the field.

The field of print and publishing is undoubtedly a battleground in the wider field of culture. While it requires certain forms of capital to enter and survive in the publishing field writ large, Islamic publishers also need to bring out or harvest new forms of capital to distribute to fellow agents or as ammunition for fellow fighters. It must be fertile and productive enough to provide such results. Additionally, the print field is also related to acculturation, self-

reflection, and the building of the pious self. Hence, missionary publishers consider themselves to be doing good by providing people with healthy, legitimate products with which to construct their pious selves and properly nourish their souls. Therefore, products produced in the Islamic print sector play a crucial role in religious education and pedagogical processes. Print is a double-edged sword used both to attack the foe and sculpt the self.

As a result, in its reflection on research materials and outcomes, this study benefited from the sociology of texts and communication circuit conceptualizations of book history scholarship as well as Bourdieu's theory of field. In addition to these discussions, print and religious cultural production is considered as a counterpublic that constitutes a social, mental, and discursive space around texts, providing an intellectual or theoretical background similar to the theme song of a movie.

§ 1.5   Methodology and Problems of Research

In this project, I present a panoramic picture of Islamic print and publishing and analyze the points of change over an almost ninety-year period in Republican Turkey. Moreover, the project is grounded on quantitative research methods with supplementary use of qualitative methods. To do so, I first produced a bibliography based on a mixed documentary research method. Second, I applied conventional content analysis to the bibliographic data by defining twofold index codes based on subjects and genres. Finally, I analyzed statistically using a bibliometric approach. Based on my findings and reading of relevant secondary literature, I determine some subjects of theoretical and historical discussion and offer a critical reflection and discussion of them.

In this section, I discuss the stages of conducting my quantitative research and succeeding processes with a focus on methodology. The research stages can be summarized as i) data collection, ii) data classification, iii) standardization and preparation of data for analysis, and iv) data analysis and evaluation of results. Before explaining these processes and detailing the methodology used in this study, let me explicate the challenges inherent in conducting qualitative research about print in Turkey. These concern the problems of data

collection, sources of and access to data, and the difficulties of aggregation and classification of data which are explained successively below.

1.5.1 *The Challenges of Quantitative Research in the Print Field*

In addition to the general disciplinary challenges of studying print and book culture, there are country-specific problems. In the case of Turkey, the most challenging aspect for the quantitative analysis of print activities is a lack of systematic, reliable data. The registration and the collection of the records of books in print in the country are maintained by several governmental and non-governmental bodies, but none provide reliable, comprehensive data on all the material printed and published in country.

In Turkey, there are two main governmental bodies related to the collection of book records and bibliographic data. These are i)the Administration of Libraries and Publications and its two branches - a) the branch of Publication Standards and Collection and b) the ISBN Agency –and ii) the National Library Administration. Both institutions are under the authority of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. One should also add the Yayımcı Meslek Birlikleri Federasyonu (Federation for Publishers Professional Associations), YAYFED, a nongovernmental body in the publishing field that functios as stamp provider for registered publishers. All these bodies provide data for the official statistical reports of the Turkish Statistical Institute; however, none employ a universal standard for data. Furthermore, a considerable part of the registered or collected historical data at hand is not in digital form, which makes it less serviceable for historical research covering a long period.

In order for a publisher to publish a book project, provided it has the necessary certificates and documents for legal action, it should first apply to ISBN agency to attain an ISBN number. After completing the printing, the publisher must apply to YAYFED to get the hologram stickers for each copy it printed. When the book is ready for distribution and sale, within fifteen days of printing, the publisher must send six copies of the book to those institutions that legal regulates have designated as the book and printed material collection libraries. The books sent to national library and others are registered in the library catalogues, and cataloging of a book means that it has completed its

publication process or communication circuit by arriving in the hands of one of its audience members.

As the first official stop for the publisher, the ISBN agency can be considered a source of data. ISBN works as an international identification number for every book in print; however, the history of books in Turkey with ISBN is problematic. First, books in Turkey have been given an ISBN number only since 1987, nearly a decade after the emergence of the system in the world. Second, until 1995, the numbers issued were random, not based on a systematic codification. Third, the catalogues of ISBN are available in the archives of the department; however, catalogues of data predating 2007 are in hard copy format, not in digital form. Last, there are still publishers in Turkey that do not obtain ISBNs for the books they publish and it is usually the governmental and non-governmental organizations that publish for non-profit aims that prefer not to pursue ISBNs for their publications. It is estimated that a data not included in the lists of the ISBN agency accounts for 10 to 15 percent of the country's printed material.[120]

Moreover, the ISBN number demanded from the agency does not necessarily correspond to the actual publication process and date of print of the book. A given number might remain unused depending on the conditions of the publishers. The year of print and the year of the request of ISBN might not coincide or the publisher might not manage to publish the work at all for some reason.[121] These circumstances mean that conducting historical research based on ISBN data is troublesome since such data are deficient.

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120 The information and estimations regarding the ISBN system rely on the informal interviews of the author of this dissertation with officials at the ISBN Directorate of Ministry of Culture in Ankara in 2013 and do not reflect the findings of any scientific research or report.

121 Such practices were possible until a couple of years ago. Recent legal regulations require expedient completion of the printing and publishing process. If the ISBN applicant does not send a hard copy of the printed material within one month following publication, the agency threatens to remove all the information about the material, which would result with its deletion from online catalogues, book portals, etc. For books currently in print, such data loss is less likely. For details, see T.C Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kütüphaneler ve Yayımlar Genel Müdürlüğü, "ISBN Nasıl Alınır?" accessed April 3, 2016, http://www.ekygm.gov.tr/isbn.html.

In this regard, it would seem that library collections and catalogues would provide more accurate data in the sense that they only includebooks that have fully completed the publication process. However, despite the fact that every publisher has a legal responsibility to send several copies of the printed work to the collection libraries within 15 days following their printing, this schedule is ignored or not observed by some publishers.[122] Since 1934, the National Library of the Turkish Republic collects the bibliographic data of books printed in Turkey and publishes the *Bibliography of Turkey*. Despite increasing comprehensiveness of the records held by the National Library and a decline in the missing records due to recent legal regulations, librarians guess that about 20 percent of materials are missing records. Library management cannot reach this information and these materials probably remain unrecorded.[123] Even today, especially with respect to reprints, not all publishers have the zeal to send the compulsory copies, especially for books that have numerous reprints.[124]

Despite the gap in the actual number of books printed and those recorded in the *Bibliography of Turkey* catalogues of National Library, the bibliography serves as the main medium upon which most contemporary bibliographical studies conducted in Turkey are based. Volumes of the *Bibliography of Turkey* are published in hard copy format, and since 2003 they have also been accessible as electronic books. Nevertheless, because the entries of bibliography are simultaneously recorded in the library catalogue, it is possible to search them in the online catalogue and web site of the national library.

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122   The latest legal regulation on the collection of printed products and intellectual property was recent as 2012, which suggests the extent to which The National Library of Turkey could have managed to collect the printed materials of Turkey to date. T.C Başbakanlık, "Çoğaltılmış Fikir ve Sanat Eserlerini Derleme Kanunu (No.28219)" *Resmi Gazete*, February 29, 2012, http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2012/02/20120229-1.htm.

123   These predictions are those of National Library experts in Ankara with whom I spoke informally.

124   I observed that data regarding reprints of a particular book was usually absent. Even for books published in recent decades, publisher supplied copies of only a couple reprints despite the fact that the book reprinted dozens of times.

When collecting the book titles pertaining to Islamic books printed in Turkey using the online catalogue search system, the software of the National Library listed the results in groups of no more than 1000 titles. I had to save them in text format or e-mail them to myself in batches of 100 entries. It therefore entailed a significant amount of time to collect the catalogue information on more than thirty thousand books.[125] Though time consuming, the most reliable data for academic use is that of the online catalogues of the National Library, so I had to pursue my study with this protracted method.

All in all, it is all but impossible to obtain credible, detailed statistical data regarding the book sector in Turkey. Doubtlessly, the data gathered by the TSI is also collected via official governmental or non-governmental bodies that are legally responsible for providing data to the agency. Moreover, it is not easy to detect shortcomings within a system where the actors might behave in contrast to official declarations and statements. In fact, here I wholly put to the side the huge challenge of pirate publishing, which makes any predictions and figures contentious and problematic.

The data generated by the TSI are just numbers for general categories. I employed these figures in this study when applicable. Detailed bibliographical records can only be obtained through publication catalogues, if available, and via the National Library catalogues. My search and attempt to collect bibliographic data from as many sources as possible led me to suffice with information gathered from the National Library catalogue and from printed bibliographies at hand. Though incomplete and imperfect, data obtained from National Library is the most coherent and inclusive for the purposes of a search covering a long period of time such as the one covered by the current study. Other bibliographic sources either lack digital format or cover only production in specific years or short periods of time. Though the National Library catalogue is an important data source, it omits a considerable number of books produced in country - up to 20 percent. Another major shortcoming is the

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125   To save time, I asked the authorities of National Library to provide these more than thirty thousand entries - books in the library catalogues the Dewey number of which start with 297 and all related numbers referring to books on Islam- in XML format. However, I could not get a positive answer by the IT department that was responsible for such an action.

format in which the data can be obtained. In the following section, I describe problems related to the format of data and my endeavours to overcome them.[126]

1.5.2 *Challenges on the Aggregation and Classification of Data*

During the second step of aggregating and classifying an inventory of approximately 30 thousand books and transforming the bibliographical records into an analyzable format for this doctoral study, another set of challenges emerged which stand from the library codification and recording system. This was related to the second set of data covering 1973-2010.

The issue of the classification of knowledge in Islamic tradition and the materials carrying that knowledge is a long debated and unresolved field. In fact, this is related not only to Islamic tradition but to general knowledge accumulation in human history. With respect to the Islamic book, the issue is more complicated. Depending on the classifier, the classification of Islamic literature and the literature on Islam differs. Classification of Islamic literature (both classical and modern) is a significant matter handled by the librarians, bibliographers, and other professionals in the field. A comprehensive, satisfactory scheme is lacking in both Muslim and non-Muslim settings. Currently in both Islamic countries and Western libraries, the most common classification system used in libraries are the DDC (Dewey Decimal Classification) and the LCC (Library of Congress Classification). However, the design of both systems entail shortcomings and certain problems with respect to the proper classification of the body of Islamic knowledge. For librarians in the Muslim world, neither system is sufficiently comprehensive and subdivisions must be developed and revised.[127]

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126   As explained in coming chapters, I also employed a printed bibliography as primary data. The authors of the bibliography in question collected the entries through a similar though manual catalogue search of the national libraries and Bibliography of Turkey as was possible in the 1970s.

127   For related discussions, see Fahriye Mercanlıgil Gündoğdu, "Dewey Onlu Sınıflandırması ve İslam Literatürünün Sınıflandırma Sorunları," *Türk Kütüphaneciliği* 7, no. 1 (1993): 21–32; M. Solihin Arianto, "Islamic Knowledge Classification Scheme in Islamic Countries' Libraries,"

There are initiatives in some Islamic countries to amend or expand the coverage of existing standard classification systems, as noted by Haroon Idrees;[128] however, these efforts remain local, independent, and unrelated to each other. Bibliographers and cataloguers of Islamic books acknowledge the need for a comprehensive, new classification system designed to cover all related materials in a unique way, as Idrees also reveals, however, despite individual efforts, incentive to carry out such a mission on a global scale is currently absent. In the most common classification system, DDC, Islam is located in the 200s category of religion, and its specific code is 297. The ten basic subcategories of 297 are as follows:

- 297.1 : Sources of Islam
- 297.2: Islamic doctrinal theology (Aqaid and Kalam) Islam and other systems of belief
- 297.3: Islamic worship
- 297.4 : Sufism (Islamic mysticism)
- 297.5 : Islamic ethics and religious experience, life, practice
- 297.6 : Islamic leaders and organization
- 297.7 : Protection and propagation of Islam
- 297.8 : Islamic sects and reform movements
- 297.9 : Babism and Bahai faith.[129]

Bibliographic classification systems intrinsically consider subjects or groups of subjects. One of the most detailed and all-inclusive "arrangement of the material" lists belongs to the *Index Islamicus* of BRILL which contains forty-

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Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies 44, no. 2 (2006): 295–323, and H Idrees, "Organization of Islamic Knowledge in Libraries: The Role of Classification Systems," *Library Philosophy and Practice*, 2012, 1–14.

128   Haroon Idrees, "Development of a Classification Scheme for Islam" (Berlin: Humbaldt Universitat zu Berlin, 2012).

129   Online Computer Library Center, OCLC, "Dewey Decimal System (DCC)," accessed February 3, 2016, https://www.oclc.org/content/dam/oclc/webdewey/help/200.pdf.

three main categories and hundreds of subcategories.[130] But in fact, the classification system of *Index Islamicus* is more related to geography than the Islamic-ness of literature. Indeed, its basic criterion starts with the distinction of non-Western, presumably non-Christian geography and includes all intellectual products in diverse disciplines produced in those Muslim settings in various local languages. The history of colonialism can be traced in the listing of those territories and geographies as well.

Despite discussions about the shortcomings of existing bibliographic classification schemes and emphasis on developing a new classification scheme for Islam-related and Islamic materials, currently scholarship has not compromised on one. Even if it were available, it would possibly take subject matter into consideration, so a genre-based categorization would be another task to accomplish.

The National Library of Turkey also employs Dewey classification system, and my target books were recorded under Dewey code 297 and its subsections. In practice, recording a book under a specific category depends on the decision of the librarians (whether in an individual or institutional manner). Sometimes, due to the vague criteria for deciding into which category a book best fits and sometimes due to the individual characteristics or mixed content of the book, it is difficult to classify a book. Some books may fit into several categories or cover several subjects simultaneously, which is one of the structural problems of bibliographic codification.

Because of this complexity and ambiguity, Islam-related materials are not limited to books recorded in library catalogues under the 297 DCC code. It is possible to find Islamic books under different codes such as philosophy, social science, history, and literature. For example, books known as *hidayet romanları* that can be labelled Islamic fiction and that were popular in the 1980s and beyond were recorded under the code for Turkish novels in National Library catalogue. Another illustration is religious children's books. They are indexed

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130   Index Islamicus is a collection of bibliographies consisting of an electronic database, journal, and yearbooks. It is officially defined as "the international classified bibliography of publications in European languages on all aspects of Islam and the Muslim world from 1906 onwards until the present day." See Brill, "Index Islamicus Online," accessed February 10, 2016, https://brill.com/view/db/iio.

under the Dewey code 297.03, but an online search of the national library catalogue results in only 155 entries, all of which belong to the previous decade. This seems significantly below the real number for this genre. It seems that the library used a different codification in previous decades or a relatively big literature is absent in the library catalogues. When I searched for Nesil Çocuk, one of the primary publishers of Islamic children's literature, I found that the library holds more than 300 titles, most of which are indexed under general children's literature.

In addition to the registration of certain categories of books under different codes at different points in times, one can encounter the registration of a single work under different codes. One of the best examples is the *Mevlid* of Süleyman Çelebi. *Vesilet'ün Necat* (also known as Mevlid) is one of the canonical books of Islamic literature from time of the Ottoman Empire up into the republic. Numerous publishers have published different editions over the decades. In the National Library records, various reprints of *Mevlid* are recorded under Islam-related codes and under general literature codes.[131]

The whole of Islamic book and books related to Islam is therefore not limited to those recorded under the related Dewey code due both to methodological problems of bibliography studies and the practical preferences of libraries and librarians. Indeed, it is not possible for a researcher to identify all such books. Therefore, I sufficed with those recorded under related code and left aside those registered under different subject categories. Future researchers interested in specific genres such as Islamic children's books and classics of

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131 Süleyman Çelebi (d.1422) was a fifteenth-century ulema who composed *Vesilet'ün Necat*, one of the most popular poems of Turkish history, which is also known as *Mevlid* since it covers the birth and life of the prophet Muhammad. For centuries this poem has been recited on his birthday, and in Turkey, *mevlid okutmak* (recitation of mevlid) is a common practice in festivities such as births, weddings, and funerals, as well. This common ritual is observed by both pious and secular people in modern Turkey. Usually a meal or desserts, which are offered to relatives, neighbors, friends, or fellow Muslims gathered in a mosque accompany the ceremonial recitation of the *mevlid*. For an ethnography of *Mevlid* culture in Turkey, see Nancy Tapper and Richard Tapper, "The Birth of the Prophet: Ritual and Gender in Turkish Islam," *MAN* 22, no. 1 (1987): 69–92. For *mevlid* culture in the Ottoman Empire, see Ahmet Özel, "Mevlid," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İSAM Yayınları, 2004). and Necla Pekolcay, "Mevlid," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İSAM Yayınları, 2004).

Islamic literature, for instance, would need to develop new strategies or methods of collecting data.

1.5.3   *Challenges of Data Standardization and Preparation for Analysis*

Following the stages of data collection and classification among the stages of my quantitative research, I started data standardization. As mentioned above, I obtained bibliographic entries from the National Library catalogue in text format. I started to transform those millions of lines into an excel spreadsheet. I purged repeated entries, and unnecessary columns such as ISBN numbers and the library's location codes. I ended with a data set with the following entries. Title of the book, author, publisher, publication date, edition (if applicable), translator and/or editor (if applicable), place of publication, and language. As discussed above, I added the columns of genre and subject to this spreadsheet and classified them according to these categories by looking at their titles and other applicable information as necessary. For books the genre or subject of which I was not familiar, I searched the library classification and tried to find related information online; however, in some cases this did not provide enough information to identify the genre or subject of the book. I would then search about the author and sometimes the period in which the author lived, to determine the genre of the book. I cleaned places and dates of publication of spelling mistakes and related typographical problems. I did the same for the author and publisher entries and standardized the orthography of names.[132]

Since the information in the language and editor/translator entries was not coherent, they were not included in any statistical or bibliometric analysis. For example, the original languages of translated books was not possible to determine since they were not in the records; only the languages in which the books were printed were recorded. Translator data also was not coherent since for some books what is meant by translation is transliteration from Ottoman Turkish. For other records, especially with regard to classical Islamic books, reproductions were made without distinguishing among editors or revisers

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132   For the phases through which the data set passed in order to prepare for quantitative and qualitative analysis, see the small sample set in Appendix B.

who reworked existing translations. For some books, several translators translated the book for different publishers at different times, and selecting only one would lead to arbitrary results. Therefore, I did not conduct an analysis of or draw conclusions regarding these variables.

Despite the fact that translated Islamic literature is an important subject of discussion with respect to the spread of Islamism in Turkey, the database of current study does not provide a conference of quantitative analysis of such. A specific study focusing on translated Islamic works would need to consider new methods to overcome problems with the data. Moreover, additional data would need to be derived from different sources. In addition to findings and inferences from quantitative research, claims that Islamism was an imported ideology that flourished via translated books that mushroomed in the market during the 1970s and the 1980s must be supplemented by comprehensive qualitative research focusing on the reception of those books.

1.5.4 *Data Analysis and Evaluation of Findings*

Since I share a detailed description of the data, methods, analysis, and findings of this research in chapter three, it suffices here to say that for the quantitative component of this study, bibliometric and a conventional content analysis[133] approach were applied to the texts of the collected bibliographic data. I collected general culture statistics from the Statistical Yearbooks published since 1928 by the TSI, and employed bibliometrics for the numeric transformation of the data set. The content analysis was accomplished through the categorization of bibliographic data with respect to genre and subject codes based on close observation of the data and secondary documentary research. The findings of both methods are revealed in graphs and tables in chapters 2 and 3, and the depictions in those tables and graphs are compared and discussed. Findings related to actors in the field – namely publishers and authors- are revealed in chapters 4 and 5.

Using these analytical procedures, I answer the following questions: How many book titles were published in Republican Turkey and what is the share

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133   Sarah E. Shannon and Hsiu-Fang Hsieh, "Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis," *Qualitative Health Research* 15, no. 9 (2005): 1277–88.

of books on religion or Islamic books among the total number of books printed in Turkey on a yearly basis? How did the general trend of Islamic book publication change over the years? Who are the most frequent authors of Islamic literature? Which publishing houses were among the most active actors in the field of book publishing? How did the distribution of different genres and subject matters of Islamic books change during the Republican period? Which genres or subjects were popular in different periods? Which cities or places are the geographical centers of Islamic publishing activity? How can changes in the genres and subjects of Islamic books over the years be interpreted? How does the redistribution of books based on their genre or subject for a periodization based on major political changes in the country affect the interpretation of the results? Can we identify any relation ship between the social, political and economic contexts of the country and the development of Islamic print activities?

All these topics are handled in detail in related chapters of this dissertation. In the following paragraphs, I briefly outline of the organization of those issues in the manuscript.

In chapter 1, I present the necessity and challenges of studying Islamic print culture and books in modern Turkey and focus on discussions regarding book history and print culture scholarship in Europe as well as the literature on print Islam in the Middle East and Turkey. In addition to conceptual challenges to even naming the main question or area of study, I also discuss specific methodological and theoretical challenges I encountered while planning and accomplishing this research project, and I offer some strategies for overcoming them in future studies.

Chapter 2 looks at the history of the printing press in the Ottoman Empire from the eighteenth century onwards and traces the development of Islam-in-print starting in the nineteenth century up to contemporary times with a focus on books. In addition to offering a periodization of general print culture and Islamic print activities in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic and outlining the major features of those periods, the chapter problematizes two major discussions that grew around print history – the thesis of belated modernization and the thesis of twentieth century Islamic revivalism, that is, return of religion to a supposedly secular public sphere.

Chapter 3 offers a detailed documentation of print and non-print media and the channels employed for transferring Islamic content. It covers the findings depicted in tables and graphs that resulted from the quantitative bibliometric analysis of the bibliographic data collected for this study as well as the application of content analysis in order to present the distribution of genres and subjects and geographical centers of the field. It elucidates the specific issue of the categorization of Islamic books and offers a scheme for the classification of Islamic literature based on subject and genre differentiations, which is the groundwork for the quantitative work carried on in the rest of chapter pertaining to Islamic books in Republican Turkey. It also reveals the impact of political context on the development of Islamic book publishing and the loci of reflection on Islam during an almost ninety-year period since the foundation of Republic in 1923 up until 2010.

In chapter 4, statistics on publishers in the field are revealed and discussed. The study depicts the major actors of Islamic print in Turkey with respect to a threefold distinction based on their characteristic as the state, a community (established religious order) and an individual. The chapter describes several exemples from each group of actors. Diyanet as a state actor, Nurcu and Sufi publishers as communal initiatives and Pamuk publishing as an exemple independent individual actor, are closely scrutinized with a focus on their motives for and models of publishing.

Chapter 5 focuses on the role of print in social, political, and religious change and questions how printing technology and print materials affect the Muslim mind, identity, and theology by focusing on pedagogy, authority, and religiosity. In relation to discussions of religious authority, the popular authors in the Islamic publishing field in Turkey are scrutinized.

In chapter 6 the course of Islam-in-print in contemporary Turkey is evaluated. Basic dynamics of change and related social and political phenomena comprise the major observations and conclusions of this research. The epilogue puts the major deductions and arguments togetherand come to end with concluding remarks.

2

Belated in the Empire, Revived in the Republic: The Formation and Transformation of the Print Field

> *The Minister of Finance who was such an honorable man everywhere, used to step into his maison at Bozdoğan Arch every evening with all his honor and he used to read thick books while his fez drooped under his sable fur coat. Since he had command of Arabic, he performed the five daily prayers for whomever asked. The ones seeing his head from his cart, thought him reciting Qur'an in full whereas he was muttering Arabic couplets. However, he used to read a book in his cart during the months of Ramadan:* Dala'il al-khayrat. *He had five Dalails: The ones in the calligraphy of Kazasker İzzet, Hafız Osman, Yedikuleli Abdullah, and Eğrikapılı Rasim, and the one in the handwriting of the sheikh…*
>
> –Mithat Cemal Kuntay, *Üç İstanbul*

This chapter puts forward the historical development of print in the Turco-Ottoman context and its continuity in the Republican period. It then diagnoses the most prevalent and assimilated print genres and materials in the Turkish case, illustrating the types of Islamic media and information technologies. In addition to historical documents, I also employ bibliographic

figures as well as a quantitative analysis of bibliographic data for the Republican period using a bibliometric approach to explain the general development of print and Islamic books and print materials. These results and historical documents offer a detailed context and background for discussions and debates developed around late arrival of print to Muslim lands, the flourishing of Islam-in-print after the 1950s, and the Islamic revival thesis. Based on the course of developments around print from the Ottoman to the Republican context, I also propose a periodization describing the developmental phases of Islamic print activities.

§ 2.1   Governing Print and the Ottoman Print Regime

In the Ottoman context, print technology commenced towards the end of fifteenth century. Accounts regarding the first print house in Istanbul reveal that it belonged to David and Samuel Nahmias, brothers who moved from Spain to Istanbul and established their business in 1493.[1] Although Alpay Kabacalı reports that the first book printed in Istanbul was either a Hebrew dictionary, *Leçons des Enfants* (1488), or a Hebrew history by Josef Bengori (1490);[2] recent studies reveal that the first book printed by Nahmias brothers was *Arbaa Turim* (Four rows, 1493), a book on Jewish law by the fourteenth-century scholar Jacob ben Asher.[3] Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, Jewish subjects of the Ottoman Empire ran about thirty print houses primarily in Istanbul, Selanico, Aleppo, Damascus, and Izmir. In addition to religious books, they published books on history, language, and society.[4] A documentation of the books printed by Jews in the Ottoman Empire between 1493-1729 can be found in Yasin Meral's recent study, which lists 392 titles.[5]

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1   Babinger, *Müteferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası*, 8-9.

2   Kabacalı and Kabacalı, *Türk Kitap Tarihi*, 16.

3   Yasin Meral, *İbrahim Müteferrika Öncesi İstanbul'da Yahudi Matbuatı* (İstanbul: Divan Kitap, 2016), 23 and also A. K. Offenberg and Rıfat Bali (translated), "İstanbul'da Basılan İlk Kitap," *Müteferrika*, no. 4 (1994): 3–18.

4   Kabacalı and Kabacalı, *Türk Kitap Tarihi*, 17.

5   Meral, *İbrahim Müteferrika Öncesi İstanbul'da Yahudi Matbuatı*, 119-228.

Armenians were other main actors in Ottoman print activities, and their first print house was founded in 1567 by Apkar Tıbır from Tokat who learned the profession in Italy and brought equipment from there. This print house was established in Topkapı survived two centuries. The first book it printed was *Pokir Keraganutyan gam Ayperan* (Simple Armenian alphabet). Numerous books on diverse subject matters ranging from religion to language, geography to literature, and philosophy to history were published by this and other print houses founded by Armenians around the empire.[6]

As for Greeks, they founded their first print house in Istanbul in 1627; however, among non-Muslim subjects, knowledge of their printing activities in the Ottoman Empire limited.[7] According to information provided by Father Dositheos Anagnustopulos, the spokesperson of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul, this first printing house printed only one book during its eight-month lifetime before shutting down. The book was *Omilie* (Religious talks) by the theologian Maksimos Margunios and was the first book printed in Greek. The second Greek printing house operated between 1764 and 1780 in Fener and closed for economic reasons. A third opened in 1793 in the Patriarchate and printed mostly religious books, coursebooks, theological journals, and community newspapers. It continued to be active until 1964 except for an interval between 1923-26.[8]

As for Asyrrians, the Metropolitan Sait Şirazi states that the Asyrian community started to employ printing technology in the nineteenth century and published periodicals in the second half of that century. A printing machine brought from the United Kingdom and located in the Monastery of Deyrül-zaferan in the south-eastern city of Mardin, was used to print several books in Turkish, Arabic, and Asyrian after 1899.[9]

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6 Mehmet Ali Akkaya, "Türk Kitap Basmacılığı Tarihçesi ve Beşikdevri," *Bilgi ve Belge Araştırmaları* , no. 1 (2008), 6.

7 Babinger, *Müteferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası*, 9.

8 Dositheos Anagnostopoulos, "Türkiye'de Gayrimüslimlerin Dini Yayıncılığı," in *Türkiye I. Dini Yayınlar Kongresi*, ed. Ayfer Balaban (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 2004), 141.

9 Sait Şirazi, "Süryanilerde Dini Yayıncılık," in *Türkiye I. Dini Yayınlar Kongresi*, ed. Ayfer Balaban (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 2004), 144.

In addition to the ones founded and run by the non-Muslim Ottoman subject cited above, the print houses of foreign missions and certain missionary religious sects can be counted among the print activities conducted in the Ottoman Empire.

None of these commercial or intra-communal print activities met with intervention by Ottoman authorities as long as they did not publish in Arabic, Persian, or Turkish and they did not encourage revolt or insurrection among subjects.[10] Orhan Koloğlu also claims that there is no evidence of a forceful, determined prevention of print in the Ottoman Empire given that Jews (since 1493), Armenians (since 1567), Maronites (since 1610), and Greeks (since 1627) established print houses, the numbers of which increased in time. Furthermore, these print houses printed books in other languages beside their ethnic ones.[11] He stresses that for the Ottoman Empire, the only sensitive subject was religion, particularly Islam, which can be deduced from the fact that books in Arabic printed in Europe were not banned from being imported except for those on Islamic issues, Islamic literature, and fundamental texts such as Qur'an.[12] In her recent article contributing to the issue, Kathryn A. Schwartz elaborates on the approach and attitudes of Ottoman sultans towards printing, and using a historiographic method and documentation, she offers a critique of the assumption that the Ottoman context was characterized by negative attitudes toward and bans of printing.[13]

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10   Ali Akkaya, "Türk Kitap Basmacılığı Tarihçesi ve Beşikdevri," 6.

11   Orhan Koloğlu, *Basımevi ve Basının Gecikme Sebepleri ve Sonuçları* (Istanbul: Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1987), 22.

12   Koloğlu reports that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, importance was placed on the translation of the Qur'an in Europe, and selling cheap Qur'ans was a matter of seeking commercial profits. It is known translations of the Qur'an into Turkish brought to Istanbul by an English tradesman were confiscated and thrown into the Sea of Marmara. The same sense of anxiety can also be observed with regard to Christian publications on intra-sectarian debates. For example, a Catholic print house was immune from intervention until it published books opposing Orthodox beliefs. Such publications were considered political rather than religious, and they were banned because they could create a disturbance within the empire and among its subjects. See Koloğlu, 22-4.

13   See, Kathryn A. Schwartz, "Did Ottoman Sultans Ban Print?," *Book History* 20 (2017): 1–39.

2.1.1   *Müteferrika: A Cold Started "Enlightenment?"*

The first print initiative belonging to a Muslim Ottoman which is recorded as the first Turkish print house in the Ottoman Empire was founded by İbrahim Müteferrika and Yirmisekizçelebizade Said Efendi in Istanbul in 1727 upon the *ferman* (decree) of Sultan Ahmed III and the fatwa of Şeyhülislam Abdullah Efendi.[14] The name of the institution was Darü't-tıbaati'l-Ma'mure (Supreme Printing House) but it was widely referred to as the Müteferrika Print house in reference to its founder. Its first book was printed in 1729:*Lügat-ı Vankulu* (Arabic Turkish dictionary). In this print house, which was located in the private residence of İbrahim Müteferrika (or Basmacı İbrahim Efendi) in the Yavuz Selim neighborhood of Fatih, seventeen books on various subject matters such as geography, language, history, and the military, as well as four maps, were published in twenty-three volumes. Moreover, the print runs of these books were usually between 500 and 1000 per volume. Although the print house was officially active until 1794, in practice it functioned for only eighteen years until the death of İbrahim Müteferrika (1745). It is estimated that the total number of copies printed did not exceed 27 thousand.[15] Müteferrika's heirs used the print house once again in 1756 to print a second edition of *Vankulu Lügatı*, but then it put out of service. Vakanüvis Ahmed Vasıf Efendi and Raşid Efendi bought the printing house from Müteferrika's heirs planning to revive it, but the initiative was mostly futile and they printed only six more titles in 1783-84.[16]

Even though Müteferrika's initiative did not boost printing activities in the Ottoman Empire and was limited in its technological capacity, the enterprise is significant for the intellectual and cultural history of the Ottoman Empire as well as the wider Islamic world. There is sufficient evidence to identify Müteferrika as the incunabula of Turkish printing history. As Yasemin Gencer pointed out, "it was the first Islamic press in the Islamic world established with

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14   Erhan Afyoncu, "İbrahim Müteferrika," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İSAM Yayınları, 2000). v.21, 324-327.

15   Kabacalı and Kabacalı, *Türk Kitap Tarihi*, 45, and Kut and Türe, *Yazmadan Basmaya*, 5-9.

16   Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, 1928.

the approval of a Muslim ruler to produce works that catered primarily to Muslim audience (using the local language, Turkish, and printed in Arabic script), and more often than not, written from a Muslim author's perspective."[17] Many scholars that like those of his European counterparts, Müteferrika and his printing efforts constitute the incunabula of Turkish and Islamic printing history if not of the Ottoman Empire.[18]

In the first fifty year after Gutenberg invented printing with moveable types, approximately 40,000 titles were published and over nine million copies printed in Europe, a large percentage of which were religious books. In the Ottoman Empire, the situation was the reverse.[19] In fact, though İbrahim Müteferrika himself offered "the removal of the Islamic book trade from Christian hands, and increasing the glory of the empire as the leading Islamic state" as one of the rationales for establishing and running a printing house in his booklet *Vesilet'üt-tibaa* (Usefulness of printing) used to convince Grand Vizier Damad İbrahim Pasha, he had to guarantee not to print books on Islamic law or other Islamic literature.[20]

The issue of print in general and its timing in the Turco-Ottoman and Islamic settings has usually been discussed within the modernization context. The presumed "neglect" or "lack of enthusiasm" towards such an innovation has been explained as resistance to modernity and modern technology. The reasons behind this "late arrival" or "late adoption" have been the subject of numerous debates.

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17 Yasemin Gencer, "İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of Printed Manuscript," in *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition:Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indina University Collections* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 155.

18 For a comparative research on the development of the use of the printing press in Egypt, Iran, Central Asia, and South East Asia in local languages such as Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and Turkish dialects using Arabic script, see Almaz Iazberdyev and Ahmet Annaberdiyev, *Doğu'da Matbu Yayınların Tarihi: 1802-1917 Arap Alfabeli Türkmen Kitapları Kataloğu* (Istanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2005).

19 J. S. Szyliowicz, "Perspectives on Technology: The Case of Printing Press in the Ottoman Empire," in *The History of the Book in the Middle East*, ed. Geoffrey Roper, New edition (Ashgate, 2013), 334.

20 Gencer, "İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of Printed Manuscript," 157.

As evidence makes clear, the printing press and print technology found its way to the Middle East and Asia almost contemporaneously with Europe. Nonetheless, its use by Muslim subjects and authorities was rather late. Among other polities with Muslim majority populations, the Ottoman Empire tested the technology in the eighteenth century; however, the initiatve did not gain traction and the pace of progress remained slow for almost another century.

While scholars such as J. S. Szylowicz, George Atiyeh, and Reinherd Schulze oppose the evaluation and comparison of the Arabic or Ottoman contexts with western ones on the issue of print,[21] asserting that the adaptation of a specific technology should not be taken as a basic parameter for explaining social and intellectual phenomena, recent studies offer multiple explanations for this late adoption thesis. Various scholars on the other hand, generally propose the history of print initiated with Ibrahim Müteferrika as an Enlightenment case for the Ottoman Empire.[22] Orlin Sabev also expresses the view that "İbrahim Müteferrika was an 'agent of change', though not an 'agent of immediate change'."[23] Since I will revisit this debate, suffice it to say that Müteferrika started a process that would later be called the incunabula of Turco-Ottoman printing. I continue with initiatives that followed Müteferrika's in the printing sector.

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21 Szyliowicz, "Perspectives on Technology: The Case of Printing Press in the Ottoman Empire"; George N Atiyeh, "The Book in the Modern Arab World: The Cases of Lebanon and Egypt," in *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and the Communication in the Middle East*, ed. George N Atiyeh (State University of New York Press, 1995), 233–53. Reinhard Schulze, "The Birth of Tradition and Modernity: The Case of Printing," in *The History of Book in the Middle East*, ed. Geoffrey Roper (Ashgate, 2013).

22 Vefa Erginbaş, "Enlightenment in the Ottoman Context: İbrahim Müteferrika and His Intellectual Landscape," in *Historical Aspects of Printing and Publishing in Languages of the Middle East*, ed. Geoffrey Roper (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 53–100. Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı: Müteferrika Matbaası* (Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1939). İskit, *Türkiyede Neşriyat Hareketleri Tarihine Bir Bakış.*

23 Orlin Sabev, "Waiting for Godot: The Formation of Ottoman Print Culture," in *Historical Aspects of Printing and Publishing in Languages of the Middle East*, ed. Geoffrey Roper (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 106.

The second Turkish print house in the Ottoman Empire, was Mühendishane Matbaası founded in 1797 in the period of Sultan Selim III. The books published in this print house were mostly course books to supplied to the newly established schools of the *Nizam-ı Cedid* (New Order) system.[24] This print house did not last due to several technical problems. A third venue, called "Darü't-tıba'ati'l-Cedidetü'i Mamure" or more commonly Üsküdar Matbaası was founded in 1802. The first Islamic book printed in the Ottoman Empire was the product of this print house: *Risale-i Birgivi*, a classic on Islamic ethics and law, was published in 1803.[25] This print house moved first to Beyazıt in 1823 and then to Sultanahmet in 1852. It was called Takvimhane-i Amire (Imperial Calendar House) and then Matbaa-i Amire (Imperial Print House) during the constitutional period, and eventually renamed Devlet Matbaası (State Print House) in the republican period.[26]

Two other important print houses of the Tanzimat era were the print house of Jacques and Henri Cayol and the Bulak print house, which was founded in 1820 in Egypt by Muhammad Ali Pasha. The former was the first to use lithographic technique in the Ottoman Empire and the first private print house to print books in Turkish.[27] Lithography technique was invented in 1796 and developed and used especially after 1814. In the Ottoman Empire, it started being used in 1831 owing to the efforts of Mehmet Hüsrev Paşa. The first lithographed book in the Ottoman Empire was related to military education, and

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24 According to Sabev, the first course book printed by the Ottomans was Güzelhisari Zeyni's *I'rabu'l Kafiye* on Arabic grammar in 1785. Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika Ya Da Ilk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni*, 315.

25 M. Ali Akkaya specifies this date as the end of the incunabula of Turkish print history. Instead of emphasizing technical and physical criteria, he defends the inclusion of the religious, Islamic book in print activity as a turning point in the reception of Ottoman print since religion had a key position, and it took time to pass this mental threshold. See Mehmet Ali Akkaya, "Türk Kitap Basmacılığı Tarihçesi ve Beşikdevri."

26 Kut and Türe, *Yazmadan Basmaya*. and Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, 1939.

27 Serçe's work is also an invaluable resource on the *taşra* or provincial print houses and publications from the Tanzimat to the Meşrutiyet era. See Erkan Serçe, *İzmir'de Kitapçılık, 1839-1928* (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2002), 4-5.

in 1842, the Islamic text *Kaside-i Bürde* was printed with the same three-color technique by the Cayol print house.[28]

Though private print houses started to open a century after the establishment of Müteferrika in the Ottoman Empire, Takvimhane-i Amire also provided printing services for private individuals who wanted to publish books or other print materials. In the second half of the nineteenth century, provincial print houses began to appear in Bursa and Baghdad. The provincial ones generally printed *salname*s and other official documents using lithographic techniques.[29]

In the nineteenth century, in the era known as Tanzimat, print and publishing activities flourished in the empire. Indeed J. S. Szyliowicz reveals that "by 1875 there were 151 printing presses throughout the Empire, 116 of which were in Istanbul; of these 77 were owned by Turks, 21 were attached to schools of ministries, and the remainder was in the hands of minorities and missionaries."[30]

2.1.2 *Books from the Tanzimat to the Constitutional Era*

The situation of the print sector in the Tanzimat and constitutional eras of the Ottoman Empire were characterized by steady growth. The pioneering and prevailing studies that explore the early printed books in the Ottoman Empire are those of Jale Baysal, Alpay Kabacalı and the comprehensive catalogue of Seyfettin Özege. If the incunabulum is stretched up until Tanzimat - a long century of incubation – some 180 to 200 separate titles were published in the first hundred years (1729-1830) following the printing of the first book. Other estimations are 434 titles for 1729-1839 and 2469 titles for 1840-1875, respectively.[31]

It is estimated that between 1729-1928, books printed in Arabic script numbered around thirty thousand, 80 percent of which were printed from 1876-

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28 Gerçek, *Türk Taş Basmacılığı*, 16.

29 Babinger, *Müteferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası*, 46.

30 Szyliowicz, "Perspectives on Technology: The Case of Printing Press in the Ottoman Empire," 336.

31 The total number for 1729-1875 was 2905. See Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze*, 80.

1928.[32] The first and still the only complete catalogue of Turkish books printed in Arabic script is that of Seyfettin Özege, which was completed and printed in 1979 and consiss of 25,554 records.

However, in the first 146 years of this two-hundred-year period, the number hardly reaches three thousand.[33] The least known about the fifty-year period known is the Constitutional era, despite the fact that print activities increased tremendously in those years. Most studies focus on periodicals (newspapers and magazines) of the period, so books have remained understudied.[34]

While admitting that the catalogue of books from 1729 to 1928 printed in Arabic script is not yet complete, Meral Alpay, who conducts research on the impact of the alphabet revolution on the book inventory of Turkey and compares the numbers of books printed in Arabic and Latin scripts, claims that the number of the former is 27,407 based on records in the library catalogues of the National Library, Istanbul University Library, Istanbul Municipality Library, and Erzurum Ataturk University Library. Alpay gives numbers for subperiods in this two hundred year period as follows:

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32 The most comprehensive volume cataloguing the books of the period is the catalogue of Seyfettin Özege (d. 1981), a bibliophile and bibliographer who collected books printed in Arabic script, which was based on personal observation and record of books claimed to have been printed. See M. Seyfettin Özege, *Eski Harflerle Basılmış Türkçe Eserler Kataloğu* (Istanbul, 1971).

33 Baysal estimates the number of books for 1729-1875 to be 2900. Baysal et al., *Müteferrika'dan Birinci Meşrutiyete Kadar Osmanlı* .

34 Despite the fact that National Library initiated the collection and publication of the Complete Catalogue of Printed Works in order to offer a full record of Turkish books printed in Arabic script, from 1990 to present, six volumes have been published. Designed as a bibliography in alphabetical order those six volumes cover books until H. Müjgan Cumbur and Dursun Kaya, eds., *Türkiye Basmaları Toplu Kataloğu: Arap Harfli Türkçe Eserler 1729-1928* (Ankara: Milli Kütüphane Basımevi, 1990). For the discussion on the count of books in Turkey also see, Sami N. Özerdim, *Elli Yılda Kitap, 1923-1973* (Ankara, 1974).

Table 2.1   Number of Printed Books in First Two Centuries of the Printing
            Press[35]

Period	Number of Years	Number of Books
1729 - 1829	100	180
1830 - 1875	47	2894
1876 - 1892	17	3277
1893 - 1907	16	4250
1908 - 1917	10	6827
1918 - 1928	11	6376
No date		3603
Total	199	27,407

Ahu Erkul-Yağcı, who focuses on 1840-1940 which she describes as a reading
revolution era for Turkey, counts 62,766 book titles, taking Özege catalogue
and Bibliography of Turkey as her main sources.[36] If we subtract 18,512 titles
that she counted for 1929-1939, then one can conclude that before the alphabet
reform of 1928, the number of books printed in Turkey from 1840 and until
1928 numbered 44,254. This is double the number suggested by Baysal and
Alpay. Between 1803 and 1875, the number of books published annually in-
creased from less than 10 titles in the first decade to approximately 160 a year
in the last decade.

Though the reign of Abdulhamid II between 1875-1908 was marked by his
censorship policies, the trend in publishing activities continued to increase.
The steady increase observed during Constitutional era turned into a press
and printing boom in the post-Hamidian era.[37] As underlined by Serçe, "…un-
til 31 March incidence more than two hundred newspapers and magazines

35   Meral Alpay, *Harf Devriminin Kütüphanelerde Yansıması* (Istanbul: İ.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi
      Yayınları, 1976), 48.

36   Ahu Erkul-Yağcı, "Turkey's Reading Revolution: A Study on Books, Readers and Translation
      (1840-1940)" (Istanbul: Boğaziçi University, 2011), 70.

37   Escalation of print and publishing activities in that period is described by Server İskit as "a
      limitless printing freedom… In fact it was not freedom but anarchy". See İskit, *Türkiyede Mat-
      buat İdareleri ve Politikaları*.

were published, and this number reached 607 within three and a half years."[38] The same was true of book production, as well. While the average annual book production was 282.5 between 1893 and 1907 (the last decade of Abdulhamid II's rule), this figure reached 686.6 in the coming decade (1908-1917) despite negative conditions like the lack of paper and other supplies caused by of wars on various fronts which worsened with the First World War.[39]

Based on these studies and estimates, it can be concluded that during the first two hundred years of print, the books printed in the Ottoman Empire and the early Turkish Republic numbered more than twenty-five thousand, possibly reaching thirty thousand, but were probably below forty thousand.

As for the share of religious or Islamic books within the book sector, bibliographic classifications cover the pre-constitutional period. Jale Baysal's *Müteferrikadan Birinci Meşrutiyete Osmanlı Türklerinin Bastıkları Kitaplar* (The books printed by Ottoman Turks from Muteferrika to the first constitutional era) contains a rare bibliographical classification of books printed from the establishment of the Müteferrika Print House to the First Constitutional Era (1725-1875). She classifies the books into thirty-two categories based on subject (i.e., Islam, history, mysticism, geography, science, mathematics, language, ethics, and theater) and genres (i.e., dictionaries, calendars, bibliography, novel-story-tale, and travel books).

Of the 2900 books she documented in the first edition of her book, 390 (13.4 percent) were on Islam, 131 (4.5 percent) were on tasavvuf, 98 (3.3 percent) were on Islamic philosophy, and 91 (3.1 percent) were on morals.[40] The first three of these categories can be emerged into a general religious/Islamic category, so one can conclude that 21 -24 percent of the books printed in the period were Islamic, print of Islamic books was permitted in the first half of the period. In the revised, second edition of the book, Baysal lists a total of 3067 books in the subject-based bibliography, and among those, 635-725 books

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38 Serçe, *Izmir'de Kitapçılık, 1839-1928*, 55.

39 Serçe, 56.

40 Among major categories, poetry constitutes 12.2 percent, fiction 6 percent, military texts 5 percent, and textbooks 2 percent. Baysal et al., *Müteferrika'dan Birinci Meşrutiyete Kadar Osmanlı,* 42.

(20- 23.6 percent) can be listed as Islamic books or books on Islamic issues. Which is to say, the percentage of Islamic books among books printed between 1729-1875 did not exceed one fourth of the total.[41]

Another fundamental study on this subject is the one conducted by Alpay Kabacalı. He examines 434 titles published between 1729 and 1839 and claims that 14.52 percent of these books are on Islam, 3.91 percent on the philosophy of Islam, and 11.29 percent on language. 11.52 percent were dictionaries, 17.5 percent were military texts, and 2.07 percent were fiction.[42] The first two categories can be emerged to reach a sum of 18.43 percent.

Szylowicz provides a different number but makes a similar point. He claims that, of the books printed between 1729-1875, 19 percent were on religion, and "in 1875 only eight percent of all books published were religious whereas 33 percent were literary."[43] Considering the rise in other genres in publication sector, one can presume that the share of religious books probably decreased during the Constitutional period.

As can be understood from these studies, subject categories and the classification of books is subjective, dependent on the character and historical context of the books as well as the approach and method of the researcher. Yet despite their limitations, these two pioneering works reveal that from the appearance of print until the Republican period, books on Islam constituted approximately 15 to 20 percent of books produced from mid-eighteenth century to the early twentieth century. Needless to say, the manuscript tradition was still prevalent in that period, and the use of manuscripts must be taken into account to assess the Islamic book field.

Although incomplete, the aforementioned research concludes that the number of printed books in the first two centuries following the print of the first book in Ottoman Turkish in the Empire was nearly thirty thousand. At most, one fourth could be categorized as Islamic books or books on Islam.

For a more specific calculation, we can compare the figures of Baysal and Alpay for the same periods. For the period for which Baysal accounts, Alpay

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41   Baysal et al., 75-225.

42   Kabacalı and Kabacalı, *Türk Kitap Tarihi*, 107.

43   Szyliowicz, "Perspectives on Technology: The Case of Printing Press in the Ottoman Empire," 335.

estimates the number is 3074. Their findings are proximate for the period in question. If we presume that the ratio of Islamic books remained constant at about one fourth of all printed books, approximately six thousand of 27,407 books printed from 1729-1928 were Islamic books. Given this statistical introduction, I will continue by focusing on the basic qualifications of the earliest printed Islamic books and basic discussions that developed around them.

2.1.3   *Governing Islamic Books and Print in the Ottoman Way*

In this section, I focus on which Islamic books were in print in the Ottoman period. As mentioned above, the first Islamic book printed by the Ottomans (in 1803) was the *Vasiyetname* (last will and testament) of the well-known scholar Mehmet Birgivi (d.1573). Kabacalı says it is unknown why this book was chosen for print, but Brett Wilson reports that "the printing of this classical text was sponsored by Hadice Sultan so that the soldiers and the people would gain the basic knowledge of religion and learn how to perform daily prayers."[44] Doubtlessly, the nineteenth century was a period of military reforms in the Ottoman Empire, including the *Nizam-ı Cedid*. The establishment of military schools as well as a primary schooling system were basic factors behind the massification of education that led to a demand for schoolbooks and course materials in large quantities.

Following Birgivi's *Vasiyetname*, Kabacalı lists *Amentü Şerhi* (Comemntary of Credo) of Kadızade İstanbuli Ahmed (1805), *Tercüme-i Şerh-i Siyerül-Kebir* (Translation of Serahsi) (1825), *Fetava-i Ali Efendi* (Fatwas of Ali Efendi, 1829), *İlm-i hal* (Catechism) of Ahmed İlmi (1835), *Şerh-i Erbain Hadis* (Commentary of Forty Hadith) translated by Bursalı İbrahim Hakkı (1837) and *Şerh-i Delail-i'l Hayrat* (Commentary of Dalail-al-Khayrat) (1838-39) among the earliest Islamic books printed.[45] These six books cover the six basic fields of

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44   The printing of the first Islamic book itself is an early marker of the popularization of Islamic knowledge among the masses through mass education. Wilson, *Translating Quran in an Age of Nationalism: Print Culture and Modern Islam in Turkey*, 42-3.

45   Kabacalı and Kabacalı, *Türk Kitap Tarihi*, 62-74.

Islamic knowledge: Akaid (belief), siyer (the prophet's life), Islamic law, catechism, hadith, and *ibadat* (religious observance).[46]

If the printing of first Islamic book is a turning point ending the incunabula of Ottoman printing, then the printing of the Qur'an must be considered as a threshold in the history of Islamic print for the Ottoman case. Doubtlessly, the most important development -or broken taboo - was the printing of the Qur'an. Before being printed in Istanbul, the first copies of the Qur'an copies were partial editions printed at the Bulaq print house in Egypt in 1824.[47] These were followed by copies printed in Iran in the same decade and in the Indian cities of Bombay, Lucknow, and Calcutta in the 1850s.[48] The copies printed in Iran, Russia, and India found their way into the Istanbul market, but because of the Ottoman government's continuing embargo, printed Qur'ans remained a black market venture in Istanbul.[49]

Ottomans had several concerns about the printing of the Qur'an even though the Islamic book print ban had been broken in 1803, decades before. Nevertheless, in 1873 the Ottoman state decided to print the Qur'an itself, and "it did so in grandiose fashion. The office of Grand Vizier stated its ambitious intention to print 500,000 copies, a large print run by the standards of the nineteenth century and perhaps the largest ever in the history of Ottoman printing."[50] Even in the late twentieth century, only certain religious institutions and groups managed to amass the capital to finance such an action.[51]

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46 In his article in which he compared books printed in Istanbul and Cairo (Bulaq) in the nineteenth century, Reinhard Schulze notes that the early printed Islamic books consisted of the Qur'an and the classics. See Reinhard Schulze, "Mass Culture and Islamic Cultural Production in the 19th Century Middle East," in *The History of Book in the Middle East*, ed. Geoffrey Roper (Ashgate, 2013), 189–222.

47 Wilson, *Translating Quran in an Age of Nationalism: Print Culture and Modern Islam in Turkey*, 43.

48 Wilson, 45.

49 Wilson, 49.

50 Wilson, 64.

51 While this initial ambitious project of Qur'an production appeared in the Hamidian era, similar to the way Abdulhamid II granted thousands of copies to different Muslim communities living outside the territories of the empire as an emblem of his power and authority as the caliph, today in contemporary Turkey, different communities or Islamic circles imitate the

The first legal permission to print the Qur'an in Ottoman Empire was granted to Osman Zeki Bey, başmabeyinci (the chief chamberlain) of the palace during the reign of Abdulhamid II.[52] Osman Zeki Bey himself was a calligrapher and he selected Hafız Osman's handwritten version of the Qur'an as a model for print using lithographic technique.[53] Wilson argues tha early printed Islamic texts were mainly targeted the religious literati such as shaykhs, imams, and ulema rather than common readers. The spread of printed Islamic texts to average Ottoman readers occurred only in the last third of the nineteenth century. Despite positive developments in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century such as the emergence of the first Ottoman Turkish newspapers, the translation of European literary works, and the beginning of religious printin "compared to international standards," Wilson undrscores, "the number of different books, the quality of printed works, the publishing capacity, the accessibility and diversity of reading materials remained rather low,"[54] as can be understood from the production of only 3000 distinct books in Turkish before 1876, as noted above.

Even after the first initiative to print Qur'an in line with the overall character of the Hamidian period, religious books were the most censored of books. The content of religious publications was of great concern throughout Abdulhamid's reign. Despite emphasis on his status as caliph his embrae of pan-Islamist policies, Wilson argues that religious publications were exposed to more rigorous inspection by the administration and were removed from circulation, whereas "works on western science, materialism and evolution by

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same strategy to dominate the Islamic text market and to display compassion and charitableness to poor countries in Africa or elsewhere in the world with a noteworthy Muslim population. Consider Qur'an distribution or donation campaigns. In one such campaign organized by the DRA Foundation, more than 700,000 copies have been donated so far according to a recent check of the counter on the foundation's website. Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, "Hediyem Kur'an Olsun," accessed June 14, 2017, http://www.hediyemkuranolsun.com/.

52   Nedret Kuran-Burçoğlu, "Osman Zeki Bey and His Printing Office the Matbaa-i Osmaniye," in *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East*, ed. Philip Sadgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 35.

53   Kuran-Burçoğlu, 38.

54   Wilson, 96.

Ludwig Buchner, Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill 'were sold freely in the Istanbul bookshops.'"[55]

With respect to the Ottoman print regime during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Ayşe Polat undscores that "the regulations imposed on Islamic publications were strongly connected to the ways in which the Ottoman imperial administration governed publications in general and oversaw related fields, primarily education".[56] Legal regulations and the establishment of steering institutions on printed publications appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire.

With the growth of printing activities in mid-nineteenth century, the Ottoman state started to issue acts regulating print ,and these legal restrictions were followed by the establishment of supervisory and auditing bodies. The first *irade* (act) regulating the rules of printing was issued on 4 January 1840 and published in the official gazette, *Takvim-i Vekayi*. However, in a second *irade* issued on 7 June 1841, those who wanted to print books were required to obtain permission from Babıali (Sublime porte). In addition, on 17 February 1857 the first *Basmahaneler Nizamnamesi* (Act on print houses) was put into effect. This act, which would remain in effect until 1888 regulated the legal process of founding a print house.[57] Moreover, in 1863 the first *Matbuat Nizamnamesi* (Regulatory act on printing) came into action.[58]

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55 Wilson, 98. One of the most sounding of such actions was an order to burn them in the furnace of a Turkish bathhouse. According to some records, the classical hadith collection *Sahih-i Buhari* was among these destroyed books. Besides being mentioned in historical novels such as "Üç İstanbul" by Mithat Cemal Kuntay, "burning books" was among the reasons of the sultan's opponent for dethroning Abdulhamid II in 1909 mentioned in the official "hall fetvası" issued by Şeyhülislam M. Ziyaeddin Efendi. For a popular discussion of the issue, see Murat Bardakçı, "Abdülhamid Tahtından Kitap Yakma Suçlamasıyla Indirilmişti," *Habertürk*, March,3 2011, http://www.haberturk.com/yazarlar/murat-bardakci/614533-abdulhamid-tahtindan-kitap-yakma-suclamasiyla-indirilmisti. Nevertheless, the issue deserves a scientific treatment and needs to be cleared of rumors and popular speculation.

56 Ayşe Polat, "Subject to Approval: Sanction and Censure in Ottoman Istanbul (1889-1923)" (University of Chicago, 2015), 27.

57 Serçe, *İzmir'de Kitapçılık, 1839-1928*, 46-7.

58 İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat Rejimleri*, 17.

The *Encümen-i Teftiş ve Muayene* was an institution founded in 1882 to steer books before their print, and it acted as an approval body. Two new bodies emerged from it as it was decided that another committee was needed for religious publications. These were *Tedkik-i Müellifat Komisyonu* and *Kütüb-i Diniyye ve şeriyye Tedkik Heyeti* both consisted of eight members.[59] The latter acted as the steering and approval committee for religious books. In the second constitutional era, under the rule of the Committee of Union and Progress, censorship policies on the press and print were loosened. Yet, Act on Printing in the Constitutional Era was reenacted on 16 July 1909 and remained effective until 1931, though several revisions were made to the articles of the regulation.

An explanation of the cautious stand of the Ottoman regime regarding the printing of the Qur'an even after the publishing of Islamic books in its territories and behind other Muslim and non-Muslim lands, is offered by Polat: The "Ottoman regime had such a highly developed imperial structure, a centralized religious and political establishment that governed and controlled every aspect of the religious domain."[60] She brilliantly reveals the institutional and practical mechanisms of control while pointing out the official role of the ulema in the approval of Qur'anic codices and other Islamic books for print in her research.

Not only did the Ottoman Empire not join the business of printing Qur'ans until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it also outlawed the distribution of Qur'ans printed elsewhere until 1910.[61] Concerning the motives behind this attitude, Polat argues that "the rejection of foreign printed *mesahif* might reflect not only political rivalry but also genuine concerns about the accuracy of those printed texts and the way they were to be treated during production and circulation."[62] However, this policy could not last more than two decades, and the Ottoman Empire finally legalized the printing of the Qur'an and decided to take the mission into its own hands. Besides allocating

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59   İskit, 49.

60   Polat, "Subject to Approval: Sanction and Censure in Ottoman Istanbul (1889-1923)," 33.

61   Polat, 34.

62   Polat, 35.

the right to print the Qur'an to Matbaa-yı Osmaniye, a private print house, the Ottoman administration also "barred non-Muslim Ottoman subjects from involvement in Qur'an publishing" out of concern for ritualistic purity and reverence during the printing and storage processes.[63]

Polat asserts that state mechanisms made an effort to inspect and investigate not only every printed *mushaf* but also any printed Qur'anic verse in an attempt to safeguard the Qur'an in every way - from orthography to translation- during late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

These concerns were not limited to physical production processes but also included technical and religious concerns with respect to the content of Islamic books. As for Islamic books other than the Qur'an, the state had the following concerns according to Polat. Based on the records of the steering committee[64] among the reasons offered for rejecting books for print or banning them from circulation were sectarian concerns such as conflict with Sunni doctrine, and propagation of Wahhabi doctrine. Furthermore, the Ottoman bureaucracy felt responsible for offering rational, correct religious content and for keeping the minds of the people away from superstition and improper beliefs.[65]

Another unique aspect of the Ottoman inspection and supervision system was the assignment of proposed book within a geneology of prior works in the field. Book projects were approved or rejected based on conformance to traditional forms of Islamic scholarship vis-à-vis a particular genre or topic. Not only content but also the "method, style and approach" of previous scholarship were taken into consideration while steering books.[66] The council applied

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63   Polat, 53. For Ottoman authorities, not only the Qur'an but also other Islamic books deserved ritual purity and respect since most included Qur'anic verses or hadith. This material is considered sacred within Turco-Ottoman and Sunni-Hanafi tradition. Even touching and handling the Qur'an and maintaining it at a certain height above the ground are important components of Turkish religious culture and understanding.

64   This translation of Tedkik-i Müellifat Komisyonu belongs to Polat whose translation I prefer.

65   Polat reports "*hurafe* (superstitious beliefs) and *teşevvüş-ü ezhan* (confusion of minds)" as the two important rationales offered by the council to reject a book. Polat, "Subject to Approval: Sanction and Censure in Ottoman Istanbul (1889-1923)," 108.

66   Polat, 105.

scholarly ethical standards like a supervisory committee. Mistakes in the translation of Qur'anic verses and the accuracy of hadiths within books were also closely scrutinized by council members and constituted obstacles for the approval of books and led to bans from circulation after their print.[67]

The republican regime inherited some of the Ottoman regime's paternalistic features with respect to thinking on behalf of and overprotecting its subjects/citizens. Yet the surveillance mechanisms and concerns of Ottoman and Republican governance differed from each other, as well. The Achilles heel of the Republic, especially during its early decades, was the protection of revolution, the power to limit Islamic publications and control the content produced in the hands of the state apparatus (DRA).[68] However, despite deterring measures, there were always private (either individual or collective) initiatives to produce and distribute Islamic texts in either formal or informal ways. The basic instinct of the Republican regime was to monopolize and restrict the field of religious publishing; however, this monopoly was exercised over the production of primary and secondary school course books on the subjects of religion and ethics.

Unlike in Ottoman times, the challenge in the Republican period with regard to the content of the books, was not the sectarian or theological approach but the approach to the secular order and to Kemalist reforms.[69] Control was not exercised before but after print, usually in the form of court orders banning works from circulation. Therefore, all kinds of texts on the market were not only poor or problematic in terms of content but also poor in terms of

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67 Polat, 110.

68 Following the Latinization of the alphabet in 1928, the use of Arabic script was strictly forbidden, let alone its use in the printing of Islamic books. Even privately owned books bought and brought from abroad (by pilgrims to Saudi Arabia for instance) were investigated by border police and not allowed in. For a comprehensive read on the censorship activities in the early republican period, see Mustafa Yılmaz and Yasemin Doğaner, Cumhuriyet Döneminde Sansür: 1923-1973 (Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 2007).

69 In the republican period, the publications of diverse intra-and extra-Islamic groups such as Bahais, Ahmedis, Alevis, and Shiites and many other Sufi and Salafi organizations can be observed. However, plurality of texts is generally a product of the period post-1980. However, even in earlier decades of the Republic, maybe due to the small scale of religious publishing, theological and sectarian concerns were not at stake.

editorial and print quality. Easy access to technology, and now to virtual space, makes the production and circulation of all kinds of texts possible, and it is more difficult for state or other authorities to operate control or steering mechanisms. For Ottoman institutions and actors, steering religious publications stemmed from both professional concerns and religious responsibilities, whereas for Republican authorities, the main motive was to maintain and protect the pillars of the new regime. However, the effort to supply the public with a specific understanding of Islam was common to both. The former tried to maintain this by pre-print control while the latter tried to allocate religious publication to a state organ.

§ 2.2 Debate on the "Late Arrival" of Print

The late adoption and expansion of print technology and late spread of printed reading materials in the Ottoman context, are fodder for a prolonged debate. There are several practical, social, psychological, and economic explanations with regard to the reluctance of Islamic societies to adopt printing. The foremost explanation concerns the discord between Arabic and Arabic-originated scripts and moveable type. As Orlin Sabev explains:

> Arabic and its Persian and Ottoman Turkish versions respectively are cursive scripts, that is most letters should be linked to the preceding and following ones, and consequently they have four different forms, one isolated and the other three – initial, medial and final – dependent on their position in the word. Thus, printing in Arabic is much more difficult and in a sense, impractical, first because it requires many more sorts than the other scripts, and second because these sorts must be perfectly inked to each other. This being so, the typesetting process takes much longer, and the result is not always adequate, thus undermining the claim that printing is a better way of duplicating texts than copying by hand.[70]

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70   Sabev, "Waiting for Godot: The Formation of Ottoman Print Culture," 113-4.

A second related explanation claims that early printing samples in Arabic print far from met the aesthetic pleasure of readers of Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Urdu. The commercial failure of books printed by Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is explained by their aesthetic deficiency vis-à-vis the manuscripts of the Ottoman literati class of the time. As J. Bloom discusses, many practical and social objections disappeared after the invention of lithographic printing technique by J.N.F Alois Sferefelder in Munich between 1796-1799.[71] When print technology started to be used effusively, the technology used was lithographic printing, not moveable type, since the former allowed flawless reproduction of handwritten texts.

Metin Kunt, who connects the disinterest in the latest technology to the social peculiarities of the reading classes and reading practices, questions the failure of the printing press after its initial emergence in the Ottoman context. He annuls late adoption arguments by claiming that reception of the printing press was unlikely for the time being since "there was no one waiting at the bus stop to care about its late coming."[72]

Kunt argues that Müteferrika "was publishing elite books for the reading elite; both by subject matter and by the high prices charged his was an exclusive press."[73] Print technology is usually legitimized by the high quantity of production at lower cost for lower prices. However, in the Turkish case, the first book printed by Müteferrika cost 35 *kuruş*, which was considerably above the purchasing power of the average reader in Ottoman society. Even İbrahim Müteferrika himself had to work seventy days to buy the book.[74] Besides pointing to the poorsales of books printed by Müteferrika due to high unit cost, the expensiveness of the new alternative technology, and the selection of unpopular genres and topics that addressed a limited audience, Kunt brilliantly

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71   Bloom, *Paper before Print*, 224.

72   Metin Kunt, "Reading Elite, Elite Reading," in *Printing and Publising in the Middle East*, ed. Philip Sadgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

73   Kunt, 99.

74   Serçe, *İzmir'de Kitapçılık, 1839-1928*, 3. Orlin Sabev points to the same issue. He claims that printed books were luxury commodity for Ottoman people and declares those who owned books printed by Müteferrika were comprised of high profile public officials, bureaucrats, and members of ulema. See Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika Ya Da Ilk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni*, 282.

points to the "intellectual elitism" that prevailed in Ottoman and most Islamic societies that prevented the popularization of literacy and the extension of reading and learning content. Kunt explains as follows:

> Reading and understanding should not be wasted on unworthy books; reading should be done intensively, deep into the text, not extensively for what would distract the honest and capable reader from his vocation. A reader should read and learn a few books well, rather than reading widely and gaining a cursory knowledge of many things, or, indeed, reading worthless and harmful books. Learning was by nature elitist both by the limited number of people with real understanding and penetrating minds, and by the limited number of worthy and useful reading matter. A few intelligent men should read a few worthy books; this was the ideal.[75]

Besides the general approach to learning and knowledge, the method and traditional practices of reading also hindered the prevalence of the new technology. As Kunt argues "Scholarly and intellectual discussion was a common feature of life;" however, "reading and scrutinizing a text would... be a social occasion, not a lonely task for the scholar" since reading a book was usually a collective action wherein the book was read loud and commented upon by attendees of the reading session.

This was not peculiar to Islamic societies. The individualization or privatization of the reading act was a phenomenon that became widespread during the last couple of centuries. In his *A History of Reading*, Alberto Manguel states that:

> until well into the Middle Ages, writers assumed that their readers would hear rather than simply see the text, much as they themselves spoke their words out loud as they composed them. Since comparatively few people could read, public readings were common, and medieval texts repeatedly call upon the audience to "lend ears" to a tale.[76]

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75   Kunt, "Reading Elite, Elite Reading," 98.

76   Manguel, *A History of Reading*, 47.

The very individualization promoted by the new technology was one of the reasons behind initial hesitatance to embrace.

In addition to Kunt, Orhan Koloğlu, who produced works specifically on the late adoption of print to Ottoman Empire, also stresses the sovereignty of the ear over the eye, thinking by aurality, or understanding by ear over understanding by eye as a cultural characteristic with respect to reading. Even long after the adoption of print and overproduction of religious materials, the significance of aurality and the prevalence of orality over literacy persists or at least continues to determine the use and content of each other.

Koloğlu argues that the so-called 'late-coming of print' to the Ottoman Empire, is related to the social and political dynamics of the empire at the time. He notes that in contrast with hot religious debates in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Ottoman Empire was in a "period of seatedness," free of religious and class based polemics that contribute to hot public discussions that would, in turn, to foster the commercialization of print.[77]

As a result of such cultural characteristics and the political context, Koloğlu claims, Oriental societies ended up with a newspaper or "press culture" before the assimilation of a printed book culture, in contrast with the trajectory in Europe. He also notes that the sovereignty of a press culture, which is based on propaganda rather than the scientific critical basis of book culture, hints at the political culture of these societies. In the Ottoman Empire and in all dependent Middle Eastern societies he claims, the print and press consolidated nationalism and religious fundamentalism in the social and political realms but failed to trigger economic and scientific dynamism.[78]

Among common economic explanations are the objections of the scribe guilds in Istanbul, whose jobs and economic interests were threatened by the print business,[79] though this explanation is unpersuasive for most researchers. One scholar persuaded neither by the factor of the scribe guilds nor the religious concerns of the ulema explanations is Francis Robinson, who argues that

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77   Koloğlu, *Basımevi ve Basının Gecikme Sebepleri ve Sonuçları*, 106-7.

78   Koloğlu, 110.

79   See, Niyazi Berkes and Feroz Ahmad, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (London: Hurst & Co, 1998).

the adoption of other technologies, daily useful objects, and even sources of pleasure did not meet with the rejection and refusal of the ulema and the people. Robinson claims that "the origin of the negative Muslim response to printing lay much more deeply." He exposes a psychological explanation saying that "the problem was that printing attacked the very heart of Islamic systems for transmission of knowledge; it attacked what was understood to make knowledge trustworthy, what gave it value, what gave it authority."[80] As a rationale, he presents the centrality of the Qur'an as the essence of knowledge and truth in Islam and, again, the significance of the recitation of the text – that is to say, orality- in the transmission of that knowledge. Writing was never ignored in the Islamic tradition; on the contrary, calligraphy emerged as the highest of Islamic arts. Yet, as Robinson argues "writing and literacy have always danced attendance on superior oral tradition in the transmission of knowledge."[81] Quoting Ibn Khaldun he states, "while the words and expressions are the veils in front of the truth of the phenomena, writing constitutes another set of veil to the true meaning."[82] Therefore, person to person transmission lay at the heart of Islamic education and "the best way of getting at the truth was to listen to the author himself."[83]

Cemil Boyraz's "Book Publishing in Turkey" comprehensively problematizes the industry and offers alternative economic causes regarding the slow development of print and publishing industry in the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A "peripherization process of [the] Ottoman economy, dependency situation in the subsistence raw materials in book manufacturing, fragility of economic structure, dominance of commercial capital and absence of paper-making industry"[84] were among the economic factors that adversely affected the sector in general.

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80   Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print," 234.

81   Robinson, 236.

82   Robinson, 237.

83   Robinson, 237.

84   Cemil Boyraz, "Book Publishing in Turkey: Problems and Prospects in the Context of Industrialization" (M.A. thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2006), 18.

As can be understood from these discussions, there is no single approach to the claims or discourse about the late adoption of printing in Islamic societies. While some adopt a counter position and refuse such a "belatedness" argument, others adopt an apologist stance to explain the possible causes behind and rationalize the situation. Though their impacts are variously minute or significant, several social, practical, cultural, aesthetic, economic, and psychological causes behind this phenomenon can be enlisted in possible explanations. All the same, the late arrival or late adoption thesis presumes that the Western course of development is an ideal pace of social and technological progress and tries to fit this ideal to other geographical and cultural contexts.

Despite the fact that there were several initiatives in the Ottoman Empire concurrent with the adoption of print technology in Europe, due to the religious identity of the entrepreneurs, they are considered actors in a seperate histories. Nevertheless, whether Jewish, Greek, or Armenian, they were Otttoman subjects and the makers of Ottoman intellectual or cultural history. The emphasis on Müteferrika in most academic and non-academic work is concerned with constructing an Enlightenment narrative and a religious and national lineage vis-à-vis modernization and Islam. That is to say, the case of Müteferrika is either used as a proof of the reservations or antipathy of Muslim rulers (i.e., Ottoman sultans) and the intellectual class (ulema) to a technology that could work as an agent of enlightenment or used as evidence of indulgence for such innovations, even if it did not accomplish the primary task of the printing press, that is to produce books in large quantities at lower prices for a mass reading population. Müteferrika's initiative is a useful, functional tool. Ironically, both modernist and anti-modernist actors put him in an unshakable position in their diverse narratives. He has become a vital reference for both defensive and apologist arguments.

§ 2.3   The Periodization of Print Islam in Modern Turkey

Though papyrus, parchment, vellum, bamboo slips, wood blocks, and other materials have constituted the objects called books - and though the scroll format has persisted for centuries - what we mean by book today is the codex format (bound with separate leaves) into it which evolved to.

The book is one of the most widespread Islamic print media is with a comparatively a longer history than other print or electronic media. One scholar who draws attention to Islamic publishing and books in the Middle East and in Turkey is Dale Eickelman. In a work with Jon W. Anderson, he writes with respect to the print activities in Turkey:

> The explosion of Islamist publishing in Turkey since the 1980s takes place in a context of aggressive and conscious cultural construction that has alternated between a secularist elite and increasingly vocal religious organizations and parties, political struggles between right and left, and a fading spectre of military intervention, which ended with an easing of religious censorship and control in order to foster conservative political forces against the secular left.[85]

Before turning to the social and political context of Islamic print activities in Turkey, it is important to note that what Eickleman means by Islamic books is "inexpensive, attractively printed mass market texts, which are usually sold on sidewalks and kiosks outside mosques and which offer the guidelines of how to live as a Muslim in modern times and settings."[86]

In current study, only devotional literature, some of pedagogical Islamic literature, and a small part of reflexive Islamic literature are included in what Eickelman describes as Islamic books. Classical Islamic books and scholarly productions remain outside of this category. However, despite the difficulties of classifying books on Islam and Islamic books, the material is diverse and manifold. Even though the number, quality, and the subject matters of the Islamic books changed and diversify in time, neither prioritizing the publications of certain religious groups, and popular figures nor emphasizing the ideological trends of certain periods (like the translation of Islamist books) provide a comprehensive picture of Islamic book printing in Turkey.

With respect to genre, subject matter, content, production in the vernacular or translation from other languages, and production as an aid for other Islamic media genres or as an end product, Islamic books in Turkey are varied

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85   Eickelman and Anderson, "Print, Islam, and the Prospects for Civic Pluralis," 50.

86   Eickelman, "Islam and the Languages of Modernity," 125-129.

and miscellaneous. While covering all aspects of such an inventory exceeds the scope of this study, one of the key features of this study is the effort to deal with as many entries as possible in the bibliographic realm and to offer a functional genre-and subject-based index to classify this material. The details of this classification are mentioned in related sections of this study. Here I offer a periodization to outline the progress of Islamic book printing in Republican Turkey as well as the Ottoman Empire, by underlining its historical turning points and stressing exceptional trajectory within the wider print history.

The case of Ottoman Empire and Turkey, though it displays similarities with other Muslim societies of time such as Qajar Iran, Egypt, Colonial India, and the Central Asian lands of Czarist Russia, is specific with respect to the development of printing and its deployment in the production of Islamic texts. Yasemin Gencer highlights three phases in the establishment of Islamic printing from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. She defines the first phase as "a rejection or apathy toward the technology (ca. 1450- 1727)" characterized by ignoring the advantages of the press. She locates Müteferrika and his fellows' efforts in the second phase (ca. 1727-1797) characterized by fragmented printing efforts accompanied by intervals of inactivity, and she considers the third phase (ca. 1797 onward) as the beginning of "a more stable establishment of the printing press, characterized by a relatively steady production, and its longer-lasting effects on literacy and education."[87]

As mentioned in the previous chapter, what Gencer means by Muslim or Islamic printing is based on the general religious character of the polity (Ottoman Empire), the printing activity took place, and the religious identity of the initiator of that enterprise (İbrahim Müteferika). However, the scope of Islamic printing covered in this work focuses on more specific genres and actors as the producers of Islamic print. I actually am inclined to start Islamic book printing where Gencer left off. Since the date of the publication of the first Islamic book in the Ottoman Empire (Birgivi's *Risale*) is 1803, I consider the initial phase of Islamic printing to be from this date until 1873 when the first Qur'anic codex (mushaf) was printed. From 1873 to 1923, the second phase of growth, though this fifty-year period can be divided into the two

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87   Gencer, "İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of Printed Manuscript," 180.

main intervals of the Hamidian era (1875-1908) and the CUP era after Young Turk Revolution (1908-1923). Though the conditions of the Great War affected all print activities in the country and the size of the country changed dramatically after the war, this period can be extended to 1928 when the reforms of the newly established Republic reached their zenith with the switch from Arabic to Latin script, a phenomenon that tremendously influenced the publishing sector.

Though printing of religious literature in the Ottoman Empire started at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it accelerated during the constitutional period. However, war conditions and challenges in the wake of the collapse of the empire and subsequent foundation of a new nation state, which brought about new approaches and regulations regarding all religious institutions and activities in the country, hindered print activities. Though individual efforts to publish Islamic materials continued in the early years of the republic, those were usually unofficial – if not illegal-, non-professional attempts due to the lack of economic and cultural capital.

Similar to the flourishing of press and print in the post-Hamidian era, Islamic publication entered revival in the 1950s following the advent of Democrat party rule. And despite interruptions caused by military interventions, this trend continues today, having accelerated especially since the 1980s. To sum up, the history of Islamic printing in the Turco-Ottoman context can be divided into three phases 1803-1873, 1873-1923, and 1923 and afterwards. The first period can be labeled as the incunabula of Islamic printing, the second as its adolescence – since it included both growth and decline-, the third as its period of maturity.

In his article covering Islamic publishing of the pre-1960 period, Necdet Subaşı emphasizes that the 1960s was a turning point in the diversification of Islamic trends; hence he proposes to evaluate and analyze Islamic publication efforts by considering their chronological context.[88] Subaşı also divides the early period of the Republic into two: The single party period from 1923 to 1945 and the multi-party period from 1945 to 1960. He underscores that for

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88   Subaşı, "1960 Öncesi İslami Neşriyat: Sindirilme, Tahayyül ve Tefekkür," 217.

the single party period, the term of Islamism is the common category of evaluating all kinds of Islamic trends and ideas emerged completely within republican experience in the same track.[89] Moreover, he adds "in the single party period, it has to be underlined that despite all its limitations, the most significant publishing activity is conducted by the Directorate of Religious Affairs."[90] İsmail Kara voices a similar claim noting that it is not possible to talk about Islamic publishing as a fact until 1945.[91]

After the Democrat Party's coming to rule in 1950, conservative and religious segments of society began to participate in political life and started to open new spaces in the public realm. Print activities were part of this process. Subaşı relates the diversified and irregular interests of Islaming publishing in addition to its expansion given the relative easement of regulation between 1945 and 1960, asserting:

> With multi party political life the Islamic movements were in desire of following an alternative development than of Islamist tone in their roots. Islamic publication could only find the chance of clarifying a significant political demand and strategy after the 1960s and finally after the 1970s, 1980s and the 1990s it started to look for the production of a sophisticated system of reference."[92]

The few scholarly works focusing on religious print in the Republican period designate either 1945 or 1960 as a turning point for the development of Islamic print and publication. One Muslim intellectual writing on Islamism in Turkey, Ali Bulaç divides the venture of Islamism and Islamic thought in Turkey into three periods starting with the late Ottoman period. In his periodization, 1856-1924, 1950-2000, and 2000 and afterwards are the three stages of Islamic thought. He considers 1924-1950 to be a period of stagnation during which

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89   Subaşı, 220.

90   Subaşı, 221.

91   Kara, "Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Dini Yayıncılığın Gelişimi Üzerine Birkaç Not," 154.

92   Subaşı, "1960 Öncesi İslami Neşriyat: Sindirilme, Tahayyül ve Tefekkür," 227.

Islamists and Islamic institutions were oppressed and purged, and he thus omits this period from his analysis.[93]

In my own periodization scheme, I further divide the last phase into three sub-periods dependent on developments experienced in Republican Turkey.

Based on the findings of bibliographic data analysis, recorded personal observation, and scholarly works, Islamic print in Republican Turkey can be divided into the following three periods: The first almost thirty years (1923-1950) can be considered years of regression, the second thirty years (1950-1980) are years of revival and regeneration, and the final three decades (1980-2010) can be considered years of the progress and professionalization of print Islam. The scope of this study covers the third period of the wider Turco-Ottoman Islamic printing history – that is, what I called its maturity in the longer historical spectrum. The interesting aspect that is peculiar to Turkish history is that this maturity starts with a relatively long period of regression, the 1923-1950 period of stagnation.

As for the general character of print activities and the books printed in that period, the followings can be articulated: Books printed in the first sub-period were scant in number and usually poor in quality and as underlined by Kara and Subaşı they are characterized by deficits in direction, preference, common language, and imagination as well as a lack of a solid foundation. They usually focus on daily matters and have been described as short of thought, defensive, and apologist. For them, the classics printed by the DRA and the Ministry of Education are the sole exceptions.

In the second period, the numbers of Islamic books markedly increased. By the late 1940s, the Republican Peoples Party government took part in loosening the strict restriction on religious activities. First, a Faculty of Divinity was established at Ankara University, followed by the foundation of theology faculties, the establishment of Imam Hatip Schools at the secondary level, and the acceptance of "voluntary" religion lessons in the fourth and fifth grades of primary schools.[94] These initiatives brought about demand for coursebooks on

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93   Ali Bulaç, "İslamcılığın Üç Tarzı Veya İslamcıların Üç Nesli," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce 6- İslamcılık*, ed. Yasin Aktay (Istanbul: İletişim, 2014), 48–67.

94   Brockett, *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk*, 119.

religion. Together with other genres, these developments explain the rise in pedagogical literature after the 1950s.

These schools caused a need for course books on the basic religious subjects covered in their curricula. Those who attended those schools needed to do more reading and research on both Islamic sciences and other Islamic debates as well as to follow up Islamic scholarship on both classical and modern literature. This need made them both the clients and the suppliers in this market. The translation from Arabic and Persian of classical and modern works on Islam proliferated with the efforts of the early graduates of these schools as well as those who received religious education in Egypt or other Islamic countries due to the absence of traditional educational institutions in Turkey. These middlemen[95] both selected the literature to be imported to the Turkish reader and also translated it. This revival period was marked by the translated works that emerged in this period, such as the books of Abu'l a'la Mawdudi, Sayyid Qutb, Muhammad Hamidullah, Syed Ali an-Nadwi, Muhammad Qutb, and many other intellectual figures around the world.

As in the Constitutional Era, in the 1950s period, the periodicals were the instant, foremost venues of discussion. Nevertheless, as revealed by the current research, in a society in which religion and religious education has been cut by the Kemalist revolution, Islamic books in this period were penned to meet urgent needs such as instruction on basic religious belief and daily rituals and practices.

Various forms of print and non-print media helped growth and nourish of each other. Especially in these early periods of Islamic print, books made up of collections of the sermons, khutbas, and conversations of well-known religious figures were among the most widespread. As an example, a collection of sermons delivered on the radio were widely distributed in the early 1950s. Indeed, according to Brockett, "one report suggested that as many as 628,000 copies of publications such as *Moral and Religious Speeches on the Radio* were sold."[96]

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95 For the term middlemen for the intermediaries in the print and publishing business, see Nile Green, "Journeymen, Middlemen: Travel, Transculture, and Technology in the Origins of Muslim Printing," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 41, no. 02 (2009): 203–24.

96 Brockett, *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk*, 123.

As elsewhere, Islamic books in Turkey were one of the major tools of religious knowledge production, learning, pedagogy, and reflection. A resurgence of the Islamic print field in Turkey can be observed starting in the 1950s, but the real flourishing happened in the 1980s. To understand proliferation of the print field, one needs to ascertain what processes ensured the diversification and increasing number of publications and how the need or demand appeared, and what triggered the demand for more religious books.

One claim most voiced in academic and semi-academic discussions is that the mushrooming of translated Islamist literature in the 1970s and afterwards was linked to the rising visibility of Islam in the Turkish public space.

The third period is characterized by the growth of the publication sector in general and the Islamic print sector in particular. As well as the establishment of publishing houses linked to religious groups, independent Muslim intellectual enterprises continued to invest in the print sector. While the earliest examples of professional print and publishing companies that specialized in printing Islamic books began to be established in the 1950s, more professional publishing initiatives that have managed their symbolic and financial capital effectively and have survived to the present were usually established after 1980.

The content and the material quality of books improved, translations and other editorial processes ameliorated, distribution mechanism throughout the country got better, and the economic and the human capital invested in print activities flourished. Publications that specialized in certain fields such as Islamic fiction and religious books for kids blossomed in this period. Reflexive and scholarly books thrived in both numbers and quality. The number of actors in the field also escalated dramatically. In addition to the pluralization and diversification of subject matters covered by the books, Muslim authors and publishers with various orientations towards different currents of literary and reflexive production – that is, who produced books addressing different aspects of life with a hybrid discourse- began to find readers.

While during the 1970s the print market supplied demand for Islamic literature with translated books, locally produced texts on various subjects penned in the vernacular became widespread in the 1980s. Moreover, based on my observation of the current data set, the category of translated Islamic

books was not exclusive to the Islamist books of a certain period. Classical literature from Arabic and contemporary Islamic books by different Islamic schools of thought always had a place in the market for Islamic texts. A general increase and growth in human capital for translating works from different languages and genres also diversified the options for publishers. Today, the number of translated titles in diverse genres (from religious literature for kids to contemporary Islamic thought) exceed the number translated during the 1970s and 1980s; however, their share of the total is less significant due to the increase in the number of books penned by the local authors in Turkish.

Besides official religious education in the Republic starting in the 1950s, the Qur'anic schools of *Diyanet* and other similar (usually unofficial, underground) pedagogical activities of various religious groups enlarged demand. Books and other printed materials were used as aids in *sohbet*s, other traditional oral religious genres, and informal gatherings as well. Such activities intensified in the Özal era when, due to increased population, increased literacy, and a shortage of qualified religious authority figures and the spatial inaccessibility of the few available led to the maintenance of mass religious education through proxies who benefited from the authority of holding texts. That is to say, the cross-nourishment from different non-print or print mediums continued in this period; however, electronic and Internet media became more influential compared to conventional oral forms of knowledge and culture transmission.

§ 2.4   Reviving Islam through Print? Books of the Republic

Islamic cultural production is not limited to print materials, and print materials are not only determined by books; I focus on the books printed in the Republican period and the status of Islamic and religious books in print and publishing activities more generally in this section. To do that, I first offer graphs derived from statistical figures and bibliometric calculations to depict the general development of book publishing and of Islamic books, as well.

After the start of CUP rule in 1908 in which is called the second constitutional period of the late Ottoman Empire, printing activities flourished. Newspapers and periodicals were the most widespread forms of print in that period.

The final decade of this growth witnessed a war of independence, the formation a new regime, and radical regulations that affected both the people and the mechanisms of Islamic print. Although 1923 crucially mark the establishment of the Turkish republic, historical processes are complicated and some historians extend its formation until the end of Second World War. Considering the social, political, demographic, and institutional changes that the remnants of the empire and the newborn nation state underwent, it is not easy to identify the precise end of an ancient regime, and the beginning of a new one. Historian Eric J. Zürcher handles the formation of the new regime as embedded in the modernization process of the Ottoman Empire rather than as a clear-cut period starting in 1923. He prolongs the formation process, which started in the late Ottoman period and lasted until the end of the Second World War.[97]

This approach does not necessarily undervalue the impact of the establishment of the Republic in 1923 and its subsequent developments. Brett Wilson claims that "no event affected the course of Islam in modern Turkey more than the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923" since "the institutions, leadership and nationalist ideology of the new regime not only allowed for non-traditional approaches to Islam, but actively supported thoroughgoing and, at times, radical religious reform."[98] All existing Islamic institutions (whether official, such as Islamic courts, madrasas, the ulema and the caliphate, or non-official, like dervish lodges and tombs) were perceived as a potential threat to a progressive, Western-oriented vision of the new nation, and an oppressive approach was pursued.

The annulment of educational institutions especially, madrasas and other religious establishments, with the Tevhid-i tedrisat (Law on theUnity of Education) in 1924, the abolishment of the caliphate, and removal of the *Şer'iye ve Evkaf* (Ministry of religious affairs and endowments) were some major developments that affected religious print and publishing activities as a subset of the public existence of Islam. Islamic press and publications, which were active

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97   Erik Jan. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 1993).

98   Wilson, *Translating Quran in an Age of Nationalism*, 157.

after 1908, were also influenced by this trend. The most prominent, *Sebilür-reşad,* was among those banned by the *Takrir-i Sükun* (Law on the Maintenance of Order) in 1925. In the first two decades of the Republic, printed Islamic literature was limited in number and quality as described and portrayed in detail in coming chapters.

The transformation of the alphabet from Arabic to Latin in 1928 was also a major development that affected not only religious but also all kinds of intellectual and educational activities in the country. The transformation of the alphabet not only put an end to the use of Arabic script but cut of the communication of a younger generation of intellectuals and literati people from their predecessors. This ended the Republican Muslim intelligentsia falling behind their counterparts in the late Ottoman period intellectually for up to a century. Considering these social and political developments, a fatal decline in the production of religious literature and print materials was inevitable, and the secondary literature dealing with the subject takes the removal of Islam-in-print during the early years of Republic for granted. In this study, I check this widely presumed fact against statistical figures depicting both the amount of general publication and the publications of books on religion.

2.4.1 *The Publishing Sector and Religious Books between 1923-2010*

One basic resource for statistical data with which to portray book production in the republican period is the Statistical Yearbooks that have been produced by the Turkish Statistical Institute since 1928 following the first census conducted in 1927. Yet, the first figure for the number of books produced in Turkey in these statistical yearbooks is in 1938, and following this, it is given in five-year intervals until 1956.[99] Despite this limitation, these statistical yearbooks constitute a major leg of the statistical data collected in this doctoral study.

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99   Ahu Erkul Yağcı determines from the Bibliography of Turkey that overall book production in Turkey between 1928 and 1938 was 16,026, of which 7,445 were published by the state and a further 8,551 by private publishers. These figures suggest that the state was the hegemonic actor of print and publishing sector in that period having produced almost half of the books on the market. See Erkul-Yağcı, "Turkey's Reading Revolution: A Study on Books, Readers and Translation (1840-1940)," 73.

Table 2.2   Books and Religious Books in the Early Republic

Years	No. of Books Produced	No. of Books on Religion*	Percent of Books on Religion	No. of Books on Religion**
1938	2590	17	0.65%	15
1945	1899	27	1.42%	24
1950	2260	68	3.00%	67
1956	3080	118	3.83%	84

* Figures provided in the *Statistical Yearbooks* of Turkey

** Figures derived from Öztürk and Topaloğlu's bibliography

In table 2.2, I share individual figures between 1938 and 1956 since there is no continuous series from which to draw annual graph of growth. In the first decades of the Republic, one can scarcely talk about a publishing sector let alone a religious one. The difficult conditions of the interwar years and especially the impact of World War II can be observed in the falling numbers. Given a mobilization by the newly established Republic to create a literate, educated youth, supply them with modern literature, and produce new educational materials as carriers of a new culture and doctrine, the annual book production in any subject below two thousand a year is an unexpected figure. Even in the last decade of the Empire, the annual book production figure was around 700.

As mentioned above, I examined all the figures given in the *Statistical Yearbooks* for the period 1923-2010. The data about books is listed among cultural statistics under the subtitle "Books, Newspapers and Periodicals." In addition to these figures, I also checked data given under the subtitle "Books, Newspapers and Periodicals Published by Subject," and from these tables, I selected the figures of books classified under the subject "religion" amongst ten basic subject matters designed according to the the Dewey Decimal classifications. I offer graphs based on this investigation.[100] While graphs on the general publishing sector are drawn according to these figures, the graphs for religious books are drawn from the figures provided under 'religion' subtitle.

The first graph, that is Figure 2.1, shows the annual progress of the numbers of books published in Turkey between 1956 and 2010. From 1956 to the

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100   Unless otherwise noted, all the figures (charts, graphs, and illustrations) in this manuscript are drawn by the author.

2000s, the number of titles produced per year in Turkey remained at around five thousand titles for decades until the second half of the 1990s, after which it began increasing and reached about ten thousand by 2000. From 2000 onwards, there is steady upwards movement, and the number climbs significantly up past twenty thousand within a decade. In the five years after 2010, the figure reaches fifty thousand a year. These figures suggest that the number of books produced in Turkey after the millennium far exceeds production in the twentieth century and that the publication sector experienced significant, accelerated growth in the last two decades.
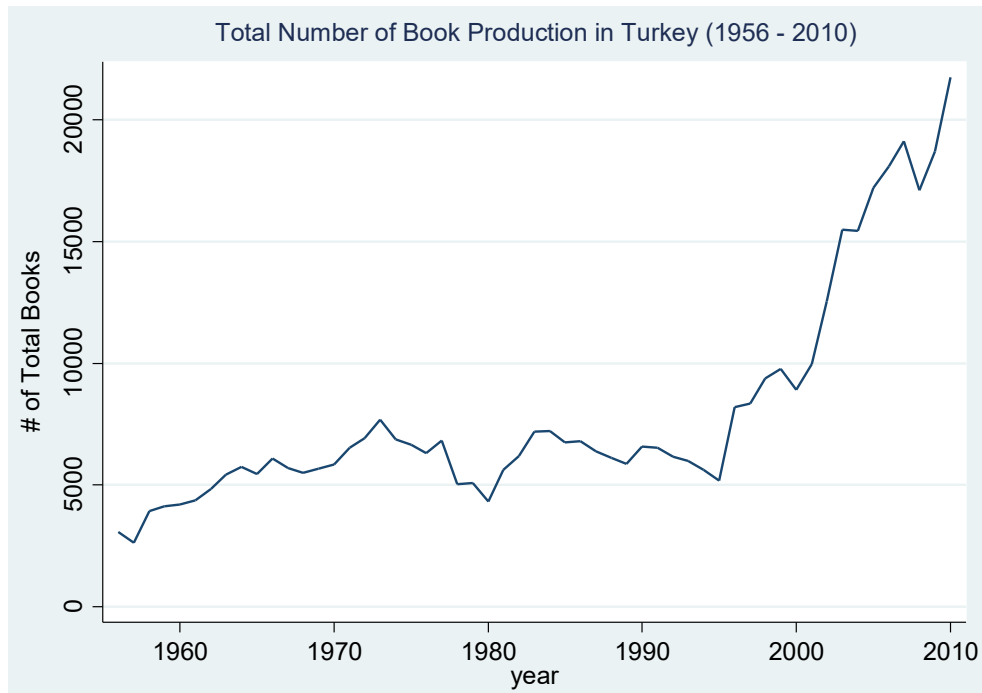
Figure 2.1   Total Numbers of Book Production in Turkey
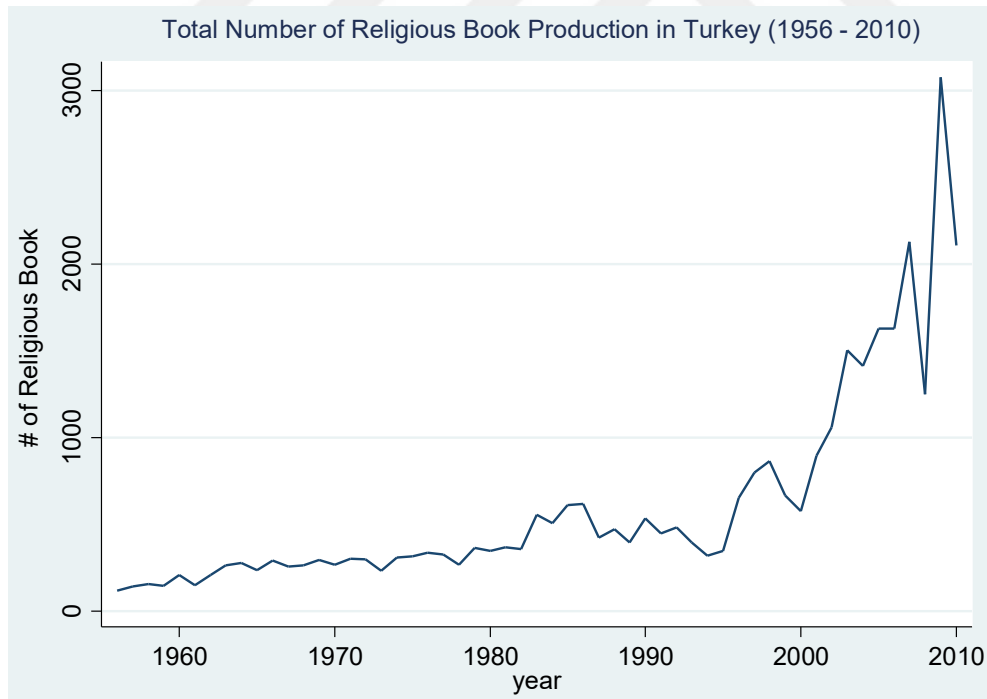
Figure 2.2   Total Numbers of Religious Book Production in Turkey

Figure 2.2 shows total numbers for religious book production in Turkey between 1956 and 2010. Until 1980s, the number of books produced on religion in Turkey remained below one thousand titles annually, and despite ups and downs in the 1980s and 1990s, the figure is capped at one thousand a year. This threshold is passed only after 2000. In the last two decades, one can observe a considerable increase in the number of religious books up to 3000 per year. As noted above, the figures covered by the religious books category includes not only books on Islam and Islamic books but also books on general theology and those on other religions such as Christianity, and Judaism. However, the latter are insignificant and it can be estimated that more than 95 percent of the category consists of books on Islam.

The figure above reveals that the dramatic increase in the quantity of religious books is a phenomenon of recent decades. Nevertheless, in order to understand whether this rise related to the particular field of books on religion or is merely the reflection of the wider publication sector, we need more detailed graphs. Figure 2.3 depicts the share of religious books in the total book production in Turkey over the same period. The share of the segment with respect to the whole measures the general growth trend of books on religion with respect to the total.

This graph reveals that until the second half of the 1970s, the ratio of religious books remained at around five percent of the total book production in Turkey. However, after 1980, this ratio started to increase, and despite relative instability over some years, it stayed at around 5-10 percent. As seen in figure 2.3, the ratio of religious books to general book production never surpassed the ten percent threshold until the second half of the 2000s. In 2009, it sharply jumped to over fifteen percent even though the next year it dropped down to ten percent again.
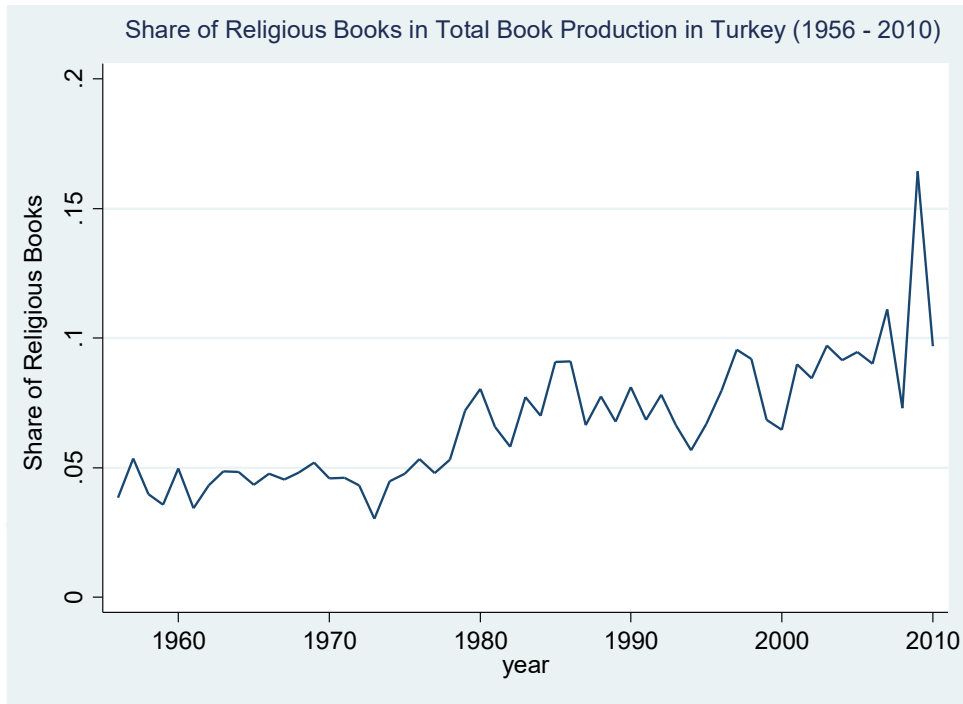
Figure 2.3   Share of Religious Books in Total Book Production

In short, one can conclude that in the first half of the Republic, the share of religious books in the total book market was in the range of 0-5 percent. From the 1980s onwards, this range shifted to 5-10 percent band. Despite ebbs and flows, this range was maintained and the 10 percent threshold was only passed in 2009 until 2010.

    While figure 2.3 provides the quantities of books in two different categories (i.e. religious and total) with respect to each other, another way to measure the trend and progress of religious books with respect to general book supply is to compare their growth rates. Figure 2.4 puts forward the growth rates of total

book production and religious book production in Turkey between 1956 and 2010.[101]
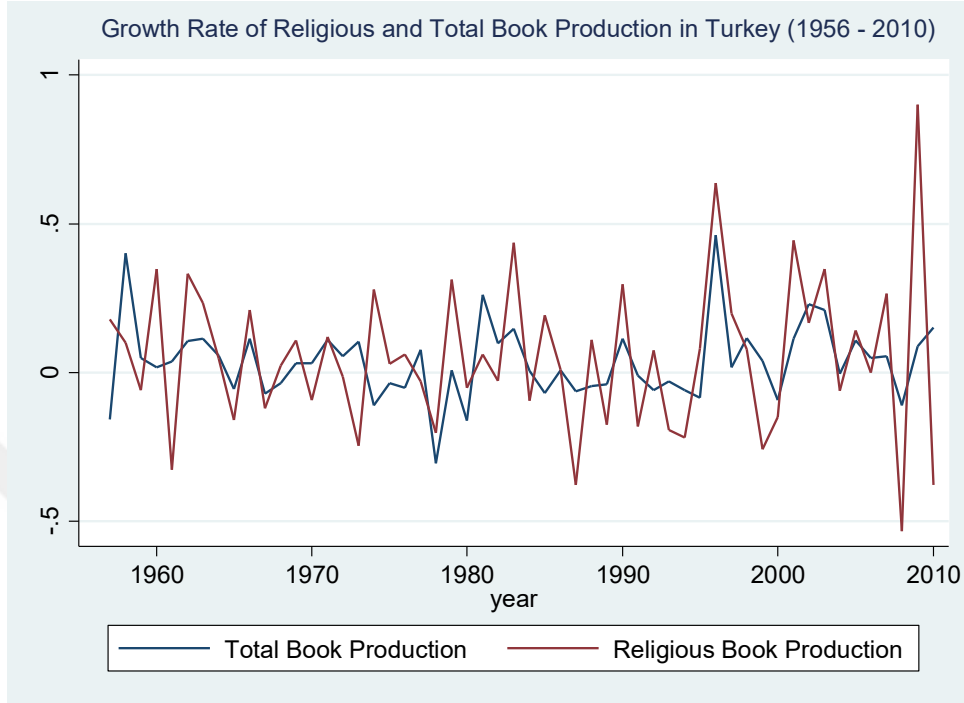
Figure 2.4   Growth Rate of Religious and Total Book Production

Figure 2.4 reveals that, the growth rates of both are largely similar . Dramatic differences between the growth rate for two categories, namely religious books and all books, are not evident. Both categories usually exhibit similar trends. It is only the scale of the decrease or increase that suggests a difference. In other words, in certain years, declines in religious books are deeper or their jumps are speedier than those for total books. While the growth of the total book market is smooth, the growth rate of religious books is volatile. This implies that, different political and social factors influence the growth of the religious book market than the factors that influence the general book market. In addition, reverse patterns (growth in opposite directions) are rare, which means that if the general book market is at risk and inclined to downsize, it is

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101   Growth rate is calculated based on the formula $(x_t - x_{t-1})/x_{t-1}$ or $\ln(x_t) - \ln(x_{t-1})$ where x_t and x_{t-1} refer to the number of books published in years t and t-1, respectively.

unlikely that religious books would grow, or if the sector is steadily flourishing, religious books can also be expected to show at least some revival.

2.4.2   *The Publishing Sector and Religious Books after 2010*

For figures after 2010, I use the data provided by TSI; however, the variety of the information and the figures of Turkish Statistical Institute changed after 2010. Until 2010, the source of statistical data provided about the books was the Directorate for the Completion of Printed Works and Pictures, which was long under the Ministry of National Education before being relocated under Ministry of Culture and Tourism. However, TSI's recent statistics are derived from ISBN figures, and the source institution is the General Directorate of Libraries and Publications, another office of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. A second change that started with the *Statistical Yearbook* of 2011 is the structure and classification of the statistical information offered by TSI. The chart displaying the numbers of published materials by type in recent Statistical Yearbooks lists the categories as follows: Adult fiction, adult culture, children and adolescence, educational, academic and religion. However, in pre-2011 charts, the subject categories of published materials corresponded to the ten subjects of DDC, general works, Philosophy and psychology, religion, social sciences, language, science, technology, arts, literature, history and geography. Despite the change, religion continues to be one of the major categories.

Despite the challenges with regard to the collection and classification of bibliographic data in Turkey, the latest figures given by the Turkish Statistical Institute reveal that as of 2014, the number of book titles printed per year reached 44,613. If electronic books (web based or other forms) are included,

the figure climbs up to 50,572.[102] Though the publication sector does not constitute a meaningful part of the Turkish economy,[103] in 2014-2015 the International Publishers Association (IPA) identified Turkey as the eleventh largest publishing sector among the top twenty publishing markets of the world based on six statistical indicators.[104] The United States, China, Germany, United Kingdom, Japan, South Korea, France, Spain, Brazil, and Italy are the ten global markets that exceed the size of Turkish publishing market. Again, according to a report of IPA on world book fairs, Istanbul's was the ninth book fair most visited by professionals in 2014 and tenth in 2015, reflecting the vividness and status of the sector on the global stage.[105]

As mentioned above, the total number of the books produced in 2013 was 42,655, and of this total, 3406 are categorized under religion. The category includes general theology, other religions, and religious culture books, too. In this regard, it would be mistaken to identify this number with Islamic book production. The percentage of Islamic books in this general category is an important question. Moreover, this figure includes e-books and other book-style printed material. Of 3406 works, the number categorized as printed books is 2999.[106] This number corresponds to approximately 7 percent of the total.

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102   Turkish Statistical Institute, "TSI Culture Statistics- International Standard Book Number (ISBN) Statistics 2014," accessed January 10, 2018, http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1086. According to the Turkish Publishers Association, this figure for 2016 was 54,446 and some 666.885.579 volumes were produced for which hologram stickers were issued, and 404.129.293 of these were sold. See Türkiye Yayıncılar Birliği, "2016 Türkiye Kitap Pazarı Raporu," accessed January 10, 2018, http://turkyaybir.org.tr/2016-turkiye-kitap-pazari-raporu/#.XCdm3lwzbIW.

103   The market size of Turkish book publishing sector is 2,126 million USD for 2016, which corresponds to approximately 0.24 percent of GDP of 857.7 billion USD. "2016 Türkiye Kitap Pazarı Raporu "

104   International Publishers Association, *IPA Annual Report: October 2014-October 2015.* (Geneva: 2015) https://www.internationalpublishers.org/images/annual-reports/ipa_ar_online.pdf.

105   Joanna Bazán Babczonek and Ben Steward, *IPA World Book Fair Report 2016* (Geneva: International Publishers Association, 2016) https://www.internationalpublishers.org/images/data-statistics/IPAWorldBookFairReport2016.pdf.

106   *Cultural Statistics 2013* (Ankara: Turkish Statistical Institute, 2013), 100.

Another option for grasping information about religious publishing in Turkey via official statistical figures is to check figures regarding publishers. In the cultural statistics published by TSI for 2013, the total number of publishers in Turkey is listed as 4554. Of these actors, 3774 were from the private sector, 454 were government and educational institutions, and 354 were non-governmental organizations.[107]

Of the 328 publishers the interest of which is categorized as religion, 307 are private sector publishers, 12 are listed among governmental and educational institutions, and 9 are NGOs. In other words, of 4554 registered publishers, those with (any) religion as their basic field of publishing number 328. Besides this category is a related publishing field labeled as "Qur'an" and 198 publishers are categorized with this field of interest (185 private, 10 governmental-educational, and 3 non-governmental).[108] The number of publishers in the two categories (religion and Qur'an) together is 526, which corresponds to approximately 11.5 percent of the total. Thus, approximately 12 percent of publishers in Turkey are interested in religious publishing and they produce approximately 6 percent of the total books in the market. Numbers of titles are being considered here, not print runs, so it is not possible to make deductions about the economic size or market share of religious books in the publication sector from this data. And since such data has been offered by TSI only in recent years, it is not possible to compare the historical development of the distribution of publishers by field of interest.

Up to now, I have summarized the overall picture of the publication sector in Turkey in general and religious book production in particular for the period under consideration. As explained above, these graphical descriptions are based on statistical figures provided by TSI. However, for this study, I have employed additional methods of collecting, classifying, and analyzing data. In the coming section I will continue with the findings of the unique data set collected and employed in this study.

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107   *Cultural Statistics 2013*, 96.

108   *Cultural Statistics 2013*, 98.

2.4.3 *Plurality and Diversity: Takes and Returns of the Republic*

As noted earlier, the figures provided by TSI are only counts and do not offer the detailed bibliographic documentation of the books considered. In Turkey, several bibliographies focus on diverse specific subject matters and the books published on them; however, comprehensive bibliographical accounts that provide a general picture of the publishing sector or cover a specific genre over a long period rarely exist. Religious books are no exception. However, the basic subject of this study is Islamic books printed in Republican Turkey, and for a comprehensive analysis, the figures about Islamic books are necessary. The only work on Islamic books printed in the Republic, which covers its first fifty years, is a bibliography edited by Osman Öztürk and Bekir Topaloğlu entitled *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Yayınlanan İslami Eserler Bibliografyası* (Bibliography of Islamic works printed in republican period 1923-1973).[109] It is primary resource for this dissertation, as well.

The database I utilized for my study consists of two parts. In fact, two different data sets are used for quantitative and qualitative analysis. The first set was collected from aforementioned published bibliography and transferred to softcopy format (an excel spreadsheet), reorganized, adjusted, and classified according to the research criteria of this study.

I collected the second data set on Islamic books from 1973-2010 from the digital catalogue of the National Library. Data sets covering many elements are usually imperfect, and this one was no exception. As discussed in chapter 1, due to challenges peculiar to Turkey, the data of the National Library is neither perfect nor complete; however, it is assumed the most reliable and comprehensive available to researchers.

Here I compare previously-examined figures gathered from the *Statistical Yearbooks* with the figures deduced from bibliographic data sets of the study in order to assess their reliability. My figures rely annual accounts of bibliographic entries, and although my bibliographic database covers 1923-2010, I compared the period that is common to both figure sets, that is 1956-2010.[110]

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109 Osman Öztürk and Bekir Topaloğlu, *Cumhuriyet Devrinde Yayınlanan İslâmi Eserler Bibliyografyası, 1923-1973* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 1975).

110 For numbers provided by TSI before 1956, see the comparative figures in table 2.2
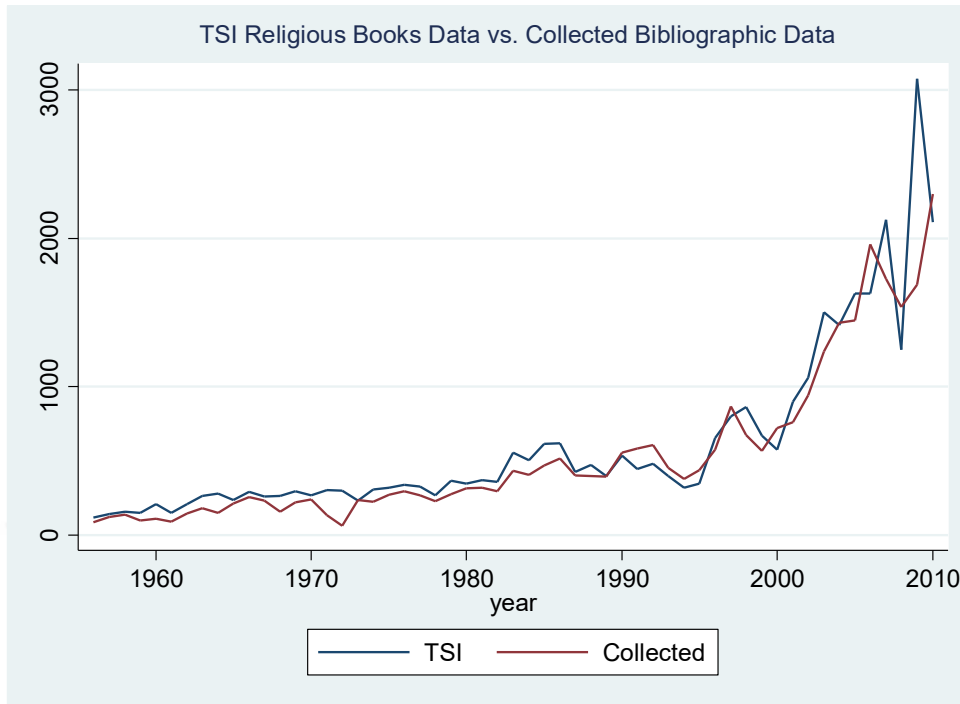
Figure 2.5   TSI Religious Books Data vs. Collected Bibliographic Data

Figure 2.5 is based on this comparison of figures drawn from TSI and from the bibliographic data sets of the current study. It illustrates that these two disparate sources of data are in a cord with each other for the period examined (1956-2010). The TSI figures slightly exceed those of the collected bibliographic figures, but this discrepancy emerges from the fact that the TSI data covers all religious books (including general theology and other religions beside Islam), while the figures for the collected bibliographic data sets include only books on Islam.

Figure 2.5 illustrates that the data sets used for the current study are reliable and include sufficient amount of material for measurement and analysis, that is, that they are representative to a great extent and that the findings derived from this data are credible.

Since the bibliographic data sets of this study consist of two separate sources, I preferred to draw separately graphs for each data set. Accordingly, figure 2.6 shows the number of Islamic books published in Turkey between

1923 and 1973. The source of the bibliographic material covering this period is the Öztürk and Topaloğlu bibliography mentioned above.

The bibliographic data collection derived from this book has been reorganized and classified based on the criteria of current research and adjusted for a proper analysis on STATA software. First, the book was written to an excel file with book title, author, publisher, publication date, and publication place as columns. In two additional columns, subject and genre indexes were applied to the content of this data as part of a conventional content analysis methodology.

2976 separate titles in the original bibliography became 3850 entries once reprints of certain titles were added to the data list. Based on these 3850 entries, Figure 2.6 illustrates the number of Islamic titles published in Turkey per year for the period of 1923-1973. The figure indicates that the number of Islamic books printed and published in the early decades of Republic did not even reach fifty titles per year.

As for the period after 1973, the data set collected from the Islam collection of the National Library was used. It covers the period 1973-2010 and consists of 27,153 entries obtained from the online catalogues of the National Library. It was classified through the methodology explained in chapter 1.
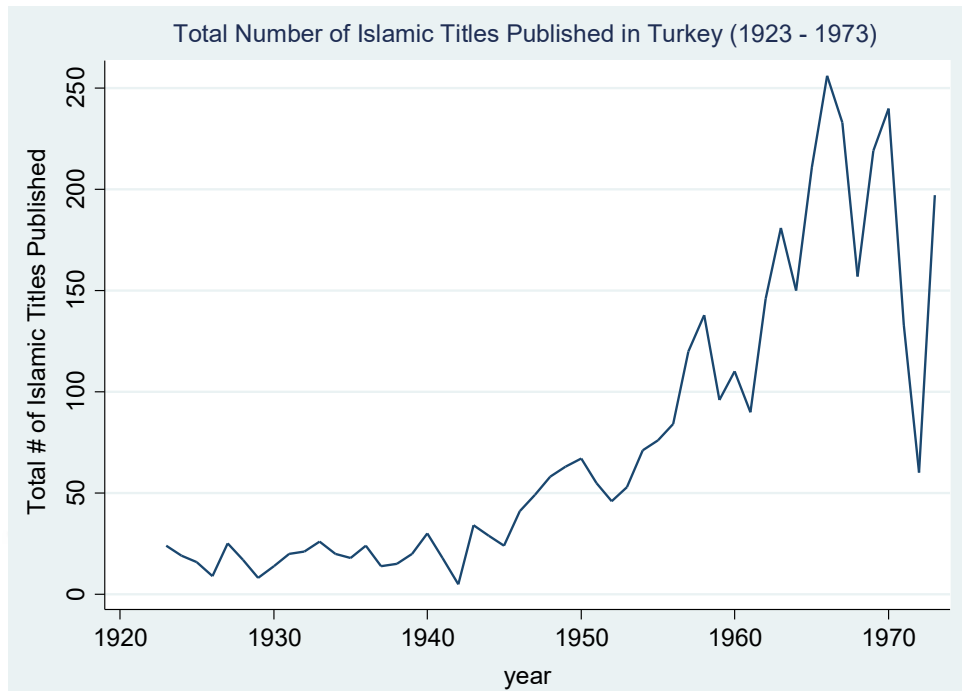
Figure 2.6   Total Number of Islamic Titles Published 1923-1973
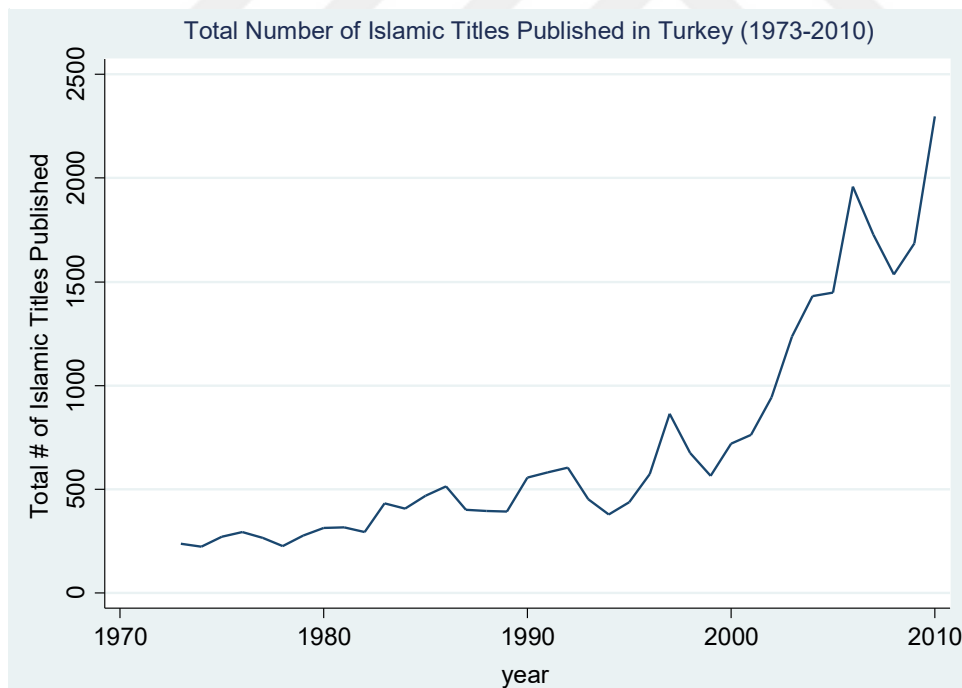
Figure 2.7   Total Number of Islamic Titles Published 1973-2010

As illustrated in Figure 2.7, despite short-term ups and downs, the general pattern for Islamic books published between 1973 and 2010 was a steady rise.

The number of Islamic books printed remained below five hundred per year until the second half of the 1980s (1988), yet as of 1991, the yearly number of Islamic titles published consistently surpassed five hundred. Following some instability during the early 1990s, there was a significant fall starting in 1997. Only in the 2000s did it pick up again, and the one thousand titles per year threshold was passed in 2003. After 2000, the yearly amount of Islamic books produced per year ranged between 1000-2000, and the figure closed at 2500 by the end of the decade.

The relatively sharp declines evident in the graph, are short, exceptional periods in 1987-1988, 1993-1994, 1997-1998, and 2007-2008. The first two falls can be explained by economic crises, and the last two, like the 1923-1973 era, were related to contemporaneous political developments.[111]

Since the sources and method of data collection of two periods (1923-1973 and 1973-2010) differ, figures 2.6 and 2.7 offered partial pictures of their corresponding periodization. As a comprehensive image depicting the whole period between 1923 and 2010, the results of both graphs are rearranged and offered in Figure 2.8.

From the graphs above, it is clear that the weakest period of Islamic print in the Republican period is the period between 1925 and 1945. It is also possible to extend this period until 1960; however, despite being in the stage of crawling, the earliest initiatives for Islam-in-print after the Ottoman period occurred in the period after 1945. The year 1945 is emphasized also by Brockett as the beginning of a new era in which print media played a critical role:

> Throughout the single-party period the effects of authoritarian rule were manifest in a relatively weak printing and publishing industry infused with both Kemalist and centralist perspective.... Limited largely

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111 The impact of the so-called post-modern coup of February 28, 1997, which was followed by the repression of Islamic institutions, groups, and even enterprises, should be mentioned. Similarly, other military-government conflict occurred following e-memorandum on April 27 as a result of a political crisis with respect to the selection of the president in 2007.

to major metropolitan centers, print culture in the years 1925-1945 discouraged public debate and conspicuously failed to validate alternative popular perspectives to Mustafa Kemal's vision for the nation. Instead, the Kemalist elite envisioned print media as the ideal means to inculcate a national loyalty in the people.[112]

At least theoretically, 1945 was the year of transition to a multi-party period in the political realm. It marked the end of Second World War beside and some signs of policy change were evident in the regime. Although the RPP comparatively loosened authoritative mechanisms by changing the actors in governmental bodies, legal, social, and economic centers of power continued to act to limit and control any opposing initiative. Therefore, even after 1945, print was one of the venues of struggle to gain recognition and existence in the public realm.

Brockett considers the proliferation of print media in that period as a facilitating factor for a discourse of difference to take part in the negotiation of the Turkish nation, and he supports his argument with the statistical figures on print and circulation of newspapers of the period. He asserts that in the single-party period the number of books and journals published had increased annually, but since these activities were limited with metropolitan centers, their impact was only related to small portion of the population. He writes, "the number of newspapers in print had actually decreased by one between 1930 and 1940."[113] Censorship and the war conditions had a negative impact on the sector of print media as would be expected.

Based on *Statistical Yearbook* data, Brockett reports that 336 periodicals were in print in 1945 and this number increased to 775 by 1952.[114] The first new printing law that facilitated the publication business, which was enacted on 13 June 1946, and a second one, which was enacted in 1950 by the Democrat Party, were among factors behind the development of print in addition to favorable economic conditions in Turkey following the Second World War.[115] A

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112   Brockett, *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk*, 56.

113   Brockett, 87.

114   Brockett, 89.

115   Brockett, 93.

similar trend is observable in the first decade of the millennium after the Justice and Development Party came to rule in 2002 in the wake of a serious economic and political crisis.
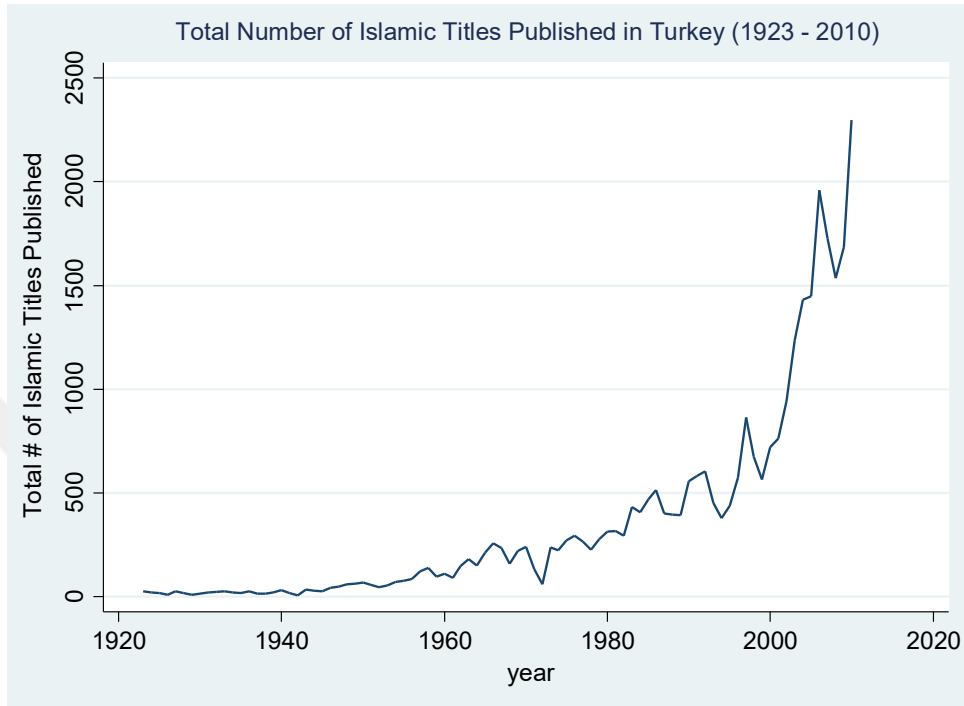
Figure 2.8   Total Number of Islamic Titles Published 1923-2010

Nevertheless, the number of Islamic books published in 1950 was still barely above 50 books per year. This figure began to increase, but only in 1958 did the number of Islamic books printed a year reach one hundred books. Despite a brief fall just after 1960, due to the 1960 coup d'etat, the number of Islamic books continued to rise in the 1960s and by 1966, it reached 250 per year. In 1971, a sharp decline was again due to a military memorandum, but the trend was only temporary it turned positive the next year. Therefore, there was no serious upheaval in book publication soon after 1945 as Brockett argued. That is to say, explosion in periodicals was not accompanied by a parallel flourishing of books. For Islamic books, the Turkish public would wait another three decades for a considerable increase that could be called a resurgence of public Islam or in print Islam.

Figure 2.8 provides the general pattern of the total number of Islamic books published in Turkey from the early Republican period until the current decade. The following conclusions can be derived from this graph: Despite relative declines in certain years, the pattern of Islamic book print is one of steady and continuous increase in Turkey. However, the progress of the sector can be divided into three growth stages with distinctive features. The first covers the period from the 1920s until the 1980s in which growth was in line with the trend of general book print, growth was low until the 1960s, peaked between 1960 and 1980, and suffered a major fall in 1978. The second stage begins in 1980, when growth accelerated, and this trend continued until the end of 1990s. With the new millennium, this acceleration became much higher. Given the growth of the total general book industry in Turkey together with economic and political developments especially after 2002, the expectation of the considerable growth of Islamic books was fulfilled. Yet it is important to underline that this recent boom in Islamic print is related to social and political developments, as well. The 2000s corresponds to the rule of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey. Moreover, crucial technological developments and the access of Islamic organizations to significant financial, technological, and symbolic resources and capital can be counted among reasons behind the flourishing of Islamic books-in- print.

To summarize the chapter, the venture of Islam-in-print has a two-century history in the Turco-Ottoman context, almost a hundred years after the initiative of Müteferrika which was officially supported with the *ferman* of the Sultan and *fetva* of the Şeyhülislam. Hesitation regarding the overproduction of religious works is among claims about what hindered the development of a modern culture and society that would grow around an intellectual revolution similar to the one experienced in the West. Nevertheless, the application of the technology to religious text production did not start in a spectacular way. Rather, the transition was smooth and silent except for the inclusion of Qur'anic codices into the printing business, which took almost seventy more years to occur. The expected acceleration following this development was interrupted by several social and political developments such as wars, the dissolution of the Empire, and foundation of a new nation state. Interestingly, when the recovery was complete and Islamic text production became a visible public

activity, the phenomenon was conceptualized within a framework revival as it had resurrected from the dead. In this chapter, I trace the continuity of this process and reveal the historical endeavor in a more meaningful manner. It is true that for a couple of decades, Islam-in-print had a serious rupture, but this was not independent of the fate of wider print related activities and actors. Moreover, since the field necessitates various types of capital and a habitus to feed those mechanisms and actors, it is more appropriate to say that it happened in the 1980s rather than in the 1950s.

3

Pluralization of Forms, Interrelatedness of Terrain: Mapping Islam-in-Print

> *The book makes the dead speak, delivering to you the word of living beings.*
>
> –Al-Jahiz, *Kitab al-Hayawan* (Book of the animals)

In Turkey, print-Islam materials and the inventory of intellectual goods related to religion are manifold. In this chapter, I draw a detailed map of print and non-print Islamic media in Turkey. Books and periodicals were the most common print materials widely consumed by the pious public as their rate of literacy, level of education, and access to economic and cultural capital increased. However, these are not the only formats through which religious knowledge and discourse were produced and disseminated. Social, economic, demographic, and technological developments as well as the political context played critical roles in the pluralization of genres, subject matters, and actors defining the Islamic print field. This phenomenon of pluralization is better understood and analyzed through accompanying phenomenon such as the interrelatedness or close relationships among producers and products operating in the print field as well as in non-print terrains of cultural production.

Besides offering detailed classification schemes based on conventional content analysis for bibliographic collection compiled for this study, this chapter also highlights the phenomena mentioned above. Those discussions serve to explain the structure and operation of the Islamic print field as well as make sense of the process of ransformation that the materials under consideration have undergone.

§ 3.1 Framing out Islamic Media and Print Materials

The development of mass education and acquisition of new technologies and market structures significantly affected the creation, production, and transmission of knowledge and culture as well as mutually transformed the means and media by which it is transferred and disseminated. As Gregory Starrett pointed out "writing is only one of a cluster of means through which cultural knowledge can become objectified… and not restricted to 'literate' classes or societies."[1] Moreover, the boundaries between different forms of media are opaque, and printed communication and its tools must be analyzed by taking other forms of media into consideration.

Beside print and conventional media, other artifacts such as drawings, stickers, albums, cassettes, applications, and other genres and products are embellished with religious content and utilized to deliver religious messages. The types of Islam-related media and print materials are as diverse as the entirety of such media. Indeed, the classification of communication and information technologies is never complete since humanity encounters new tools and mechanisms to deliver, disseminate, and transfer information and message daily, especially after the introduction of internet.

Printing is defined as "the art, process or business of producing printed material by means of inked type and a printing press or by similar means" or "process of (re)production of texts and/or images (usually) in multiple copies by using a master or template."[2] It is overwhelmingly considered a technology

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1   Gregory Starrett, "The Margins of Print: Children's Religious Literature in Egypt," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2, no. 1 (1996): 117–39.

2   "Printing," *The Free Dictionary*, accessed April 1, 2016, https://www.thefreediction-ary.com/printing.

for transmitting and disseminating knowledge. Especially in modern times, there are a multitude of materials based on print technology that influence daily life - ranging from tickets to maps, menus, charts, postcards, and stationery - which are used for the display or transfer of all forms of information.

These materials are also classified as the media of communications and as tools for recording and storage of information. From ancient times to the present, human beings have used scrolls, written documents, manuscripts, papyrus rolls, vellum, metal, wood, stones, and variety of other physical and oral media. While paper and writing are integral to what is called print media, the method of printing and producing in large quantity is a crucial element of print media and printed materials.

Classification and well-differentiated documentation of the materials, methods, and products used for the storage, transfer, and dissemination of data, information, and knowledge are rare - indeed absent. Even disciplines dealing with these issues, such as bibliography studies, communication studies, and information technologies and management prioritize only what is relevant to the particular discipline and arrived at incomplete lists and classifications. Nevertheless, whether classified as forms of media or as information tools and resources, printed materials constitute a considerable part of these partial lists.

On the other hand, publishing by definition includes the dissemination of music and art in adition to information and literature. It is also possible to include motion picture and cinematic reproduction in the publishing business.[3] However, for this study, my basic concern is printed material in general and books in particular. In the classification of media and information resources, the main distinction is between print and non-print media. And generally, non-print media is used interchangeably with electronic media, even though not all non-print media are electronic. The subdivisions under this

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3   The Mariam Webster Dictionary defines publishing as "the business or profession of the commercial production and issuance of literature, information, musical scores or sometimes recordings, or art" "Publishing," *Merriam Webster Online Dictionary* accessed April 3, 2018, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/publishing. while The Free Dictionary defines as "the business of issuing printed matter for sale or distribution" See, "Publishing" *The Free Dictionary*, accessed April 1, 2016, https://www.thefreedictionary.com/publishing.

basic classification change from one source to another, and it is difficult to arrive at a well-sketched categorization. Furthermore, in the recent decades the growth of internet and related mobile and software technologies have introduced new categories of information storage and dissemination, such that all current classifications need to be updated. These categories have specific contents and tools for storing and disseminating audio, visual, and audio-visual materials and multimedia. Mobile phone technology and cinema can also be included under electronic media.

Despite these shortcomings and difficulties, I propose a comprehensive classification of print and non-print media and major subcategories. According to this scheme, depicted in figure 3.1, print media consists of eight subcategories while non-print media is divided into two - conventional and electronic media, which are then divided into two and four subdivisions, respectively.
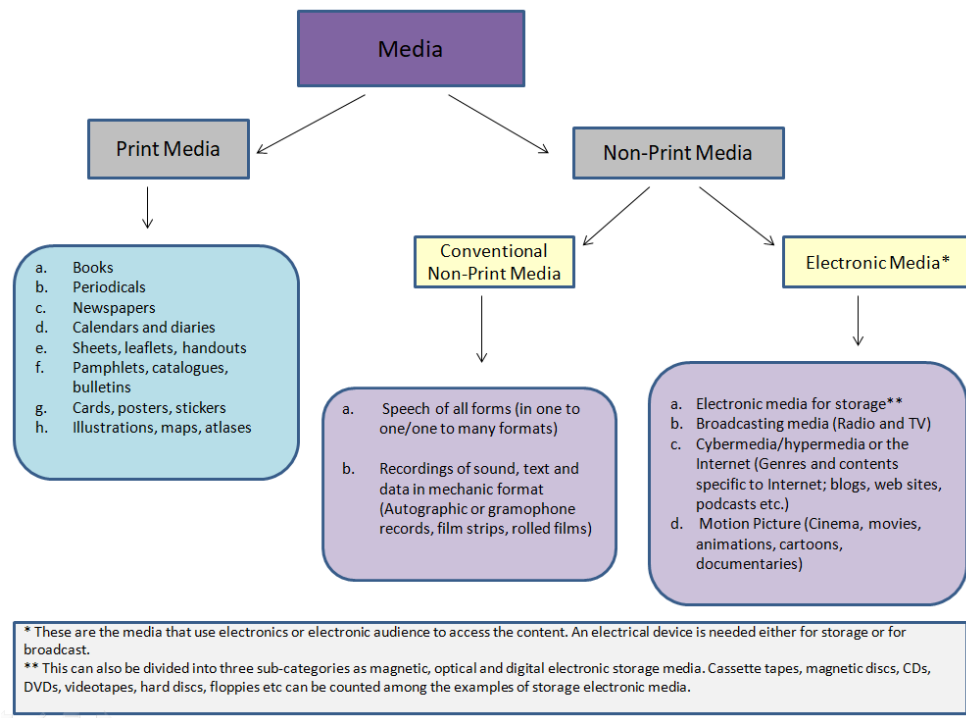
Figure 3.1   Classification of Knowledge Transfer Media

Even though the focus of this study is printed media and books in particular, I briefly discuss how the above other aforementioned media are used in Islamic contexts in Turkey. Almost all forms and genres of media and communications and information technology have been employed in different times, depending on the historical development of the relevant tool and medium. While some are more popular than others, most of these media forms coexist.

3.1.1   *Islamic Non-Print Media in Turkey*

As illustrated in figure 3.1 above, I locate traditional oral communication and forms of speech that use only sound and body as a medium under the conventional type of non-print media. Oral forms are common in Islamic pedagogy and knowledge production systems. Even the most basic text of Islam, the Qur'an itself is a piece intended for recitation "whose message resonates most strongly when read aloud or given voice."[4] Beside Qur'an recitation (kıraat), there are three other basic genres of oral communication in Islam: *Hutbe* (homily), *va'az* (sermon), and *sohbet* (religious course/seminar).

The *Hutbe* is delivered during the Friday prayer by the imam (prayer leader), and to attend and listen to the *hutbe* is an obligatory part of the prayer ritual. *Va'az* or sermon is a religious lecture delivered by an imam or someone among the ulema on a specific subject, usually in the mosque but sometimes also at other gathering places of the Muslim community. A *Sohbet* is an informal, interactive, or one-to-many conversation. It is a religious course or seminar-like gathering of fellow Muslims. It literally means conversation and can cover any religious subject.[5] It can take place at mosques, Qur'an seminaries, lodges, community centers, private homes, and any public or private place where small groups or large crowds can gather.

It is not possible within the scope of this study to reveal how mechanical and visual recordings are used by Muslims. This requires further research

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4   Mandaville, *Transnational Muslim Politics: Reimagining the Umma*, 155.

5   For an ethnography of *sohbet*, see Brian Silverstein, "Disciplines of Presence in Modern Turkey: Discourse, Companionship, and the Mass Mediation of Islamic Practice," *Cultural Anthropology* 23, no. 1 (2012): 118–53.

since most such records are lost and those that survive are usually kept in public or private archives and museums. Therefore, little is known about the utilization of gramophones and other audio and visual recorders in Islamic contexts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, samples of such recordings, such as the oldest Qur'anic recording on a cylinder phonograph from 1885, are available on YouTube.[6]

Among non-print media, the most widespread for Islamic content are electronic formats. Electronic audio, visual, and audio-visual storage instruments are widely used. Cassette tapes, video tapes, compact discs, and DVDs are among the most common instruments, and the following genres and content are stored on them: Qur'an (audio recitations) recordings, music (traditional Sufi music, hymns, *qasida* as well a modern, popular, and protest forms), theatrical performances (taped plays), movies (documentaries, fiction, and animations), various forms of speech (sermons, conferences, seminars, and recordings of events and political meetings), and electronic formats of textual resources (Qur'an, hadith, and classical literature).

Among the earliest, pioneering studies carried out on the "Islamic soundscape" in Muslim societies, one on Egypt about listening to recitations of Qur'an and religious sermons and one on the impact of cassettes of Khumeini's sermons in relation to the success of the Islamic Revolution in Iran are notable.[7] Despite a scarcity of scholarly work related to the Turkish case, the subject is gaining attraction among local scholars.[8] Broadly speaking,

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6   The original audio clip was obtained from CNN Archives. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje visited Makkah in 1885/1302H taking photos and making sound recordings. The recordings are available on wax cylinders. You Tube, "Oldest Recorded Recitation of Quran from Mecca - Dated 1885 \1302H," accessed April 1, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zuo-ZSAT_yLw.

7   For a study on Egypt, see Charles Hirschkind, *The Ethical Soundscape: Cassette Sermons and Islamic Counterpublics* (Columbia University Press, 2006). And for a similar study on Iran, see Annabelle Sreberny and Ali Mohammadi, *Small Media, Big Revolution: Communication, Culture, and the Iranian Revolution* (University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

8   For recent studies on Islamic music in Turkey, see Ayhan Erol, "Understanding the Diversity of Islamic Identity in Turkey Through Popular Music: The Global/Local Nexus," *Social Compass* 58, no. 2 (2011): 187–202. Hakkı Taş, "Melodies of Resistance: Islamist Music in Secular

parallel with the spread of cassette recording technology, the spatial and time-bound limitations of attending a sermon, speech, performance, or recitation began to be transcended, and early samples of cassette recordings in Turkey were unofficial recordings of particular preachers (*vaiz*) or *hoca*s addressing the *cemaat* (audience) in mosques. Timurtaş Uçar (d. 2000) and Tahir Büyükkörükçü (d. 2011) are prime examples of preachers whose cassette tapes were widely circulated from the 1970s to the 1990s.[9] The copying and distribution of these cassette recordings as usually done underground and realized by the individual efforts of their followers. Such cassette and video tapes were copied from copies obtained from a friend, or several people or families listened to or watched a single copy. In other words, such cassettes had a wider circulation than their numbers would suggest. Furthermore, since a limited number of families had cassette or video players in the 1980s and 1990s, private homes and the offices of civil society organizations that began to emerge in the 1980s were venue for collective watching or listening sessions.[10] In the

Turkey," *Social Compass* 6, no. 3 (2014): 368–83. And İbrahim Yenen, "Islamic Popular Music in Turkey within the Context of Religion, Music and Identity," *Journal of History, Culture and Art Research* 5, no. 2 (2016): 1–25.

9   Timurtaş Uçar (d. 2000) was born in 1944 in Elazığ and he received his secondary and higher education from İmam Hatip School and the Yüksek İslam Enstitüsü. While still a student, his sermons attracted attention and he was assigned as deputy Mufti of Istanbul in 1976. He delivered sermons at Şehzadebaşı Mosque and Eminönü New Mosque until the military coup in 1980. He was arrested for his sermons several times. Biyografya.Com "Timurtaş Uçar," accessed December 4, 2016, http://www.biyografya.com/biyografi/20013.

    Tahir Büyükkörükçü was born in 1925 started preaching after 1945. He was assigned by the DRA to be a preacher in 1951 and to be the mufti of Konya in 1965. He delivered sermons and speeches in Denizli, İzmir, Adana, Ankara, Bursa, Diyarbakır, Eskişehir, Kayseri, Malatya, Sivas, Samsun, and many other cities around Turkey. He retired in 1973 but continued to give sermons in the Kapı Mosque of Konya after the 1980 coup up until 2000. Muhammed Tahir Büyükkörükçü, "Tahir Büyükkörükçü" in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İSAM Yayınları, 2016). Currently, in addition to these two figures, a comprehensive archive of audio recordings consisting of hundreds of speeches and sermons by dozens of preachers and hocas given at different times are available on various web platforms such as YouTube as well as personal web pages built for those figures.

10   Such media were among the channels used by the Welfare Party to organize the party in the countryside when a capable or accessible speaker was not available or the leading figures of

1980s and 1990s, cassette plays and protest Islamic music cassettes were added to Islamic soundscape. Though some remained underground, most cassettes were commercial products with the motive of developing a lifestyle and alternate cultural and entertainment materials for consumption.

As for broadcast media, Islamic radio and television stations emerged in the 1990s. In the Republican period, the first Islamic radio content was a fifteen-minute Qur'an recitation broadcasted once a week in 1950.[11] Later, in 1954, a weekly program called "Religious and Moral Conversations" began to be broadcast.[12] In 1980, a long-running religious program - *İnanç Dünyası* (world of belief) - on the state television TRT began to be broadcast once a week. Until 1994, the only legal broadcaster in Turkey was the state's radio and television stations. After 1991, this law was de facto broken by the private channel Star 1, which broadcast in Turkey from Germany, and a regulation regarding the establishment and broadcast of radio and television (Law No 3984) was issued in 1994. Nevertheless, private radio stations had started to operate in 1992 despite the legal obstacles. The first examples of Islamic radio stations, which did not define themselves as Islamic even though their content of covered Islamic issues and performances, were founded starting in 1993. These first Islamic radio stations were the initiatives of established religious groups or organizations such as AKRA FM founded by the İskenderpaşa Sufi community, Moral FM founded by the Nurcu group Nesil, and BURÇ FM founded by the Gülenists.[13]

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the party could not attenda rally. In the 1990s, the Welfare Party used media such as cassettes and video tapes as propaganda tools. In fact, the speeches targeted not only the political objectives of the party but offered the prescription of reaching out to both the religious and political consciousness of Muslim individuals.

11   Şaban Sitembölükbaşı, *Türkiye'de İslamın Yeniden İnkişafı (1950-1960)*, 1st ed. (Istanbul: İSAM İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1995).

12   Gotthard Jaschke, *Yeni Türkiye'de İslamlık* (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1972).

13   For an early evaluation of the subject, see Umut Azak, "İslami Radyolar ve Türbanlı Spikerler," in *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, ed. Nilüfer Göle (İstanbul: Metis, 2000), 93–109. The following master thesis can be counted among recent works. Sinem Akyön, "Türkiye'de Dini Yayıncılığın Gelişimi: Dini Radyolar" (Ankara: Ankara University, 2016). Büşra Ünsal Yetgindağ, "Dini Radyo Yayınlarının Alımlanması: AKRA FM Örneği" (Istanbul: Istanbul Arel University, 2015).

In addition to radio stations, television channels began to be founded by Islamic groups and organizations in the 1990s. TGRT TV of Işıkçılar and Samanyolu TV of a Gülenist group were the earliest channels of Islamic groups in Turkey. These were followed by dozens of local and national channels broadcasting from Turkey not only to the Turkish public but to the world via satellite. Over the last three decades, religious sohbets, Islamic musical products and new genres of programs have been produced in Turkey and aired on the small screen not only by the channels of Islamic group but by mainstream television broadcasters, as well. The intensity of religious programing differs from channel to channel, but as most channels try to address a wider public, they supplement religious education, question-and-answer, and news-like programing, with Islamic-oriented movies, television series, and soap operas.[14]

In Turkey, as in other places, cinema is a genre and medium through which religious concerns are expressed. Directors that define themselves as the founders and followers of the "National Cinema School" have produced dozens of cinematic adaptations of epic religious novels and put forward movies with original scripts.[15] In recent years, as a result of the multiplication of television channels, fictitious and pedagogical productions have appeared in cinematic, television, documentary and animated formats.

Widespread use of smart phones as well as internet portals resulted in the revision and reproduction of old-format contents, and their reappropriation for use with new technological tools. Moreover, new forms of original content are being produced.

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14 Some of the national television channels founded by Islamic media groups include Semerkand TV, TV5, Meltem TV, Mesaj TV, Dost TV, Hilal TV, Kudüs TV, Lalegül TV, and Rehber TV. Since 2012, the DRA also has a television channel called Diyanet TV and Diyanet Radio in cooperation with state television, TRT.

15 For a discussion of the theme of religion in Turkish cinema, see Özden Candemir, "Türk Sinemasında Dini Filmler" (Anadolu Üniversitesi, 1986). Regarding Islamist and Islamic approaches to cinema in the Turkish context, see Dilek Kaya and Umut Azak, "Crossroads (1970) and the Origin of Islamic Cinema in Turkey," *Historical Journal on Film, Radio and Television* 35, no. 2 (2015): 257–76, and İbrahim Yenen, "Türk Sinemasında İslamcılık Pratiği: Milli Sinema Örneği," *İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1, no. 3 (2012): 240–71.

All kinds of material and genres intended to address Muslim users are available on the internet, and since internet is an interactive platform, the content is growing second by second with the contributions of users. In addition to the e-formats of conventional media - such as e-books, and e-magazines -, blogs, podcasts, websites, forums, online fatwa sites, and Muslim dating platforms, are among others available on the World Wide Web. Cyberspace is a new public sphere where – together with other human phenomena - religion and Islam in particular is discussed, articulated, rearticulated, represented, contested, communicated, produced, reproduced, written, broadcast, and performed. Print and non-print media are related to each other and feed and facilitate the reproduction and reception of one another. A similar pattern between orality and literacy is at work in the employment of print and non-print or audio-visual genres and media eith respect to knowledge transfer, communication, and learning.

3.1.2   *Islamic Print Media in Turkey*

After having provided a brief classification and samples of non-print Islamic media, I can now put forward an outline of Islamic print media and materials in Turkey.

As discussed earlier, the instruments of print technology in the Ottoman and Turkish context were adopted more quickly for periodical rather than book production. That is to say, although book printing started earlier, the popularization and spread of periodicals occurred more swiftly and readily. Since the second half of the nineteenth century and especially in the twentieth century, Ottoman public embraced newspapers and magazines with more enthusiasm than printed books. Parallel with the spread of other newspapers and periodicals, Islamic and Islamist magazines have also took their place in the literary landscape of Turkey - especially since the advent of the second constitutional period. This paralleled similar developments in other major centers of the Islamic world such as Iran, Egypt, and the Indian subcontinent. Some of these subcategories of Islamic periodicals included popular magazines, magazines for children, literary magazines, and comics as well as reflexive and scholarly journals covering Islamic matters.

3.1.2.1   Periodicals and Newspapers

The first Islamic periodicals in the Ottoman period were *Sırat-ı Mustakim* (Straight path), *Beyanül Hak* (Expression of the truth), *İttihad-ı İslam* (Union of Islam), *İslam ve Ulum* (Islam and sciences), *Mikyas-ı Şeriat* (the Criteria of Sharia), *Rehber-i Vatan* (Guide of homeland), *Volkan* (Volcano), *İslam*, *Muhibban* (Fellows), *Ceride-i Sufiyye* (Paper of Sufis), *Sada-i Hak* (Voice of truth), *Mahfil* (Lodge), *Mihrab* (Altar).[16] According to the records, thirty-six Islamic magazines were published between 1908 and 1928 for different durations. If *Sırat-ı Mustakim* and its follow-up *Sebilürreşad* are considered as a single initiative, the number is thirty-five. After the declaration of the Republic in 1923, only three of those endured - *Sebilürreşad* (until 1925), *Mahfil* (until 1926), and *Mihrab* (until 1925) -, and they were closed with Takrir-i Sükun Law in 1925. After 1925, the only periodical on Islam was *Darul Fünun İlahiyat Fakültesi (DİF) Mecmuası*, which was the academic journal of Theology Faculty of Darulfünun. In 1933, the faculty was closed, and the publication of the journal also came to end.[17]

In the Republican Turkey, as in the ttoman Empire, weekly and monthly Islamic magazines started to appear earlier than the foundation of full-scale or professional publication houses specializing on books. Gavin Brocket, who studies provincial newspapers from 1945-54, reveals that "at least ten religious publications were established between 1945 and 1949 while at least sixteen more were established in the years 1950-52 alone."[18] With respect to the 1945-1954 period, Brockett provides numberss of 215 periodical publications, 91 of which were metropolitan (published in Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir) and 124 of which were provincial. Moreover, he mentions that twenty-three among them comprised the religious publications of the period.[19]

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16   İDP- İslamcı Dergiler Projesi, "Dergi Listesi" accessed December 29, 2018, http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergi-listesi.

17   Hamit Er, "Darulfünun İlahiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (TDV İSAM Yayınları, 1993): v.8, 526-7.

18   Brockett, *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk*, 124.

19   The periodicals counted by Brockett among religious print materials are *Büyük Doğu, Yeni Büyük Doğu, Ehli Sünnet, İslam Yolu, Hakikat Yolu, Hakka Doğru, Sebilürreşad, İslamiyet,*

Following *DİF Mecmuası,* the first periodical published by independent intellectuals was *Hareket* (Movement). Its publication started in 1939 upon the initiative of the famous literary figure and intellectual Nurettin Topçu. *Sebilürreşad*, *Selamet,* and *Büyük Doğu* can be counted among the earliest Islamic journals of the early Republican period.

Şaban Sitembölükbaşı, in his *Revival of Islam in Turkey*, a study of Islamic organizations, communities, and ideas between 1950-1960, refers to ten periodicals of the period that he labels Islamic press. These were *Sebilürreşad*, *Büyük Doğu* (Great Orient), *Serdengeçti*, *Allah Yolu* (Path of Allah), *Hür Adam* (Free Man), *Din Yolu* (Path of Religion), *İslam*, *Müslüman Sesi* (Voice of Muslim), *Ehli Sünnet* and *Hilal* (Crescent). With regard to circulation, Sitembölükbaşı reports that *Hilal* had a circulation of around ten thousand while *Büyük Doğu* was circulated to around fifteen thousand subscribers.[20]

One of the most up-to-date bibliographies of Islamic/Islamist periodicals in Turkey is that of ILEM's comprehensive Islamist Periodicals Project (İDP). The project database provides the records of forty-three in publication sometime between 1960-1980, including those the publication of which started before then.[21] Among these *Hareket*, *Sebilürreşad* and *Büyük Doğu* are on both lists. For the pre-1960 period, on the other hand, İDP reports sixty-seven periodicals, thirty-one of which were published in the Republican period and thirty-six of which were Islamic periodicals of the Constitutional era of Ottoman Empire.[22] One of that thirty-one periodicals is the *Darulfünün İlahiyat*

Müslüman Sesi, Yeşil Nur, Büyük Dava, Inkılapçı Büyük Dava, Yeşil Bursa, Büyük Cihad, Vicdan Sesi, Hür Adam, Volkan, Büyük Mücadele, Hareket, Yeni İstikbal, Allah Yolu, İslamın Nuru, and *Selamet.* See Brockett.

20   Sitembölükbaşı, *Türkiye'de İslamın Yeniden İnkişafı (1950-1960)*, 165.

21   "İDP - İslamcı Dergiler Projesi."

22   ILEM, a research institute based in Istanbul, initiated a long-term project called İslamcı Dergiler Projesi (Islamist Periodicals Project) which included the documentation and digitalization of Islamist and Islamic periodicals printed in Turkey in the hundred years from 1908 to 2008. One of the outcomes of the project was a web site comprised of this rich archive in addition to descriptions of the prominent intellectuals who owned these journals and produced and/or published content. Though the project continues a considerable number (365 of

Fakültesi Mecmuası (Journal of Istanbul Theology Faculty). Thus, in the multi-party period up until 1980, more than seventy magazines that can be labeled as Islamist or Islamic were published for varying durations.

Journals or periodicals are effective and important since they require speedy, instant content with respect to the country's social and political agenda, are characterized by quick responses and feedback of readers, and are consumed in larger numbers compared to books. For Islamic print culture in Turkey, journals and magazines constitute a significant venue and an abundant material is available for scrutiny. The content of these periodicals awaits enthusiastic researchers interested in Islamic print and cultural production in Turkey.

The earliest Islamist newspaper appeared in 1908 and was called *Seda-i Hak* (Call of God). It was published in Istanbul and had the subtitle "A scholarly and political journal." It remained in publication for only a short time.

In the republican period, some of the periodicals mentioned above defined themselves as weekly newspapers and were published in relatively small Anatolian cities. During the 1960s, one of earliest attempts to establish a newspaper was undertaken by the disciples of Said Nursi. The first was *Zülfikar*, published in Izmir in the 1960s, which was followed by *Uhuvvet* (Fraternity) after it was barred under martial law. In 1967, the weekly *İttihad* (Union) attained a relatively wide readership, however, it was also closed under martial law following the 1971 military memorandum.

Attempts to found daily newspapers continued in the 1970s, but most did not survive due to lack of economic capital. Only three established in the 1970s have survived until today: *Türkiye Gazetesi* (of Işıkçılar), *Yeni Asya* (of Nurcular), and *Milli Gazete* (of Milli Görüş). As with Islamic radio and television stations, these dailies are related to established religious groups or organizations.

Yeni Asya (New Asia) was founded by a Nurcu group and was closed several times, especially after military coups. It name was changed to *Yeni Nesil*

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periodicals) has been published on the website since its official launch in 2018. İLEM authorities let me take part in the project and shared their database before its official launch during the writing this dissertation. For the catalogue of periodicals, see İDP - İslamcı Dergiler Projesi "Dergiler," accessed December 29, 2018, http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler.

(New Generation), *Tasvir* (Picture), and *Hür Yurt* (Free Land). But following the removal of legal obstacles, it is original name was reinstated. Its current owner, Mehmet Kutlular, is affiliated with a specific branch of Nurcus in Turkey that is usually called the "gazete cemaati" (paper group). Despite interruptions, the paper has continued being published since 21 February 1970.[23]

The second nationwide daily published by an Islamic organization was *Hakikat* (Truth), which started to be published on 22 April 1970. It was renamed *Türkiye* on 29 March 1972. The owner of the newspaper was businessman Enver Ören, the son in law of the late sheikh of Işıkçılar cemaati, who later founded İhlas Holding and the İhlas Media Group as part of initiatives in the field of broadcast media.

The third important nationwide newspaper, *Milli Gazete* (National Newspaper) started to be published on 12 January 1973. The founder was journalist Hasan Aksay. The paper is considered the news bulletin of political parties affiliated with *Milli Görüş* (National Outlook) movement, initially under the leadership of the late politician Necmettin Erbakan.

While smaller in circulation, *Yeni İstiklal* (New Independence) (weekly) and the daily *Bugün* (Today) were also among the Islamic newspapers in Turkey in the 1960s. *Yeni İstiklal* was founded by a group of Muslim intellectuals including Mahir İz and Ali Fuat Başgil. Yet after a short time, Mehmet Şevket Eygi became editor in chief, and the weekly evolved into the daily *Bugün* in May 1967.[24] Another important newspaper of the period was *Yeni Devir* (New Era). İsmet Özel, Rasim Özdenören, Cahit Zarifoğlu, Ali Bulaç, Atasoy Müftüoğlu, and many other Muslim intellectuals of the time came together to found *Yeni Devir* in 1976, but its publicationdid not last long, ceasing in 1982.[25]

Another group, including figures like Nabi Avcı, Fehmi Koru, and İhsan Arslan started the daily *Zaman* (Time) in 1986 but the early shareholders and

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23 Ruşen Çakır, *Ayet ve Slogan: Türkiye'de İslami Oluşumlar, Yaşadığımız Dünya Dizisi*, 8th ed (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1995), 89.

24 Fatih Uğurlu, "Altınoluk Dergisi Arşiv," *Altınoluk*, 1986, https://dergi.altinoluk.com/index.php?sayfa=yillar&MakaleNo=d006s033m1.

25 Mercek Altı, "Adam Gibi Gazeteydi Yeni Devir!," *Dünya Bizim Kültür Portalı*, November 2, 2009.   https://www.dunyabizim.com/mercek-alti/adam-gibi-gazeteydi-yeni-devir-h2179.html.

writers were liquidated soon afterward the daily was seized by the Gülenists. In the 1990s, *Yeni Şafak* (since 1994) and *Akit* (since 1993), the latter of which was published under several names and repeatedly banned, were dailies penned by well-known figures and journalists of the Islamic intelligentsia.

In 1998, the Nakşi İskenderpaşa community opened a daily called *Sağduyu* (Common Sense); however, following the postmodern coup of February 28, the attempt was futile. However, the daily of another Sufi group (calling themselves Kadiri with reference to the twelfth century Sufi Abdul Qadir Gilani) led by Haydar Baş (b. 1947) –a theologian by education, the leader of the Sufi group, and the head of a political party, as well- to be published in 1998 under the title *Yeni Mesaj* (New Message). The daily is still being published.

In conclusion, to run a daily was a major goal of most Islamic and Islamist groups in Turkey. Many initiatives failed either due to limited financial or human capital and legal interventions of the state apparatus, especially during military interventions and states of emergencies. Since most of these initiatives were not private commercial initiatives but were instead limited by the collective capital of a group or a community, internal discussions, clashes of interests, and other internal community dynamics influece their survival and material success.

Publishing a daily is laborious and demands capital. In addition to sustainable economic capital, human resources and symbolic capital are also crucial in the publication business. Besides finding press specialists, financing column writers and commentators and keeping them from clashing or conflicting with the principles most advocated by the religious group to which the dailies belonged – as well as simultaneously managing the expectations of both these narrower audiences and those of the general public - was no easy job. In order to sustain a newspaper in the long term, a general readership is important; however, this has to be secured without clashing with the ideological interests of the smaller group with which the daily was affiliated.

These specific economic or readership challenges aside, I have provided an outline of the newspapers and journals issued by Muslim intellectuals and religious organizations in Turkey. To emphasize, for most the Islamic groups in Turkey, periodical publication – whether or not in the form of a daily – was the basic genre of print Islam. Since the late Ottoman period, even small

groups of intellectuals or students could easily get involved in journalism, a trend that reached its zenith in the 1980s and 1990s.[26]

3.1.2.2   Small Artefacts of Islamic Print

As for other print media in Turkey other than journalism, pamphlets, catalogues, and bulletins served the functional need of NGOs and community organizations to inform the public about their events and activities, to publicize monthly or annual reports, and to advertise. Yet this class of materials has not crystallized into a specific Islamic print genre. The same is true for leaflets and handouts. Nonetheless, two other print categories are relatively important even though again, they have not attracted the attention of scholars until recently. The first is calendars and diaries/organizers and the second is postcards and stickers.

In Turkey, diaries are usually printed as promotional materials distributed by institutions, organizations, and companies for their clients or followers. Their main function is usually advertorial. However, printed diaries, which started to be produced in the 1980s but became particularly popular in the 1990s, are limited in terms of the reach. However, one material that is common than periodicals and even newspapers, is calendars. Almost all offices, shops, and households have calendars, usually wall calendars. In recent decades, thanks to technological developments, this trend might be changing; however, to follow the dates and chronology of the year, many people still keep calendars in their homes. In Muslim majority societies, one of the basic functions of calendars is to provide daily prayer times in addition to other information fit within the tiny squares on daily calendars. Verses from Qur'an or hadith of the Prophet take place, as well as quotations from writings on Islamic history,

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26   The İDP catalogued almost five hundred periodicals published between 1980 and 2008, and the project website declares that the collection in hand consists of more than 20,000 issues, though the scope of the project seems to be expanding. İDP- İslamcı Dergiler Projesi, "Hakkında," accessed May 1, 2019, http://idp.org.tr/hakkinda.

poetry, and literature. In addition, modern calendars are one artefact of a production that dates to the nineteenth century.[27]

When people had limited access to printed materials these calendars were the only source of knowledge for many households, especially in the rural areas.[28] The calendar of the DRA, Fazilet Takvimi (prepared and published by Süleymancı groups), Türkiye calendar (prepared and published by Türkiye newspaper or Işıkçılar), and Şehadet Takvimi (Martrydom Calendar) prepared and published by an independent Islamist group, were among widespread examples of calendars used by the people. The choice of calendar often depended on group affiliation, and particular religious groups struggled to dominate the field of printed calendars.[29]

Similar to the motive behind other materials in print, calendars were to be a basic source of information for the people, an identity marker, and a field that was to be filled with Islamic content. Small print artefacts such as calendars and postcards function to mark identity of their users. Though owning books and subscribing to periodicals functions in the same way, small, easy-

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27   For the history of calendars in the Ottoman Empire, see Ahmet Yüksel, "Osmanlı'da Zamanı Anlamak: Duvar Takvimlerinin Basım ve Yayımı Üzerine Bazı Bilgiler," *The Journal of International Social Research* 3, no. 12 (2010): 503–16.

28   In a book edited by Duran Boz in which the reading experiences and histories of more than forty Turkish Muslim authors and intellectuals are collected, many refer to Saatli Maarif Takvimi and other calendars as the earliest available reading materials in the village or rural areas where they grew up. See Duran Boz, *Okuma Hikayeleri* (Ankara: Hangar Kitap, 2013).

29   A 2012 article urging the revival of the Şehadet Takvimi, published in the 1990s, explains the importance of calendars as follows: Life does not welcome empty space. The bad fills the space left by the good. As wise people, we have to be good in every area, we have to do good, and we have to be insistent on being good. One of the good jobs we have to do is our calendars. Ferhat Özbadem, "Şehadet Takvimi Ne Güzel Bir Takvimdi," *Dünya Bizim Kültür Portalı* accessed October 31, 2012, https://www.dunyabizim.com/mercek-alti/sehadet-takvimi-ne-guzel-bir-takvimdi-h11387.html.

    This calendar started to be published again in 2009 as a table calendar with more developed visual design. An important feature of the calendar published in the 1990s was information about the global Muslim figures killed like Seyyid Qutb and Ali Sheriati and the martyrdom of people from Turkey who fought in Bosnia, Chechny, and Afghanistan where were supposed to be fronts of Islamic jihad.

to-carry materials are more functional with respect to this mission. In fact, this "Islamization of print" is not so different from putting on clothing, eating, and other daily practices in an Islamic fashion. When Muslim individuals in modern times consume certain things or fill their stomachs, bodies, minds and spirits with certain materials, ideas, and abstract or concrete goods, they must be halal in the sense of being in accordance with the standards of Islamic consumption.

Another category of Islamic print materials is postcards, posters, and stickers which were launched on the print market in the late 1980s and 1990s. These postcards, stickers, and wall posters usually had poor graphic design and photography in parallel with the technologic capacity of the period, but featured strong slogans and quotations from popular Islamist figures - mostly martyrs - and verses from the Qur'an or Islamist poetry.[30] Towards the 2000s the style, visual quality, and the chosen verses and quotations inscribed on these materials changed. Quotations from the writings of Said Nursi on flowers scene can be counted among these. Traditional visual descriptions of the Kaaba and holy cities Mecca and Medina, and later Islamic calligraphy illustrated in the traditional Islamic arts *ebru* and *tezhip,* started to be consumed not only by Islamists but also by the wider public during the 2000s. All these materialized versions of Islamic print deserve close, in-depth study.

One can conclude that print materials studied in this chapter have the following functions: 1) the Islamization of the material consumed, 2) building an Islamic public space and field of conversation for an imagined community, and 3) creating an identity marker.

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30 These materials were markers of not only Muslim identity but also a political, ideological approach to Islam and the world. These materials had much in common in style and manner to the approaches of leftist ideology and organizations. Therefore, it needs further exploration by scholars interested in not only Islamic print culture but also in the cultural products of radical political Islamic and leftist movements and groups of Turkey. Indeed, this Islamic wave of the 1990s needs to be explored in light of all its materials from posters and discourses, to books and journals, protest music and public events. One basic feature of 1990s Islamism was an appreciation for violence and a heavy political and military understanding of the jihad concept. For a sample collection of these postcards, see *Dünya Bizim Kültür Portalı* "90'lı Yılların İslamcı Kartpostalları Foto Galerisi,", accessed May 1, 2017, https://www.dunya-bizim.com/90li-yillarin-islamci-kartpostallari-resimleri,7977.html.

Consequently, Islam is an element of both print and non-print media in Turkey. Depending on the general social, technological, economic, and political developments of a given time, almost all forms of media and communication were employed in the service of religious objectives. However, while some formats were always popular and effective, in certain periods, depending on the needs or conditions of the day, particular formats were utilized more expansively. Since the nineteenth century, print has been one of the major realms of Islamic cultural production and communication. For the case of Turkey, periodicals and books were the most featured genres of this time. Organized religious groups, individual Muslim intellectuals, the remnants of the classical ulema and the contemporary ulema-like figures of secular regime have been the initiators and sustainers of the establishment and development of this field.

§ 3.2   Islamic Books: Configuring Genres and Subjects

In the introductory chapter, I discussed the challenges regarding the recording and codification of books on Islam. A similar challenge is the issue of subcategories in existing systems. When starting this research, I had some genres in mind for classifying Islamic books, such as the canon and classics, books for kids, Islamic fiction, popular books, and reflexive books. After observing the data closely, I came to realize that such a classification is unsatisfactory from a scholarly perspective. As well as Islamic books registered under different subject categories, books related to the social sciences and other subjects that probably ties Islamic issues could also fall in the code for Islam. Therefore, for such a bibliography, the books in question were more diverse than predicted. Labelling all of them as Islamic books or Islamic literature posed theoretical and practical problems, so I first decided to categorize the books in my research data as Islamic books and Islam-related books. This twofold distinction is a hypothetical one that served to make the classification categories more concrete since my database involved a large literature from classical to contemporary productions and from basic canonical texts to academic works on the subject of Islam.

The second step was to determine the internal divisions among Islamic books. As the basic text of Islamic literature, the Qur'an comes into mind first;

however, the theological status of Qur'an differs from all other texts as it is considered by believers to be the divine revelation. In this regard, given the distinction between the Islamic texts and Islamic literature, I label "scripture" to identify the Qur'an (whether in Arabic, translated form, and side-by-side translations) as part of the former. This is because usually both the Qur'an and hadith collections are considered as Islamic texts in scholarship. However, I took Qur'an as the only agreed upon Islamic text not only by the Islam scholars but also by Muslim fellows and scholars, as well.

Islamic books consist of both major Islamic texts (the Qur'an) labeled with the single genre code "scripture" and a wider Islamic literature labeled with five different genre codes: Classical, devotional, scholarly/reflexive, pedagogical and literary Islamic Literature.

Classical Islamic literature contains all the literature in the fields of hadith (sayings of Prophet), *tefsir* (Qur'anic exegesis), *siyer* (Prophetic life), *felsefe* (Islamic philosophy), *tasavvuf* (Sufism), and others. Devotional Islamic literature contains widely-used prayer books, mixed collections for everyday use, and repetition. Scholarly Islamic literature is comprised of non-fiction books produced as a part of the Islamic literature, and it may include traditional sources of knowledge such as tefsir, siyer, and historical narratives, but not those considered classics. Pedagogical Islamic literature includes *ilmihal*s (catechism) and similar how-to books designed to teach basic tenets of Islam and the practical formation of *ibadat* (observances) and other pious acts. I also put course books produced to teach Islam and related issues in the secular school system in this category. Literary Islamic literature is comprised of fiction and non-fiction literary books such as travel books, memoirs, poetry, and other literary productions. In this way, I divided Islamic books into six genres.

In the category of Islam-related books, I designated two labels, Islamic/self-reflexive Islam related books and non-Islamic Islam related books. In this classification, I basically took the identity of author and the motivation behind the production of those books into consideration. In the former are the works of Muslim writers irrespective of their affirmative or critical tones. These books were considered the product of reflection on Islam within the paradigm of Islamic thought by Muslim individuals, whereas the second cat-

egory consists of a wide spectrum of works not produced with insider concerns, usually by secular and non-Muslim authors irrespective of whether their approach to Islam is positive, Islamophobic or offensive.

These categories constituted the indexes for the genre-based classification scheme of my data base. Distinctions such as Islamic text and Islamic literature or Islamic books and books on Islam are conjectural and reflects an intellectual struggle to display differences within the material in as detailed a manner as possible.

The scheme in figure 3.2 displays both the general division of Islamic and Islam related books, which constitute the body of literature I dealt with in this study, and the categories used to classify them based on genre. These are not genres in the classical sense of a certain style of writing or literature, but a more generic category for a miscellaneous body of literature about which bibliographic features of which are known. Therefore, in the current study, the concept of genre has been developed to overcome the confusions and difficulties of categorizing a body of literature based only on subject matter. The eight categories developed as a genre index assign the place of a work in more detail and pinpoint its position and function within an expansive literature. It is important to recall that all these distinctions are conjectural and correspond to practical concerns in the effort to facilitate a categorization scheme.
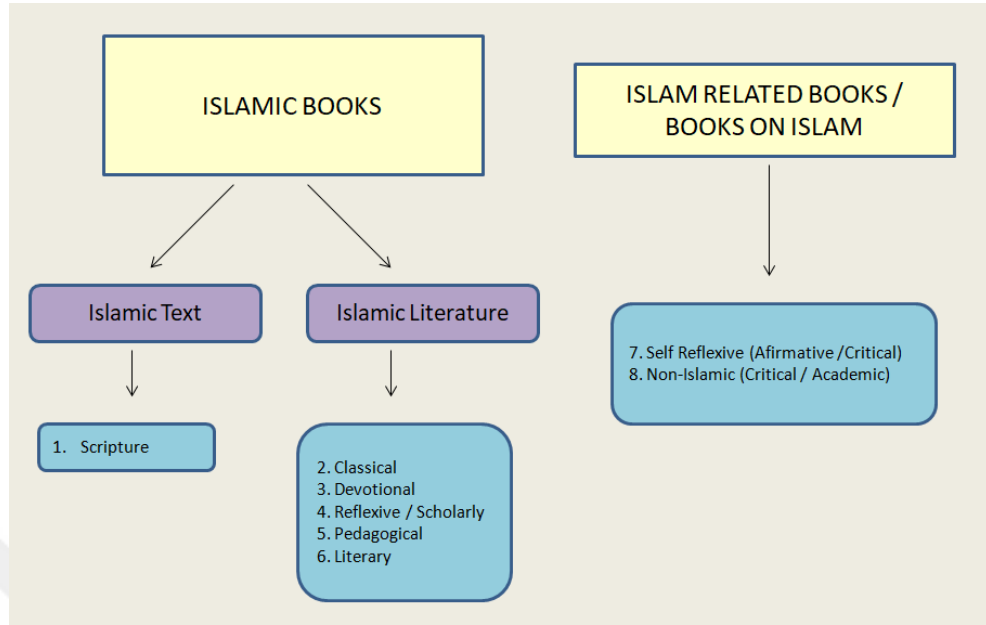
Figure 3.2   Scheme for Islamic Sources and Genre Index

In addition to a categorization scheme based on genres, another index based on subject matter was necessary. For instance, while a book might be classified under the category of classical Islamic literature, it is still necessary to know whether it is a classical work of Qur'anic exegesis (tefsir), hadith, Islamic philosophy, or Sufism. Therefore, a secondary indexing of books based on subject matter provides a more detailed picture of the geography of the books under consideration. Such a bilateral classification produced more detailed results about the loci of reflection and book production on Islam. It also avoids the trap of considering certain subject matters as genres. That is to say, for example, reproductions of classical works, contemporary interpretations of the Qur'an, and original modern productions on the subject of tefsir (Quranic exegesis) could be differentiated due to diverse genre categories.

I identified sixteen subject categories in order to classify the bibliographic data set. 1) Islam general, 2) Qur'an and Qur'an studies, 3) Hadith and hadith studies, 4) Prophetic life and Islamic history (Siyer/Siret), 5) Belief system (Akaid), 6) Religious observances, 7) Islamic law and methodology (Fıkıh), 8) Islamic Morals and Ethics, 9) Islamic Theology (Kelam), 10) Islamic philoso-

phy, 11) Sufism (Tasavvuf), 12) Sects (orthodox or heterodox), 13) Islamic culture/literature/art/civilization, 14) Contemporary Islam and Muslim world, 15) Islamic Thoughts and Movements, and 16) Miscellany

In the end, I identified eight genre categories and sixteen subject categories. For the ease of statistical analysis, I employed these labels as numeric entries. In addition, I added one additional category to both indexes for indefinable books –those that fit in none of the categories. That is to say, in practice, the first index contained nine categories and, the second index contained seventeen. In addition to Figure 3.2, Figure 3.3 below displays the subject index list as employed for the content analysis of bibliographic database.

1. General Islam
2. Quran and Quran Studies
3. Hadith and Hadith Studies
4. Prophetic Life and Islamic History - *Siret / Siyer*
5. Belief System- *Akaid*
6. Religious Observances- *İbadetler*
7. Islamic Law and Methodology- *Fıkıh*
8. Islamic Morals and Ethics- *Ahlak*
9. Islamic Theology- *Kelam*
10. Islamic Philosophy- *Felsefe*
11. Sufism– *Tasavvuf*
12. Sects (Orthodox or Heterodox)
13. Islamic Culture and Civilization- Literature, Art, Architecture
14. Contemporary Islam and Muslim World
15. Islamic Thought and Movements
16. Miscellany

Figure 3.3   Subject Index for Islamic Sources

Exemple entries are given in Appendix B; however, in order for the readers to imagine it more easily, I will give a few examples how the two indexes helped to detail and strengthen the content analysis. With the use of these two schemes, for example, a printed Qur'an codex was categorized with the code

1 (scripture) for genre and 2 (Qur'an and Qur'an studies) for subject, irrespective of its print date. The hadith collection of Sahih el-Buhari was labeled with codes 2 (classical Islamic literature) and 3 (hadith and hadith studies), respectively. Muhammed Ali Sabuni's *Hadis Deryasından İnciler (*Pearls from Hadith sea) was labeled with codes 4 (reflexive/scholarly Islamic Literature) and 3 (hadith and hadith studies). A contemporary book such as *Hadis Okumaları* (hadith readings) by Metin Karabaşoğlu was categorized under 7 (self-reflexive book on Islam) for genre and 3 (hadith and hadith studies) for subject. A book like *Hadis I: İmam Hatip Liseleri İçin* (Hadith I for Prayer leader and Preacher Schools) was put under 5 (pedagogical Islamic literature) and 3 (hadith and hadith studies). Despite the fact that most books could likely be labeled with more than one index, especially with respect to subject, I endeavored to choose the category that the book best reflects.

§ 3.3   Pluralization and Contemporarization: Dynamics of Change

The findings of an analysis using STATA based on the indexes explained above over two data sets covering sequential periods are revealed in the graphs in this section. Respectively 3850 and 27153 entries underwent STATA analysis for each successive period and the illustrations, which show the distribution of genres and subjects, are designed to analyze two complementary data sets covering successive periods. In order quantitatively trace the impact of specific historical contexts, the data sets were divided into different time intervals. Nevertheless, in order to follow the continuity or change within historical tracks, I put the graphs of same analysis for two periods one after another, but interpreted them together.
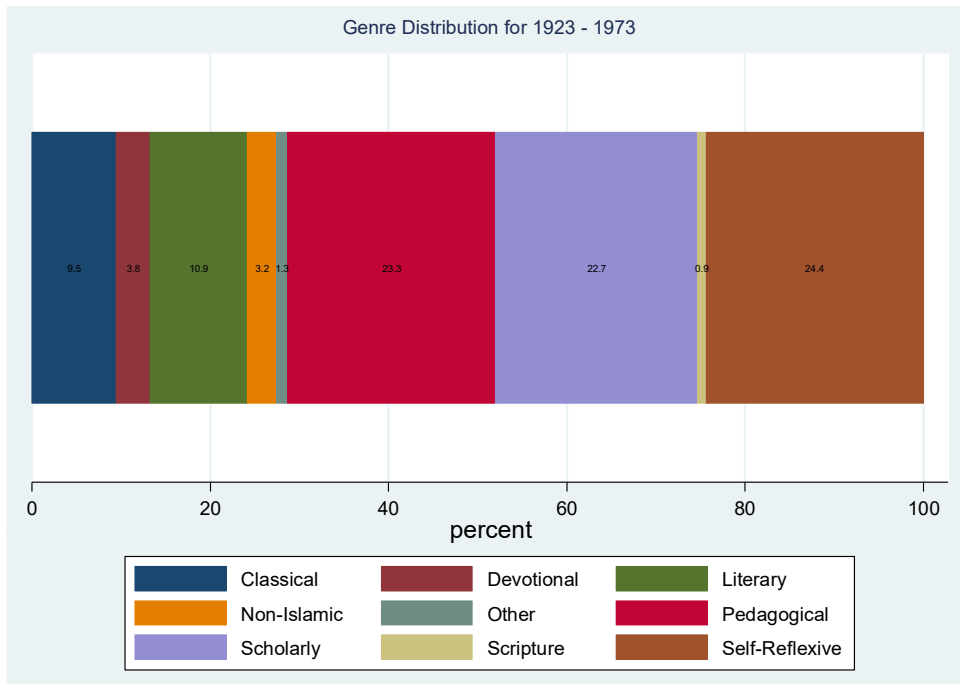
Figure 3.4   Genre Distribution for 1923-1973
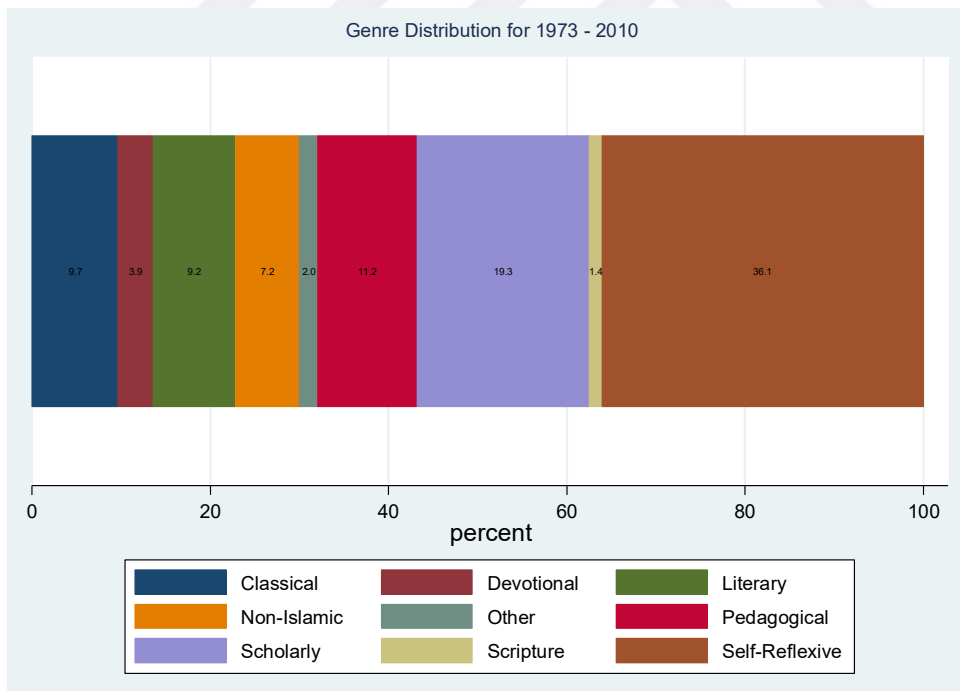
Figure 3.5   Genre Distribution for 1973-2010

Figure 3.4 offers a comprehensive depiction of the genre distribution of Islamic books in Turkey for the 1923-1973 period. The table demonstrates that between 1923 and 1973, the most common genre was self-reflexive books (24.4 percent of the total). Pedagogical Islamic literature and scholarly Islamic literature follow with 23.3 percent and 22.7 percent respectively. That is to say, these three categories of books constitute almost 70 percent of the Islamic books published during the first fifty years of the Republic.

The figure also reveals that scripture constituted less than one percent (0.9%) of Islamic books while devotional Islamic literature had a portion of 3.8 percent. Both classical Islamic literature and literary Islamic literature held shares of around one tenth of the total with 9.5 and 10.9 percent respectively. 1.3 percent of the books in this data set could not be categorized under any of these genre labels, 3.2 percent were categorized in the non-Islamic books on Islam category.

This picture suggests that specific kinds of books dominated and determined the character of the field and that the field was more or less a homogenous whole concentrated on three categories.

The remarkable development indicated in figure 3.5 is the enlargement of self-reflexive books from 1973-2010. As in the previous era, scholarly Islamic literature (with a 19.3 percent share) and pedagogical Islamic literature (at 11.2 percent) were the second and third most popular genres of the period. Nevertheless, though still third in rank, the share of pedagogical literature fell dramatically from its share in the previous period.[31]

In this picture, interestingly the ratio of classical Islamic literature remained almost the same as the previous period at 9.7 percent. The same is valid for devotional Islamic literature, as well. (3.8 and 3.9 percent respectively). These figures reveal that compared to 1923-73 period, while literary literature decreased from 10.9 to 9.2 percent, a reverse trend occurred for non-Islamic books on Islam (from 3.2 to 7.2 percent). However, the difference in the former is less significant than the considerable change in the latter.

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31   A calculation by decade suggests that while the share of pedagogical literature in the 1930s was 34 percent, it fell to 10 percent by the 2000s. See Appendix C, figures 1 and 2.

The Qur'anic codex and its translations constituted only about 1 percent of printed Islamic books in Turkey from 1923-1973, and this figure does not change dramatically for the subsequent (1.4 percent of the total). The relative increase in recent decades can be linked to increase in *meal* (Turkish translations of Qur'an) printing and reading practices in recent decades together with *mushaf* printing and reading. That a single text constitutes a one percent share can be considered significant. But in fact whether read or not, almost every household is believed to own at least one Qur'anic codex and usually all pious Muslims owns individual copies.

This finding about the low percentage accounted for by Qur'ans in this time period needs further investigation. Some tentative explanations can be offered: As discussed in earlier chapters, mushaf printing is a serious business and it has been supervised by specific state authorities and mechanisms from the time of the Ottoman Empire up to the present Republic. Therefore, pirate publications of the Qur'an are unlikely. However, even if publishing houses receive the necessary authorization to print mushaf, they may not send a copy to the library archives, which would lead to these copies not appearing in the records and data used here. Or more likely, it sends only a single edition since the format and text do not change from print to print, reprints and other editions are not sent to the libraries, again leading to underrepresentation in the total of Islamic books.

Another reason is that compared to the runs of other books, Qur'anic codices are printed in larger numbers. Since publishing houses understand the vast demand for Qur'an copies, they are likely to print a hundred thousand copies in a run as opposed to other books which the standard print run is usually 1000 or 5000 copies. Producers can assume that in the long run, almost all Qur'an copies will be sold since their sale is less dependent on personal choice or pleasure.

Even though print style, calligraphy, paper quality, and the size of mushaf change from time to time depending on demand and reader preference, any copy fullfils the basic function.

One of the most important conclusions to be drawn from the results of the data set covering the 1973-2010 period is growth in the rates of self-reflexive and non-Islamic books on Islam and the comparative decline of pedagogical

literature together with a slight downsizing of scholarly literature. Given that the number of entries covered in the second period is nearly seven times that of the first, that the magnitude of self-reflexive books constituted more than one third (36,1 percent) of Islamic books makes sense.[32]

The social sciences literature as well as journalistic works on Islam are related to the social and political context of the 1990s in which political Islam, Islamic organizations, movements and other Islam related issues were fodder for national and global bestsellers.

So is it reasonable to interpret the fall in the data as a decline in academic and journalistic books? Not really. Such books are likely no longer categorized under Islam code of the Dewey system but rather under sociology, anthropology, contemporary politics, and related humanities.

Self-reflexive books gained considerable popularity and prevalence from decade to decade. This trend started in the 1950s, however, before the 1970s, their share of the total covered around 25 percent. Even if we ignore their dramatic rise during the 1990s, this category still constitutes more than one third of the market. In fact, this trend is related to the imposition of certain book types on the market as well as both to ground gained by traditional and contemporary Islamic circles and organizations and Islamist intellectuals in the 1980s.

The contribution of translated books penned by Muslim intellectuals and popular figures around the world cannot be underestimated. Though I could not extract concrete numbers from the data with respect to translated Islamic and Islamist books in Turkish market, they comprised a considerable share especially from the 1970s at least until the 1990s.

On the other hand, because of the structure of the classification categories, the apparent rise in the number of self-reflexive books is also related to chronology. Recently produced works are more likely to be put under this category as a genre. Therefore, a good crosscheck to interpret the picture properly is to

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32   A detailed graphy based on the distribution by decades indicates that the 1990s is the determining decade in this quantitative development. The 1990s were a decade of self-reflexive (40.4 percent) or non-Islamic (12.3 percent) books and these categories together constitute the 52.5 percent of the Islamic books of the decade. Hence, the 1990s is arguably a decade of books on Islam, not one of Islamic books. See Appendix C, figure 2.

consider the total figures for scholarly and self-reflexive books. If the figures for both categories are summed, their share for each period is as follows: 47.1 and 55.8 percent. This reveals that the share of reflexive productions, - that is, those that are not course books, teaching materials, narratives and other literary productions, and popularly circulated texts that require little intellectual labor, constitutes more than half of the Islamic literature in Turkey and significantly increased in the 1980s. This phenomenon can be interpreted as an increase in the intellectual and symbolic capital of the pious segments in Turkish society as well as in access to communication tools and cultural production instruments. This phenomenon can be called as contemporarization of Islamic texts in production. That is because, compared to scholarly literature, self-reflexive books category consists more contemporary works and authors.

The changing picture in recent decades also depicts a more pluralistic, balanced distribution of different genre categories despite a swell in self-reflexive books. Considering the internal heterogeneity of this genre, Islamic literature produced in republican Turkey has become significantly pluralized and covers diverse genres and actors. Productions on Islam are not only by Muslim subjects, secular and non-Muslim personas are involved in the print Islam field, too. The rise in non-Islamic literature on Islam can be interpreted as a dimension of this trend.

In the next figure pair, genre distribution described above is recalculated based on dividing each data set into two historical sub-periods and taking important social and political turning points under consideration.

In Figure 3.6, the data set of first period is divided into two sub-periods, 1923-1950 and 1950-1973. These are not random but rather reflect a political sub-periodization that, similar to other studies, take the end of single party rule in Turkey as a crucial turning point. Closely examining the results of this alternative periodization made the assumptions and claims regarding the impact of political developments and specific turning points in the development of Islamic print more recognizable and comprehensible.

This study reveals that between 1923 and 1950, of all Islamic books produced, almost one third was pedagogical Islamic literature. Together with scholarly literature and self-reflexive books, these segments constituted almost

80 percent of the total. Five other genres including scripture, classical literature, devotional literature, literary literature and non-Islamic books on Islam constituted 20.9 percent. It can be concluded that the primary genre in the single party period was books teaching basic tenets of Islamic faith and practices. Simple guidebooks that taught how to read the Qur'an and perform prayers marked the Islamic books of the period.
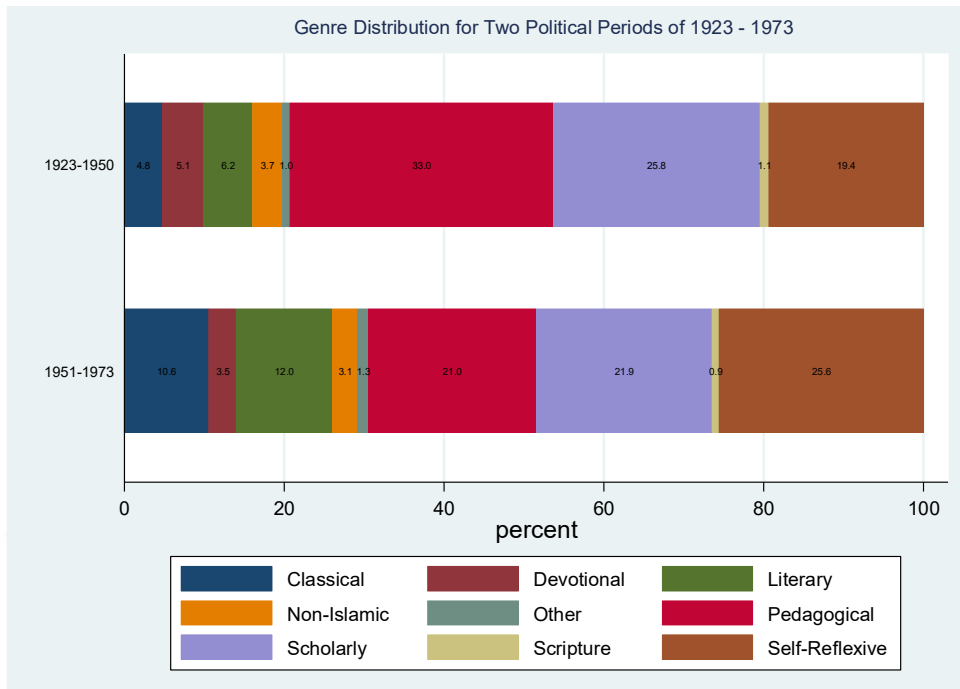
Figure 3.6 Genre Distribution for Political Periods from 1923-1973
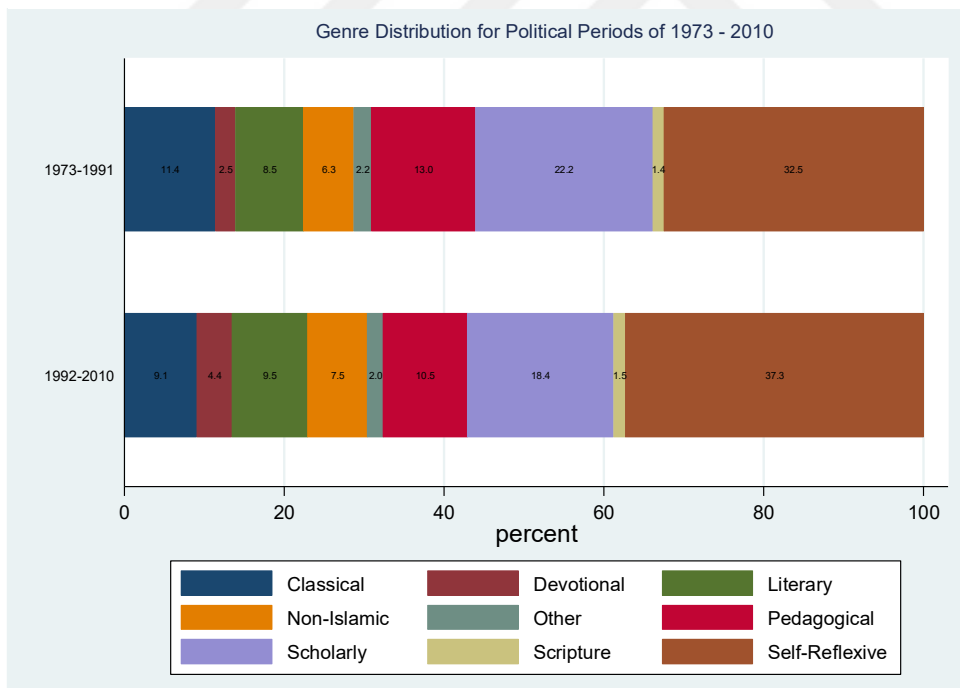
Figure 3.7   Genre Distribution for Political Periods from 1973-2010

This needs further examination, especially when restrictions that state put on Islamic practices are taken into account. Considering the secularization policy of the ruling elites in the early Republic and their efforts to purge public space of religious symbols and practices the prevalence of such guidebooks can be understood either as resistance to the sovereign policies of ruling elites or as a complementary policy of regulating the religious field and creating a religious understanding and literacy in accordance with the official discourse and approach to religion. If books of the period are scrutinized closely, hints of both can be found. While state institutions like the Ministry of Education started to print course books on religious education, insisting on printing simple guidebooks on basic religious tenets and reading the Qur'an in a country where the alphabet has been changed, makes publishing a field of resistance for protecting and preserving the traditional relations of the people with religion and religious knowledge, at least at a basic level.

In the second period, 1951-1973, one can observe a considerable increase in the publication of classical literature and literary Islamic works in addition to self-reflexive books on Islam. Meanwhile, the share of all other genres declined. However, the three most common genres of the previous period - that is to say pedagogical and scholarly literature and self-reflexive books - continued to account for 67.6 percent (two-thirds) of the total in this period. In other words, despite the increases in classical and literary Islamic literature, pedagogical and scholarly Islamic literatures were still predominant.

Another point to underline about the distribution of genres while comparing the two periods is the decline of scholarly literature (from 25.8 to 21.9 percent) and significant increase in self-reflexive books (from 19.4 to 25.6 percent). However recalling the proximity of these two genres in terms of content, their sum in each period (1923-1950 and 1951-1973) result in the figures 50.2 percent and 47.5 percent, respectively. This can be interpreted as follows: During the first fifty years of the Republic, almost half of the Islamic books were either the products of early modern and late Ottoman scholars or of more contemporary religious intellectuals who reflected on both classical and contemporary issues related to Islam.

Literary productions that focused on subjects like *siyer* and Islamic history, as well as the classical Islamic literature, were published more intensely in the

1950s. In the previous decades, the ulema and religious intelligentsia of the period were the primary consumers of classical books. A trend that started in the nineteenth century and that is generally called Islamic revivalism advocated turning to the fundamentals of Islamic belief and knowledge, leading to a rising demand for such literature from ordinary literate people. Unlike the ulema of previous times, they did not have command of Ottoman Turkish and Arabic. Especially following the reform to the alphabet, new generations who wished to read classical Islamic literature had to read Latinized versions or editions translated into Turkish. In addition, the rising supply of classical literature starting in the 1950s can be explained by the establishment of theology faculties and Imam-Hatip high schools and the emergence of religiously educated professionals and intellectuals brought up in these schools.

Figure 3.7 is a re-aggregated distribution of the results based on two political sub-periods for 1973-2010. Here the picture becomes clearer and the details more definite. The periodization pursued is related not only to national but also global socio-political developments. 1990 signifies the end of the Cold War and the beginning of a new global era from which Turkey was not immune. Moreover, 1992 was the year that a regulation was passed in Turkey to permit the opening of private television channels and radio stations. This was an important development that resulted in the mushrooming of all kinds of publication activities from print to audiovisual media – a product of the aforementioned influence of oral genres on written ones and vice versa. This also led to a similar trend in the production of books in the publication sector of the country. Besides these socio-cultural, economic, and global developments, the 1990s were also golden age for the rise and visibility of Islam and an Islamist generation in the public sphere.

Besides these factors, the thirty-eight years covered by the database were coincidentally divided into two equal nineteen-year halves. This practical division made 1992 an ideal beginning for the second sub-period. 1990 is a more common beginning date for periodizations, but in current case, a two-year deviation from 1990 provided to observe subsequent short-term affect of 1990 in single subset.

The first row of Figure 3.7 indicates that the density of self-reflexive books was 32.5 and scholarly Islamic literature was 22.2 percent. In this period (1973-

1991), pedagogical literature constituted 13 percent of Islamic books while classical literature constituted 11.4 percent. If we look at the second period (1992-2010), despite the significant decline in scholarly literature from 22.2 to 18.4 percent, self-reflexive books increased to 37.3 percent. However, if one sum the shares of these two categories, the figures are 54.7 percent for the first period and 55.8 percent for the second. In fact, the difference in this figure is less significant than in the previous one.

If one continues to compare the two sub-periods, one first sees a decline in classical Islamic literature from 11.4 percent to 9.1 percent and in devotional Islamic literature from 13.5 to 10.5 percent. There is a considerable increase in literary Islamic literature from 8.5 to 9.5 percent and in devotional Islamic literature from 2.5 to 4.4 percent. Unlike in the previous table, this table suggests that the increase in non-Islamic books is less significant (from 6.3 to 7.5 percent) compared to other genres. However, this amounts to an almost 20 percent rise within the genre itself. The share of the genre of Scripture is maintained and constitutes 1.4 and 1.5 percent of the Islamic books in the respective sub-periods.

If we read the picture based on our dual categorization of Islamic books and books on Islam, we can see that 59 percent of the total in the first period is Islamic books while 38.8 percent are books on Islam. On the other hand, in the second period the share of Islamic books falls to 53.7 percent while that of books on Islam rises to 44.8 percent. These figures suggest that texts produced on Islam became more heterogeneous and that the predominance of contemporary figures and works - even on classical issues- has to determine the major corpus of the whole of Islamic literature. These figures illustrate a phenomenon that can be termed a hybridization or secularization inspired by more popular, cosmopolitan genres that address a wider public rather than a communitarian group as well as production in more contemporary forms.

In the next pair of figures, Figure 3.8 and Figure 3.9, the findings with respect to the subject index analysis are depicted.

Figure 3.8 illustrates that, the most frequent subject matter of the period is Prophetic Life and Islamic History with 14 percent. These are followed by General Islam with 13.3 percent, Religious observances with 11 percent and Qur'an and Qur'an Studies with 10.3 percent. Islamic Law and Islamic Culture and

thought books have similar percentages at around 6 percent (6.7 and 6.4 percent, respectively) each. Both Islamic Culture and Sufism constituted 6.3 percent. Belief Systems are close behind at 5.4 percent of books, while all other subject matters came in at below five percent. Shares of Hadith and Hadith Studies, Contemporary Islam, and Islamic Ethics were as 4.3, 4, and 3.2 percent respectively. The subjects of Sects (1 percent), Islamic Philosophy (1 percent), and Islamic Theology (1.5 percent) were at the bottom of the spectrum with the smallest shares of the total. Some 1.9 percent of the books could not be categorized under any of these subject matters.
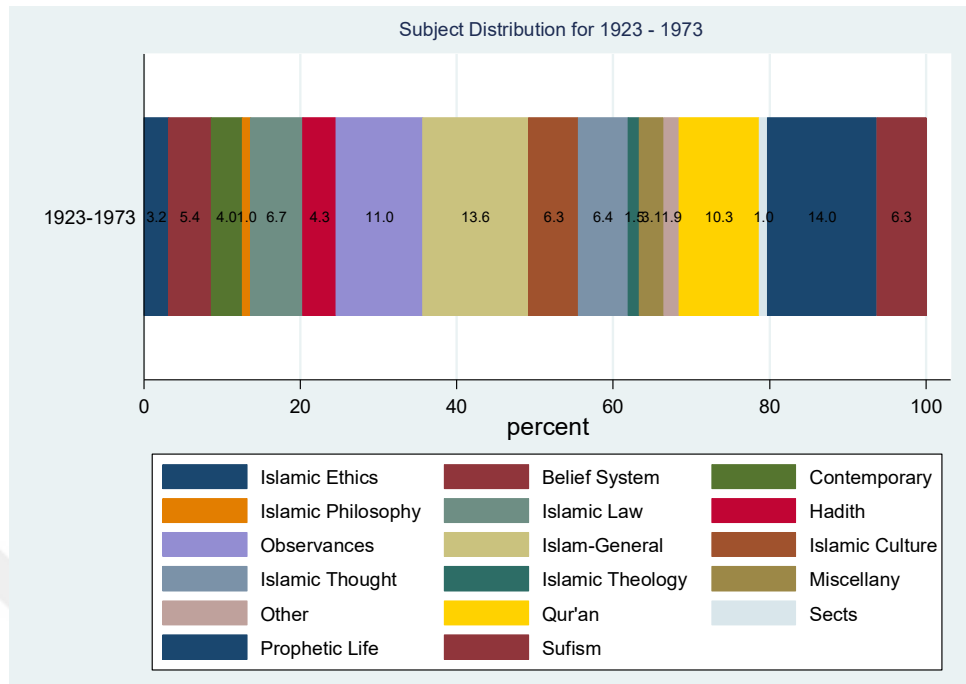
Figure 3.8   Subject Distribution for 1923-1973
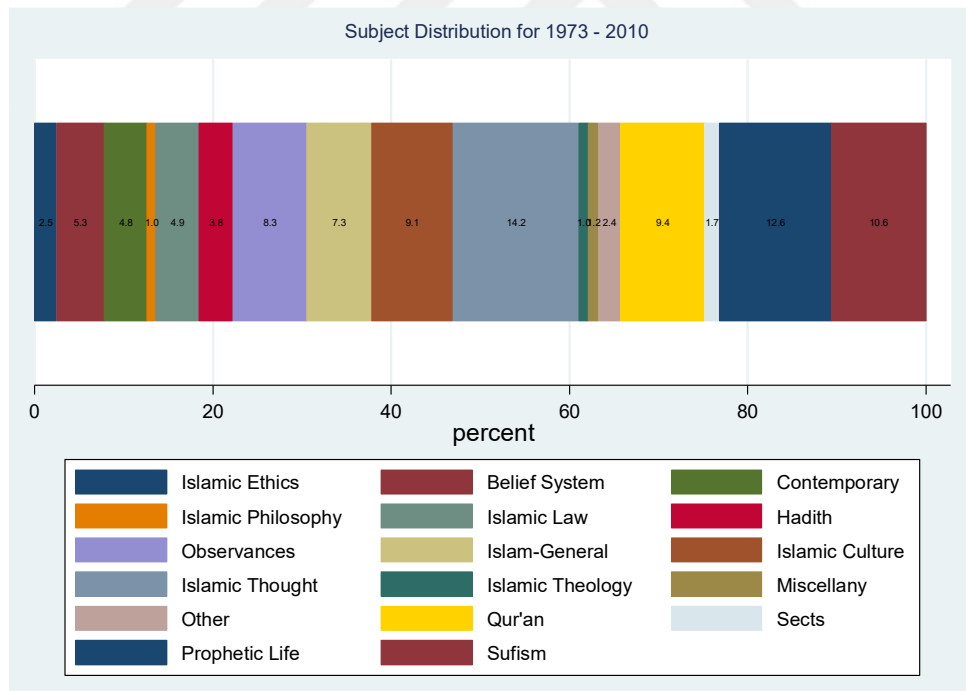
Figure 3.9   Subject Distribution for 1973-2010

For the subject distribution of Islamic books published between 1973 and 2010, figure 3.9 reveals that the most popular were Islamic thought and Movements with 14.2 percent, Prophetic Life and Islamic history with 12.8 percent, Sufism with 10.6 percent, Qur'an and Qur'an Studies with 9.4 percent and Islamic Culture with 9.1 percent. These top-five issue categories accounted for 56.1 percent of Islamic books in this period. In the previous period, four subject categories accounted for 48.8 percent of the total.

Even though Religious Observances (8.3 percent), General Islam (7.3 percent) and Belief System (5.3 percent) were common subject matters, Hadith (3.8 percent), Islamic Law (4.9 percent) and Contemporary Islam and Muslims (4.8 percent) remained below five percent. Islamic Philosophy (with 1 percent), Islamic Theology (with 1 percent), Miscellany (1.2 percent), Sects (1.7 percent), and Islamic Ethics (with 2.5 percent) are the issues that had the smallest shares of the total.

If we compare the findings of the 1923-1973 and 1973-2010 periods, one can conclude that Prophetic Life and Islamic history, and Qur'an and Qur'an Studies are consistently prevalent and popular. In the first fifty years of the Republic, General Islam and Religious Observances were also among the popular subject matters.

Though not as popular, subjects like Belief System, Hadith, Islamic Ethics, Islamic Philosophy, and Theology maintained their own ground. These issues were not subject to significant change in the long run. While Islamic Thought and Movements and Sufism became popular subject matters in recent decades, issues like Islamic Law and Religious Observances were more popular in the past. The spread of books related to Sects, Contemporary Islam, and Islamic Culture seems is related to national and international social and political contexts.
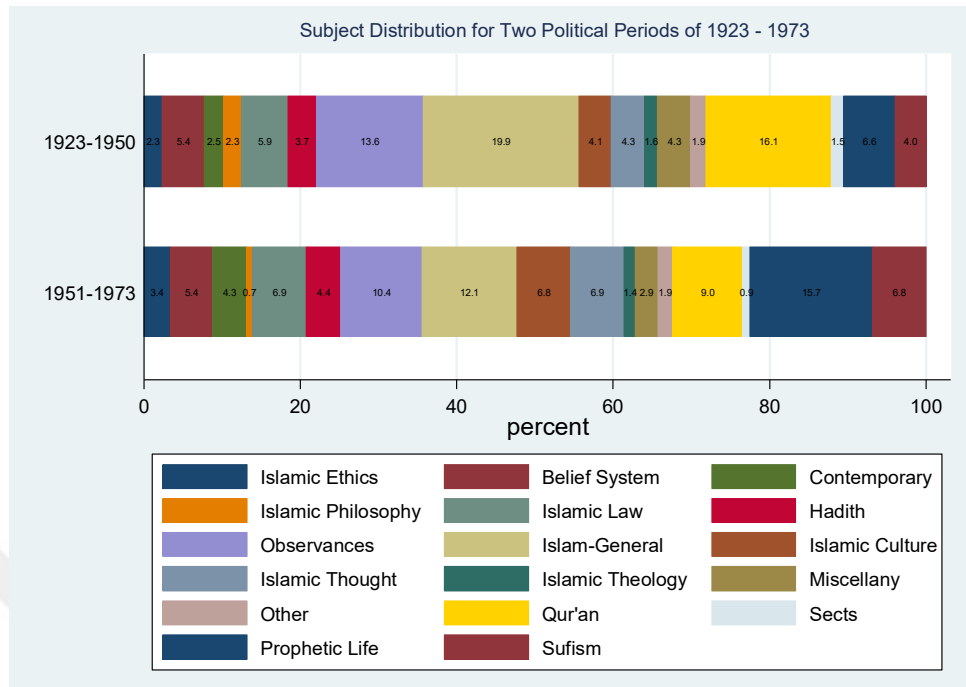
Figure 3.10   Subject Distribution for Political Periods from 1923-1973
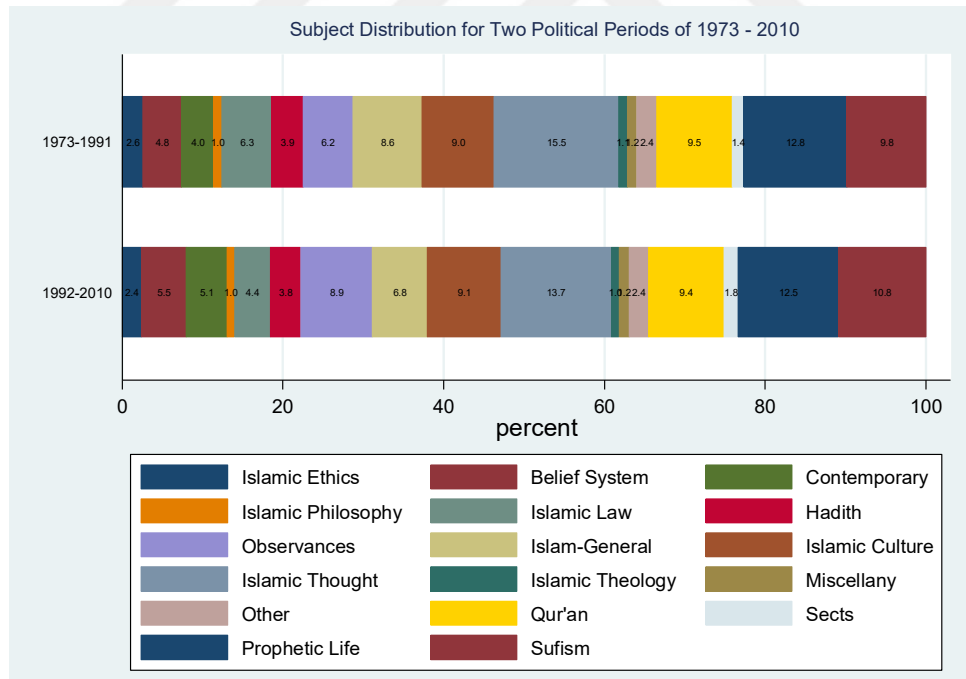
Figure 3.11   Subject Distribution for Political Periods from 1973-2010

Similar to the genre distribution of the two sub-periods provided in Figures 3.6 and 3.7, Figures 3.10 and 3.11 offer the general picture of the distribution of the subject matters of Islamic books for both periods by re-calculating the distribution according to sub-periods.

According to Figure 3.10, the most common subjects of Islamic books up until 1950 were General Islam (19.9 percent), Qur'an and Qur'an Studies (16.1 percent) and Religious Observances (13.6 percent). In the second sub period - that is, after the end of single party rule - the most common subjects became Prophetic Life and Islamic history (15.7 percent), General Islam (12.1 percent), and Religious Observances (10.4 percent).

If one compares and contrasts the two rows of the table for two sub periods, one notices that Belief System constitutes 5.4 percent of the total for both. A slight increase is observed in Islamic Law from 5.9 to 6.9 percent, in hadith from 3.7 to 4.4 percent, in Islamic culture from 4.1 to 6.8 percent, Islamic Thought from 4.3 to 6.9 percent, in Contemporary Islam and Muslims from 2.5 to 4.3 percent, in Sufism from 4 to 6.8 percent, and in Islamic Ethics from 2.3 to 3.4 percent. In other words, the books in these subject matters increased their shares from minimum of 0.7 to a maximum of 2.8 percent. However, the shares of Islamic Philosophy (2.3 to 0.7 percent), Religious Observances (from 16.1 to 9 percent), General Islam (19.9 to 12.1 percent), Qur'an and Qur'an Studies (16.1 to 9 percent), and Islamic Theology (1.6 to 1.4 percent) declined in the second sub-period. The maximum was 7.8 percent drop in General Islam and the minimum was a 1.6 percent fall in Islamic philosophy. That is to say, while subjects the shares of which increased had relatively small increases, the subjects the percentages of which dropped experienced much sharper falls.

In the 1950s, the life of the Prophet and his companions and wider Islamic history emerged as popular subjects. If figure is scrutinized in detail, one can ascertain that Qur'an and Prophetic Life related issues together constituted 22.7 and 24.7 percent of the total of books in each respective period. The change in the share of these subjects was not significant, however arguing that such as a dramatic decline in one, would lead to an increase in the other can

be a hypothesis of further research. The proposition, if the prevalence of products regarding the interpretation of the Qur'an in the market lessen, then possibly works on Prophetic Life increase remain to be speculation for now.

Similar to the genre distribution in the first sub-period, the distribution of subject categories is not even. Almost half (49.6 percent) of the works produced in the early decades of the Republic concentrate on three basic issues. In the second sub-period, the three most common subjects constitute only 38.2 percent of the total as the distribution evolved towards a more balanced though still far from perfect one. Equal distribution of all sixteen categories is not to be expected, and some bulging figures are reasonable.

In Figure 3.11, one can see the distribution of subject matters divided and aggregated for the two sub-periods 1973-91 and 1992-2010.

Figure 3.11 reveals that most subject matters do not significantly change with regard to their proportion within the total. Islamic Ethics (2.6 and 2.4 percent), Islamic Philosophy (1 percent in both periods), Hadith (3.9 and 3. 8 percent), Islamic Culture (9 and 9.1 percent), Islamic Theology (1.1 and 1 percent), Miscellany (1 percent in both periods), Qur'an and Qur'anic Studies (9.5 and 9.4 percent), and Prophetic Life and Islamic history (12.8 and 12. 5 percent) are subject matters that maintained more or less similar proportions in both periods. Even the rate of the books categorized as other are same for both periods with 2.4 percent.

On the other hand, meaningful upward or downward changes can be observed in the other eight subject matters. Out of these Belief System (from 4.8 to 5.5 percent), Contemporary Islam and Muslims (from 4 to 5.1 percent), Religious Observances (from 6.2 to 8.9 percent), Sects (from 1.4 to 1.8 percent), and Sufism (from 9.8 to 10.8 percent) expanded their slices, while Islamic Law (from 6.3 to 4.4 percent), General Islam (from 8.6 to 6.8 percent), and Islamic Thought and Movements (from 15.5 to 13.7 percent) received smaller portions.

From this table, one cannot observe the results extracted from the previous one. However, for both sub-periods, the most common, popular subject matters are Islamic Thought and Movements, Prophetic Life and Islamic History, and Sufism. IIn a list of the top five subject matters, Qur'an and Qur'an Studies and Islamic Culture would be added to them. These five subject matters together constitute 56.6 and 55.5 percent of the total in the two periods,

respectively. These findings illustrate my primary assumption that Sufism is one of the subject matters that became popular in recent decades. This is also related to the popularity of Sufism on the global scale, which reflects new age religious approaches in the era of globalization. It is not possible to claim a correlation between the two; however, the fall in Islamic Thought and movements and the rise in Sufism might hint that the Islamist literature of the 1980s has lost ground and that a literature focusing on Islamic mysticism is becaming more popular.

As discussed above, it was not easy to make clear distinctions while categorizing the subject matters of the books in the data set regarding Islamic Thought and Movements and Contemporary Islam and Muslims. Therefore, I considered the case if they are taken together as a single subject matter. In that case, the trend in the subperiods is as follows: 6.8 percent in the first, 11.2 percent in the second, 19.5 percent in the third, and 17.8 percent in the last. After the 1970s, the rise in the literature covering Islamic thought and Contemporary Muslims and Islamic movements is considerable. This increase remains significant until the 1990s. However, the 1990s was also a period during which many books were produced regarding contemporary Muslim communities, organizations, countries, and their Islamic thoughts and practices. These were produced not only by Muslim intellectuals but also by secular and non-Muslim ones. The two subject matters together constituted one fifth of all Islamic books, indicating that how these topics were popular in recent decades, but especially so in the 1980s and 1990s. This picture can better be understood considering the popularity of translated Islamist literature in that period.

Overall, in the first fifty years, certain popular subject matters were dominant, the distribution of subject matters in recent decades has become more even, a trend that is even more clearly observed starting in the 1990s. Moreover, in addition to the replacement of religious observances, General Islam, and Qur'an and related issues with Islamic Thought, Prophetic Life and Islamic History, and Sufism, the most sustainable growth observed is with respect to Sufism. When the data is closely observed based on decades are used as sub-periods for the data, can be seen that Sufism has steadily risen since the

1940s, the only exception is the 1980s.[33] In this regard, Islamization in Turkey (expansion of Islamist discourse to various fields of social, political, and cultural life) must the considered in light of a phenomenon that could be labeled its Sufization (*Sufileşme*).[34] The question is whether this expansion of Sufi texts or print products is the result of a dialectical antithesis with fundamentalist, Islamist approaches that gained ground starting the 1970s or whether it has been encouraged and intentionally overproduced as a result of conflict or competition in the realm of religious discourse to outmaneuver politically-oriented approaches with the more quietist approach of Sufism. Though this study is inadequate to give a comprehensive answer to this question, the subject will be revisited in coming chapters related to actors.

The fall of Religious Observances as a subject matter can be understood as a parallel to the fall of pedagogical literature in the general total. While the subject peaked in the 1930s at 20 percent, it has consistently fallen from decade to decade in both data sets . However, this trend began to change in the 2000s. This brings up the question of why books on praying, fasting and worshipping gained ground in this recent period? If we consider the spread of the internet and audiovisual media, which is a fast, effective from teaching and learning the basic practices of worship, how can we explain a simultaneous increase in the supply of books on the same subject? Did people who were not practicing in previous decades start practicing basic rituals? Or did a downfall in practice lead publishers to propogate such books as encouragement? In other words, is this a demand-side growth or a supply-side growth? By supply side, I mean special efforts on the part of religious authorities, leading figures, and intellectuals wishing to emphasize the importance of issues related to daily prayers and other rituals. Or is it related to an authentication process? (I mean efforts to fulfil not only the form and shape but also the interiority of religious rituals and worship). If we look at the distribution of book types for this subject matter in the coming figures, it becomes possible to further explain and comment on this trend.

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33   See Appendix C, figures 3 and 4.

34   Although Sufi interpretations of Islam have always been mainstreams in Turco-Ottoman religious history, the prevalence of certain Sufi groups and Nakshbandi actors is a specific stand out observation of this research.

§ 3.4   Qur'an for Believers, Sufism for all

Figures 3.12 and 3.13 are graphic illustrations demonstrating the shares of genres of Islamic books within subjects for two periods. It is based on a cross-tabulation of genre and subject indexes, and it is possible to see how this distribution changed historically. Figures 3.14 and 3.15, on the other hand, reveal the subject distribution within genre categories, and it is also possible to observe the historical change of this distribution in the sequential figures. These four figures together can compared, observed, interpreted, and used as tools to validate each other. First they show whether certain genres pair up with certain subject matters or vice versa.
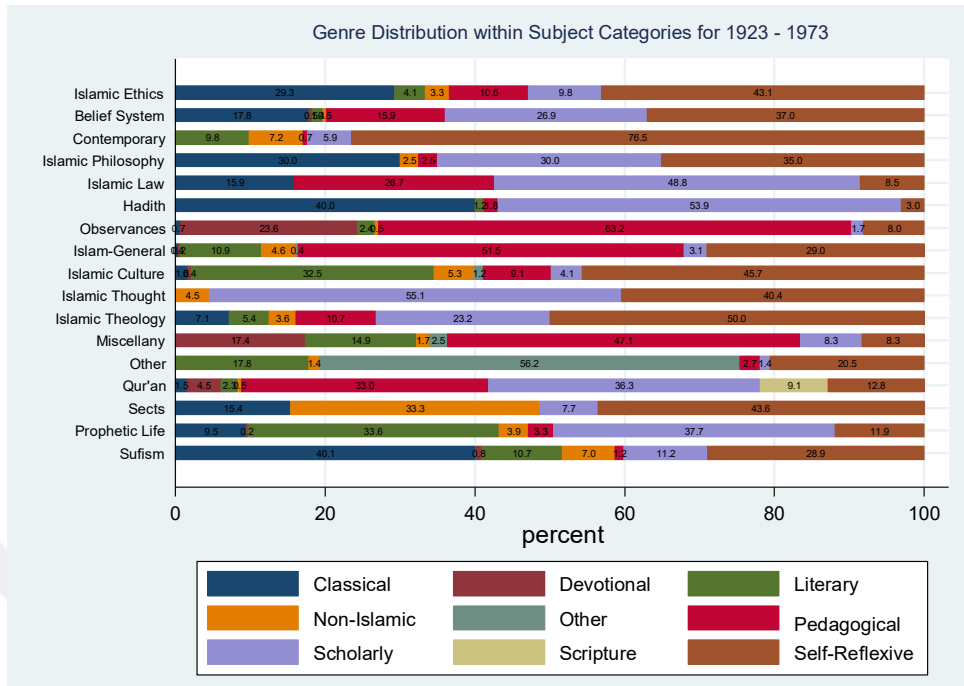
Figure 3.12   Genre Distribution within Subject Categories 1923-1973
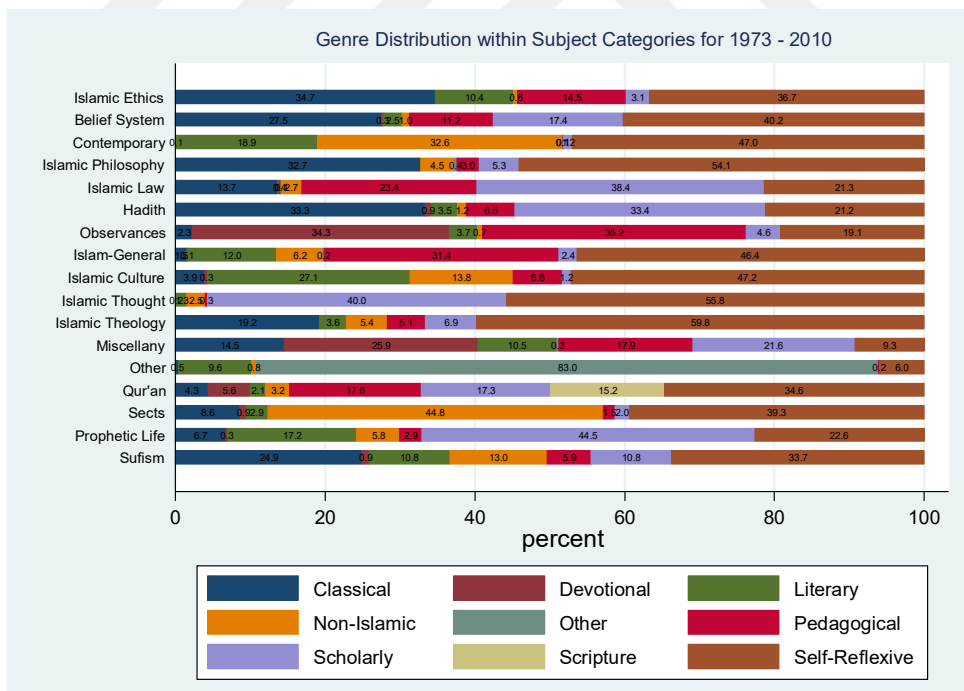
Figure 3.13   Genre Distribution within Subject Categories 1973-2010

As for the genre distribution within subject matters, the general trend is that a couple genres (usually three or four) constitute the majority of works produced on a given subject; however, the composition of those genres changes from subject to subject. Sometimes this composition or the shares of the elements within the composition change in the historical trajectory. For example, in the first fifty years 94 percent of the books on the issue of "hadith and hadith studies" were either classical literature (40.1 percent) or scholarly literature (53.9 percent), implying that only classical hadith collections and their *şerh*s (that is, reinterpretations or recollections of the classics) were in print. In the second period, the share of those two genres fell to 66.4 percent of the total and self-reflexive books appeared as a third element of this collection with a 21.2 percent share.

This example demonstrates what I call contemporarization and pluralization. The rising share of self-reflexive literature means that more contemporary works were being produced on the issue, and the more balanced distribution of genres within a single subject matter can be interpreted as a development from homogeneity to heterogeneity, - that is, a plurality of either authors or types of texts. The fall in the share of classical literature can be understood as another component of contemporarization, suggesting a relative fall in the authority of canonical texts produced by authors in the classical age (that is, pre-modern times). Again, the significant fall in the scholarly literature demonstrates the same phenomenon. In fact, one basic distinction between scholarly literature and self-reflexive books is their date of the production for the first time. Scholarly figures or authors are usually not members of the classical ulema but maybe its last remnants in early modern times. They are not modern or contemporary theologians nor are the Muslim intellectuals producing texts with modern concerns in a modern styles. In this regard, these two categories - scholarly literature and self-reflexive literature – can be considered as communicating vessels, and a fall in the former will usually result in a rise in the latter. A perfect subject-genre match and example of this simile is the subject of Islamic Thought and Movements. While between 1923-1973, scholarly literature comprised 55.6 percent and self-reflexive works 40 percent of this category, in the 1973-2010 period, the figures flipped as self-reflexive works rose to 55.8 percent and scholarly literature fell to 40 percent.

I will not summarize the changes for all subject matters; however, for almost all subject matters the share of self-reflexive works was on the rise. The only exeptions are the categories Islamic ethics, Contemporary Islam and Muslims, and Sects. In the first of these, a significant rise in classical and literary literature is observable, while in the second and third, non-Islamic works gained higher share. In fact, the majority of books in the Contemporary Islam and Muslims and Sects subjects are self-reflexive and non-Islamic books. An uptrend in classics is also observed for subjects like Belief System, Islamic Theology, Islamic Philosophy, and Qur'an and Qur'anic studies. This can be interpreted as a return to classics in the major classical fields of Islamic knowledge.

I will highlight three noteworthy points and afterwards, I find explanations for the questions asked in the previous section. One of the remarkable changes in the genre-subject distribution is related to the Qur'an and Qur'anic studies subject.

In the field of Qur'an and Qur'an Studies, for the 1923-1973 period, only 9.4 percent (around one tenth) of the books were classified as scripture, which includes mushafs and translations (*meal*) of the Qur'an. Of the remaining books, 36.4 percent are scholarly literature implying Qur'anic exegesis of early modern times, 32.4 percent are pedagogical literature (most of which are books teaching how to read the Qur'an), and 12.6 percent are self-reflexive books (which usually consist of contemporary books on the reinterpretation of the Qur'an or related issues). Interestingly the ratio of classical literature among Qur'an related books is only 1.5 percent. These results reveal that classical tefsir literature and even the translations of the Qur'an do not constitute considerable share of such books in the early years of the Republic. Learning materials, more recent interpretations of the Qur'an, and reflections on Qur'anic issues were more popular. In the 1973-2010 period, the most common genre became self-reflexive works with a 34.6 percent share. Pedagogical books and scholarly literature fell to 17.6 percent and 17.3 percent, respectively. Classical literature climbed up to 4.3 percent and the share of scripture rose to 15.2 percent. This means mushafs and translations now constitute 15.2 percent of the literature on Qur'an and Qur'anic issues. And among them, only 4.3 percent are works of classical literature.

That is to say, publishing classical Qur'anic exegesis and methodology is less preferable in Turkey to publishing early modern, modern, and contemporary works on the Qur'an and related issues. However, compared to the early Republican period, more Turkish translations (meal) of the Qur'an have been printed, and since the 1970s, classical exegesis has also become more popular. However, the rise in self-reflexive literature is remarkable, and this development can also be understood as a result of contemporary discourses prevalent in the religious public sphere. Authentication discussions, which started in the late nineteenth century, resumed in the 1970s, and their pace increased in the 1990s and after the millennium. Reading and learning Islam from the source (text) - by-passing middlemen and supposed authorities has proliferated efforts to directly read and understand the Qur'an concern not only its literal Arabic text but its meaning and interpretation, as well. On the other hand, a discourse of "Qur'an based religion" offered by modernist Muslim intellectuals, reformist theologians, and progressive Muslims made discussions around the Qur'an a hot topic. Both defenders and opponents wrote on the issue. This finding might also be offered as an evidence that an Islamic Protestantism is gaining traction with a focus and emphasis on the meaning and understanding of scripture by all believers irrespective of their education.

Secondly, for the long popular subject matter of Prophetic Life and Islamic History, the prevalent genres are classical, scholarly, literary Islamic literature, and self-reflexive works. While in the fifty years of the Republic literary and scholarly literature constituted more than two thirds of those books (33.6 and 37.9 percent, respectively), in the second period, both scholarly literature and self-reflexive works constituted significant shares (44.5 and 22.6 percent, respectively). These figures reveal that one of the most popular topics of scholarly literature is Prophetic Life and Islamic History. In addition, in an unexpected trend, self-reflexive works and scholarly works increased together. In fact, this figure depicts that most of the ulema of late Ottoman period and early republican period, whether central or peripheral, produced works either in the field of *siyer* (Prophetic Life) or wider Islamic history. Despite being a classical field, the proportion of classical literature is comparatively low. Not only classical ulema but especially the leaders of *tarikat*s and other groups and circles pen and publish their own versions of the life story of the Prophet

and/or his companions. Due to the easy consumption of the history or historical narrative, maybe due to easy composition of such narratives given the ample literature, the subject and genre of *siyer* is popular in Turkey, an observation confirmed by the data sets and findings.

Another result that can be underlined from figure 3.12 is that following hadith, Islamic Law is the second most common topic for which scholarly works dominated. Indeed, in the field of *fiqh* (Islamic law), almost half of the books are the products of scholarly figures, not of classical or more contemporary authors. This implies that especially in the realm of Islamic Law, respected "authorized" figures dominate the field. In the field of fiqh one can also observe a dense pedagogical literature. This stems from *ilmihal* (catechism) books, which are coded under pedagogical literature on the subject of fiqh. For both periods, almost one fourth of the books on fiqh are likely to be ilmihals and course books. For two periods, the density of classical literature is 16.3 and 13.7 percent, respectively.

As a reference on the subject, classical literature is still authoritative and prevalent. These figures reveal that unlike the fields of Islamic Theology and Sufism, chronological differentiation is more meaningful. Despite the fact that contemporary productions significantly increased, the works of previous generations on the issue of Islamic Law are still consumed and reprinted.

The distribution of genres on the subject of religious Observances sheds light on my questions with respect to previous observations. In the 1923-1973 period, 63.6 percent - almost two-thirds- of the books whose subject matter was "Religious observances" were pedagogical books. Actually, this is to be expected as the issue of worship is a practical matter on which some sort of instruction is needed. A genre-subject match between the two can be claimed. How-to books for basic forms of observance (*namaz hocası*-prayer teacher), resources for teaching basic texts (*elif-ba-* Qur'anic alphabet), and other guidebooks (*hac rehberi*-guides for pilgrimage) are widely circulated and religious practices comprise the basic material or content of Islamic pedagogy. Moreover, almost one-fourth (23.2 percent) of the books whose subject is Religious Observances were listed under devotional Islamic literature. This is also to be expected since collections of specific prayers a part of religious prac-

tice or used for specific religious observances (such as Cevşen, namaz tesbihatı, and prayer supplements). Self- reflexive books constituted only 7.9 percent of the total.

In the second period, pedagogical literature dramatically fell (to 35.2 percent), and devotional and self-reflexive books scaled up significantly (to 34.3 and 19.1 percent, respectively). Rather than basic how-to books regarding worship and observance issues, books discussing the meaning and significance of worship and contemporary interpretations began to gain importance. As mentioned earlier, authentication discussions on being Muslim and on gaining consciousness through daily Islamic ritual might be reasons behind this phenomenon. On the other hand, it might be the result of rising concern about the abandonment of Islamic practices and rituals among younger generations as a byproduct of the adoption of a more secular way of life. In my opinion, both processes have grown and continue separately, but they are not mutually exclusive. And this phenomenon shows us how relations among social, political, psychological, and religious issues are sophisticated and affect each other in unexpectedly diverse, multifaceted ways. While these remain speculations until more detailed studies are conducted to understand this trend, there is an emerging trend of reflection on the issues of observances rather than practical books.

With respect to the issue of Sufism, the distribution of genres sheds light on questions proposed in the previous section, as well. When one looks at the distribution for the 1923-1973 period, of books covering Sufism, 39.8 percent were classical literature, 29.5 were were self-reflexive literature, 11.1 percent were scholarly, and 10.7 percent were literary literature. While the portions of scholarly and literary literatures remained almost unchanged for the second period, self-reflexive works expectedly increased (to 33.7 percent) and classical works declined dramatically (to 24.5 percent). However, a new segment emerged, namely non-Islamic works which captured 13 percent. From these figures, one can conclude that while local competition in the fields of religious discourse and dialectical reproductions might have played a role in the escalation of Islamic mysticism, rising interest on the global scale and its reflection

in Turkish society, as well as popularization of both the discourse and practices of Sufism among non-pious and secular fractions of society and among academics and intellectuals led to a mushrooming of books on this subject.

As mentioned above, the subject matters of Islamic Theology, Islamic Philosophy, and Islamic Thought are mostly composed of self-reflexive books. However, the portion of Philosophy and Theology taken together is usually less than 3 percent of the total; therefore, these figures only give an illusionary perspective. Similarly, in the fields of Islamic culture, Contemporary Islam and Muslims, General Islam, Belief System, Islamic Ethics, Sufism, and Qur'an and Qur'an Studies, self-reflexive books occupy the larger part compared to other genres. Nevertheless, for topics such as Islamic Ethics, Belief System, Hadith, and Sufism classics get a comparatively higher share with respect to other subject matters.
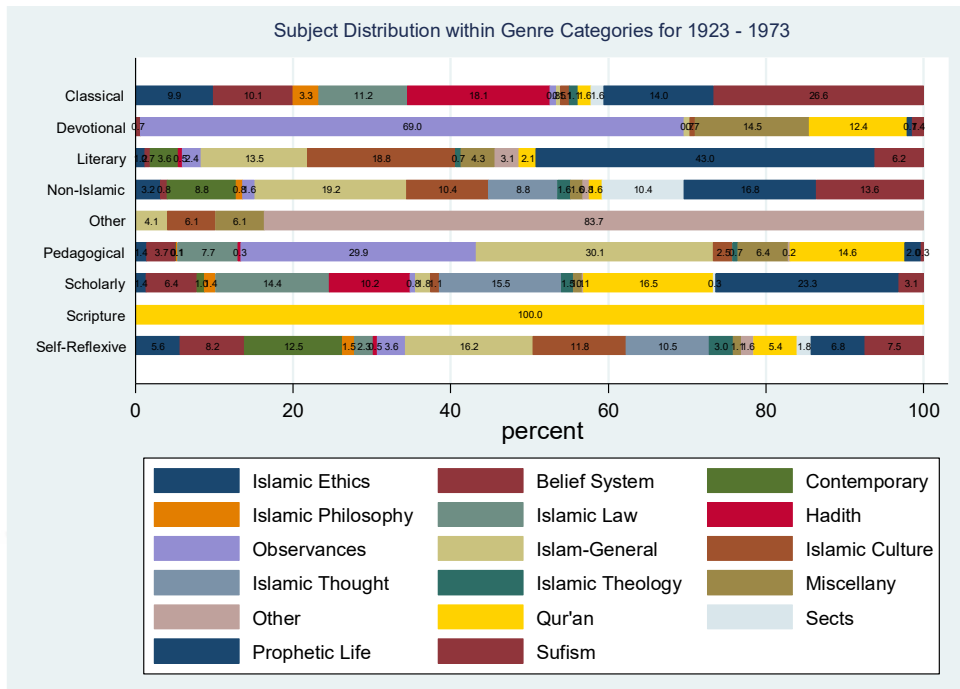
Figure 3.14   Subject Distribution within Genre Categories 1923-1973
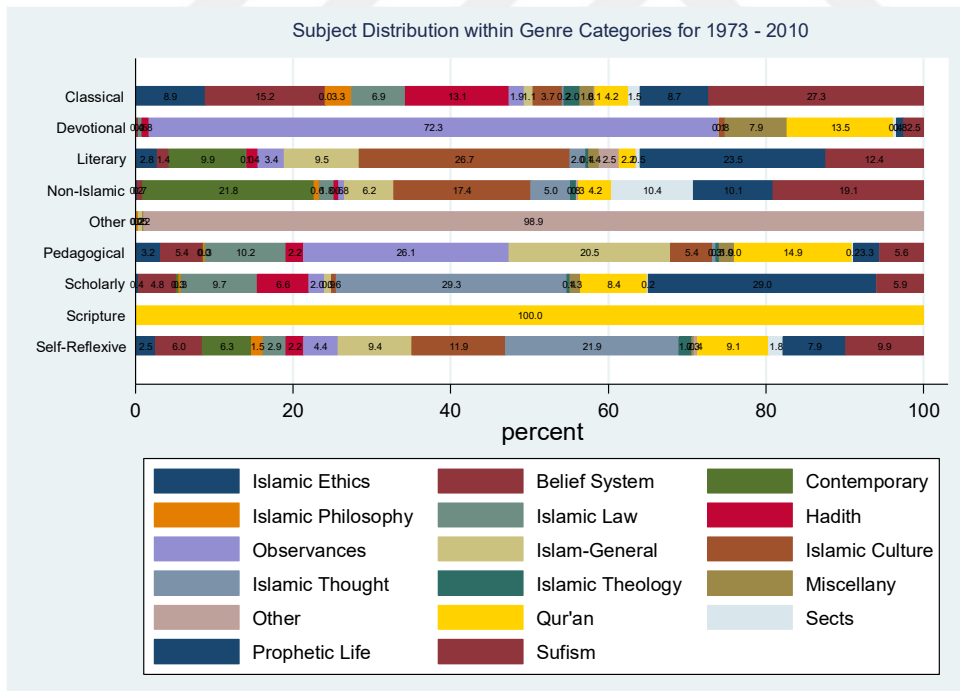
Figure 3.15   Subject Distribution within Genre Categories 1973-2010

Figures 3.14 and 3.15 provide cross-tabulated results of subject categories with genre categories, revealing how different subject categories are distributed for a specific genre. The rows show the various genres and the colors in the rows indicate different subject matters. As mentioned above, these two figures tell the same story as their converse. Therefore, I will summarize general trends rather than give details with regard to the distributions for each genre.

First, Scripture is the only genre with a single subject matter. As expected, all scripture is simultaneously classified under the subject category Qur'an and Qur'an studies.

The most frequent subjects for "Classical Islamic literature," in both periods are the same but their proportions differ. These are Sufism, Belief System, Hadith, Islamic Ethics, Islamic Law, and Prophetic Life and Islamic History, and altogether, these constitute more than 90 percent of classical works.

For the category of "Devotional Islamic literature," there is a genre-subject pairing with Religious Observances. For both periods, the rate of that subject is above two-thirds of the total. Two other prevalent subject matters are Qur'an and Qur'anic studies and Miscellany. In fact, especially for the earlier period, even the content of miscellaneous issues under devotional literature is open to discussion since this category was required due to the format of books under concern. However, most of the prayer books also include Qur'anic verses, chapters, or literary poetry such as hymns. In other words, the multifarious content and collection style of these books led me to identify them as miscellany. Otherwise, miscellany is dominated by Religious Observances and Qur'an related issues.

As for "Scholarly Islamic Literature," despite changes in their weight and sequence four most popular subjects are Qur'an and Qur'anic studies, Prophetic Life and Islamic History, Islamic law, and Islamic Thought. These are followed by Belief System, Sufism, and Hadith and Hadith Studies, also in both periods. From these figures, it is possible to conclude that scholarly literature deals with classical issues. Given that it covers modern or contemporary productions of classical genres such as *tefsir* and *siyer,* this finding is understandable. The only exception is the subject of Islamic Thought. Instead of philosophy and Theology, the subject Islamic Thought is more prevalent among scholarly Islamic literature, mainly because of the categorization preferences

of the author of this manuscript. The chronology of the works of contemporary ulema figures such as Said Nursi of Turkey have been indexed under this category of scholarly literature irrespective of their subject. Hence, their works on issues other than classical issues are categorized under the label of Islamic thought and movements just as many other library collections categorized them. The works of such late modern figures are placed under Islamic thought rather than classical Islamic philosophy and theology.

The most popular subjects with respect to "Pedagogical Islamic literature" are General Islam, Religious Observances, Qur'an and Qur'an studies, and Islamic Law in the first period. In the second, of these four subjects still dominate the distribution, a fall in the first two resulted in three subjects gaining significance, namely Belief System, Islamic Culture, and Sufism. This made the distribution relatively more heterogeneous.

As for "Literary Islamic literature," between 1923-1973, Prophetic Life and Islamic history was the most popular subject in this genre with a percentage of 42.7. Islamic culture, General Islam, and Sufism were other popular subjects of the genre. Between 1973-2010 period Prophetic Life and Islamic History fell drastically to 23.5 percent and Islamic culture climbed up to 26.7 percent. In addition to Sufism and General Islam issues, Contemporary Islam and Muslims also gained significance.

With respect to "self-reflexive books," there was a more dispersed, even distribution of subject matters in both periods rather than a concentration of two or three subjects. While General Islam (16.3 percent), Contemporary Islam and Muslims (12.5 percent) Islamic Culture (11.9 percent), and Islamic Thought (10.5 percent) were the most popular subjects, they constituted only slightly more than half of the total (51.2 percent). In the second period, Islamic thought and movements climbed to 21.9 percent. The list of other frequent subject matter included Islamic culture (11.9 percent), Sufism (9.9 percent), General Islam (9.4 percent), Qur'an and Qur'an Studies (9.1 percent), Prophetic Life and Islamic history (7.9 percent), Contemporary Islam and Muslims (6.3 percent), and Belief System (6 percent), signifying the diversification of subjects and the significance of their weights in the scale.

The category "non-Islamic books on Islam" is characterized by a heterogeneous distribution. While for both periods the seven most frequent subject

matters are the same, their sequences changed. While order was General Is-lam, Prophetic Life and Islamic History, Sufism, Islamic Culture, Sects, Con-temporary Islam and Muslims, and Islamic Thought and Movements for the first period, in the second period, Contemporary Islam and Muslims, Sufism, and Islamic culture moved up, Sects remained unchanged, and the remaining three became less popular.

To sum up, scripture is a genre by definition paired with single subject matter. In addition to that, devotional literature is mostly paired with a single subject matter, namely Observances. For other genre categories, there are groups of popular subjects or concentrations of multiple subjects; however, these subject matter groups change from genre to genre.

Considering the findings of this study based on the data for two periods (1923-1973 and 1973-2010), it has been possible to describe the panorama of Islamic books in Turkey over the almost century-long history of the Republic. A content analysis of bibliographic data based primarily on genre and subject distributions have been depicted in twelve figures, six pertaining to each pe-riod (and an additional four figures can be found in Appendix C). Subject and genre distributions of the data sets have been provided for a decade-based sub-periodization of the periods as well as for a political sub-periodization. Cross tabulation of the two indexes (subject and genre) in both directions (genres within subjects and subjects within genres) offered the relationship of the two categories with respect to each other.

The results illustrated in the figures can be summarized as follows: In both periods 1923-1973 and 1973-2010, the three most common genres among eight were self-reflexive books, pedagogical Islamic literature, and scholarly Islamic literature. Two significant changes were the dramatic decline of pedagogical Islamic literature in the second period (from 23.3 to 11.2 percent), on one hand, and the escalation of self-reflexive books (from 24.4 to 36.1 percent), on the other. Another dramatic rise that of non-Islamic books on Islam (from 3.7 to 7.2 percent) should also be underlined. The shares of classical Islamic literature (9.5 and 9.7 percent, respectively) and devotional Islamic literature (3.8 and 3.9 percent, respectively) remained almost same in both periods, and the changes to literary Islamic literature (10.9 in the first period and 9.2 percent in the sec-ond) and scholarly Islamic literature (22.7 in the first period and 19.3 percent

in the second) are not significant. Nevertheless, though the share of the total seems insignificant, the change in the ratio of Scripture (0.9 and 1.4 percent, respectively) should be handled separately.

These figures lead us to conclude that, despite different trends peculiar to specific historical or political contexts, the shares of Qur'an, classical Islamic literature, and devotional literature in the total production of Islamic books (approximately 15 percent together) were maintained for the almost 90 years of the Republic. The serious change in the composition of Islamic books was the density of self- reflexive books and non-Islamic books on Islam. With respect to the threefold categorization of Islamic texts, Islamic literature, and Books on Islam, the first does not significantly change with respect to the total (0.9 percent in the first period and 1.4 percent in the second). But the share of the third increased significantly (from 28.1 to 43.3 percent), and the share of second set with its five diverse subtitles, fell from 70.2 percent to 53.3 percent. This aggregated comparison explains the phenomena of the pluralization, contemporarization, heterogeneity, and cosmopolitanization of Islam-in-print.

Islam is no longer a cultural asset of Muslims or selected authority figures but that of a large collection of intellectuals, theologians, ulema-like figures, sheikhs, community leaders, journalists, and academicians. These figures produce professional texts specialized on specific topics rather than simple, miscallaneous collections that require less cultural or symbolic capital.

The works of scholarly figures and late modern ulema (whether central or peripheral) are always reproduced and remain popular. Meanwhile, classics are irreplaceable, maintain their position in the Islamic book market, and even re-invented for some classical subject matters.

As for the subject matters of the Islamic books during the Republican period, in its first fifty years (1923-73 period) the top five of sixteen subject matters were Prophetic Life and Islamic history, General Islam, Religious Observance, Qur'an and Qur'an Studies, and Islamic Law. In the second period, Prophetic Life and Islamic history and Qur'an and Qur'an Studies state in place, but Islamic culture, Islamic Thought and Movements, and Sufism appeared as three new elements in the top five. The most significant rise in recent decades compared to the early Republican period occurred for the subjects

Sufism (from 6.3 to 10.6 percent), Islamic Thought and Movements (from 6.4 to 14.2 percent), and Islamic Culture (from 6.3 to 9.1 percent). Though less significant, a considerable increase in the subject matters of Contemporary Islam and Muslims (from 4 to 4.8 percent) and Sects (from 1 to 1.7 percent) can also be underlined. The 1 percent share of Islamic Philosophy among Islamic books remained the same for both periods. All other subject matters declined in the second period compared to first fifty years, and declines of General Islam (from 13.6 to 7.3 percent), Religious Observances (from 11 to 8.3 percent), Islamic Law (from 6.7 to 4.9 percent), and Islamic Ethics (from 3.2 to 2.5 percent) were comparatively more significant. Though no as significant, the decline of books covering Belief System, hadith, Islamic Theology, Prophetic Life and Islamic History and Qur'an and Qur'an Studies should also be underlined. Despite being antithetical, both Sufism and Islamist literature gained ground. Indeed, the competition or contrariness between the two streams of thought nourished the flourishing of the other.

While Islamic books that cover basic rituals and practices and that teach Islamic belief, practices, and reading Qur'an have determined the subject matter and genre of these books, in recent decades, reflective books penned by Muslim intellectuals contributing to thought on Islamic matters and especially Sufism as a subject matter became popular. The rise in both self-reflexive and non-Islamic books on Islam also explains the more recent popularity of subject matters such as Sufism and Islamic Culture. Islam is now not only the subject matter of Muslim authors for pious readers but also of secular and non-Muslim authors for universal readers. Meanwhile, classical literature especially in the fields of Hadith, Islamic Ethics, Belief System, Islamic Law, and Prophetic Life and Islamic history maintained their share of the total together with practical books such as prayer books and Qur'an collections that are commonly used in the daily lives of the pious.

§ 3.5   Center to Periphery: The Shift in the Spatial Locus of Islam-in-Print

The geographical distribution of cities where Islamic print and publishing activities took place in Turkey, can be ascertained from the records regarding the

place of publication for each entry. When standardizing the data, the entries for the place of publication (POP) also underwent some changes. In order to obtain coherent results, sub-provincial names that had been recorded as the POP were converted to the province to arrive at with more systematic results based on geographical and administrative distinctions. (For example, Akşehir was converted to Konya). Provincial names were left as they were and count were made accordingly.

Publication place entries in the data, indicate that a huge amount of Islamic books were published in Istanbul (68 percent). Ankara (17.5 percent), Izmir (4.3 percent), Konya (2.3 percent), and Eskişehir (1.5 percent) were others where a considerable number of Islamic books were published. Between 1923 and 1973, approximately 93 percent of Islamic books were published in these five cities. But Istanbul was the center of Islamic publication activities, as it was for the wider publication sector.

In the data set for the 1973-2010 period, the publication place for 741 of 27.153 entries are not known or unrecorded. This corresponds approximately to 2.7 percent of the total.

For a large number of cities, at least one Islamic book was published. Fifteen provinces with no records were Ağrı, Bitlis, Burdur, Hakkari, Kırklareli, Muş, Ordu, Sinop, Tunceli, Bayburt, Batman, Şırnak, Bartın, Ardahan, Iğdır, and Yalova. These provinces are generally small in size and lack the necessary economic and cultural capital. Some such as Bayburt, Bartın, Şırnak, Ardahan, and Yalova became provinces (*il*) only within the last thirty years.[35] According to this data set, 74 percent of the books under consideration were published in Istanbul while 12.8 percent were published in Ankara, 3.3 percent in Konya and 2.4 percent in Izmir. In other words, 92.5 percent of all these books were published in these four cities. Less than five percent of the total were published in the other sixty provinces together.

These findings reveal that the map of the Islamic print sector is similar to that of general publication sector with Turkey with the exception of the significance of Konya in the production of the country's Islamic literature. While

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35 If any books were previously produced in those cities, they are possibly recorded under the name of the province with which they were linked.

the increase in the share of books produced in Konya (from 2.3 to 3.3 percent) seems insignificant compared to the total, the increase is remarkable for the city itself. The share of Ankara fell significantly compared to the first fifty years of the Republic, and despite diversification in the number of cities, Istanbul continues to be the center of Islamic print and its weight in the total production is as high as three-fourths.

The first of two data sets included information on the language of the books. Those that lacked this information were manageable, and I was able to fill in the missing information. Accordingly, I generated the language distribution of books. The original language of 4.4 percent of the books is unknown. However, 84 percent of the books published in this period were penned in Turkish, while 11.5 percent of them had been translated from either eastern or western languages. Translations from Arabic constituted 9.5 percent while those from Persian and Western languages (like English, French, and German) constituted one percent each of the total. Unfortunately, due to systematic problems in the recording of the data, it was not possible to generate a graph or numeric distribution with regard to the original language of books that would provide information about the number and ratio of translated Islamic books. Moreover, I could not make any comparison with the previous term or data set with respect towhether translated books increased or decreased.

The centralization around Istanbul as the spatial center of Islamic print and publishing can also be understood by the professionalization of the field. The material production processes for books usually take place in Istanbul, due to the fact that distribution mechanisms are much more effective compared to fifty years ago. Early publishers in the print Islam field often underline the technical and logistic challenges even in the 1980s. Nevertheless, in the 1990s, both the publishing and logistics sectors further developed. Internet sale platforms grew enormously and contributed one significant solution to those problems. Therefore, while the geographical center for the production and development of Islam-in-print (for books) has been Istanbul, tremendous progress in distribution mechanisms in recent decades may possibly change the map for its reception.

4

Tripod of Publishers: State, Community, Individual

All the addresses we went to were bookstores, and all of them were opened after the coup.

– Ümit Aktaş, *The Bookstore*

In this chapter, I focus on actors in the Islamic print field. In this regard, I first share the findings from my quantitative data about the main publishers. In the process through which a book comes into existence, the publisher is a significant, determining actor. Since I address authors in the next chapter in the framework of authority, in this chapter I start with publishers. Secondly, I put forward an analytical framework to describe preliminary motives behind Islamic printing activity in contemporary Turkey in addition to a depiction of common publication models that emerged in the field of print Islam. Moreover, by emphasizing the relations of the print field with other entities in the political, economic, and social sphere, I focus on sample cases and scrutinize primary actors in the field who sit atop a tripod of the state, the community, and individuals.

§ 4.1   From a Few Zealous Men to Corporate Entities: Publishers

In the previous chapter, I offered a detailed analysis of the Islamic books published in two periods based on genre and subject classifications as well as place of publication derived from two separate bibliographic data collections. As a basic bibliometric measure, I also came up with the results with regard to the frequency of publishers and authors. The findings about the statistical frequency of authors that rely on the bibliographic database of this study are revealed in the next chapter. Since the data was collected in two sets, I also evaluate the frequencies for each set keeping in mind that the numerical size of the first data set (3850 entries) is small compared to the second (27153 entries).

According to the results of the 1923-1973 data analysis, the list of the ten most frequent publishers of the period is as follows: *Ahmet Said Matbaası* (Ahmet Said Print House), the Directorate of Religious Affairs Publications, Maarif Kitaphanesi (Maarif Bookstore), Publications of Ministry of National Education, Ayyıldız Matbaası (Ayyıldız Print House), Fatih Matbaası (Fatih Print House), Salah Bilici Kitabevi (Salah Bilici Bookstore), Güven Matbaası (Trust Print House), Yaylacık Matbaası (Yaylacık Print House), and İrfan Yayınevi (İrfan Publishing House). Of these ten publishers, two are state institutions and the remaining eight are private entrepreneurs. As it can be understood from the company names, rather than full-fledged professional publishers, these small businesses were mostly print shops and bookstores. As discussed earlier, in the early years of the Republic it was not always possible to distinguish a print house, a publishing house, and a bookstore. Like their counterparts in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most printers in the early twentieth century Turkey did all three jobs simultaneously. Moreover, Ami Ayalon's description of early printers and publishers of the Arab Nahda - "humble institutions with poor equipment, pitiable physical conditions and small yield. Often…short-lived"[1]- is relevant for early Republican religious publishers, as well.

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1   Ayalon, *The Arabic Print Revolution: Cultural Production and Mass Readership*, 52.

Except for the governmental institutions, the only one from this list that survives up today as a publisher[2] is İrfan Yayınevi (Wisdom Publishing House) which has printed the books of authors like ultra-nationalist poet and novelist Nihal Atsız (d. 1975), nationalist novelist Mustafa Necati Sepetçioğlu (d. 2006), and Mim Kemal Öke focusing mainly on subjects like Turkish history and culture.

Before starting this research project, one of my hypotheses was that in the early years of the Republic, Islamic publication was carried out under the control of state. Therefore state actors (primarily the DRA) would be shown to have dominated the market and Islamic book supply. After conducting the data analysis, I found that, despite the fact that the DRA and Ministry of National Education were among the most effective actors or bodies of the period, their publications did not dominate the supply of Islamic books, at least in terms of the number of titles. For the period under consideration, most of the titles published by the Ministry of National Education were course books used for formal, official education on religion and some were literary classics of the Islamic tradition. On the other hand, books published by the DRA were more diverse and in addition to basic knowledge resources such as Qur'an translations, hadith collections, and basic pedagogical books, guides to Islamic law, belief, and observations among other topics were covered.

Notably, of the publishers and print houses mentioned above, none was opened to print and publish exclusively Islamic books, nor did Islamic books constitute the exclusive repertoire of these printers. Even the statistically most active of them, Ahmet Said Print House managed to produce only 171 titles

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2   Salah Bilici Kitabevi and Maarif Kitaphanesi, both survived today as bookstores. Salah Bilici Kitabevi usually published the books of the late Halveti-Cerrahi sheikh Muzaffer Özak and still prints and sells those books alongside classical books used in madrasa curricula. Maarif Kitaphanesi is famous for calendars they have published since 1860 (Saatli Maarif Takvimi) and is one of the earliest print houses founded in the Ottoman period. The remaining print houses were closed at various times and their owners were not able to be reached. For the general atmosphere of publishing in the early Republican period and for some other actors who published Islamic books, see Mehmet Erken, "1923-1960 Yılları Türkiye'de İslami Yayıncılık," in *İslam'ı Uyandırmak: Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e İslamcı Düşünce ve Dergiler*, ed. Lütfi Sunar (Istanbul: İLEM, 2018), 29–50.

including reprints over fifty years. In this period, authors also functioned like the publishers given that full professionalization had not yet appeared in the field. The author was both penning, editing, or translating a volume and deciding to print and publish it. The aforementioned print houses usually functioned as technical support units for books to come on the market. The mechanisms of authorship, editorship, and copyrights had not yet developed into an organized sector.[3] Which is to say, it is common to encounter books that are made up of texts scrapped from various classical sources without reference to original author; moreover the person who collected the texts might print the work under their own name. In addition, the use of pen-names for authors of books with political content or religious references was common to escape legal prosecution. Most of the time, since profit was a secondary motivation, neither the author nor the other laborers in the production chain were properly paid, and well-defined payment scales for penning, editing, or proofreading texts were non-existent. Most of the time, these jobs were done by single person. In addition to the amateurish character of the business and non-professional features of the production processes, the sum of all the actors in the field who printed at least ten Islamic books did not exceed fifty in that period.

The number of books printed by the DRA was 137, corresponding to just under 4 percent of the total. Together with the publications of the MNE, they published 6 percent of the Islamic books in that period. This means that Diyanet and the Ministry of National Education – that is, state actors of print Islam - far from dominated the field, and there were plenty of actors in the field who actively published Islamic books under the economic, social, and political conditions of the period. Nevertheless, since the distribution channels of the DRA (mosques and mufti offices) and MNE (schools) were expansive, the chances of those products finding a larger audience was higher.

Though not among the top ten publishers of the period, Hilal (Crescent) Publications, Sönmez Publishing, Cağaloğlu Publishing, Bedir, Sebil (Charity Fountain), Kader (Destiny), Rahmet (Mercy), Eser (Monument) Publications,

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3   For illustrations of both the early decades of the republic and the current situation of actors in the publishing field in Turkey, see Mehmet Erken, "Türkiye'de Yayıncılık Alanının Dönüşümü (1980-2015)" (M.A. thesis, Istanbul University, 2016), 57,110.

and Işık (Light) Bookstore were among the earliest attempts to establish publishing businesses to exclusively print and publish Islamic books.

As for publishers in the 1973-2010 period, 10 percent of the books are recorded with the note "no publisher." This is significant compared to the previous data set. Out of 27,153 entries, some 2700 are recorded without a publisher being specified, which is more than two-thirds of the total number of books covered in the data for the 1923-73 period. Of the remaining 90 percent of the records, Hakikat Kitabevi Publications is the most frequent publisher with more than one thousand entries. The figure is higher when we consider Ihlas Waqf and Işık Kitabevi, its sister publisher and its predecessor. There are hundreds of publishers in the list, so for this amount, which corresponds to almost 5 percent of the total, to have been produced by a single actor is considerable. Nevertheless, as discussed in the coming sections, the case of Hakikat Kitabevi is one of glutting the field with a dozen books by producing them in as many languages as possible.

Following Hakikat Kitabevi, Yeni Asya Neşriyat, Erkam Publications, Semerkand, Timaş, DRA Publications, Işık, Nil, Pamuk, and Turkey Diyanet Foundation (TDV) Publications are the ten most frequent publishers. A list of the twenty largest actors also includes Yasin, Nesil, İnsan, Sözler, Araştırma, MNE, İz, Beyan, Cihan, and Zafer Publications.

Of these twenty publishers, three of them are state actors (DRA, MNE, and TDV) and of remaining seventeen, thirteen are directly tied to established Islamic communities, predominantly Nurcu (including Gülenists) and Sufi groups.[4] The remaining four are İz, Beyan, İnsan, and Pamuk Publications.

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4   Of these twenty most popular (this is, statistical popularity based on frequency) actors, Hakikat Kitabevi Publications, Erkam, Semerkand, Yasin, are publishing businesses related to various Sufi groups, whereas Yeni Asya, Timaş, Nesil, Sözler, Cihan, and Zafer were established by Nurcu groups. Işık and Nil belong to the Gülenists and Araştırma belongs to the Adnan Oktar group. Following the July 15 coup attempt in Turkey, like many other businesses and enterprises belonging to Gülenists – the group accused of being the organizer and perpetrator of the coup attempt-, publishing houses, and print and media companies under the umbrella of Kaynak Holding were closed or transferred to a trusteeship. During the course of this research, one unforeseeable development was the gradual vilification of Gülenists and all related organizations, which ended up being declared a violent terrorist group by the Turkish

Pamuk is a personal endeavor that usually publishes popular, devotional Islamic books with little intellectual content. Its most well-known books are collections of the most recited parts of the Qur'an parts (called Güllü Yasin) and books on curative herbs. This publication is analyzed below as a case of independent/individual initiative by a non-state actor.

İz, Beyan, and İnsan are extra-communitarian businesses and are influential actors in the production of especially reflexive Islamic literature since 1980s. There are many others beyond these three entities, what they have in common is that they published mostly reflexive Islamic books with a diverse spectrum of authors as opposed to the those publishers that focused on the works of a single author or circle of authors from a specific religious discourse or tradition. Therefore, these publication houses deserve to be explored and studied comprehensively.

Except for the Gülenist publishers Işık and Nil and the publication house belonging to the Adnan Oktar group, Araştırma (Exploration) Publications, the remaining publication houses are described in detail in the sections below. Therefore, it is sufficient to point out their linkages with established religious orders.

The figures derived from the data sets of this research reveal that three types of actors operated in the field of Islamic print in Turkey: The state, communities and individuals. Among state actors, two governmental institutions have the greatest share both historically and quantitatively, the DRA (Diyanet) publications, which prints and publishes Islamic books in accordance with government policy and the MEB (Ministry of National Education) which publishes religious books and books on Islam that are used as course books in the country's primary and secondary schools. There are other actors like TDV publications, a non-governmental foundation linked to the governmental entity Diyanet, and other public foundations. Of these two preliminary state actors, this study focuses on the publication activities of Diyanet since the foundation in 1924 alongside the new Republic.

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in decisions of the National Security Council on May 26, 2016. Before this dissertation was completed, Adnan Oktar, who is described as televangelist and Islamic sex cult leader in the international media, was arrested along with his close disciples. The accusations against them vary from espionage to sexual assault to financial fraud.

Although non-state actors are dominated by individual and collective initiatives of existing, established religious groups and organizations - *tarikat* (sufi order) or *cemaat* (community), as they call themselves-, it is possible to distinguish between individual, independent initiatives and collective, communitarian initiatives.

What I intend by individual and collective is not the singularity or plurality of the publishing body but the ideological, organic and direct and indirect economic link to established religious organizations or groups of people.

As a matter of fact, the threefold distinction among religious publishers more or less resembles corresponds to major religious streams or understandings prevalent in the religious landscape of Turkey. State actors are the representatives and operatives of an "official Islam," the discursive and practical boundaries of which are drawn by Diyanet and state policy.

Though their religious Weltanschauungs different, organized religious groups in Turkey – whether Sufi or not and regardless of the different genealogical formations of their present communal orders- usually develop similar patterns of action in the field of print. Indeed, print emerges as a significant realm through which competition and rivalry among these groups is observed. The current study is no exception. In this regard, print act as a facilitator of both sectarianism and religious pluralism simultaneously.

Undoubtedly, the most heterogeneous group among the actors in the field are enterprises initiated by individuals. With respect to their religious Weltanschauungs and discourses, there are almost as many represenatatives of various streams as the number of initiatives. From Salafis to reformists, traditionalists to modernists, Shiites to Alevis, manifold actors operate with various models, modes, and motives. Before delving into case studies, I define and describe the basic models of publishing and the motivations behind the establishment and running of such enterprises in the coming section.

§ 4.2 Models and Motives of Publishing

4.2.1 *Models: Uniformity or Diversity of Texts*

Book history and print culture scholars note that prior to the eighteenth century, people read and reread, memorize in whole or in part, and discussed a limited number of books. The norm then changed to read as much as one could. The former practice is called "intensive reading" while the latter is referred to as "extensive reading." In this section, I borrow and apply these descriptions for publication activity and classify Islamic publishers in Turkey as the operators of "extensive" or "intensive" publishing with respect to their model of publishing.

In this framework, those operating in an intensive publishing fashion publish a limited number of books in a particular field, subject, or genre they focus on the works of a certain author or close-knit group of authors. These publishers focus on the circulation and wide consumption of specific books which they usually produce in large quantities, various sizes and formats, and sometimes in as many languages as possible. In this type of publishing the text(s) themselves or the specific author(s) of the text(s) are the determining factor for the establishment and sustainability of the business. While in some cases profitability is at stake, (such as in the printing of only the Qur'an and related materials or bestsellers like Said Nursi's *Risale-i Nur Külliyatı*), for other cases, symbolic, social, and spiritual capital and gains encourage publishers to undertake such activities and outweigh economic profit. Spreading the word about and discourse of a specific figure or set of ideas can be the triggering factor behind a publishing business even if it requires considerable capital investment (such as the case for Hakikat Kitabevi).

On the other hand, those that operate in an extensive publishing fashion extend the diversity of books with respect to subject, genre, and authors even if for religious publishing purposes. When the economic and social capital of publishers grows beyond a certain extent, some actors opt to publish non-Islamic books in different genres and subjects and to move into related sectors such as audio-visual materials and stationery. Timaş, Nesil, Erkam, and Semerkand are examples of business organizations that turned into publishing groups or corporations that diversified their products as much as possible to

maximize profits, expand their consumer profiles, and meet the needs for not only Islamic book but all kinds of books and publications for their targeted audience. Most publishers – at least the most prominent ones in the field of Islamic publication - adopt an extensive publishing model.

Those that adopt intensive publishing model are usually publishing houses established by a specific individual or group of adherents to a religious figure devoted to spreading his words through print or non-print materials. They often freely distribute the books they print to targeted people and institutions. In the case of Turkey, irrespective of their reception – because we do not know whether those books are accepted or read, and my observations suggest the opposite -, the publications of such publishers dominate the data. They not only impose these books in large quantities on the market or in circulation, but also in the official records. While many publishers do not send copies of each reprint of their books to the National Library (especially smaller companies), Hakikat Kitabevi and Araştırma Yayıncılık, which are the most visible actors involved in intensive missionary Islamic publishing in Turkey, regularly send their books and reprints copies skewing their statistical significance within the bibliographic inventory of Islamic books that I have collected and studied.

Another issue regarding books produced as a result of intensive publishing mechanisms or motives is that they are not usually distributed through conventional commercial networks. These books are rarely found in bookstores or on common book selling platforms on the internet. Rather, such books are found in libraries, in individual shops, on mosque shelves, and in other public spaces and were probably left there for free by a volunteer or member of the publishing community. Nevertheless, they achieve to dominate the bibliographic record.

Many other publication houses prefer common works, bestsellers, and the works of a specific, popular figure. For example, Hayrat Neşriyat, which belongs to a subgroup of the Nurcu community in Turkey known as the *yazıcılar* (scribes), mostly publishes a calligraphic *mushaf* designed with a specific aesthetic in addition to *Risaleler* . Cantaş Yayınları mostly publishes Arabic learning materials used in Qur'anic courses or other schools such as Imam Hatip

high schools and theology faculties that teach Arabic and Qur'an. The orthodox Naqshibandi community, widely known as the *çarşamba cemaati* with reference to the neighborhood in Fatih in which many lived, has several publishing actors such as Arifan and Yasin Yayınevi. But one figure of the group who became popular on national television for clerical style, Ahmet Mahmut Ünlü founded his own publishing house under his own trademark nickname, Cüppeli Ahmet Hoca Yayıncılık.[5] His recent initiative to establish a publishing house with his name exemplifies the building of symbolic religious authority via publishing and the creation of a brand by representing himself in different audio visual and commercial platforms.

The cases described above are actors who operate in the fashion of intensive publishing by focusing on a specific genre, subject, or author.

4.2.2 *Motives: Profit and Reward*

Another division that one can make to describe the publication patterns of Islamic publishers in Turkey is the division between "missionary" and "commercial" publishing, which is a reflection of the motives behind for running such businesses. The former are publishing activities aimed at spreading the words or books of a certain religious authority figure such as a community leader or sheikh, to widen their presence in the field of Islamic text production, to serve the religious or practical aims of a specific community or of the wider umma or Muslim community, to contribute to general Islamic knowledge production, and to meet the needs of fellow Muslims in the field of cultural production. These are among the most widespread objectives or motivations behind the missionary-type religious publication.

The second type is commercial publication, the target of which is to occupy a commercial presence in the book market in general and in the Islamic text production and distribution business in particular. Though with diverse objectives, such publishers prioritize commercial gain, and other symbolic, social, and religious concerns are secondary. In some cases, this strong motivation for commercial profit indirectly functions to or is derivative of a larger

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5   The publishing house was founded in 2013 at least until July 2017 only published the owner's own books which consist of more than sixty titles on different subjects.

aim to contributing to the economic well-being of a community to which they feel connected. While most commercially-motivated publishers are inclined toward profit maximization, and to achieve this, adopt a congruous business model and invest in bestsellers and bestselling authors. In some cases, such publishers print only Qur'ans or timeless prayer books. The sizes of these companies differ.

While elaborating their publishing activities, Zulkifli classifies Shia publishers in Indonesia similar to how I have as "purely commercial" and "da'wa oriented" publishers. According to him, the first group includes rational, modern companies with strong business orientation that publish books from different genres to reach wider public, whereas the second embrace a more traditional outlook and homogenous genres and subjects. They "undertake publishing as a part of wider activities, including da'wa and education."[6]

Though there are commonalities, my categories are not so clear cut distinction, and actors in the print field in Turkey display more transitive and fluid profiles. Therefore, rather than separate categories, this distinction are poles of a scale; the transition from one category to the other is vague and involves characteristics of both. While a researcher might relegate a specific actor to the commercial end of the scale, the actor itself might describe itself closer to the missionary category. Furthermore, there are numerous positions that involve both motivations to different degrees.

Despite the fact that publishing houses printing Islamic books have widened their product ranges to include different categories of books, the industry is still primarily composed of many small, independent companies. While these book publishers have official websites and many offer direct sales online, most neither provide basic information with regard to their institutional nor do they reveal their mission or vision in the publishing business. Therefore, most lack a branded commercial identity and operate with semi-professional organizations and business structures.

Irrespective of their professional commercial identity, these publishers categorize their own books depending on genre, subject, or author. But there is no agreement about the labeling of these categories. Even Islamic literature is

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6   Zulkifli, "Publishing," in *The Struggle of Shi'is in Indonesia* (ANU Press, 2013), 164.

classified diversely by almost every publisher. As mentioned in previous chapters, neither a classical nor modern classification of Islamic literature suffices to categorize such books, and every publisher prefers their own scheme.

Actors doing extensive publishing have access to wider symbolic and human capital in addition to economic capital. And even those that start with the motive of serving Islam and Muslims through print and publishing activities usually survive in the field only if they meet the demands of the market with respect to technological innovation and professionalization. Hence, the motive of profit is at least a secondary determinant or drive for all actors in religious publishing.

Adding books for kids among their product offerings is a common trend. In recent years, even publishers like İz (Mark) and Çıra (Kindling), which were publishing cultural and reflexive products, started to publish children books. This reveals that the demand for such books is higher compared to adult books; hence, publishers have opted for such elemental changes to their product profiles. Academic and reflexive products enjoy comparatively less demand and their production costs are comparatively higher. To sustain their business, publishers diversify their products by changing longstanding publication profiles, policies, and brands. On the other hand, comparatively larger enterprises in the field have created children's book brands such as Timaş Çocuk of Timaş, Nesil Çocuk of Nesil, and Uğurböceği of Zafer Publishing Group.

4.2.3 *Hybrid Positions*

Though it is not easy to describe a category as semi-commercial or semi-missionary, categories in between are many and undefinable. But the actors between the two poles of this scale constitute the large part of publishers printing Islamic books or books on Islam in Turkey. The context of secularization in the Republican regime provided a generic motive for almost all initiatives in the field of print Islam: To produce texts urgently needed by the Muslim masses to compensate for the gap left by the forced removal of religious institutions and the control of religious education and knowledge by the state.

In the early period of the Republic, printed materials were usually the products of personal initiatives rather than those of full-fledged publishing

houses. Memoirs and the accounts of authors, and initiators of such projects claim that most of the books, especially those considered crucial sources of Islamic knowledge, were prepared for print with limited economic resources. In most cases, the author or editor or translator was not paid for their labor. Because the act of penning or distributing such a book or text was to be rewarded by God – and since it was an act of serving fellow Muslims as well as the sacred cause of God -, asking for the financial payment for one's labor by coreligionists was sometimes considered improper.[7] Despite the fact that initiatives to print and publish books would later turn to commercial companies or professional bodies, some owners still claim their activity is a religious act. In their minds, earning money is not necessarily a purely secular act, on the contrary, money can serve religiosity and piety, as well. A theology that constitutes commercial action as piety or at least as an element of piety is at work. So it is unsurprising that the owners of publication houses that I categorize as commercial entrepreneurships or initiatives, describe their activities as efforts to help and contribute to the cause of God and to serve fellow Muslims and the umma. Money gained while doing something good and worthy of reward is a legitimate, *helal* form of income. Therefore, my categorization concerns the hierarchy of the preferences that I attribute to the actors; that is to say, if the production and dissemination of certain texts or books is prioritized over financial gains, then I categorized these actors missionary publishers.

On the other hand, those that prioritizing monetary gain and prefer a certain categories or genres of books with specific printing qualities (low material costs and little expenditure on aesthetics) and minimal copyright costs, fees, then I categorized them as actors doing basically commercial publishing. The categories in between are harder to describe since the motives of professionalization and commercialization are diverse (such as direct or indirect contributions to the causes and principles of an establishment). Moreover, the motive of creating a contemporary commercial entity capable of national and international competition in the larger book and publishing market can coex-

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7 İsmail Kazdal, *Serencam-Anılar (Zamanıma Şahitliğim)*, (Istanbul: Pınar Yayınları, 2004), 264-338. Başpehlivan Hasan, *Kağıt Kokulu Yıllar*, ed. Asım Öz (Istanbul: Beyan Yayınları, 2013).

ist with the motive of serving the intellectual cultural production of the national and global Muslim community. Technical developments that are easily adopted by such publishers notwithstanding, the principles at stake while selecting the books and authors to be published are not stripped of ideological or religious concerns. They exhibit a mixed profile.

In time motivations can also change, and enterprises established for a sacred cause such as serving a common mission turn to profit maximization. This change in motivation can also be justified by religious concerns or motivations such as expanding economic resources to serve the *dava* (cause). Moreover, such a policy change can be denounced by fellow publishers in the field as *davaya ihanet etmek* (deviation from the cause/mission) as well.[8]

As the country's main regulatory body vis-à-vis religious affairs, which is responsible for religious publication activities, Diyanet is foremost among state actors. Therefore, in the next section, I delve into the case of Diyanet, then deal with individual actors by taking an atypical case, and then continue with community initiatives in Islamic publishing.

§ 4.3 State Actors: The Case of Diyanet

The *Diyanet İşleri Reisliği* (Presidency of Religious Affairs) was established in 1924 by the Grand National Assembly in article 136 of the Constitution following the abolition of the Caliphate and the office of the *Şeyhülislam*. Though the term *Diyanet* refers to religion, what is meant by religion is the specific version of Islam identified and adopted by the Turkish state.

The first administrative organization of the DRA was determined in 1927, and the central body of the institution consisted of Heyet-i Müşavere ile Tetkik-i Mesahif Heyeti (Consultation Council and Council for the Surveillance of Qur'ans), Müessesat-ı Diniye Müdüriyeti (Department of Religious Establishments), Memurin ve Sicil Müdüriyeti (Department of Officers and Records), Levazım Müdüriyeti (Department of Supplies), and the Tezkirat ve

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8   Serhat Aslaner and Mehmet Erken, eds., *Notlar 25: Yayınevleri ve Yayıncılık Üzerine Sohbetler* (Istanbul: Bilim ve Sanat Vakfı Türkiye Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2012).

Evrak Müdüriyeti (Department of Bibliography and Documents) together with the offices of muftis in the provinces and districts of the republic.

The first organizational law passed in 1935 determined the structure, cadres, style of appointment for central and provincial officers, and other executive methods. In 1950, the name of the institution changed to *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı* in lieu of *Diyanet İşleri Reyisliği*. In 1965, Law No. 633 "On the Establishment and Mission of the Presidency of Religious Affairs" defined its field of action and the necessary bodies in its organizational structure were added by decisions of the Council of Ministers. For the first time, in 1978, the presidency was allowed to organize abroad with the designation of a Consultancy of Religious Services Abroad. In 1983, by a statutory decree, the institution was reorganized into five consulting and supervising bodies, five main services bodies, and four support services departments for the central organization. The final regulation on the DRA was accomplished by a revision on Law No. 633 on July 1, 2010. Its vice-presidents were decreased to three from five, and fourteen departments were allocated in the central organization scheme. The law also permitted the presidency to establish radio and television stations that were not to limit religious services to those of mosques, mufti offices, and education centers.[9]

Currently two bodies within DRA are directly concerned with print and publication affairs. The first is the Mushafları İnceleme ve Kıraat Kurulu Başkanlığı (Directorate of Surveillance of Mushafs and Recitation Board), which evolved from Tedkik-i Mesahif Meclisi (Council on the Inspection of Printed Qur'ans)[10] founded in 1889. The major function of this department is to inspect and surveil Qur'ans printed in either complete or partial form (i.e.,

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9   Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, "DİB Kurumsal: Kuruluş ve Tarihi Gelişim," accessed April 3, 2017, http://www.diyanet.gov.tr/tr-TR/Kurumsal/Detay/1.

10   This translation is by Ayşe Polat. See, Polat, "Subject to Approval: Sanction and Censure in Ottoman Istanbul (1889-1923)," 2. She also reports that the two bodies established in 1889 to examine printed Quranic codices and Islamic books merged circa 1910 under the name Tedkik-i Mesahif ve Müellefat-ı Şer'iyye Meclisi (Council for the Inspection of Printed Qur'ans and Islamic Religious Publications). For a more detailed work on the Council, see also Ayşe Polat, "Osmanlı'da Matbu İslam'ın Onay ve Denetimi: Tedkîk-i Mesâhif ve Müellefât-ı Şer'iyye Meclisi," *FSM İlmî Araştırmalar İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Dergisi* Spring, no. 11 (2018): 87–120.

cüz and other learning materials) and to stamp approved Qur'an texts and translations. It acts as an approval body before print and investigates after their distribution. This branch also inspects all audio-visual Qur'ans and related materials whether in print or electronic format. In the case inaccurate Qur'ans or electronic productions are detected, the board is authorized to ban their distribution and open litigation against those who printed, published, or broadcast them.

The second body is the General Directorate of Religious Publications which is authorized to carry out publication business. Before the establishment of the DRA, Şeriyye ve Evkaf Vekaleti (The Ministry of Islamic Law and Religious Endowments) was in charge of religious publication affairs. From 1924 to 1950, the body within the institution handling the issue was the Zat İşleri Müdürlüğü (Directorate of Personal Affairs). In 1950, Directorate of Publications was established by Law No. 5034.

The periodical *Diyanet* started to be published in 1962, and *Diyanet Çocuk*, a monthly periodical for kids, started to be published in 1979. Currently the DRA publishes four periodicals entitled *Diyanet İlmi Dergi* (Diyanet scholarly journal), *Diyanet Aylık Dergi* (Diyanet monthly magazine), *Diyanet Çocuk Dergisi* (Diyanet Kids Magazine), and *Diyanet Aile Dergisi* (Diyanet Family Magazine). The Department of Religious Publications was formed in 1984 with three sub-branches, the collection and publication branch, the periodicals branch, and the library branch. An audio-visual publications branch was added in 1995. In the latest law regulating the organizational structure of the DRA, a Religious Publications General Directorate was established with the following duties and missions:

- to prepare or have printed or electronic audio visual works be prepared to be published and surveil them
- to conduct radio and television broadcasting on issues related to the DRA's field of service
- to prepare or have prepared programs for broadcast on television and radio stations and to cooperate with TRT and other institutions for that purpose
- to prepare publications in various languages and dialects for fellow citizens, cognates, and Muslim communities living abroad and, if necessary, to distribute them for free

- to produce periodical publications
- when necessary, to distribute publication works for free

Since 2010, the subbranches of the directorate are the printed publications department, the periodicals and library department, the department of publications in foreign languages and dialects, and radio and television department.[11]

Furthermore, in addition to bodies within the official bureaucratic structure of the DRA, on March 13, 1975 the Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı (Turkey Diyanet Foundation) was established. It is an organization with the status of a public benefit foundation, and its budget is largely comprised of donations an income derived from its own commercial activities. The foundation has several fields of business (ranging from operating dormitories to a print and publication company) runs research centers, and undertakes charity affairs and different kinds of social work.[12]

As mentioned above, in addition to the publication efforts of the DRA as a governmental body, the non-governmental branch of Diyanet also runs a publication and print business under the name Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Publication and Printing Commercial Enterprise.

The Center for Islamic Studies, widely known as İSAM, is another initiative of this foundation that is responsible for the publication and editorial affairs of the *Encyclopedia of Islam,*[13] a long-term project, in addition to many

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11   Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, "DİB-Kurumsal," accessed March 12, 2017, http://diyanet.gov.tr/tr-TR/Kurumsal/Indeks/.

12   In 2010 the total income of TDV was around 230 million Turkish lire and of this amount, only 326 thousand Turkish lire was derived from the publication business. Charity and donations constituted almost three-fourths of the total. By 2015, the total income exceeded 632 million, of which more than 80 percent are donations. Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Resmi Sitesi, "TDV Genel Merkez ve Şubeler Gelir ve Giderleri," accessed March 21, 2017, http://www.diyanet-vakfi.org.tr/tr-TR/site/icerik/tdv-genel-merkez-ve-subeler-gelir-ve-giderleri-1049.

13   The project was launched in 1983, and the first volume was published in 1988. The encyclopedia was declared complete with the publication of volume 44 in December 2013. İslâm Ansiklopedisi Web Sitesi "Hakkında," accessed March 12, 2017, http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/hakkinda.php.

academic and scholarly publications in the field of Islamic sciences and humanities.[14]

By 2010, the number of titles published by the DRA since the foundation of Republic was reported to be 860. By the end of 2015, the number in the bibliography of the DRA exceeded 1200.[15] Until the 2000s the total number of DRA publications was below five hundred , so the publications of DRA have tripled compared to the total number of titles printed during its first seventy years. Considering the long history of Diyanet and the expansiveness of its resources, this number is lower than that for many private initiatives. The escalation in the book numbers parallels a general boom in the millennium from which Diyanet was not exempt.

In its official bibliograpy, books are classified on the basis of genre. The ten genres designated by Diyanet are ilmi eserler (Scholarly works), halk kitapları (popular books), edebi eserler (literary works), cep kitapları (pocket books), mesleki kitaplar (occupational books), çocuk kitapları (books for children), kaynak eserler (reference works), sanat eserleri (artistic works), İslam-Türk büyükleri (great Islamic and Turkish figures), and Broşür-kartela (brochures and color charts).[16] The most common categories in which the most books are produced and published are books for children (296 titles), popular books (270 titles) and scholarly works (188 titles), which together constitute approximately 62 percent of the total. Reference books, occupational books, and

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14   Besides two biannually published, peer-reviewed, academic journals - *İslam Araşıtrmaları Dergisi* (*Turkish Journal of Islamic Studies*) and *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi* (*Journal of Ottoman Studies*) - and a quarterly bulletin, İSAM published 162 books between 1992-2016. İSAM - İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi "Kurumsal," accessed March 23, 2017,http://www.isam.org.tr/index.cfm?fuseaction=objects2.detail_content&cid=1030&cat_id=4&chid=77.

15   The 2010 *Diyanet Yayın Kataloğu* was provided by a DRA former authority, Necdet Subaşı, and the 2014 *Diyanet Yayın Kataloğu* was retrieved from web sources in 2015. For a recent catalogue, see Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı "DİB Yayınları," accessed March 23, 2017,https://www2.diyanet.gov.tr/DiniYayinlarGenelMudurlugu/SureliYayinlar/Yainkatalogu/yayinkatalog_2014.pdf.

16   By 2018, the Religious Publications General Directorate added three more categories to its classification of publications: Kuran-ı Kerim ve Mealler (Qur'an and translations), Sesli-Görüntülü Eserler ve Takvim (audio-visual works and calendar) and Süreli Yayınlar (periodicals*)*. See "DİB Yayınları."

pocket books constitute approximately 10 percent each, 30 percent all together. The date of the first book for children published by Diyanet is 1972. The first translated book of a contemporary author was published in 1943, the author of which is Abdurrahman Azzam and translator was H. Hüsnü Erdem. The title of the book , which was first published in Cairo in 1938, was *Allahın Peygamberlere Emanet Ettiği Ebedi Risalet* (Eternal message of Muhammed).

The Diyanet Foundation Publications on the other hand, published hundreds of titles ranging from child books to arts and literature, novels to classics, and audio-visual materials to Anatolian alevi-Bektaşi folk classics. TDV has twenty-eight bookstores around Turkey and sells its own and Diyanet's publications. Four are located in Istanbul and two in Ankara, while the others located in twenty-two different cities in Turkey.

A detailed look at the publications of the DRA since its foundation to today rveals that the publications are usually designated according to the needs of the state rather than the general public or reading audience. That is to say, the demand is indirect – created by the governmental authority and then attributed to the people. This can be understood by looking at the dates of particular publications and the development of publications in certain Turkic or foreign languages. For instance, the first Qur'an published by the DRA was dated 1959, but it is preposterous to think that there had been no demand for the Qur'an in the 35 years since the foundation of the directorate. Publication of the *tefsir* of Elmalılı Muhammed Hamdi Yazır and the translation of the Hadith collection *Tecrid-i Sarih* were initiatives realized upon the direct command of Mustafa Kemal and the Grand National Assembly.[17] In the second half of the 1990s, republications of basic resources of the DRA in different languages began, but the most common foreign languages into which books were translated were Central Asian Turkic languages. Later, Russian, some Balkan languages such as Bulgarian, Albanian, Bosnian were added to the list. In 2015, Diyanet also published Kurdish, eastern and Western Armenian, Romanian,

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17   See Wilson, *Translating Quran in an Age of Nationalism: Print Culture and Modern Islam in Turkey*, 175-6. Kara, *Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Bir Mesele Olarak İslam*, 199-200. Kara also reports that Ahmet Hamdi Akseki, DRA president at the time, suggested those names to authorities.

Georgian, German, Kazakh, and Azeri translations of the Qur'an. These developments parallel the interest of the Turkish state in those regions and people and the growth of international relations.[18]

While the number of titles published in foreign languages consisted of only a couple volumes before 1990, almost two hundred volumes were printed in other languages after this date. These books are usually translated from Turkish, and most are simple practical guidebooks to teach religious tenets and practices such as *Dinimi Öğreniyorum* (I am learning my religion), *Kitabımı Öğreniyorum* (I am learning my book), *İbadetlerimi Öğreniyorum* (I am learning my prayers), and *Temel Dini Bilgiler* (Basic religious knowledge). Each of these volumes has been translated into more than five different languages. These are previously penned and published books rather than being authored in the new languages, and only recently (in 2015) has Diyanet published a book penned in Kurdish.[19] The first book of Diyanet translated from Turkish (to German) was the book of Ahmet Hamdi Akseki on the Prophet Muhammed which was published in 1956. Pocket catechisms in German (in 1959) and English (in 1973) followed. As mentioned before, the major objective of the DRA is to export and distribute these books in countries such as Central Asian and Balkan countries where years of bans and prohibitions by socialist regimes have hindered the production of such texts as well as to cater to the tastes of Turkish people living in European countries.

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18   Such publications are possibly the result of demand from governmental and non-governmental bodies in those central Asian and Balkan countries after the demolition of their communist regimes unde the Soviet Union and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as well as efforts to build a new national identity by reinventing the forgotten religious culture. On the other hand, after the Cold War, not only Turkey and Diyanet but also Salafi organizations supported by Saudi Arabia or transnational organizations such as the Gülen movement competed to build fields of influence and dominate those countries. Distribution of religious print materials in local languages was one means of reaching this end. A connection to the readers in the field is established by the findings ethnographic case studies such as the one conducted by Wendell Schwab of Islamic Printing in Kazakhstan. See Schwab, "Islam in Print: The Diversity of Islamic Literature and Interpretation of Post-Soviet Kazakhstan."

19   *Pexembere Ümmete Hazreti Muhammed* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 2015). Such a publication can also be interpreted as a direct result of government policy on the Kurds and related initiatives such as opening national television and radio channels that broadcast in Kurdish since 2009.

The information above reveals that Diyanet continues to publish parallel with governmental policy and priorities, which are currently mostly missionary – that is, to spread Islam beyond Turkey in Turkish majority lands. Beside translations of the Qur'an in more than a dozen foreign languages, translated works on basic issues, guidebooks, and children's books are the books most frequently published by Diyanet. These developments suggest that Diyanet is also influenced by the trend of the internationalization or globalization of Islam-in-print even though, as a government body, it was established to designate a national religious habitus.

A recent development is to produce Braille and sign language versions of basic resources on Islam. Minority and disadvantaged groups in society are starting to be taken into consideration, and their need for religious books is the target of such publications. The rising attention attracted by such initiatives parallel the changing political and social concerns that have arisen in recent decades on account of globalization and the European Union integration process.

To conclude, the funding of books to be printed and published by Diyanet depends on the allocations to the publications department from the central budget. Those who decide on the printing of books are mainly bureaucrats, and the decision-making and editing processes are designed to take place within the bureaucratic organization. The publications of the body are not primarily commercial, and the priorities with respect what is published are the founding principles of the body and state policy. In this regard, the motive can be defined as missionary, but this mission is defined and determined by government authorities. Therefore, the model basically conforms to an extensive publishing model.

Despite the fact that Diyanet was founded to monopolize religious activity in various realms of life, even in the early decades of the Republic, the share and impact of Diyanet publications within the general Islamic print sector was relatively small. Private actors always remained active in this field and developed various survival strategies despite limited economic and cultural capital and a lack of professional networks for transmission and distribution. Though data about the print runs and reprint numbers of the books published by Diyanet are not available, the number of titles published before the beginning of

the twenty-first century is significantly lower than the numbers published in the last fifteen years. In this regard, there was a "revival of Diyanet" as a more effective state actor in the publication field in the 1990s and 2000s. The organization of congresses specializing on religious publications every couple of years since 2003, also indicates that this issue is a major concern of the body. Such activities give direction to the publication policies, as well.

In the next section, I focus on case studies which take on specific publishers and publishing houses as a sample private actors in the field. As mentioned above, one of ten most active publishers, Pamuk Publications – which is an example of an independent, individual initiative – is the first to be covered.

§ 4.4 Individual Actors: Survival in a Pool of Miscellanea

Before delving into collective initiatives in the field of religious print (like those of Nurcu and Sufi groups), I will give some information about independent actors. In this context, I use the term independent to being autonomous of well-defined groups, networks, and orders. Such publishing houses are usually the private companies of individual entrepreneurs who endeavor to print books on Islam to raise awareness and the intellectual capacity of the pious people in the country as well as to contribute the general symbolic capital of the country.

In this section, I focus on the endeavors of several idealist, adventurous figures some of whom ended up with noteworthy achievements while others did not. The producers and distributors of Islamic literature that originated with non-organizational teams or individuals (neither Sufi nor other traditional, established circles) in the 1960s and the 70s were usually short-lived commercial initiatives, though some managed to survive to the present. Sometimes this stemmed from technical or financial reasons, sometimes from the unpopularity of the books (many became outdated in a short time such as radical Islamist books produced after Iranian Revolution – mostly penned by revolution ideologues- which lost popularity within a decade), and sometimes from mismanagement.

As mentioned earlier, before the 1960s there were no well-established publishing houses; rather, most institutions acted as both print house and

bookstore – indeed the distinction between bookstore and publisher only developed later. The earliest publishing houses were founded in Cağaloğlu in the late 1950s and 1960s. Hasan Başpehlivan, who was one owner of an Islamic publishing house, counts among them Hilal (Crescent) Yayınları (f. 1957), Bedir Yayınevi (f. 1961), Yağmur (Rain), Cağaloğlu and Sönmez Neşriyat.[20] In the 1970s İrfan (Wisdom), Çelik, Bahar (Spring), Damla (Drop), Fikir (Idea), and Düşünce (Thought) joined Islamic publishers in Cağaloğlu and in Beyazsaray. Hilal published variety of books, but its distinguishing feature was that it printed earliest translated Islamist books by international Muslim intelligentsia such as Sayyid Qutb and Abu'l a'la Mawdudi. Of these dozen publishing houses, a few have survived. Some evolved into different brands, and some changed ownership for financial and practical reasons. For example, Sebil Yayınevi was founded in 1964 by Kadir Mısıroğlu (1933-2019), a historian, lawyer, and journalist who penned some 50 books on Ottoman and Republican history. He also owned *Sebil* magazine, 269 issues of which were published between 1976 and 1992 despite years-long interruptions.[21] Due to his harsh criticism of official history and the person of Mustafa Kemal, he was charged 36 times, convicted as a result of one case against him, exiled himself, lost citizenship after 1980 coup, and returned to Turkey in 1991. Sebil Yayınevi published more than 200 titles over almost half a century, most of which covered Islamic and Ottoman history, historical narratives, novels, and biographies in addition to some religious literature.[22]

In the 1960s and 1970s, İmam Hatip Schools founded in the 1950s produced their first alumni, and students that graduated from these schools alongside their lecturers and teachers, started to publish books addressing the needs of the time. According to Hasan Başpehlivan, in addition to internal

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20 Başpehlivan Hasan, *Kağıt Kokulu Yıllar*, 67.

21 İDP - İslamcı Dergiler Projesi "Sebil," accessed December 30, 2018, http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler/100/sebil.

22 Sebil Yayınevi "Ana Sayfa," accessed December 30, 2018, http://sebilyayinevi.com/index.php?route=common/home. For the autobiography of Mısırlıoğlu, see, Kadir Mısıroğlu, *Gurbet İçinde Gurbet*, 2. Baskı (Istanbul: Sebil yayınevi, 2013).

migration and related sociological changes in Turkey, the process of the de-
colonization of Muslim societies around the world after various wars of inde-
pendence against colonial states started an era of consciousness regarding the
social and political aspects of Islam. These developments and the urgent need
of discussing the daily political developments of the period led to the emer-
gence of a public sphere.[23] For religious literati, the salon of late twentieth cen-
tury as the center of deliberative action was print, which hosted discourse in
periodicals and real people in bookstores and publishing houses.

4.4.1   *Necessary for Every Household: The Success of Rosy Ya-Sin*

Islamic cultural production is not limited to printed materials, and print ma-
terials are not limited to books. Moreover, books that can be categorized as
Islamic are comprised of a huge variety of genres and forms. As Gregory Star-
rett suggests, understanding Islamic literature not as "the product of any *par-
ticular* productive technology (manuscript or print)" but as "products of soci-
otechnical activity systems which define the domains of intellectual
production and reception"[24] is fundamental. Focusing solely on print would
leas us to "miss the changing political, economic and intellectual environment
of the printed word, and the many ways in which that environment alters
print's significance."[25] With respect to the consumption of religious books,
common religious practice and basic religious socialization activities are evi-
dent fields for consumption. Well-established customs, rituals, and ceremo-
nies that evolved around commemoration of important occasions such as
births, deaths, and weddings, alongside visiting shrines of saints or Sufi fig-
ures, are among the most widespread, popular religious activities of Turkish

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23   Başpehlivan Hasan, *Kağıt Kokulu Yıllar*, 81. On the issue of the need for Islamic books in Imam
     Hatip schools and theology faculties, Ahmet Lütfi Kazancı also wrote in his memoirs that he
     found only four volumes on Islam when he attended one of the first Imam Hatip schools of
     Republic founded in Çorum. He enrolled in 1953 and reported that they prepared and copied
     course notes and handouts using primitive techniques and depended on personal effort to
     translate rare classical volumes and other literature. See Ahmet Lütfi Kazancı, *Kendimi An-
     latayım Dedim*, (Istanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 2009), 163.

24   Starrett, "The Margins of Print," 136.

25   Starrett, 136.

people. Such occasions occurred in almost everyone's lifetime (funerals, for example) and even non-practicing Muslims and those who have adopted secular or non-religious lifestyles resort to common rituals. *Mevlid* ceremonies (usually expressed as *Mevlid okutmak*) – characterized by recitation of the Qur'an and provision of a charity meal after the birth in the family, or death of one's kin - are common popular rituals. Either a *hoca* (prayer leader in mosque) or anyone educated in recitation practice is invited to the funeral, and the people either read the whole text of the Qur'an (*hatim indirmek*) or parts of it. It is believed that reading the Qur'an on behalf of the dead helps them in the hereafter or in the time that they are in the grave.

Another common ritual is the gathering of women either with neighbors in their houses or in small or large groups to collectively recite the Qur'an or parts of it (especially the Surah-al-Yasin). The daily practice of Islam in the ordinary lives of the people takes many forms. In addition, (mostly) women visit tombs and shrines scattered around the city in which they live in order to be blessed. Such practices that are usually described as elements of "folk Islam," which constitute a huge market share for certain genres and forms of the Islamic book market.

Beside *mushaf* (the complete, Arabic form of Qur'an) in different sizes, diverse collections of specific, well-known and often read suras of the Qur'an, pocket collections of prayers commonly recited on different occasions, simple guidebooks for performing *ibadet* or teaching the Arabic alphabet to read Qur'an, and popular books such as *Rüya Tabirleri* (dream interpretations) and even *Şifalı Bitkiler* (recipes for herbal cures) are among the best-sellers of Pamuk Yayınları. As I mentioned above, Pamuk (Cotton) Publishing resembles an atypical case that as not attracted the attention of sociologists or scholars studying Islam in Turkey but has proved popular for large segments of population. Its profile exposed in the quantitative analysis conducted for this study attracted my attention.

According to the official website of the publishing house, the company was founded in 1969 by Arif Pamuk, who is both the owner of the company and

the author or editor of almost 90 percent of the books it has printed so far.[26] These books can be found in mosques in large numbers since people often read while spending time in mosques. Furthermore, these books constitute the largest part of the inventory of books sold in kiosks established near the great mosques of the cities such as Eyüp Sultan Mosque in Istanbul and Hacı Bayram Mosque in Ankara. Pamuk Yayıncılık has published more than four hundred titles since its foundation; however, the category labeled by the publisher as Yasin-i Şerif, which refers to the collection of the *Yasin Suresi* and other oft recited chapters, accounts for 107 different products. In fact, these usually differ from each other only in terms of their design, size, minor changes to content, and the inclusion or not of Turkish translations of the chapters. Again, the website lists 104 products as prayer books (dua kitapları), which include contemporary and classical collections of prayers, though 85 of them were prepared by Arif Pamuk. This ostensibly large number stems from the printing of the books in different sizes suitable for different uses as well as changes to the cover (hard or soft) or to the script or calligraphy used in the printing of Qur'an chapters or du'a texts. The publishing and printing company of Pamuk, the slogan of which is "huzura yolculukta güvenilir rehber" (reliable guide in the journey to peace) specializes in the genre of popular Islamic books, and sales of such books on the market are predictably high. Since the content does not entail any copyrights or royalties, the profit margins of such books are also comparatively high despite their low prices.

Arif Pamuk was born in 1945 in the northeastern city of Giresun and traveled through different cities with his father who was a prayer leader known by the name Pamuk Hoca. When he was still young, he moved to Istanbul. He quit his secondary education and took religious courses from Hacı Osman Efendi in Fatih.[27] Pamuk apparently served as prayer leader in several mosques

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26   Pamuk Yayıncılık "Hakkımızda," accessed July 1, 2017, https://www.pamukyayincilik.com/content?PageUrl=hakkimizda.

27   Biyografi.Info, "Arif Pamuk," accessed July 3, 2017, https://www.biyografi.info/kisi/arif-pamuk. Hacı Osman Akfırat is one of the müderrises of the late Ottoman period who took his ijazah from Fatih Çırçır madrasa. In the Republican period, he served as prayer leader and preacher at Hacı Ali Mosque in the Beykoz district of Istanbul. He died in 1967. His collection

of Istanbul and spent his time either in his bookstore at Laleli or his library at home.

Though little is known about the life of the owner, the case of Pamuk Yayıncılık perfectly illustrates the prevalence of a specific genre in the market and the strategies developed to adapt to changing aesthetic preferences and practical uses for common religious texts. Its exemplifies an intensive model specialized on a specific genre or group of books, the great majority of which were produced by a single author, editor. Although these books serve the practical needs of a large population, the profitable business style and sales strategies suggest that Pamuk is a commercially-motivated initiative.

§ 4.5 Communal Actors: Publishing Initiatives of Established Orders

In this section, I give a brief account of the major actors in the field of Islamic publishing in Turkey and their relationships to established religious circles or organizations, widely known as *cemaat*s (communities). In this regard, I focus on the publishing activities of Nurcu and Sufi groups.

The bibliometric analysis of the frequency of authors and publishers suggests the rising activity and pluralization of Nurcu actors in the 1970s and of Sufi actors in the 1980s. While Said Nursi was not among the most frequent authors in the first fifty years of Republic, excessive production activities by some Nurcu actors in print field made him the clear statistical winner of the last forty.

Another significant development is the dominance of Nakshbandi actors among Sufi circles. While in the early years of the Republic the primary Sufi figures in print were Ticani, Cerrahi, Mevlevi, and Halveti, actors of recent decades are predominantly members of various branches of Nakşi order.

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is claimed to be the source of Pamuk's books, especially those on curative herbs. T.C. Beykoz Belediyesi Resmi Web Sitesi, "Muhammed Osman Akfırat," accessed July 3, 2017, http://www.beykoz.bel.tr/beykoz/detay/muhammed-osman-akfirat.

4.5.1 Claim to Author(ity), Legacy with Genealogy: Nurcu Actors of Print Islam

One of the largest online book sites, KitapYurdu.Com lists 32,397 books under the category of Islam. A simple search of the system reveals that there are 1150 books on the portal authored by Said Nursi.[28]Which is to say that, the place occupied by Said Nursi books in the almost ninety-year period of the Republic is almost same as his books currently available on market. Independent of sales figures, these data suggest that Said Nursi is one of the bestselling authors of all times on the Islamic literature market of Turkey. As an inspiring, leading figure for many separate movements and circles – which can be aggregated under the umbrella term "Nurcu" with reference to his magnum opus, *Risale-i Nur Külliyatı* -, Nursi's practical and discursive traditions created several actors who claim his intellectual and symbolic heritage. Doubtlessly, besides being profitable, the printing and publishing Nursi's book has been a field of contest and competition among his disciples to claim elements of his symbolic power and authority.

Said Nursi's writings were common, popular literature in the early decades of Republic. In fact, his *Risale-i Nur Külliyatı* was initially reproduced in booklets and letters, copied with simple duplicating machines, and circulated among followers through personal networks. His papers written between 1926 and 1949 were, as reported by Gavin Brockett, "recorded in Ottoman Turkish and for the most part continued to be read in the old script until 1956." Later, a deputy of the Grand National Assembly obtained permission for its publication in the new Latinate alphabet, and thereby several print houses were thus established to print Nursi's books.[29] There is no concrete information on sales figures of *Risale-i Nur*; however, "accounts provided by his followers" says

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28 Kitapyurdu.com Online Kitap Portalı, "Tüm Kategoriler," accessed July 17, 2017, https://www.kitapyurdu.com/index.php?route=product/category. Update: As of December 2018, the book sale portal lists 16,734 books related to Islam. It is the third largest category following literature and children's books.

29 Brockett, *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk*, 128-9.

Brockett, "suggest that some 600,000 copies of parts of Risale-i Nur were already in circulation by the early 1940s."[30] Şaban Sitembölükbaşı, who made one of the earliest studies on the revival of Islam in the 1950s of Turkey, estimates the number of Nurcus or Nursi followers as five hundred thousand. He points to Yeni Asya Yayınları, founded in 1971 as the first Nurcu publishing house.[31] Today there are more than a dozen publishers printing the *Risale-i Nur* of Said Nursi, and traces of diversification among Nurcu groups are reflected in the printing houses they founded. I organize them in two categories based on their publishing models. The first group consists of three big players (with reference to their economic resources and impact on the sector) that publishing in extensive manner. The second group includes the initiatives focusing on the publication of mushaf and/or *Risale-i Nur,* that have adopted an intensive model. If asked about their motives and objectives, without exception these publishers would state their mission as *Üstadın davasına hizmet etmek* (service to the mission of the *üstad* [master], namely Said Nursi) and their motivation as *Allah rızasını kazanma* (gaining the consent of God). Most declare this on their websites. Therefore, all Nurcu publishers could be put into the basket of missionary publishers, but they are also quite enthusiastic about applying the technological standards of the day in their production processes and developing a professional business organization and marketing model for their products to maximize profits.

4.5.1.1   Fraternity in Conglomerate: Yeni Asya, Nesil and Zafer

The motto of Yeni Asya (New Asia) group's publishing house is "to read the human and the universe." It is currently a branch of a media group with many sub-branches. It consists of a daily of the same name *Yeni Asya* (New Asia), four periodicals – *Köprü* (The Bridge), *Bizim Aile* (Our Family), *Genç Yorum* (Young Comment), and *Can Kardeş* (Beloved Sibling) -, a radio station called

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30   Brockett, 128.

31   Sitembölükbaşı, *Türkiye'de İslamın Yeniden İnkişafı (1950-1960)*, 125. On the other hand, Nesil yayınları, one of the well-known Nurcu publishers, positions itself as one of thewhite shoe publishers of the country and declares that the company was founded in 1968. Nesil Yayınları, "Hakkımızda," accessed July 18, 2017, http://www.nesilyayinlari.com/hakkimizda.

Bizim Radyo (Our Radio), a news portal called *Sentez Haber* (Synthesis News), a book shopping website called Yeni Asya Kitap (New Asia Book), a research center called Risale-i Nur Enstitüsü (Institute of Risale-i Nur), a foundation with the name Yeni Asya (New Asia Foundation), an online forum called Muhabbet Fedaileri (Bouncers of Fondness), a web television channel (Euronur.Tv), and other online portals.[32] The group is neither large nor influential among other Nurcu and Islamic groups in Turkey, and how the community economically supports all of these enterprises is unclear. The grant holder of the newspaper is Mehmet Kutlular (b. 1938), who is also a leading figure of the community. And the related enterprises are managed by an executive board elected by community members, however the proceedings are not made public.

Since its foundation, Yeni Asya has published more than four hundred titles. Currently on the website, 373 books of Yeni Asya Neşriyat are available for sales at present. While politics, literature, children books, family books, history, Islam, and reference books can be counted among the categories in the publisher's classification scheme, *Risalele-i Nur* and the works of Said Nursi are the most significant piece, constituting almost one fifth of the book titles available on the website. Other Islamic literature published by Yeni Asya are usually books inspired by *Risale-i Nur* that cover basic issues of religious rituals, Islamic history, and the interpretation of Islamic issues by respected figures of the community such as Sami Cebeci, Kazım Güleçyüz, İslam Yaşar, and Süleyman Kösmene. A commission prepares some of the books as well.

Nesil (Generation) Publishing Group also gets its name from a publishing house founded in 1968. It is owned by people close to Mehmet Güleç (known as Fırıncı Ağabey), a close disciple of Said Nursi. Since its foundation, Nesil Publishing house has published more than three thousand books in different fields. The publisher has designated more than thirty categories by which it classifies its books, ranging from literature to psychology, reference books to children's books, history to religion.

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32 Yeni Asya Neşriyat, "Yayınlarımız," accessed July 18, 2017, http://www.yeniasyanesriyat.com.tr/.

Nesil Publication's motto is "everything is for reading generations", which is a good example of the extensive publishing in the sector. While the subjects and categories of the books are as diverse as any commercial publisher, certain principles are at work in the selection of authors as well as of the content of the books. That is to say, the ideological, political, and religious principles to which the publishers adhere are the basic factors behind the selection processes.

Another media field in which the group has been active since 1993 is radio broadcasting. Moral FM is the radio station belonging to the group, and it has one of the largest broadcasting bands in the country. The group also once published a daily with the name *Yeni Nesil* (New Generation) after separation from *Yeni Asya;* however, it did not last long and closed in the early 1980s.[33] While Nesil Publishing Group and Moral FM are the two principal economic enterprises of the group, group members also organize social activities via the İstanbul İlim ve Kültür Vakfı (İstanbul Foundation for Science and Culture) including an annual international symposium series on Said Nursi.

The group established a specific company, Söz Basım Yayın (The Word Print and Publishing Co.), to publish the *Risale-i Nur* of Said Nursi in 2001, so since then it does not publish Nursi's books under the imprint Nesil, but under Söz Basım Yayın. Moreover, the ratio of books directly on Islam constitutes less than one fifth of the books currently available for sale fom Nesil. Among these, the most significant are ones interpreting *Risalele-i Nur* or discus certain themes in the light of *Risale-i Nur*, as well as basic prayer books common to all Nurcu groups such as *Cevşen* and *Tesbihat*, some pedagogical books, and reflexive ones related to famous figures of Islamic history and Islamic practices and rituals. Interestingly Tasavvuf is one of the common categories, on which many Islamic publishers including Nurcu ones produce. While the numbers differ, Tasavvuf commonly appears alongside general Islam, theology, and other Islam-related categories of publishers.

Besides Islamic books, the most common subject matter of books published by Nesil is family. The publishing house interested in issues around

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33 Cemil Şahinöz, *Nurculuk Hareketi: Sosyolojik Bir Araştırma* (Norderstedt: BoD-Books on Demand, 2018).

forming "happy marriages" and bringing up children with a correct pedagogy informed by both modern and religious ethical principles. Considering that Nesil is not exceptional in this regard, one can conclude that they consider such books to be suitable market with which to reach out to readers.

Specific books for children and adolescents are also published separately in different categories. Under Islamic literature, in addition to modern narratives of the lives of the Prophet and other Islamic figures, books interpreting religious rituals (such as prayer and fasting) in a new idiom hybridizes psychology of religious ritual with that of personal growth and the principles of modern behavioral science are the publishing company's bestsellers. On the other hand, works of basic reflexive or pedagogical Islamic literature are usually composed by leading figures of the group such as Mehmet Paksu, Senai Demirci, and Cüneyd Suavi.

Currently Nesil Publishing Group is one of the largest actors in the general book and publishing market of Turkey together with Timaş, with respect to both the number of titles produced and also sales figures.[34]

Zafer (Triumph) Publishing Group is comprised of three publishing companies Zafer (adult books), Uğurböceği (Ladybug) (specialized in kids' literature), and İlkgençlik (Early youth) (books for adolescents and youth). Its motto is "books enriching our spiritual world." Currently the publishing house has approximately four hundred titles on the market 242 of which are published under the imprint Uğurböceği, 24 under İlkgençlik, and 124 under Zafer. Religious educational materials for kids and books teaching basic religious belief and practice are the primary subject matters of their publications. Another feature of the Zafer group is that it is that it prints the books of Mehmet Kırkıncı (d. 2016), a leading figure of a group inspired by Said Nursi's personality and work. However, Mehmet Kırkıncı, who lived and died in Erzurum, took his religious education in the classical madrasa system which sur-

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34   One of the factors behind this success was a close relationship to Gülenist groups and their mechanisms of distribution such as their expansive network of bookstores called N&T. Being accommodated on the shelves of such a sales network helped growth; however, in the understanding of Nurculuk and in their commercial and other operations, the two groups are detached.

vived during early Republican era in the eastern provinces of Turkey. The Islamic literature published by the group basically consists of the books of two figures: Mehmet Kırkıncı and Alaaddin Başar (b.1947), a retired professor of administrative sciences at Ataturk University in Erzurum. The books of the latter are mostky the modern interpretations of or subject-specific collections inspired by *Risale-i Nur*. However, the most productive author of the publishing house is Özkan Öze, who penned 50 books under his own name and 20 under the penname Tarık Uslu. He is also currently the chief-editor for the publishing group. Selim Gündüzalp (b. 1954) is one of the principal authors of Zafer Publishing Group as well as editor of the periodical of the same name.

Another publication close to the same group is the monthly magazine *Zafer* (Triumph), which has been published since 1977. The group maintains its social, cultural, and educational activities through the foundation, Suffa Vakfı which was officially established in 1990. One of the principal activities the foundation is to produce and maintain the content of more than a dozen web sites and online portals that provide instruction on Islamic issues, Nursi's books, and general family and educational affairs. This suggests how in recent years most Nurcu publishing houses are not content with print publishing but also invest in online publishing activities. The Zafer and Yeni Asya groups are two strong examples.[35]

4.5.1.2   Discipleship in Publication: İhlas Nur, Sözler, Envar, Hayrat, Tenvir, Zehra

While the actors in the previous section call themselves as publishing groups and evolve from small businesses into large companies, the common feature of publishers in this section is their use of the Arabic term *neşriyat* (publication) to name their businesses, except for Zehra, which uses the Turkish equivalent. As well as their choice of name, these actors also more or less have identical models of publishing and exemplify the intensive publishers of Nurcu actors.

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35   Since the publishing activities of the Gülenist group is not covered in this study, their extensive online publishing activities are also not mentioned.

İhlas Nur is one of the oldest publishing houses founded by the disciples of Said Nursi to publish *Risalele-i Nur Külliyatı*. Muhammed Said Özdemir (d. 2016) was one of Nursi's first-generation disciples and delved into the printing and publishing activities in the 1950s when Said Nursi was still alive. On the official website of İhlas Nur Neşriyat, the only information about the company is a line under the trademark: "Since 1953, trusted by the Üstad."[36] This emphasis establishes a direct genealogical relation to Said Nursi and strengthens the company's symbolic authority over Nursi texts. Nevertheless, the official establishment of the publishing house in Ankara followed the foundation of Sözler Neşriyat in Istanbul. In accordance with its primary mission, the publishing house still only prints the *Risalele-i Nur Külliyatı*; however, it has pioneered both translations into different foreign languages as well as audiovisual productions – namely tape cassettes in the 1990s and compact discs and other media later on.[37] In this regard, Ihlas Nur Neşriyat can be considered as an example of intensive publishing in the Islamic print market of Turkey.

Sözler (Words) Neşriyat is another publishing house that specializes on the printing and publishing of only the books of Said Nursi (including its translations into different languages), Qur'anic codices, reference books help to read Nursi's Külliyat (such as dictionaries), and prayer books (such as *Cevşen* and *Tesbihat*). It is a strong example of a publishing house doing intensive publishing of only a select group of books. Sözler Neşriyat is claimed to be belong to the followers of Mustafa Sungur (d.2012) (also known as Sungur Ağabey), another first-generation disciple of Said Nursi. Unfortunately, official evidence of such a relationship and other official details regarding the identities of the company were unavailable. Moreover, reliable information with respect to the number of followers in this group and the economic and symbolic capital for their publication activities is also obscure. Further study would be necessary to obtain such information, and the information provided online and in other secondary resources suffices for my purposes.

Envar (Lights) Neşriyat was established in 1979. Since 2015, however, it functions as the publishing body of Hizmet Vakfı (Service Foundation),

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36   Üstad (master) is how S. Nursi is referred among his followers.

37   Sorularla Said Nursi "Said Özdemir (1927-2016)," accessed July 20, 2017, http://www.sorular-lasaidnursi.com/said-ozdemir-1927-2016/.

founded in 1973 by close disciples of Said Nursi, Abdullah Yeğin, Said Özdemir, Mustafa Sungur, Bayram Yüksel, and Hüsnü Bayramoğlu among them. *Envar*, an Arabic word, is the plural form of *nur*. The foundation's stated objective is "the publication/expansion of the Holy Qur'an and the truth." When founded, its first manager was Ömer Okçu, who was also the founder of Timaş Publication Group (founded in 1980), but who is mostly known by his penname, Hekimoğlu İsmail. The foundation's official website declares that it is the first foundation established for the printing and publishing of the Qur'an in the Republican period.[38] In fact, in addition to publishing *Risalele-i Nur*, the primary specialization of Envar Neşriyat is the printing of the Qur'anic codices in specific aesthetics in terms of calligraphy and binding. However, among the inventory of their books are also collections of Qur'an chapters, daily prayers, some teaching materials and translations of the Qur'an and some works from *Risalele-i Nur* into foreign languages.

Hayrat (Charities) Neşriyat belongs to the Nurcu group known as *yazıcılar* (scribers/writers). What distinguishes them from other groups is their insistence on copying the *Risalele-i Nur Külliyatı* using Arabic script as they were reproduced in the lifetime of Said Nursi – thereby staying loyal to the language, method (handwriting), and script of the "authentic" original. Before the foundation of the publishing house in 1985, the institutional identity under which the group carryied out its social and religious activities was that of Hayrat Foundation, which was founded in 1974 by Ahmet Hüsrev Altınbaşak of Isparta (d.1977), another first-generation disciple of Said Nursi. Like other foundations established by Nurcu groups, supporting students in need, opening dormitories, and *dersanes*[39], and maintaining publishing activities for the

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38 Hizmet Vakfı, "Hakkımızda | Hizmet Vakfı 1973 Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Risale-i Nur Hizmetleri," accessed July 21, 2017, http://www.hizmetvakfi.org/hakkimizda.

39 Dersane literally means classroom, but Nurcu groups use the word to define places used for gathering to read, study and discuss Risale-i Nur. These are generally collectively hired and furnished flats or buildings.

dissemination of basic Islamic resources and *Risale-i Nur* were among the basic missions of the foundation.[40]

The field of specialization of Hayrat Neşriyat, like that of Envar Neşriyat, is the printing of mushaf (Qur'an). The copy handwritten by Hüsrev Altınbaşak known as Hüsrev hattı (Hüsrev writing) is a special edition of the Qur'anic codiex which written in a tevafuklu format.[41] Hayrat Neşriyat is one of the largest Qur'an printing publishers in Turkey with a print house located on a fourteen thousand square meter plot in Isparta. The publishing house only produces these specific forms of Qur'an in different sizes, in addition to several Qur'anic teaching materials and Ottoman Turkish learning materials. An imprint of the group, which was founded for publishing *Risale-i Nur* in Ottoman script as well as related materials (audiovisual or stationery for hand-writing) is Altınbaşak Neşriyat. Beside these two publishing imprints and their official websites and online shopping platforms, are several online platforms dedicated to the production of online texts and materials for teaching the reading and writing of Ottoman Turkish, since the group places special importance on the original language and style of *Risalele-i Nur*.[42] Beside these websites, the group has developed initiatives to teach the Qur'an and other basic religious tenets and practices to kids and to adults using new technological equipment.

One of the publishing houses founded exclusively to publish the *Risale-i Nur* of Said Nursi is Tenvir Neşriyat, which adopted the motto "the signature appended to truth" for itself. The publishing house prints and publishes some mushaf volumes and *Cevşen* collections in addition to *Risale-i Nur*. This publishing house was founded together with Med-Zehra distribution company by

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40 Hayrat Vakfı, "Vakfın Tarihçesi" accessed July 21, 2017, http://hayratvakfi.org/index.php/2015/01/30/vakfin-tarihcesi/.

41 In such copies, certain words such as the word of Allah are written in a different color ink and are typographically arranged so that such words align vertically or coincide on the facing page or reverse side of the leaf. This is called a Qur'an with tawafuq, or a coincidental Qur'an. See, Niyazi Beki, "Tevafuklu Kur'an Üzerine," accessed January 12, 2009, http://www.hizmet-vakfi.org/tevafuklu-kuran-i-kerim.html.

42 For the online platforms of the group, see "Osmanlıca Eğitim," accessed August 1, 2017, https://www.osmanlicaegitim.com/ and "Osmanlıca Eğitim ve Kültür Dergisi," accessed January 1, 2018, http://osmanlicadergi.com/2018/.

Muhammed Sıddık Dursun (d. 2017), also known as Şeyhanzade. The group is known among Nurcu groups as Med-Zehracılar which is an acronym of the grand project of Said Nursi to establish a university for Turkey's eastern provinces called Medrese'tü-z'Zehra. The group also published a periodical called *Dava* (Cause) between 1989-1998 and, in Kurdish, from 1992 to 2010 called *Nubihar* (new spring). The official identity of the group is Maarif Eğitim Dayanışma Zehra Vakfı (MED-Zehra), and it is located in Ankara; however, the foundation has no website or other online platform to offer direct information about itself.

Finally, Zehra Publishing is one of the smaller publishing houses that prints only books of Said Nursi. The name of the publishing house is same with the name the group is known among Nurcu groups. They distinctly claim that *Risale-i Nur* copies printed by most publishers include tampering with respect to the Kurdish identity of Said Nursi and his ideas on Kurds and Kurdistan. The collection they print and publish is claimed to be free of such alterations. In fact, the Zehra group separated from Med-Zehra, which had taken its name from a project of Said Nursi to establish a full- fledged scholarly complex in the eastern provinces of Ottoman Empire: The Medrese-tü'z-Zehra.

Like other groups, they also maintain social and cultural activities through a foundation called Zehra Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı (Zehra Foundation for Education and Culture). The foundation was founded in 1990; but its president İzzettin Yıldırım was kidnapped and killed by a violent group called Hizbullah in 1999. Soon after, a case was opened to close the down, and a court decision was rendered in 2007.[43] After that, the group established another association under the same name. The currently president of which is Zekeriya Özbek.

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43 The court closed down the foundation and seized its immovable property. Foundation authorities brought their case to the European Court of Human Rights, but, the ECHR decided against the plaintiff in July 2018. Under legal reforms enacted in 2014, twenty-two of twenty-five immovable properties belonging to the foundation had already been returned to the foundation by the Turkish state. Rahmi Gündüz, "AİHM, Nur Cemaatinin Türkiye Şikayet Başvurusunu Reddetti," *Euronews Türkçe Haber Portalı*, July 10, 2018, https://tr.euronews.com/2018/07/10/aihm-nur-cemaatinin-turkiye-sikayet-basvurusunu-reddetti.

However, the economic relationship between Zehra Education and Culture Association and Zehra Publishing Company is unclear.[44]

4.5.1.3   Other Nurcu Publishers

Among publishing houses that print basically *Risale-i Nur*, RNK Neşriyat and Mutlu Yayıncılık can be counted. The former was incorporated company in 2005 with forty-six partners specifically to "deliver the *Risale-i Nur* to all humanity" using high quality printing techniques for modest prices.[45] The latter, on the other hand, was founded in 1992 by İsmail Mutlu, a former author and an employee of *Yeni Asya* daily until 1994. The publishing house only publishes his own books in the fields of Islamic history, hadith, Islamic law, life of Prophet, sects, and other Islamic issues in addition to his simplified, annotated edition of *Risale-i Nur*.

Another small group of Nurcus linked with one of the first-generation disciples of Said Nursi is the Tahşiye group. They associate themselves with Hulusi Yahyagil (d. 1986), one of the closest disciples of Said Nursi, and the leader of the group is Molla Muhammed Doğan from the eastern city of Varto-Muş. The group owns an online platform to share knowledge and for communication.[46] They also run a publishing house called Tahşiye which was founded in 2003. However, since the group oppose the Gülenists, they were faced with legal proceedings. The retired prayer leader, Muhammed Doğan, was imprisoned for seventeen months after being arrested in 2009 for suspected links with al-Qaida. They reestablished their printing business under the name Se-

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44   Despite the fact that the killing was linked with an illegal organization called Hizbullah, their structure and relationship of the organization with illegal gangs nested within the state system in Turkey, are important issues of recent Turkish political history. The statement of HDP MP Altan Tan a decade after the event (Feb 2, 2012) and his urge that the killing to be clarified given more recent information that is supposedly in the hands of state enforcement authorities is an example of the suspicions that surround political murders with unknown perpetrators. Cihan Haber Ajansı, "BDP'li Tan, İzzettin Yıldırım Cinayeti Bilgilerinin Açıklanmasını İstedi," *Haberler.com Haber Portalı*, February 2, 2012, https://www.haberler.com/bdp-li-tan-izzettin-yildirim-cinayeti-bilgilerinin-3324115-haberi/.

45   RNK Neşriyat, "Hakkımızda," accessed July 23, 2017, https://rnk.com.tr/hakkimizda.

46   See, "Nurmend-Şerhmend," accessed July 31, 2017, http://www.nurmend.com/.

mendel Yayıncılık and continue to publish a *Risale-i Nur Külliyatı* with a comprehensive commentary. Another specific work published by the group is a commentary on Qur'an chapters applying a methodology similar to the one Said Nursi employed in Risale-i Nur. This set of books is called *Rumuz-ul' Kur'an Külliyatı* (Symbols of the Qur'an collection). Since almost all Nurcu groups consider *Risale-i Nur* to be a contemporary *tefsir* (interpretation) of the Qur'an, usually they abstain from printing other books that fall under the category of Qur'anic exegesis.

As discussed above, there are a dozen publishing houses in Turkey established exclusively to print and disseminate the *Risale-i Nur*, the literature related to it, and works developed around the worldview and religious views of Said Nursi and his followers.[47] There are several publishing companies to add to this basket of Nurcu actors in the publishing field. And Tür-Dav and Timaş are influential actors in the general publication sector of Turkey, if not the production of Islamic literature. Tür-Dav was founded by Ömer Okçu (Hekimoğlu İsmail)[48] in 1975 and started to publish the periodical *Sur* (Rampant) which continued until 2014. Currently ür-Dav owns four publishing imprints: Cihan, Karanfil, Gelincik, and Elit-Kültür Publications as well as the online book shopping platform (KitapKutusu.Com) Karanfil and Gelincik usually publish books for kids and youth including classics of world children's literature. Cihan focuses on religious literature, and almost half of its titles are the works of Mehmet Dikmen and Ahmed Şahin. In total, including those of all four brands, the number of titles produced by the publishing group is more than 400. However, the most significant service of the group is the volumes of *Books in Print*, published by the group since 1989. Unfortunately, in Turkey, a

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47   Among these publishers, I did not include Şahdamar (Jugular) Publications, which belonged to the Gülenist Kaynak Holding until the group's coup attempt on July 15, 2016. All companies directly linked to the holding, including those in the media, press, and publication sectors, were transferred to trustees by a decree.

48   Ömer Okçu or Hekimoğlu İsmail is the author of the famous novel *Minyeli Abdullah* published first in 1967 and reprinted 94 times by 2017. It is one of the earliest examples of a popular, Islamic novel in Turkey.

concerted effort to catalogu publications is nonexistent except those privately by Tür-Dav.

Timaş, founded in 1982 also by Ömer Okçu, is among the largest ten companies in the publishing sector. On their website the publishing house states its vision "to be an international publisher" in addition to a claim to follow an "all-embracing publication policy except for those texts that are politically partisan, in opposition to basic beliefs, insulting and in contradiction with basic morals."[49] Since its foundation, Timaş has published more than four thousands titles – with diverse subject matters and genres, from literature to history, culture to politics, and child and adolescent literature to religion. While the books of Timaş on religion and Islam do not constitute the majority of its products, its imprints[50] Timaş Çocuk, which publishes books for kids, Carpe Diem, which specializes on adolescence and youth literature, and Sufi Kitap, which focuses exclusively on books on tasavvuf and Sufism, constitute a remarkable part of the group's productions. Sufi Kitap has also published a focused quarterly magazine since 2004 called *Keşkül* (Bowl) with the motto

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49   Timaş Yayınları, "Hakkımızda," accessed July 31, 2017, http://www.timas.com.tr/timas-yayin-lari/.

50   Despite the fact that these brands and publishing houses belong to the Timaş Publishing Group, each as a separate website and no links in either direction between them and the main web page of Timaş suggests connection. When I started to research this topic, the company had different website that offered more information about their organization and the interconnectedness of the companies. Currently, the brands are treated as completely unrelated and independent bodies and entities. However, the web design of each publishing house resembles the others. This public relations policy change was propmpted by the July 15 coup attempt of Gülenists and claims Timaş had links to Gülenist groups. Despite the fact that Timaş was a catch-all publishing house that published the books of authors with diverse political and ideological backgrounds as well as diverse subject matters and genres, their longtime general editor, Emine Eroğlu was affiliated and claimed to be a senior member of the Gülenists. Timaş ended her position in 2015 following the conflict between the government and the Gülenist group.

"Sufism is life."[51] Timaş has also published a biannual "book culture maga-zine" entitled *Okur Yazar* (Literate) since 2004.[52] Putting its books on Sufism aside, the most significant genre of books published by Timaş in its thirty-five years in the sector is that of popular Islamic novels known as *hidayet* novels.[53] Ahmet Günbay Yıldız, the author of more than fifty such novels, was a founder of Timaş along with Hekimoğlu İsmail, and his books have had dozens of runs. In the sector reports, Timaş has been among the top ten largest publishers in Turkey for years.[54] Having produced more than three thousand titles so far, Timaş deserves the attention of scholars with respect to its history and role in the Islamic print and publishing field.[55]

4.5.2   *Disputed Heritage: State as a Referee*

As discussed above, the printing and publication of Said Nursi's *Risale-i Nur Külliyatı* – an all-time bestseller- is the key mission of most Nurcu publishing

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51   "Hakkımızda," accessed August 1, 2017, http://keskul.com.tr/hakkinda. *Keşkül* is the name of a milk pudding as well as of a pot or bowl carved from coconut or ebony and used by beggars and Sufi dervishes. See, Osmanlica Sozluk, "Keşkül - كشكول," accessed August 1, 2017, https://www.osmanice.com/osmanlica-15480-nedir-ne-demek.html.

52   For the 25th issue of *Okur Yazar* (Literate), the publishing house focused on July 15, and an editorial by Osman Okçu, the current CEO and son of its founder, tried to prove that Timaş stood on the side of the state and nation, not with the coup plotters, by providing the early responses to the coup via official social media accounts as well as the personal accounts of some of their editors as evidence. *Osman Okçu, "Samimi Bir Mektup," Okur Yazar,* July 2016 (special issue), accessed August 8, 2017, http://www.timas.com.tr/wp-content/up-loads/2016/07/okuryazar15temmuzozel.pdf.

53   For a detailed work on the issue of Islamic fiction, see Çayır, *Islamic Literature in Contempo-rary Turkey*.

54   In a list provided by Boyraz, Timaş is among the top three publishers based on demand for hologram stickers between 1999-2005. This suggests that Timaş is among the three with re-spect to sale numbers. Boyraz, "Book Publishing in Turkey: Problems and Prospects in the Context of Industrialization," 52-3. See also Ahmet Varol, *Adım Adım Yayıncılık*, (Istanbul: Elit Yayınları, 2009).

55   For an introductory study tackling Timaş and Nesil as case studies, see Devran Koray Öçal, "The Development and Transformation of the Islamic Publishing Field: The Cases of Nesil and TİMAŞ" (M.A. thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 2013).

houses. More than a dozen publishers (according to the claims of Risale Haber, a web portal dedicated to news related to Nurcu groups, the number is twenty-six) published these books, and in 2014, a new actor joined the field as a regulator and referee. Before then, the official body of the Ministry of Culture that supplies hologram stickers to private publishers temporarily stopped the supply. The Council of Ministers made the decision to transfer the copyright of the works of Sait Okur (Said Nursi) to the Directorate of Religious Affairs and published the decision in the official gazette on 26 November 2014.[56] This decision numbered 29187 designates Diyanet as the sole authority controlling the publishers and specifies that the printing, copying and publishing must be done "in conformity with the authenticity of the works." Unauthorized publishers were threatened with legal prosecution. According to copyright laws, the works of Said Nursi will be freed from copyright restriction only after 2030; however, of most current publishers, only some have truthful claims to its copyright. These are the publishing houses founded by disciples whom Nursi himself asked to publish his works in an authentic way and without alteration. As one of his closest disciples, Said Özdemir claims:

> In order to earn a reputation and make economic gains by publishing his books, some claimed authority from unauthorized heirs... Despite their lack of authority, they distorted the books in the name of simplification. Disciples were uneasy with that situation. We could take them to court, but we left them to Allah. And Allah Almighty is settling accounts with them....The decision of the Council of Ministers will prevent such distortion since the only the true heirs will be allowed to print it."[57]

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56 Tuğba Özgür Durmaz, *"Bediüzzaman Eserlerinin Hakları Diyanet'e Verildi,"* *Anadolu Ajansı,* November 26, 2014. https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/bediuzzaman-eserlerinin-haklari-diyanete-verildi/98070?amp=14.

57 Said Özdemir (d. 2016) was the founder of İhlas Nur Neşriyat. Risale Ajans Haber Portalı. "Said Özdemir Ağabeyden Bandrol Açıklaması," accessed August 10, 2017, https://www.risaleajans.com/nur-alemi/said-ozdemir-agabeyden-bandrol-aciklamasi.

The point of conflict among actors claiming a genealogical relation to Said Nursi and establishing formal organizations (like publishing houses) or informal (community) organizations with reference to Nursi and his works is the question of authenticity – that is, the preservation of the style, language, and content of the texts in their original form – in addition to the declaration of immediate, authentic succession in a chain of followers or disciples. That is to say, both textual and personal genealogy with respect to the persona and writings of Nursi determines the legitimacy of sets of actors and heirs. However, in the case of an unresolved conflict, the state entered the field as a referee among these players, and a first in Turkish history.

Considering the negative attitude and actions of the secular state towards Nursi and his followers during his life and afterwards, this action by the government suggests an acknowledgement and the legitimation of a long time enemy as an ally. The state became the safeguard of the authentic works of Nursi, preventing their misuse or distortion, and designating legal, confirmed heirs in the field of their reproduction. Interestingly, though in Turkish political history the state is not comfortable with religious groups, conflicts among such circles are generally used by the state as a field of intervention. Another possible reason for this action by the government is the unexpected transformation of foes and allies in recent years. Among more than a dozen Nurcu-origin groups in Turkey, the Gülenists were accused by others of forging *Risale-i Nur* and deviating from the form and spirit of Nursi's stance. Rising tensions between government and the Gülenists may have triggered the action to intervene in the publishing of Nursi books in an effort to place the state in the position of distributor of the wealth and income, derived from this business. In fact, the intervention and right of the state to regulate among different interest groups provide it with the symbolic power to decide upon the legitimate, authorized actors that may claim a link to the symbolic heritage of Nursi – actors that would not constitute a dangerous field that would challenge the authority of the state in the wider public sphere. From that date forward, Diyanet also published *Risale-i Nur* , taking its share from the pie, not only economically, but also symbolically as a recompense for eliminating unwanted actors from the field. Such an intervention of the state through legal proceedings could end the unofficial lobbying activities of some Nurcu groups, but

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this idea is speculative since the information sources employed in this study do not address the issue.

4.5.3 *Sufi or Naqshbandi difusion? Struggle for Hegemony*

In Turkey, Sufi circles have always been an important organizer of religious life since the time of the Ottoman Empire. While the policies and attitudes of the state (either the empire or the nation state) have changed in time from promotion and open support to prohibition and punishment in diverse forms, many Sufi groups – depending on their power at the grassroots level – have survived until today and continue to constitute important brotherhoods active not only in the religious field but also in different realms of life ranging from economics to formal and informal education. Depending on their human and economic capital, Sufi groups have varied in terms of their social impact and visibility in the public space at different times. Most of the time, increasing social activity and visibility is related to proximity to political and other sources of power, which bring about broader access to economic and other types of capital.

The Naqshbandi orders are the most common among Sufi groups in Turkey.[58] Among widely-known Nakşi circles are Erenköy, İskenderpaşa, and İsmailağa which are named for the mosques that are the central or core place where members of the groups together. Like other Islamic movements and communities in Turkey, including these Nakşi groups, the Menzil group that arose in the Eastern region of Turkey and witnessed incredible growth in the

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58 Şerif Mardin, whose academic treatment of Said Nursi and Nurculuk first brought the issue to the attention of scholars, describes Nursi as "one of the most influential figures of Naqshbendism" with reference to his early education by local Nakşi sheikhs in his hometown in Eastern Anatolia as well as the implicit influence of Ahmad Sirhindi and Halidi Baghdadi in the making of his theological or religious views. See Şerif Mardin, *Türkiye, İslam ve Sekülarizm*, 4th ed. (Istanbul: İletişim, 2015), 77 and Şerif Mardin, *Bediüzzaman Said Nursi Olayı: Modern Türkiye'de Din ve Toplumsal Değişim*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: İletişim, 1992), 99. On the other hand, the followers of Nursi do not consider themselves Sufi nor do they think of Nursi as a Sufi sheikh. And they often refer to Nursi's words "Devir tarikat değil hakikat devridir" (the time is not the epoch of tariqa but of truth) as a proof that his approach and methods of learning and activism differ from those of the Sufis and Sufi tradition.

last two decades can be counted among those Sufi groups. Işıkçılar also represent themselves as a Nakşi tarikat, but they are widely known for their affiliation with the family name of late sheikh H. Hilmi Işık. They are also sometimes called as Türkiye gazetesi cemaati or İhlas grubu with reference to their daily newspaper and the name of their corporate entities.

Though other small organizations claim a link with Nakşi sufism, these five are influential in Turkish society with respect to the number of people they reach, the number of their followers and sympathizers, and the civil society organizations and activities they undertake. Print is a common field of action for these Sufi groups, as well, and in the coming section I explore the publication activities of Işıkçılar, Erenköy, Menzil, İskenderpaşa, and İsmailağa individually. Since the case of Hakikat Kitabevi of the Işıkçılar constitutes a perfect example of missionary-style publishing, compared to other Sufi print initiatives, I allocate a larger place to it in this dissertation.

4.5.3.1 Dozen Books Worldwide: The Missionary Publishing of Hakikat Kitabevi

This publication initiative started in 1966 with the establishment of Işık (Light) Kitabevi by Hüseyin Hilmi Işık in Istanbul. He then changed the name of the bookstore to Hakikat (Truth) and started to print, publish and sell his magnum opus *Saadet-i Ebediyye* (*The Endless Bliss*, as translated by the publisher), described by the author as "a complete catechism." The publication house printed and published other books of Hüseyin Hilmi Işık, sometimes under his real name and sometimes under his pen-name, Muhammed Sıddık Gümüş.

Hüseyin Hilmi Işık was born in 1911 in the Eyüp district of Istanbul and completed the military high school in 1929. He continued his higher education at the military medical school and then changed to pharmacy. After working as chemist and receiving a degree in pharmacy in 1932, he attended Istanbul University's chemical engineering department and earned a degree in 1936. He worked first as chemist and inspector in the military, and after 1946 he taught chemistry and other sciences at military high schools until retiring in 1960. After his retirement, he engaged in running a pharmacy in addition to authoring books and participating in other scholarly activities. In 1929, he had

met Abdulhakim Arvasi, who was previously one of the *müderris* of Süley-maniye medresesi in the field of *tasavvuf* and was the *postnişin* (heir sheikh) of *Kaşgari dergah* (lodge) at the time. H. Hilmi Işık received his religious education from Seyyid Abdulhakim Arvasi (1865-1943)[59] and his son, Mekki Üçışık (1894-1967), who served as the müfti of Üsküdar and Kadıköy. The sheikh of H. Hilmi Işık served as a preacher from 1924 to 1930. He was interrogated after Menemen incident[60] and afterwards continued giving seminars and preaching informally at Beyazıt and Beyoğlu Ağa mosques. He was enforced to residence in Izmir in 1943 and then allowed to go to Ankara where he died on 27 November 1943.[61]

H. Hilmi Işık founded Işık Kitabevi he later turned into Hakikat Kitabevi. He died in 2001, and his followers are usually called as the "Işıkçılar cemaati" with reference to his family name. Sometimes they are also called the İhlas cemaati with reference to a foundation his son-in-law Enver Ören established in 1975. Today Enver Ören's (1939-2013) heirs run a huge holding comprised of dozens of companies in the fields of media, press, construction, industry, education, and services.[62] Upon the initiative of Enver Ören the daily paper *Hakikat* started on 22 April 1970. The name of the paper was changed to *Türkiye* in 1972. In 1981, the group started to publish a magazine for children called *Türkiye Çocuk,* and their media and communication enterprises continued with the foundation in 1993 of the İhlas News Agency (IHA), the television channel TGRT, and the radio station TGRT FM.

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59   Seyyid Abdülhakim Arvasi is the late Naqshbandi sheikh known to have influenced the nationalist, conservative Turkish poet Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, and Arvasi's works were published by *Büyük Doğu Yayınları* which was owned by Kısakürek.

60   The Menemen Incident refers to a series of events occurred in Menemen, a small town in Aegean district, on 23 December 1930. A small riot take place and an officer was killed by demonstrators. Following this event, many Naqshbandi sheikhs and followers are interrogated and two of them got the death penalty. For details, see Feroz Ahmad, "Islamic Reassertion in Turkey," *Third World Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (1988): 750–69.

61   Nihat Azamat, "Abdulhakim Arvasi," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İSAM Yayınları, 1988). v.1, 211-2.

62   İhlas Holding A.Ş. "Hakkımızda," accessed August 10, 2017, https://www.ihlas.com.tr/hakkimizda.

Today the group owns several media companies active in the press and broadcast media; however, the publishing house does not have a direct, official connection to Ihlas holding.[63] Since the publication company does not generate any economic profit – on the contrary, it spends more than it earns –, the group maintains it as a separate entity. But what one knows about the group in general, the community, and its publishing enterprise in particular is limited to information provided on their official websites. Despite the fact that many nationwide and worldwide Islamic communities and movements – even those small in size and impact – have been thoroughly studied there are no comprehensive or specific studies of the Işıkçılar as a group, their economic enterprises, and their cultural and media activities – besides social work –, a few semi-acaemic and academic pieces notwithstanding. Therefore, the Islamic community and specifically its existence in the field of the press and media require further study.[64]

Hakikat Kitabevi, was one of the earliest examples of Islamic publication actors in Turkey. As discussed well-established publishing or printing houses were rare before 1960, small, individual enterprises with limited economic and social capital were trying to survive in the field. Proper publishing houses started to be established after 1960, and only a few of these survive today.

In total there are seventeen different titles published by Hakikat Kitabevi, each of which have been reprinted tens of times. According to the website of the publisher, these have been translated and printed in more than a dozen languages, and some other books have been added to their inventory for specific languages. What makes the publication activities of Hakikat Kitabevi missionary publishing is that the books are mainly for free distribution around the world.

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63   In 2006, the group sold one of its media companies to the American media giant News Corporation, owned by Rupert Murdoch, in a joint venture model. The channel changed its name to Fox TV. However, the group still owns the brand name and continues broadcasting via the TGRT News Channel.

64   For introductory works on the issue, see Mustafa Tekin, "Işıkçılık," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce 6- İslamcılık*, ed. Yasin Aktay, 4th ed. (Istanbul: İletişim, 2014), 341–44, and Mustafa Tekin, "Işıkçılık: Bir Dönüşümün Hikayesi," *Yakın Doğu Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 3, no. 2 (2017): 81–96.

Out of the seventeen major books printed by Hakikat Kitabevi, thirteen were written by Hüseyin Hilmi Işık. As mentioned before, data on Hakikat Kitabevi's publications are problematic. For example, individual books are printed or recorded under different titles in the bibliographic database, and the author for one print run might be listed as Hüseyin Hilmi Işık while the author in another is listed M. Sıddık Gümüş, his pen-name. Closer examination of the content of these books would be interesting; how much of them are really written by the author and how much are collected and quoted from classical texts is unknown. Based on my observation of the records of the books of Hakikat Kitabevi, some are also published in some print runs under the name Ahmed Cevdet Paşa or İmam-ı Rabbani when parts of the book were taken from their works. But they are also full of H. H. Işık's anti-reformist, anti- Wahhabi rhetoric. For example, the book titled "The Book of Salat" has had tens of reprints with the name Hasan Yavaş – who prepared the book – recorded as if he were the author. This tactic is used to manipulate the reader and the market and avoid possible critiques of the real author. However, publishers and institutions doing printing and publishing nowadays tend to be more transparent whether due to changing social and political conditions or to legal regulation that make such underground businesses less viable.

In this respect, Hakikat Kitabevi actually offers a concrete case of uncontrolled pluralism in the Islamic publishing field in the Republican Turkey. As opposed to the Ottoman era, the supervision of the contents of books printed in the country are much looser; no governmental body supervises the books published and no authority has any right to intervene with respect to inconsistencies in the title and content of books and other formal and essential features. Unless the publisher or author directly asks for an official recommendation from the Ministry of Education, books are not evaluated by any official body. Legal investigations into a book are conducted after print if a criminal situation arises. The penal measure is usually the recall of the publication from the market.

If the books printed as a part of Islamic literature were closely scrutinized, copyright infringements as well as repeated, varies examples of plagiarism would likely to be found.

The common, physical characteristics of the books of Hakikat Kitabevi are poor quality, a simple soft cover, cheap paper, and poor binding. Only the complete catechism titled *Endless Bliss* and the *Mektubat* (Letters) of Ahmed Sirhindi (Imam Rabbani) are printed in a higher quality with a hard cover. On the website of the publishing house, the e-book format of all the books can be easily accessed, downloaded, and read.

Ultra-traditionalism, an anti-reformist stance, opposition to all modern interpretations of Islamic doctrine accompanied by a strong cult of *evliya* (saints), mostly mythological, fantastic narratives of the lives of *evliya*, a significant anti-Wahhabi approach, and the sanctification of all so-called *ehl-i sünnet* and traditional rumors can be listed as the basic features of the books published by Hakikat Kitabevi. These books are distributed to the extent that one can encounter them in the smallest *mescid* (prayer room) or mosque in the remotest region of the country.[65] In addition to nationwide distribution efforts, the publication of works in multiple languages such as English, German, Russian, Arabic, and Balkan languages reveals that they endeavor for it to be circulated among invisible to an international reading public, too.[66] Beside the incredible efforts to impose these books on religious public space with a strong sense of mission, it is difficult to ascertain how so many places are reached and how the places their books left are determined. For the international prints, instead of Hakikat the imprint of Waqf Ikhlas Publications is employed.

Hakikat Kitabevi is by no means the only publishing house to use this method of free distribution of the books they print. Global Yayıncılık, which publishes the books of Adnan Oktar, who mostly uses the pen-name Harun Yahya, and the publishing houses of Kaynak Holdin, which publish the books

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65   When the books of Hakikat Kitabevi are mentioned in an informal conversation with the senior manager from DRA at the time he told me that they "barely cleaned the mosques off those books." His words implied the discomfort of Diyanet with the content of the books and with the fact that they were invading the shelves of mosques belonging to the DRA despite the fact that there is no established or common habit of reading books in Turkish mosques other than the Qur'an.

66   It was interesting to encounter English translations of the Hakikat Kitabevi books on the university library shelves of King's College London as a visiting doctoral student.

of Fethullah Gülen can be included under the intensive missionary publishing model. However, both groups face serious accusations of constituting criminal and terrorist organizations.

All in all, Hakikat's place in Turkish print sector is a well-known example of intensive publishing operating with missionary motives.

4.5.3.2   Steady and Introverted: Erkam Publishing Group

Erkam[67] Publishing Company was founded in 1980 and has published more than five hundred titles. Almost one fourth of those are the books of Mahmud Sami Ramazanoğlu (1892-1986), and Osman Nuri Topbaş (b. 1942), the former and current sheikhs of the Erenköy cemaati.[68] Another one fourth of the total production is accounted for by the books of authors with close ties to the community such as Ahmed Taşgetiren, Hasan Kamil Yılmaz, and Sadık Dana. The claim that Sadık Dana is a pen-name of Osman Nuri Topbaş is factual, the works of the sheikhs constitute almost one third of the total. Although the subject and genre spectrum of the publisher is diverse and includes Qur'anic exegesis, prophetic life, literature on Sufism, children's literature, family, religious pedagogy, catechism, and daily prayer,a great majority of the books produced by Erkam are part of Islamic literature. The publishing house uses the slogan "Let your way reach The Book from the books." In the field of Islamic publishing, it can be inferred that Erkam's style of publishing is extensive but with a specific focus on tasavvuf and the works of the community's sheikh, Osman Nuri Topbaş. According to his official web site, Topbaş had seventy books published so far, and these books have been translated into more than

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67   Erkam is the name of one of the companions of Prophet Muhammad.. Erkam b. Ebi'l Erkam opened his home to the first believers in Mecca to meet together. That house is famously known as Dar'ul-Erkam. The name of the publication house refers to this element of the collective memory of pious Muslims.

68   More than one hundred titles are listed on the official website of Erkam Publication Group. See Erkam Yayınları "Ramazanoğlu M. Sami," accessed August 2, 2017, http://www.erkamyayinlari.com/kategori/ramazanoglu-m-sami.aspx., and "Osman Nuri Topbaş," accessed August 2, 2017, http://www.erkamyayinlari.com/kategori/osman-nuri-topbas.aspx.

twenty world languages such as Arabic, Azeri Turkish, English, French, German, Russian, and Swahili.[69]

Despite the fact that the Islamic text production field in Turkey is largely national, efforts for its internationalization are evident in recent decades. Groups with sufficient financial, social, and human capital tend to reproduce their texts in different languages and stake their place in diverse international settings. In fact, this tendency is related to demand that has occurred as a result of the expansion of the activities of these religious groups abroad, especially, since the 1990s. Increasing economic and cultural engagements due to the globalization, offers new fields of influence and new opportunities to social and economic entrepreneurs. The Erkam group is one remarkable example.

Beside books, *Altınoluk* (Golden channel) is the longest-running periodical of the group, having started in 1986. The monthly youth magazine *Genç Dergi* (Young magazine), the women- and family-oriented magazine *Şebnem*, and the monthly literature, culture, art, history and society magazine *Yüzakı* have been on the market since 2006, 2001 and 2004, respectively. The Erenköy grou expanded its media activities beyond print and recently started a satellite radio broadcast, Erkam Radyo and the internet television channel, Erkam TV. The latter functions more like a video portal than a nationally-broadcast television channel; nevertheless, it exemplifies a general tendency to expand media activities from print based businesses toward broadcast media.

4.5.3.3   Fast-Growing Latecomer: Semerkand[70] Media Group

One of the ostensible developments in the field is the print and media activities of Semerkand group flourished in last decades. Considering that the Sufi circle

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69   Besides general information about his life, detailed documentation of his works, *sohbets* (speeches), interviews, articles, and all kinds of writing can be easily accessed on the website. See Osman Nuri Topbaş Resmi Web Sitesi, "Tüm Dillerde Eserleri," accessed August 2, 2017, http://www.osmannuritopbas.com/tum-dillerde-eserleri.html.

70   Semerkand is a city in Central Asia within the borders of contemporary Uzbekistan. Besides being a historical center of culture and trade, the city is known as the residence of famous figures of Islamic history such as great hadith collector Muhammad b. Ismail al-Bukhari (810-870) and the founder of Maturidi school, Abu Mansur Muhammad al-Maturidi (853-944). In addition to these monumental figures for Sunni Muslims, the famous Sufi figures Abu'l Lays

with which the group's companies are associated is the Menzil group – known as a lodge-village of Adıyaman, a small province in Eastern Turkey –, who are followers of the popular sheikh Muhammed Raşid Erol, who died in 1993, its quick growth and professional manner are intriguing.

Beside Semerkand Publishing Group, which consists of several publication imprints and a couple periodicals, the commercial Semerkand Media Group is made up of Semerkand radio an eponymous national television channel. It started in 1997 as a limited company, but with the participation of new companies in the field, it turned into a group of companies. Its publishing activities started with the periodical *Semerkand*; then *Mostar* and *Semerkand Aile* were added to its profile of periodicals. The publishing house has published about five hundred titles under the same tradename, and a radio channel started in 2003 adopted the brand in 2012. The start of a television channel followed. Currently, the publishing house has seven separate brands each specialized in certain genres or subject matters. Semerkand basically publishes Sufi classics and modern interpretations and commentaries. Semerkand Çocuk specializes on child literature. The Mostar brand is assigned to academic publications, whereas Eşik (Threshold) is a brand for cultural, literary, and historical books. Haşimi Publications is for reference and classical works in Arabic, whereas Hacegan publishes religious literature for all kinds of reader. Şadırvan (Mosque fountain) basically prints popular religious books. The diversification of the business into different genres of books with separate brand names could also be read as an indicator of the willingness of the group to make further investments in the field to inspire content for these brands.

The group has five periodicals that are published monthly. *Semerkand* magazine labels itself as "monthly Sufi journal." *Semerkand Aile* (Family) covers family issues, whereas *Gençokur* (Young Reader) is for youth, and *Semerkand Çocuk* is for children. *Mostar* is a magazine of culture, art, and literature.

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al-Samarqandi (944-983) and Bahaeddin Nakshibend (1318-1389), the founder of the Nakşi tradition, and many other members of the Nakşi lineage were based in this city. Therefore, the brand name is a geographic and semantic reference to the group's historical roots and collective memory.

Considering its establishment date (1997) vis-à-vis the number of titles it has published, Semerkand is a rapidly-growing newcomer in the Islamic publishing field. The quality of print in its books and periodicals as well as the commercial profile it presents in its online platforms suggest a professional approach and significant financial and cultural investment.

4.5.3.4 Flashing vs. Flourishing: İskenderpaşa and İsmailağa

Compared to other Nakşi groups, İskenderpaşa follows a remittent course in the field of print activities. The group takes its name from the mosque in the Fatih district of Istanbul where the late sheikh Mehmet Zahid Kotku (1897-1980) served and preached from 1958 until his death. His successor and son-in-law Mahmut Esad Coşan (1938-2001) encouraged initiatives in the field of print as well as economic enterprises in the fields of education, health, and other media sectors. The monthly magazine *Islam* started to be published in 1983 and stayed in print until 1998. After 1985, *Kadın ve Aile* (Woman and Family) and *İlim ve Sanat* (Science and Art) started to be published by the same group. Seha Neşriyat was founded to print books, and foremost among them were the books of Mehmet Zahid Kotku and M. Esad Coşan. I was unable to find information about the foundation or the closure date of Seha. The books of Seha Neşriyat are not currently available on the market, and book sales platforms such as Kitapyurdu.com list less than a hundred titles. The current publishing company, which is called Server, is an incorporated company dealing with communications, counseling, advertising, journalism, and publication.[71]

Currently, the publishing house prints basically Qur'ans (in different sizes), a prayer collection (known as *Evrad-ı Şerife*), and the books of M. Zahid Kotku (13 titles) and M. Esad Coşan (16 titles) in addition to a hadith collection, some works on Islamic history, and some *siyer* books of Islamic literature. Compared to other publishing houses, Server's primary business is to maintain the books of the sheikhs of the community on the market. While prioritizing missionary objectives, this objective is supported by diversifying its

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71 Server Yayınları, "Ana Sayfa" accessed August 10, 2017, https://www.serveryayinlari.com/.

product line with frequently sold books such as the Qur'an and prayer collections. Similar to other publishing companies, its website also functions as an online bookstore.

One of the groups in Turkey that claims a Nakşi Sufi genealogy is the group known as İsmailağa or the Çarşamba cemaati – references to the name of their mosque in the former, and the name of the neighborhood where they commonly reside, in the latter. Due to the group's opposition to the official institutions of the social and political system (including state bureaucracy and schools), most adherents prefer self-employment rather than ascending bureaucratic, public sector, and academic positions. When it comes to their print activities, compared to other Sufi groups and Islamic communities in Turkey, the members of İsmailağa have not maintained well-established, lasting brands. However, my research identified seven publishing companies related to the community or that print the books of leading figures affiliated with the group.

These include Arifan Yayınları, Yasin Yayınevi, Siraç Yayınları, Ahıska Yayınları, Dila Yayınevi, Lalegül Yayıncılık, and Cüppeli Ahmet Hoca Yayıncılık. The last one only publishes the books of Ahmet Mahmut Ünlü, known as Cüppeli Ahmet hoca. Actually, except for Yasin Yayınevi, these publication houses have only published a dozen or couple dozen books. And even though there are websites dedicated to these companies, which are designed as online book sale sites, no information with regard to their date of establishment, owners, other details, or even complete catalogues are available. Despite the different brand names, they publish the same type of books as those penned by Ahmet Mahmut Ünlü. The dates and motives behind these separate commercial entities, are untraceable via internet sources and accessible documents. Cüppeli Ahmet Hoca Yayıncılık publishes exclusively Ahmet Mahmut Ünlü, which include more than seventy titles.

Ahıska publishes a Qur'an exegesis and other books of Mahmut Ustaosmanoğlu (b. 1929) the sheikh of the community. Yasin Yayınevi publishes different genres and subjects of books but focuses exclusively on Islamic literature. Books used for learning and teaching Arabic as well as classical madrasa books on fiqh, siyer, Islamic history, and other subjects such as tasavvuf take place among the contributions to Islamic literature preferred by this

publishing house. The community publishes a monthly magazine with the same name *İsmailağa* since 2016. Other monthly journals in publication since 2012 are *Marifet* and *Lalegül*. There is also a radio station called Lalegül FM that has been broadcast since 2005. The addition of new brands to the market and the differentiation of products for specific genres (like magazines) hints at intracommunity diversifications and divisions, as well.

While İskenderpaşa seems flashing in print market and İsmailağa trying to gain ground with small initiatives, both communities focus on certain type of books and specific figures as authors, implying their intensive publishing model with both commercial and missionary concerns.

4.5.3.5   Other Sufi Publishers

In addition to these more popular Sufi groups, there are some noteworthy print activities by small, local Sufi organizations. Among the publishers founded by Nakşi groups is Mavi (Blue) Yayıncılık of the Yahyalı group, which refers to the town of central Anatolian city of Kayseri, residence of the former sheikh Hacı Hasan Efendi (1914-1987) and the current sheikh Ali Ramazan Dinç (b. 1955). Though the number of titles printed by Mavi Publishing is less than a hundred in more than a decade, the spectrum of authors and subjects are diverse.[72]

Another publisher, *Reyhani Yayıncılık*, publishes the books of Seyda Muhammed Konyevi, a sheikh born in the south-eastern city of Mardin in 1942 who settled in Konya after serving the sheikh of Menzil and receiving the *icazet* (permission) for *irşad* (guidance) and right to succeed him, in 1990.[73] It is unclear when Reyhani Publishing Company was founded; however, a majority of the books it published (almost 90 percent) are those of Muhammed Konyevi. The group owns a monthly magazine called *İslami Hayat* (Islamic Life) which has been in print since 2012, the radio station Konyevi Radyo that has been broadcasting since 2012, and the web platform Konyevi.Net that includes audio-visual media of the conversations of the sheikh and other materials.

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72   I estimate the foundation date as 1997 given the earliest print date of its books. No more precede information could be acquired from company's website and other, related platforms.

73   Konyevi.Net "Seyda Konyevi Hazretlerinin Hayatı," accessed August 30, 2017, http://konyevi.org/seyda-hazretleri/seyda-konyevi-hazretlerinin-hayati/13548/.

Another intensive publisher focusing on the works of primarily a single figure is Hakikat Yayıncılık, which belongs to the group known by the name of their publishing house, "Hakikatçılar." They are a small group that followed the late sheikh Ömer Öngüt (1927-2010) who founded a *dergah* (lodge) in Adapazarı and claimed maintaining irşad activities. During his lifetime he published more than thirty books and several dozen pocket books. Since 1993, the group also has published a monthly magazine with the same name, *Hakikat* (Truth). Except for the Qur'an and its translation, the publishing house prints exclusively the books of Ömer Öngüt, even after his death. Öngüt's most significant feature is his enthusiasm for declaring that almost all other Islamic groups – mainly the Gülenists, other Nurcu groups, Süleymancıs, the İsmailağa group, and Necmettin Erbakan and his Welfare Party, and many other small organizations – are un-Islamic. His denunciation resembles the *tekfir* (excommunication) of extremists, which is unlike to the approach and style of Sufi groups in general. His followers consider him to be the hatm'ül evliya (the final,ultimate saint) and his grave has been turned into a *türbe* (shrine) by his followers.[74]

While I was writing this dissertation, I have also examined the web portals of pioneering publishing houses as well as the largest online book sale platforms. Previously, publishing houses usually had their own websites and provided information regarding their foundation and general history, however, many later changed their websites into broader online marketing sites and deleted most of this information that they had previously provided. While some maintain their individual websites, getting up-to-date information about institutional actors in the publication sector and their commercial and social histories has become more difficult. For commercial purposes, some publishers diversified their products to include gifts and other materials. This also made it difficult to obtain straightforward information about the books since the websites were not research friendly with respect to information provided in the entries and the ability to filter research criteria. In fact, this development

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74 Son Dakika Haberler, "Cemaat Önderinin Kabri Türbeye Dönüştürüldü" *Milliyet*, September 16, 2011, http://www.milliyet.com.tr/cemaat-onderinin-kabri-turbeye-donusturuldu-gundem-1439294/.

reveals a prioritization of commercial concerns in the religious publishing business which had gained traction in recent years. It is possible to interpret this trend as an effort to present more ideology-free profile and detain from direct linkage with specific religious and political groupings.[75]

In this regard, despite the fact that several publishing houses in the 1970s and the 1980s conducting their business out of concern for a da'wa (mission), in recent decades, they have evolved to adopt semi-commercial and commercial modes of operation. Among publication houses that still try to respond to the needs of a particular community, the issues of religious education, understanding fundamental sources, and religious children's literature constitute the largest part of the books they published. This trend towards the commercialization of motives also signifies phenomena I discussed in the conclusion: Professionalization, hybridization and secularization.

All in all, one significant type of group actor in the field of print in Turkey is Sufi organizations. Since these brotherhoods and Sufi organizations have no legal entity, their companies are established by a person or group of people in the form of corporate or limited company and are usually run by people close to the order. Independent of the economic capacity or size of a group, it is symbolic and social capital that drives the production of books – even in limited numbers. And maintaining the distribution of those books through official market structures or intra group networks are a basic mission and objective of most of these print companies. Economic profit from the sales of books usually function as a secondary benefit of such business activity.

Both extensive and intensive publishing models can be observed among Nurcu publishers. Nevertheless, most are prone to expanding their publishing business and enriching the spectrum of their books, within the except of those dedicated to the reproduction of the works of Said Nursi or a particular one of his disciples. On the other hand, most of the Sufi publishers continue their business with intensive publishing model. They focus on the dispersion of the works and speeches of the religious leader to whom they adhere or to books

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75   In this regard, though being a very recent phenomenon, the experience of the case of Gülenists and its impact on the social and religious milieu of Turkey needs further exploration with regard to the transformation of communities' self-perceptions and relations with the public.

covering some aspect of Sufism, from classical to contemporary studies. Crucially, promotion of the Sufi understanding of Islam is their main motivation and mission.

To sum up, in Turkey from the early years of the Republic forward, print has constituted an alternative public sphere for a plurality of actors. While state and public actors have survived comparatively longer in the field, there have been plenty of private actors with diverse business models, motivations for Islamic printing, and publication types and contents. The general trend among private actors has been towards professionalization in terms of business organization and plurality oin terms of texts produced. However, most of the time, economic, social and symbolic capital employed by these private actors has been directly or indirectly linked to established religious orders, organizations, and authority figures famous for their spiritual or religious knowledge. Therefore, the existence of some independent individual actors notwithstanding, a remarkable number of the actors that dominate the print field are not independent of existing organizations in the sophisticated Turkish social and socio-religious milieu.

Though community initiatives comprise the plurality of actors in the field, they also open doors for sectarianism. What I mean by sectarianism is the use of print and publishing to promote the exclusive image and economic and social welfare of a smaller community entity rather to join a wider human, economic, or symbolic enterprises, to nourish a more inclusive mission, or to promote a wider identity. The secondary benefits of competition to attract more followers is to gain more religious prestige, authority, and money. Such conflict among doctrinal trends and communal orders also transforms the public space into a market of ideas and the field of religious knowledge into a market of printed religious items and media. Practical (monetary issues or problems with running the business) and ideological conflicts often end with the formation of new enterprises, and print is considered a field of ideological battle as well as a showcase that serves the public visibility of a figure or group claiming some sort of religious or symbolic authority in the wider field of religious knowledge and learning. Overproduction of particular books is motivated by the desire to dominate the intellectual arena with specific texts and to reach as

many bystander-readers as possible to gain more followers. Nevertheless, despite the fact that the cases of Turkey fundamentally differs in the size and structure from the case of Mali considered in Zappa's study, the Islamic print field in Turkey, like the social context of Mali's Islamic bookshops, demonstrate "a deeper acceptation of coexistence of different Islamic identities, and…consensus on some sort of common denominator."[76] Nevertheless, despite the appetite of various actors linked to established religious orders and of the defendants of mainstream religious doctrines to dominate the field, print is a field where independent individual initiatives can be effective and gain a wide and audience depending on the content they produce and the way their businesses are organized. As a result, actors dominating the field with their abundant products are usually communitarian initiatives mostly in line with Nurcu and Sufi traditions.

As discussed earlier, compared to the early decades of the Republic, Nakşi actors make enormous efforts to gain more visibility and be more active in the field by outsizing other Sufi groups. For sociologists like Şerif Mardin, Nurcu actors can also be evaluated under a wider concept of Nakshbandi. Although their theological understanding with regard to basic tenets of Islam and ways of practicing it are similar, their current position in the socio-religious milieu in Turkey and their own definitions and perceptions with regard to their identities and religious discourse led me to treat them as separate traditions and schools. Despite the similarities between their activities in civil society, their ways of organization and religious lexicon differ.

With regard to their print activities, one point they have in common is a tendency to establish print and other media business once they attain sufficient economic and human capital. And after becoming considerably visible and effective in the public realm and after gaining power and new types of capital to rule over different social settings, they tend to grow their businesses beyond national boundaries and become transnational actors operating on more sophisticated lanes and manners.

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76   Francesco Zappa, "Between Standardization and Pluralism: The Islamic Printing Market and Its Social Spaces in Bamako, Mali," in *New Media and Religious Transformations in Africa*, ed. Rosalind I. J. Hackett and Benjamin F Soares (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2015), 53.

5

Religious Knowledge as Milieu of Power: Print as Game Changer

> *There are three types of reading: Reading of the language is recitation (kıraat), reading of the mind is contemplation (tefekkür), and reading of the heart is life.*
>
> – Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, *Ihya Ulum al-Din (Revival of Religion's Sciences)*

In this chapter I delve into the discussions around the social, religious, and cognitive impacts of print, the changes occurred around print and publishing activities, and the role of reading and consuming materials on Muslim theology, mentality, and identity. In the introduction to this dissertation, I introduced three basic debates or arguments that are taken for granted regarding the impact of printing in Islamic contexts. The first is the orality versus literacy discussion, which developed around knowledge transfer and learning methods; the second is the ulema versus new Muslim intellectual discussion that developed around religious authority; and the third concerns Islamic reformism or the emergence of both Salafi and modernist tendencies, which accompanied individualist, scripturalist, and rationalist discursive and practical approaches, which is to say, a transformation that developed around

understanding and living of religion and religious discourse and practice as formulated by the term religiosity. In this regard, I discuss three dimensions of those changes in the frameworks of transformations with respect to authority, pedagogy, and religiosity. In line with these discussions, I share related results from my empirical findings and observations regarding the authors, and producers of texts that prevailed in the print Islam field in Turkey.

§ 5.1   Transformation of Pedagogy

Despite the fact that the basic concern of this study is related to print materials and the production and dissemination of books, reading activity in Turkey is not always independent of speaking and listening – that is, from oral activities. In many ways, reading and speaking or listening and writing are interrelated and coexist in certain settings. Books sometimes function to keep the sohbet and sermon tradition vivid, updated, easy manageable, and organized. As Michael Lambek accurately stated, "texts by themselves are silent; they become socially relevant through their enunciation, through citation, through acts of reading, reference, and interpretation."[1]

In the pre-print period, the practices of reading had different qualities such as the prevalence of collective reading aloud. In that period, face-to-face gatherings in mosques, private houses, and Sufi lodges to read books, discuss Islamic issues, or perform *zikr* and other Sufi rituals constituted basic forms of oral pedagogy in public space. In the case of Turkey, even though such publicities were strictly controlled or purged by the state authority in the Republican period, they continued to exist underground on limited occasions.

Despite a general transformation in the sovereign medium of communication, the expansion of printed material did not necessarily erode the oral form of knowledge transmission and learning - at least not for the majority among pious population. Given the widespread "sohbet" or "dersane" tradition among not only Nurcu groups but also other Sufi and Islamic groups in Turkey, it can be seen that these printed materials or books are "consumed" in

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1   Michael Lambek, "Certain Knowledge, Contestable Authority: Power and Practice on the Islamic Periphery," *American Ethnologist* 17, no. 1 (1990), 23.

a collective way by reading and studying them collectively. Reading aloud, commenting upon, interpreting, and explaining the text of *Risaleler* and other Sufi books are the most common methods and style of *sohbet*. Especially the books of Nursi are read and explained to newcomers and less-experienced readers by more experienced, well-learned readers of the *Risale*s. Moreover, such reading activity functions as a kind of checks and balances system for individual, private reading and comprehension. What is expected to emerge from individual, private reading is dictated by or brought to the fore in these sohbets or collective reading sessions. Hence, orality matters even for communities that are basically formed around a particular text or set of books. This is because a text is not merely a text; a text always embodies the potential for multiple meanings and interpretations in different contexts and minds. The text can speak in different manners to different readers. Hence, the standardization of meaning is not provided by the printed material alone but by its decoding, interpretation and understanding in oral (sohbet) activities.

In the absence of skilled, charismatic preachers or orators, books help sohbet leaders or *dai* and *daiya*-like figures[2] presided over the religious *sohbet*s and courses. All communities produce their own texts or books to help their teaching activities. As Brinley Messick underscores, the privileging of the spoken word or "culturally specific logocentrism" in Muslim societies served the conveyance of "an authoritative genuineness of expression by replicating an originally voiced presence."[3] Furthermore, "while recitation was thought to maintain a reliable constancy of meaning, the secondary medium of writing was seen as harboring a prospect of misinterpretation."[4] Therefore, devout followers or *mürid*s attended seminars to dismiss the possibility of misunder-

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2 See, Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2005). In Turkish, religious figures who preach, engage in *tebliğ* (propogation) and *irşad* (guidance) activities, or offer religious courses or seminars to common people are called *vaiz* (preacher) or *vaize* (female preacher), *hoca* (teacher) or *hoca hanım* (madame teacher).

3 Messick, *Calligraphic State*, 25.

4 Messick, 26.

standings and set themselves free from the sin of such knowingness. Moreover, books in manuscript format started to find place in oral pedagogical and cultural settings long before the introduction of print materials.

In his book, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices*, Konrad Hirschler underlines that the rise of a literate mentality and the textualization of society can be observed from thirteenth century onwards. He emphasizes that oral forms of transmission and aural modes of reception started to change, and textualization brought about the dominance of visual modes of writing and reading.[5] He opposes scholarship that positions the rise of print technology "as the pivotal and all-transforming process that supposedly changed notions of authority and readership" and puts forth the argument that "from the 13th century onwards, the changes led towards a media culture in the pre-print era where new audiences for the written text had emerged before printing was introduced."[6] Besides criticizing arguments that written and literate culture and learning systems emerged alongside printed text, he stresses that the relative loss of the authority of scholars or political elites is not such a novel phenomenon as claimed by some scholars. He writes;

> the double processes of textualization and popularization started to affect in one way or other the near monopoly by scholarly and administrative elites on the written word as wider groups in the population started to use a mode of communication that was endowed with increasing cultural and social authority.[7]

Additionally, the impact of print cannot be thought of separately from the expansion of mass education and schooling systems. Even though mass education developed dramatically since the nineteenth century, in the case of Turkey, the rate of literacy had barely reached 40 percent by the second half of the

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5   Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices*.

6   Hirschler, 201.

7   Hirschler, 200, 201.

twentieth century (1960).[8] This suggests that despite a certain degree of growth in literacy and the expansion of print materials, literacy and access to reading materials was still limited to educated segments of society. Collective reading practices promoted the extension of written texts to the illiterate via the agency of the literate people in the family, village, or neighborhood. Therefore, long before printing, people had a culture of textualization; however, in a rural collectivist culture, texts reached larger populations through such mechanisms.

Especially in the early decades of the Republic the sermons and even *hutbe*s delivered by prayer leaders, or other authority figures as well as sohbets by community leaders and sheikhs were one of the basic sources of text production. Moreover, such speeches and oral content fed early texts in print. One of the best seller of Turkish Islamic print, the *Risaleler* of Said Nursi, is the product of such process, and like the authors of classical period, Nursi used the method of *sam'a*, dictation to disciples who wrote them down, regulated, and edited those texts, and then copied them, initially with mimeographs and later with printing press.

At the cognitive level, the orality vs. literacy discussion can be linked to an ear to eye centric shift. Despite the fact that the role played by print "in re-shaping Muslim minds as they have moved from consciousness primarily formed by sound to consciousness primarily formed by sight"[9] is an under-explored territory, both mechanisms co-existed and fed each other on common ground in the sohbet culture of Turkey and *dirasa* culture common in Arab societies. As Robinson underscores,

> as print makes its way forward in these societies, it is rapidly being
> caught up by a second revolutionary force in information technology,
> the electronic media – wireless, telephone, television, video cassettes

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8   The official statistics of the time is given by numbers rather than percentages. According to 1960 census, of approximately 22,5 million total population 8 million 901 thousand are literate, corresponding to 39,5 percent. See *Türkiye İstatistik Yıllığı, Annuaire Statistique de La Turquie* (Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1963), 62.

9   Messick, *The Calligraphic State*, 250.

etc. The electronic media... give a new lease of life to the oral prefer-
ences of Muslims in the transmission of knowledge.[10]

Walter Ong describes this global transformation as the second age of orality.[11]
This change turned many communicational forms into hybrid ones, mostly by
bringing oral and written forms together. The prevalence of reading and pop-
ularity of printed texts requires further investigation, and printed books sub-
ject to extensive, mass readings need to be uncovered. In fact, the bibliometric
findings of this study pursue this. Following the expansion of private television
channels and the boom of internet usage in the 2000s, sheikhs, preachers, the-
ologians, and similar religious figures and intellectuals became popular in Tur-
key. These figures were eager to use these channels extensively.

People's rising communication with such figures through internet, televi-
sion, audiovisual media is relatively new, and the matter of sharing something
private in the public realm is related to the recent transformation of privacy
and its repercussions in the daily lives of ordinary Muslims. This is a separate
question and issue of concern. Nevertheless, books and mediated tools of
communication also helped the development of individual learning practices
outside formal and common pedagogical and reflexive practices of religion. A
non-typical example is a famous book of Ali Rıza Demircan (b.1947), a retired
preacher and author, entitled *İslam'da Cinsel Hayat* (Sexual life according to
Islam, first edition published in 1985). It has been expanded and reprinted
more than fifty times and translated into English, Russian, Azeri, and Uyghur
Turkish. As this example illustrates, books can compensate for a lack of per-
sonal or professional guidance and help people resolve their problems in their
daily lives based on the principles of religion while preserving the privacy. Be-
fore the development of televangelism - that is to say, the reproduction of re-
ligious orality through radio, television, and the internet -, books had numer-
ous social functions in the mediation of religious knowledge.

Today, those religious figures compete to increase their visibility on broad-
cast media and internet channels such as YouTube, Facebook, and other social

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10   Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print," 250.

11   Ong, *Orality and Literacy*.

media in order to expand their audience, their symbolic and religious authority, and the community network that they built.

To sum up, just as oral forms of knowledge production significantly contributed to text production in the Turkish religious milieu, books in written or printed forms served both solo and collective learning processes and were employed as supporting materials. For certain texts considered authoritative in their fields of learning, collective rather than individual reading and discussion is encouraged. This is related to traditional elitism, which eves the massification or popularization of knowledge and books with hesitancy and suspicion. Intermediary figures running sohbets and collective reading sessions assist ordinary Muslims in the reception of texts, and in turn, control the impact of the discourse on their hearts and minds.

§ 5.2   Transformation of Authority

Almost all anthropologists and historians who discuss the impact of print technology in different parts of the Muslim world and in different periods of contemporary history, agreed that the authority of the ulema, traditionally educated scholarly elites, was undermined as a result of mass literacy, the adoption of modern educational institutions, and the objectification and pluralization of religious knowledge that accompanied print mediated text and knowledge production.

While Frances Robinson formulates this change – that is, the replacement of the ulema as sources of knowledge and counseling with printed texts as "the erosion of the authority of ulama as interpreters of Islam,"[12] Eickelman et al. speak about the contribution of new communicative communities to "a fragmentation of political and religious authority."[13] That is to say, increasingly literate and educated Muslim subjects apply to books or text that they consider as guides in regulating their faith and conducting their pious lives. [14]

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12   Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change," 244.

13   Eickelman and Anderson, "Print, Islam, and the Prospects for Civic Pluralism," 45.

14   Interestingly, long before Western academia, Abdullah Cevdet (d. 1932), a prominent member of secular Ottoman intelligentsia declared the diminishing symbolic power of the ulema due

Print led to the diversification of actors producing knowledge about Islam in Muslim societies, and new figures of authority emerged in time. Moreover, figures at the periphery became more visible and influential in the new public space.

While print created new actors and changed the impact of existing ones in various ways, the issue of print and religious book massification remained controversial. It is apparent that uncontrolled massification of books through the use of print technology led to concerns in a tradition where not only religious but any form of knowledge is attended with care so that it is delivered to the proper people. As much as the accuracy of the knowledge itself, the wisdom, capacity, and maturity of the person studying and learning it are also basic elements of the Islamic *ilm* tradition. Therefore, the massification of knowledge transfer channels and tools have been met with suspicion and caution from the beginning since it allows the spread of knowledge to those who do not realize its worth (see the discussion related to the late adoption of print by Islamic societies in Chapter 2).

However, one needs to be cautious before generalizing about the impact of print on religious authority. Among those in Muslim majority societies that first enthusiastically used print technology were people from the ulema class as was the case in India, Egypt, and even the Ottoman Empire. As Robinson points out, the ulema of Indian subcontinent did not become so influential in its history until turning print into a weapon in their struggle to position themselves as defenders of Muslim culture and values.[15] Likewise, Amit Bein makes a similar observation:"The printed word was employed extensively by ulema of all persuasions to disseminate their views and mobilize public support.

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to the print and the press revolution. He wrote: "The mosque pulpits are no longer the only intellectual centers, no longer the only educators: [now they include] books, magazines, in short, the press; this European institution dramatically decreased the influence of ulama." Brett Wilson translated and quoted these writings of Cevdet from Dücane Cündioğlu. See Wilson, *Translating Quran in an Age of Nationalism,* 134.

15 Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change," 244-5.

They founded new journals, contributed articles to the daily press, and published scores of books and pamphlets."[16] The use of printing technology has been legitimized by the "sacred" causes of spreading the word of Allah and Islam and fighting intellectual attacks on Muslims and Islam by using the same tools used to resist colonial and imperial exploitation of Muslim lands and minds. Press and print were a venue for both the ulema and emerging new Muslim intellectuals to articulate their views, whether to propound traditional stances or reformist ideas. The responses as well as reactions oscillated across a wide spectrum. In Bein's words,

> the burgeoning press allowed all sides to reach new audiences beyond the confines of traditional forms of oral communication in mosques, medreses and social gatherings. Pundits and activists competed for influence over public opinion, for leverage in the political arena, and for authority within the religious establishment.[17]

After the development and adaptation of print as a tool for the transmission of religious knowledge and discourse, knowledge producers gained the opportunity to reach many more people – namely those who can read and understand the text and who can reach the book through a dissemination process that transcended the spatial hinterland of a mosque or madrasa and allowed it to arrived in private homes and hands. Thus, the progress of print technologies granted Muslim intellectuals and scholarly circles the chance to reach the hearts and minds of larger populations and to mobilize and influence them ideologically and politically by building author-reader relationships. This process continued in the twentieth century with the addition of numerous tools and forms of communication, as Eickelman underscores,

> This multiplicity of communicative forms offers more rapid and flexible ways of building and sustaining contact with constituencies-and

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16   Amit Bein, *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic: Agents of Change and Guardians of Tradition* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2011), 35.

17   Bein, 36.

for sharing views-than was available in earlier decades. This combination of new media and new contributors to religious and political debate fosters awareness on the part of all actors of the diverse ways in which Islam and Islamic values can be created.[18]

While the social and political status of religious authority figures may have been weakened, authority can also be maintained through texts even in the absence of the author. Indeed, texts can serve to sustain and preserve authority in the physical absence of an author who is respected and considered wise and knowledgeable. Indeed, reading a specific text and especially reading in a group can be considered a form of submission to the authority of the author. It also makes the author immortal. Each time a pupil or follower reads and struggles to understand the word and cause behind the discourse of an *üstad* or sheikh, it reiterates their authority and makes the authority continuous. Authority is no longer dependent on the body of the author; instead the text recalls the non-existent body even after his death. The text itself turns into the virtual space of authority and status.

Martin Lambek successfully explains how religious study and pouring over basic texts are considered quintessential act of piety and increase one's demonstrated virtue in an Islamic society. In his study of the interplay of textual and personal authority with reference to texts, readers, and moral community in Mayotte, Lambek argues that "scholarship is a basis for authority, yet this occurs not because the scholar is deemed to have control over his knowledge, but rather because he ought to be more likely than others to recognize and accept its control over himself and his fellows."[19] He conceptualizes this as an inversion of the postmodern understanding that authority is inscribed in the text by the author, that is "the text's authority which is enacted in the scholar's life."[20] However, with the spread of knowledge through print,

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18   Dale F Eickelman, "Qur'anic Commentary, Public Space, and Religious Intellectuals in the Writings of Said Nursi," *The Muslim World* 89, no. 3–4 (1999), 267-8.

19   Michael Lambek, "Certain Knowledge, Contestable Authority: Power and Practice on the Islamic Periphery," *American Ethnologist* 17, no. 1 (1990), 29.

20   Lambek, 29.

such an evaluation regarding the unity of authority over text and text's authority over self, became less possible. Lambek defines Islam as "orthopraxy rather than orthodoxy," to attain or claim authority, coexistence of personal and textual authority and proving one's command of both knowledge and proper behavior and acts of piety is essential.

Even in the twentieth century, those active in publishing business came from traditional religious leaders or the ulema class. In the case of Turkey, even small, remote groups in the countryside tried to get the words of their leader printed and distribute it as much as possible. This can be understood based on the principle that diffusion of religious knowledge is a religious requirement, as Lambek underscores.[21] That is to say, a claim to religious knowledge necessitates the sharing of such knowledge with fellow Muslims. When the tools grow, then the responsibilities of authority figures expand. Giving sermons and dispersing them with all accessible technologies (tape cassettes to radios, television channels and the internet), penning books, and responding to fatwa queries via different mediums happen are among the religious tasks. The authority changed shape and transcended its traditional format. Like the sublimation of solid substance, authority is no more zipped and jammed in the form of one-to-one relationships limited by space. The authority can now float in different geographical and mental/cognitive spaces in either textual (printed) or audio-visual formats. This phenomenon can be considered an extension and enlargement of authority or as the sublimation of authority. No longer as concrete or visible as before, it is not easy to determine its areas and magnitude of influence. Its extension or enlargement is related to its substantive transformation, but its density (impact factor) is open to discussion and incalculable.

In addition to this transformation or extension of existing authority in new forms, print also provided new forms and loci of authority for those who had not enjoyed such a charisma or popularity before due to the limits of access or requirements of Islamic orthopraxy. That is to say, indirect addressing through texts undermined the question of harmony between the words and deeds of the author. Therefore, those brialliant in rhetoric or writing could bypass the

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21   Lambek, 29.

communal inspection system that insured the convergence of discourse and practice. This authority enjoyed through ideas and textual discourse was a new secularization of the traditional form.

To conclude, in neither the Ottoman nor Republican periods, was there a monolithic bloc of ulema or religious intellectuals. The category of Muslim intellectual is a more recent phenomenon or conceptualization. Today, especially in a country like Turkey where traditional religious education has either been completely dismantled or has survived only in small, underground initiatives, it is not easy to label or relegate religious intellectual and scholarly figures to a specific category. Moreover, the authority that is assumed to be erased or vanished is the pedagogical authority to transmit knowledge on a private basis. Parallel with changes to the educational system, actors and their positions evolved to adopt new formats. In the case of Turkey, despite the abolishment of madrasa system and establishment of secular educational institutions, some müderrises of the previous regime continued to teach the newly founded secular institutions.[22] Those in the justice system usually continued to be considered experts in the new regime, as well.[23] Even in the transition from Ottoman polity to a republican one, remnants of the old ulema developed different reactions to the new atmosphere. Some supported it and took suitable roles in the new system (see Babanzade Ahmed Naim, Ali Özek, Ebul Ala Mardin, and Şerafettin Yaltkaya), others isolated themselves from all public positions to undertake private writing or reading activity or underground teaching, while yet others were forced to live in exile. Some pursued the goal to do as much good as possible in the existing sociopolitical conditions (see Ahmet Hamdi Akseki). Interestingly one of such "quietist" ulema members was Elmalıllı Muhammed Hamdi Yazır (1878-1942), who was assigned by order of Mustafa Kemal to pen an interpretation of Qur'an for the Republican government. Similarly, Babanzade Ahmet Naim (1872-1934) who taught philosophy, logic, and ethics classes at Darulfünun until 1933, was an among the first group assigned to translate *Tecrid-i Sarih*, a classical hadith collection.

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22 Benjamin C Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

23 Mardin, *Türkiye, İslam ve Sekülarizm*, 53.

In the Turkish context, various attacks targeting ulema were largely related to political and social reforms initiated by the Ottoman government in the nineteenth century. The religious establishment also assumed a share of the increased bureaucratization of the administrative structures in the empire, giving some of its authority to the centralized government. However, as Amit Bein asserts, due to the government's efforts to integrate "unofficial" ulema and Sufi sheikhs into the system, "the official religious establishment grew in real terms" (as a result of the employment of many ulema in new courts and modern schools), but the "relative weight and importance of ulema within state apparatus was on decline by the turn of the twentieth century."[24]

As a consequence of the new avenues of change in the social, economic, and political realms following the Young Turk Revolution, the new loci of public opinion and political activism (mainly the press) engaged various camps of elites in long debates with society.

In the new secular setting, a free market of ideas and discourses competed in the realm of discourse formation and the framing of ideas and practices. The print and publishing sector was an important tool and realm, but the multiplication of technology itself and globalization made the mediums variable and diverse. That is to say, those at the periphery before the Republic under the imperial system of religious learning and bureaucracy found new ways of becoming more visible and effective in a new public space that grew alongside the medium of print.

Consequently, the question of religious authority, the forms it took, and the ways it is exercised are much diverse and multifaceted. Discussing the identity of the ulema or the new religious intellectual is futile though members of both claimed authority in the print realm. What makes print and publishing activities important is the possibility and space they created for diverse actors by providing new realms of power, authority, and prestige in addition to dramatic influence in the religious field. Therefore, terms such as 'erosion' or 'fragmentation' employed to describe the changes in the sophisticated notion of authority are insufficient analysis of the phenomena.

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24 Bein, *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic*, 5.

5.2.1 *Authors or authorities?*

One of the bibliometric conclusions drawn from the data sets used in this study concerned authors that appeared most frequently in the records. The two data sets in question were evaluated separately and results were handled accordingly.

For the first period, 8.3 percent of the entries were recorded with no author name, Abu Hamid al-Ghazali was named most often. Following him, Şemseddin Yeşil, Ömer Nasuhi Bilmen, M. Kemal Pilavoğlu, Seyyid Qutb, A. Hamdi Akseki, Muhammed Vehbi, H. Hilmi Işık, M. Asım Köksal, and Muzaffer Özak were among the ten most common authors.

In this list, all except al-Ghazali and Seyid Qutb are local figures, and again with the exception of al-Ghazali, all are contemporaneous figures. Ghazali is a classical figure whose works are widely reprinted and published by various actors in the field. *İhya'u Ulum'id-din* (Revival of religious sciences), *Kimya-yi Saadet* (Chemistry of happiness), and *Eyyühel Veled* (O, Son!) are among his widely known and produced works. In fact, the popularity of Ghazali which extends from Ottoman Empire to the Republic, is a clue to the basic Islamic understanding in Turkey. As a classical figure, he outnumbers many contemporary authors and outbalances most authority figures in Islamic knowledge.

Seyid Qutb (d. 1966) was the author most translated in that period. Besides his works on Islamic thought, books he penned for children with Abdülhamid Cude es-Sehhar that narrated scenes from the lives of Islamic prophets were a popular series at the time. Qutb is an influential figure around the Islamic world whose works, which have been translated into local languages, are a flagbearer of Islamist thought in the twentieth century.

Ö. Nasuhi Bilmen, A. Hamdi Akseki, and Muhammed Vehbi Çelik (aka Mehmed Vehbi Efendi) can be described as representatives of the official Ottoman ulema class or at least its remnants.

A. Hamdi Akseki[25] (1887-1951) was the head of the Directorate of Religious Affairs from 1947 to 1951 and penned more than two dozen volumes during

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25   Süleyman Hayri Bolay, "Ahmet Hamdi Akseki," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İSAM Yayınları, 1989): v.2, 293-5.

his life. Beside popular pedagogical books reprinted several times, such as *Ya-vrumuza Din Dersleri* (Religion courses for our kids), *Askere Din Dersleri* (Re-ligion course for troops), *İslam Dini* (Religion Islam) and *Namaz Surelerinin Türkçe Tercüme ve Tefsiri,* (Turkish translation and interpretation of prayer chapters)[26] he also wrote less known books such as *İbni Sina Felsefesi* (Philos-ophy of Avicenna) and *İmam Gazalinin Ruh Nazariyesi* (Spirit theory of Imam al-Ghazali) covering classical Islamic philosophy. In the early decades of the Republic, the books of Akseki are reported as best sellers. For example, Gavin Brockett reports that Akseki's collection of sermons delivered over radio, *Moral and Religious Speeches on the Radio*, were distributed widely between 1951 and 1954 and sold as many as 628 thousand copies.[27] On the other hand, Bolay reports that *İslam Dini* (Religion Islam) sold more than one and a half million copies.[28] As discussed in the previous section, Akseki's stance towards the new regime provided him with both the legitimacy and authority to influ-ence Islamic text production in a period where such opportunities were rare and difficult.

Ö. Nasuhi Bilmen (1883-1971) was the mufti of Istanbul from 1941 to 1950 and also served as the head of the DRA for a short time. He completed his education in the Ottoman madrasa system and is the author of *Büyük İslam İlmihali* (Great catechism of Islam, a basic reference in *fıkıh* (Islamic law) in Turkey, at least before internet and television ulema. Despite being a volumi-nous book, more than two and a half million copies have been printed.[29] Cur-rently, at least six publishing houses (including Semerkand, Yasin, Çelik, Ka-raca, Ravza, and Şamil) continue to print and publish *Büyük İslam İlmiha*li in different formats (some losing a simplified language due to heavy reliance on Ottoman Turkish in the original text).

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26 In Turkish tradition, the last ten chapters of the Qur'an are known as prayer chapters and are widely taught and memorized as daily prayer recitations. Centuries ago, for Turkish-speaking (non-native to Arabic) society, these short recitations were selected and adopted as themes of common literary learning for the practice of observing rituals.

27 Brockett, *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk*, 123.

28 Bolay, "Ahmet Hamdi Akseki," 294.

29 Rahmi Yaran, "Ömer Nasuhi Bilmen," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İSAM Yayınları, 1992): v.6, 162-3.

Mehmed Vehbi Efendi (1862-1949) is the parliamentarian from Konya in both *Meclis-i Mebusan* in the Ottoman period and in the first National Assembly of the Republic. He also served as the minister of *Şeriyye ve Evkaf* (Islamic Law and Religious Endowments). His political life ended with the annulment of First Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1923. He was born in the Hadim district of Konya where he completed his madrasa education. He received his *icazet* from *Darul Hilafe* and played an active role in the *Kuva-yı Milliye* (National Forces) movement. His most important work is the *tefsir* (Qur'anic exegesis) he penned under the name *Hulasat-ül Beyan*.[30]

M. Asım Köksal (1913-1998) was educated in the secular school system and long served as an officer in different branches of the DRA, but he is mostly known for his 18 volume *İslam Tarihi* (History of Islam) and his books on the life of Muhammad. He can be described as self-educated in the field of religion, though A. Cüneyt Köksal reported that he attended the courses of the late sheikhs Fazlullah Rahimi Efendi and İbrahim Ethem Gerçekoğlu.[31] Neither was from the traditional ulema class and as he was not a sheikh hhimself, Köksal constitutes an exclusive case. His education and profession make him one of the earliest examples of the "new Muslim intellectual," as defined by Olivier Roy and others.[32]

With respect to the remaining four figures, all are affiliated with Sufi Islamic groups and claim some sort of leadership position. H. Hilmi Işık was a retired military officer known as the leader of a Nakşi group called Işıkçılar. Kemal Pilavoğlu was the acclaimed leader of the Ticani tarikat in that period. Şemseddin Yeşil, known as Yeşil Hoca, was a member of Qadiriyya and Akbariyya orders. Muzaffer Özak himself ran a *sahhaf* (second-hand bookshop) and was sheikh of Halveti Sufi order. Considering this picture, it is possible to claim that the most widespread authors in the field were ulema or scholars

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30 Remzi Ateşyürek, "Mehmed Vehbi Efendi," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İSAM Yayınları, 2003): v.28, 540-1.

31 A. Cüneyt Köksal, "Mustafa Asım Köksal," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İSAM Yayınları, 2002): v.26, 235-6.

32 See Olivier Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), Michael E. Meeker, "The New Muslim Intellectuals in the Republic of Turkey," in *Islam in Modern Turkey*, ed. Richard Tapper (London: I.B. Tauris, 1994), 189–219.

who laid claim to a certain authority over religious knowledge through education, those who claimed authority on religious knowledge and practice via *intisab* (affiliation) with a traditional Sufi circle, and sheikhs. In Bein's conceptualization, they were either official (central) ulema or unofficial (peripheral) ulema. Interestingly, those in the second group usually served as preachers or prayer leaders in the official system of religious affairs, and in some cases, they fell into conflict with Republican authorities as was the case for Şemseddin Yeşil. Another of their common feature was their efforts and initiatives in the field of publication and related fields. Besides penning books and articles, they took active role in running print houses, publishing periodicals, or running bookstores.

Though all these figures and the reception of their works deserve close study, Brockett singles out Şemseddin Yeşil and Kemal Pilavoğlu as two important figures of early republican period. The periodicals *Hakikat Yolu* (Path of truth) and *İslamiyet* (Islam) were the mouthpieces of Şemseddin Yeşil. Kemal Pilavoğlu, on the other hand, authored most of the content of *İlahi Işık* (Divine light), a semi-monthly newspaper published between 1966-1973. Brockett acknowledges that little is known about Pilavoğlu. He reports that he was arrested for operating a *tarikat* in 1943 and continued to publish literature on Islam despite claiming to have ended his involvement with the Ticani order. Brockett also reports that Pilavoğlu's *Din Rehberi* (Handbook of religion) was banned by the cabinet in 1949 but he continued to sell them at Friday prayers in villages.[33]

As for the most popular authors of the 1973-2010 period, the top ten are Said Nursi, al-Ghazali, Fethullah Gülen, Harun Yahya, Osman Nuri Topbaş, H. Hilmi Işık, Imam Rabbani, Arif Pamuk, Mustafa İslamoğlu, and Hasan Yavaş. The top twenty also includes Ahmet Mahmut Ünlü (known as Cüppeli Ahmet Hoca), Safvet Senih, Hekimoğlu İsmail, Hayreddin Karaman, Seyyid Qutb, M. Yaşar Kandemir, M. Kemal Pilavoğlu, Mevlana Halid Bağdadi, Haluk Nurbaki, and Mevdudi.

Among the top ten are two classical figures as Imam-ı Rabbani (famous among Turkish audiences) joins al-Ghazali. This reveals that al-Ghazali is one

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33   Brockett, *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk*, 185.

of the most published authors in Turkey irrespective of changing times and events. Ahmed Sirhindi (1564-1624), known as Imam-ı Rabbani, is the second classical figure popular in Turkey. He is both a Hanafi jurist and member of Naqshbandi Sufi order who lived in the Indian Mughal Empire. Both his Hanafi-Sunni and Naqshbandi-Sufi features and the fact that he was influenced by Ghazali provide clues about the widespread, mainstream understanding of Islam in Turkey, which can be deduced based on the popularity of his works in print Islam field. The two names on the lists covering both periods are al-Ghazali and H. Hilmi Işık.

H.H. Işık and the case of Hakikat Publications was explored in detail in the previous chapter as an example missionary-oriented intensive publishing by Sufi publishers. Hasan Yavaş is the author of *Namaz Kitabı* (Book of prayer), published by Hakikat which was reprinted so many times that it puts its author among the top ten even though he penned only two books and he is a well-known figure neither to the Turkish public nor researchers.[34] These two figures suggests that efforts to dominate the field by floding the market offering books for free bare fruit, at least in terms of excessive presence in the statistics. H. Hilmi Işık cannot be considered a popular sheikh given the low number of his followers in Turkey; however, his community's activity in the print and media business is extensive.

Fethullah Gülen and Harun Yahya (a pen name used by Adnan Oktar) are leaders of separate religious organizations, both involved in criminal activities, that used the print field as a tool of propaganda and imposed books allegedly penned by these leading figures on the market in thick and fast way. Among these figures, Safvet Senih is the penname of Abdullah Aymaz (b. 1949), a figure closely linked with Gülenist organization.[35]

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34 I only found unofficial accounts that Hasan Yavaş is a retired mufti, but he writes on religious issues at the daily newspaper *Türkiye* belonging to the Işıkçılar group.

35 Neither Gülenist initiatives nor those of Adnan Oktar are among the case studies since they deserve separate approach, conceptualization, and channels of access to their products because of their legal prosecution. Their existence in the field in question is mentioned as a matter of scholarly ethics.

O. Nuri Topbaş is the current sheikh of one of the Naqshbandi orders in Turkey and was also handled in detail in a related section in the previous chapter covering Sufi print actors.

Said Nursi is the most significant figure on the list who dominates the Islamic book field. While he was not among top ten of the first period, he became the number one in the top twenty of the second. This is related to the devotion of his followers to establishing publication business and producing books principally to spread *Risale-i Nur Külliyatı* (Collection of Light Tractates). This common target notwithstanding, divisions among his disciples after his death and ideational conflicts with respect to how to publish *Risaleler* ended with the emergence of different printing and publishing activities. Indeed, approaches to the printing and issues of interpretation are important part of the divisions among Nurcu groups. Moreover, most of these Nurcu groups are referred to by the names of their publishing organizations or periodicals such as the Nesil group, Yeni Asya group, Karakalem group, and Hayrat Neşriyat group. These groups are also discussed in detail in the section covering Nurcu print actors.

All the figures who ranked as statistically popular authors are in one way or another related to popular publishers, as well. Excluding the classical figures, the only exception is Mustafa İslamoğlu (b.1960), a theologian who studied both at the Divinity School in Kayseri, his central Anatolian hometown, and at the University of al-Azhar in Egypt. He penned more than thirty books including a contemporary *meal-tefsir* (enlarged translation-brief exegesis) of the Qur'an. He also owns a publishing house initially called Denge (balance) and then Düşün (reflection), where his books are the main works published.

Another point of note is that, except for the two classical figures, all on this list are local personas producing Islamic knowledge for a Turkish public. Even on the extended list, except for Mevlana Halid-i Bağdadi (1779-1827), an Iraqi Kurdish Sufi in the lineage of the Naqshbandi order, nine additional figures are contemporary. Except for Sayyid Qutb and Mawdudi, all are Turkish locals with varying backgrounds.

Just as for publishers, it is possible to make a similar, threefold distinction for authors and the mainstream schools of thought that prevailed in Islamic

knowledge and text production in Turkey. From the two data sets, I determined 26 unique names. However, in a top twenty considering the whole period (1923-2010), none of the popular authors from the first list are on the second except al-Ghazali, M. K. Pilavoğlu, Sayyid Qutb, and H. Hilmi Işık. Therefore, the second top twenty list corresponds to a list of the most frequent authors over the almost ninety years of the Republic. And if we categorize those twenty names as Sufi/Naqshbandi oriented, Nurcu-oriented, and Islamism-oriented, ten of the twenty (al-Ghazali, O. N. Topbaş, H. Hilmi Işık, İ. Rabbani, M.K. Pilavoğlu, H. Yavaş, A. M. Ünlü, M. Y. Kandemir, M. Halid Bağdadi, and Arif Pamuk) fall into the first category, six (S. Nursi, F. Gülen, H. Yahya, H. İsmail, S. Senih, and H. Nurbaki) into the second, and four (M. İslamoğlu, S. Qutb, E.A. Mawdudi, and H. Karaman) into the third.

Considering Şerif Mardin's evaluation that Nursi is the popular star of the Naqshbandi lineage and considering the epistemological and theological tradition to which he and his followers adhered, then it is possible to conclude that the mainstream Islamic line in Turkey is the traditional genealogy originating from al-Ghazali and Ahmad Sirhindi. Whether with respect to classical or contemporary figures, Hanafi, Sufi, Naqshbandi Islam is the dominant - even hegemonic - one in the field. On the other hand, while local ulema focused on traditional knowledge systems such as *fiqh*, *aqaid* and Qur'anic exegesis (A. Hamdi Akseki, Ö. Nasuhi Bilmen, and M. Vehbi) were popular authors of the early Republican period, their popularity vanished in time and some non-local and local figures of Islamism, reformist intellectuals (Qutb and Mawdudi), and theologians (İslamoğlu and Karaman) became the most common names in the Islamic book market.

Doubtlessly this quantitative analysis oversimplifies the picture by erasing the impact of tens or hundreds of small actors operating in the field. Nevertheless, these findings also make the picture more concrete and reveal a fundamental fact discussed in the introduction: The public visibility of Islam and the social existence and activities of Islamic groups, movements, and organizations in Turkey become the subject of scholarly debates irrespective of the analysis of their impact factor in society or in certain fields. The same is true for religious intellectuals and authority figures, as well. This research offers statistical figures for the production realm of the texts; the reception of those

texts and impact factor of those authors deserve further, comprehensive research. However, the findings provide clues about general trends and prevailing actors and authority figures, as well. From here, I turn to the discussions developed around how print changed ways of being Muslim and facilitated reformist and Salafi understandings of Islam as well as promoted Islamist thought in the political realm.

§ 5.3   Transformation of Religiosity

Translations of the works of the earliest reformers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century started in the Ottoman period. The earliest translations from Muhammad Abduh, Rashid Rida, and Muhammad Farid Wajdwere published in a famous periodical of time, *Sırat-ı Müstakim*.[36] How those ideas influenced the late Ottoman intelligentsia is not among the questions tackled by this study; however, the understanding that started to take shape in this period later continued, especially in the 1950s. In the first three decades of the Republic, the translations of modernist authors of Egypt and the Indian subcontinent continued alongside translations from western orientalists, although low in numbers.[37] Translations of literary classics of Islamic history under a wider translation initiative led by Minister of Education Hasan Ali Yücel can be added to the mix.[38] However, the total of such translations did not exceed a few dozen titles before the 1950s.

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36   For the Latinized reprint of the full collection of *Sırat-ı Müstakim* volumes, see M Ertuğrul Düzdağ, ed., *Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Yakın Tarihimizin Belgesi Sıratımüstakim Mecmuası 1908-1925*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Bağcılar Belediyesi, 2013). Up to now, seven volumes have been published, but all 641 issues of the periodical are planned to be completed in 25 volumes.

37   For a detailed description of the translation of Islamic texts in Turkey, see Yücel Bulut, "Türkiye'de İslamcılık ve Tercüme Faaliyetleri," in *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi ve Hareketi*, ed. İsmail Kara and Asım Öz (Istanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2013), 339–68. Bulut emphasizes the translations of Ömer Rıza Doğrul from Indian and Arab modernist authors as well as Western Orientalists in the single party period, but his translations were mostly published before 1928 using Ottoman Arabic script. Bulut, 350.

38   Kara, "Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Dini Yayıncılığın Gelişimi Üzerine Birkaç Not."

Insofar as the database can be relied upon, the first book translated from a contemporary Islamist author into Turkish in the republican period was Abu'l A'la Mawdudi's *Kelime-i Şehadet* (The Word of Shahada) which was published in 1957 after being translated by Hüseyin Atay.[39] Abu'l Hasan Ali Hasan an-Nadwi's[40] *Büyük İslam Şairi Muhammed İkbal* (The Glory of Iqbal) was also published that same year.

Interestingly, in the Republican period, the Islamist intelligentsia of Turkey introduced Indo-Pakistani figures before the figures affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, such as Hasan al-Banna and Seyyid Qutb. This is unexpected considering that Egypt, Syria, and other Middle Eastern countries were geographically and culturally closer to Turkey, were former lands of the Ottoman Empire, and had direct links with it until the early years of the Republic, as was the case with Egypt. Late Ottoman Muslim intellectuals were in contact with figures like Afghani and Rashid Rida, and Egypt was a natural shelter for those who were self-exiled in the early years of the Republic, such as national poet Mehmed Akif, and for those who were forced to leave, such as former Ottoman *şeyhülislam* Mustafa Sabri Efendi. Moreover, the existence of an institution like *al-Azhar* made Egypt a center of attraction for those in search of classical Islamic education and for those hoping to live in relatively free country with respect to religious practice in public life. Though Pakistan and contemporary Pakistani scholars and intellectuals were among the initial findings of the Turkish Islamist pioneers in search of texts and discourses that could be

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39   Hüseyin Atay (b. 1930) is a retired professor of theology from Ankara University who himself authored more than twenty books on diverse Islamic and theological issues, among which is a translation (*meal*) of the Qur'an. "Official Web Site of Prof. Huseyin Atay," accessed August 20, 2017, http://huseyinatay.com/Biyografi.html.

40   Abu'l Hasan Ali Hasan al-Nadwi is an Indian author (1914-1999) and a notable, twentieth-century Muslim scholars. He penned dozens of books in Arabic and Urdu which are translated into many other languages. In Turkish various publishing houses published and reprinted almost fifty of his books. For detailed information, see "Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi Center Official Web Site," accessed September 29, 2017, https://abulhasanalinadwi.org/.

imported from the Islamic world,[41] Turkish readers gradually became acquainted with leading figures of the Muslim Brotherhood and later of Iran.

The first translation of Seyyid Qutub appeared in 1962 under the title *İslamda Sosyal Adalet* (Social Justice in Islam). The choice does is not arbitraty considering the anti-communist political stance of the Turkish state in Cold War years, and many similar works promoting Islam as an alternative political and economic order vis-à-vis socialist and capitalist polities were translated and published in the same period. This trend and the reception of those works among the literate religious population deserves further inquiry and evaluation.[42]

İsmail Kara who works on the history of Islamism and Islamist thought in Turkey, draws attention to the publications of *Hilal Yayınları* (Crescent Publishing), the leading publishing house in translations from Islamic world, in its first ten years. He points that none of Hasan al Banna's books were among them. Kara claims that "probably the texts of Banna were removed from the enthusiasm, critique, radical outlook, and new religious interpretations that were being created in the period, and a remained as texts for preaching and education."[43] In other words, the works of Mawdudi, Sayyid Qutb, and related

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41 Based on research into one of the leading Islamist magazines of the 1950s, *Islam*, I reveal that Pakistan is the leading geographical term used in the magazine in that period. This is related to middlemen active in publishing business and an attempt to maintain intra-Muslim dialogue and communication with Muslim countries of the time. The political and international dynamics of the Cold war, decolonization processes, and the Saudi Arabia's King Faisal to establish relationships with Muslim organizations around the world canalized Turkish Islamists to Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. See Ayşen Baylak, "Soğuk Savaş Döneminde Ümmeti Tahayyül Etmek: İslam Dergisi ve İslam Aleminden Taşıdıkları," in *1960-1980 Arası İslamcı Dergiler*, ed. Ahmet Köroğlu and Vahdettin Işık (İstanbul: Nobel Yayıncılık, 2016). For personal narratives on the issue, see Ahmet Özer, *Seyyid Salih Özcan: Bediüzzaman'ın Hariciye Vekili* (İzmir: Işık Yayınları, 2011).

42 For a short work focusing on the works of Qutb in Turkish and reflection in Turkish readership, see Hamza Türkmen, "Seyyid Kutup Türkiye'de Nasıl Algılandı?," in *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi ve Hareketi*, ed. İsmail Kara and Asım Öz (Istanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2013), 369–78.

43 Kara, *Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Bir Mesele Olarak İslam 2*, 525.

figures such as Abdulkadir Udeh, and Said Havva were problematizing political issues: The possibility of an Islamic state and Islamic institutions and other socioeconomic issues at odds with contemporary problems and agendas.

As Kara discusses, "the existing religious knowledge, religious sensitivities, and religious life of religious people were interwoven with folk Islam, customs and traditions of which occasionally nested with national tendencies. However, new religious understanding that came with translations - with the harsh rhetoric they had- took position just across this folk Islam."[44] For new readers of this Islamist literature that was widely translated from contemporary Islamist figures, the *suya sabuna dokunmayan* (passivist or highly moderate) understanding held by the majority of people was a basic issue of critique. Turkish people were not sufficiently revolutionary – that is to say, they lack the revolutionary spirit required for the social and political revolution that had to take place in order to arrive at an ideal Islamic polity and society. And naturally, the method of struggle with the existing state was a primary point of debate.

These translated works undoubtedly put new concepts and discussions onto the agendas of pious readers and authors in Turkey. "Islamic state, Islamic order, jihad, da'wa, Islamic society, Qur'an and constitution, and new world order" were among the jargon (lexicon) that widely dominated the Islamist literature of the 1970s and 1980s.

In fact, these works also led to the imagination of an *umma* that transcends the boundaries of the nation state to arrive at common ideals and struggle objectives. Though the numbers were few, some young people decided to join the jihad in Afghanistan in the 1980s, in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the early 1990s, and then in Chechnya. Following the coup d'etat in 1980, many people migrated to Iran with the hope of living in an Islamic Republic, which was known through the books of ideologues of the revolution like Mutahhari and Shariati.[45]

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44   Kara, 535.

45   Some of these figures continued to be active in Islamist intellectual circles, writing pieces for magazines or newspapers. A memoir penned by Yakup Arslan was a critical work with respect

İsmail Kara criticizes the Islamist trend that leads to a rupture among a newly-emerging educated Muslim class and the traditional Islam of large, pious masses. He complains about their disinterest, and ignorance of local Islamic knowledge and practices, sometimes accompanied by underestimation, degradation or even rage about popular beliefs. This fact situated them close to the general stance of leftists and the Kemalist intelligentsia against the people and their beliefs.[46] Kara further argues that this Islamist ideology and discours borrowed from leftist discourse of the time and interpreted Islam using a modernist, secular political and ideological jargon.

This trend of the 1970s, 1980s and even 1990s was a pattern of believing through politics. Political ideology put on the mantle of Islam as a belief; political activism replaced pious acts and practices and dominated the conversations and literature produced by the Islamic intelligentsia of the time. However, as mentioned above, the reception of those books by the Turkish public and how they influenced their hearts and minds is yet unanswered. On the other hand, my observations of the data set of the current study suggests that though the significance of Islamist authors is considerable, local authors and productions dominated the field. The influence of those Islamist books was on a specific, largely male, educated, urban population. Though translated Islamist literature had a serious impact on the Islamic print sector and Islamic reflection in Turkey, it was but one of the loci that emerged in this intellectual territory. The genres and subject matters that emerged from this field are much diverse, and a multitude of mechanisms affected readers' preferences for genres, subjects, and authors. Though some genres, subject matters, and ideological inclinations have become trendy in certain periods, it is also possible to

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to the general trend among Islamist in the late 1970s and 1980s. However, he hesitated to criticize the Iranian regime in his book despite the fact that he has lived in Turkey in recent years. See Yakup Aslan, *Bir Rüyanın Ardından Gerçekleşen Sessiz Devrim* (İstanbul: Ozan Yayınları, 2014). Another well-known figure, Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, also preferred return to Turkey after 30 years following the nullification of cases opened against him after the 1980 coup. Witihin a year of his return, he published six books in which he collected his reflections on current issues. The latest is Selahattin Eş-Çakırgil, *İran, Ey İran Teranelerinin Acı Sonu* (Istanbul: İnkılab Yayınları, 2016).

46   Kara, *Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Bir Mesele Olarak İslam 2.*, 538.

generalize about genres and subject matters over time irrespective of fashionable ideas and discourses.

Islamism and modernist and reformist understandings of Islam started to find a place among the Turkish intellectual milieu in the early twentieth century. As well as translations of founding fathers such as Abduh and Afghani and later Qutub and Maudidi, representatives such as Namık Kemal and Mehmet Akif and later Ali Bulaç, Sezai Karakoç, İsmet Özel, Rasim Özdenö-ren, Mustafa İslamoğlu, and Yaşar Nuri Öztürk grew from the Turkish field. However, all of these deserve separate exploration due to their intellectual history and the transformations they underwent in the Turkish socio political context.

As for actors in the field, featured figures and initiators changed in time, but almost all established religious organizations that strove for existence in general and in the print and publishing field. Among these, those with access to economic, cultural, social, human, and symbolic capital survived for longer periods of time and gained wider visibility.

In certain periods, such as the early decades of the Republic, some actors insisted on publishing materials contrary to the demands or limitations of the government. For them, print was a field of resistance and opposition as well as the disclosure of a pious effort to preserve religion and defend and protect Islam from an antagonistic regime. In this regard, print in general and Islamic or religious print and publishing in particular, constituted a counter-public – a public sphere where producing alternative discourses of identity politics named resisting against norms and practices officially imposed by the secular nation state. However, the notion of the public sphere is itself a contested concept, another theoretical denomination "the field," in Bourdieuse sense of the word, is a multi-layered concept that accommodates multiple actors and variables in the larger field of print. The supporters of official discourses are also present in the field, which turns into an ideological or political battlefield where different discourses clashed and are contested. On the other hand, within the smaller Islamic print field, actors adopt challenging positions and turn the field into a space for intra-religious contest. In this regard, different alliances can be observed as the discourses or standces of some actors may coincide with the discourse and policies of the state.

Depending on periodical transformations and conjunctures, some actors survive for long time and develop the necessary strategies for survival. Others dwindle in short periods of time. For example, publishing houses that held a pro-Iran stances in the wake of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and printed the writings of the ideologues of the revolution such as Murtaza Mutahhari, and Ali Shariati could not survive in the millenium. The reasons for survival can change from case to case, and the same factors can even bring about the opposite results with respect to the endurance of certain actors in the field. For example, while for one actor (Sebil yayınları, for example) personal perseverance, determinedness, and conservative business principles helped to ensure its long-term survival, for others, differentiating themselves among the product spectrum, increasing economic and cultural capital, and keeping pace with the market conditions helped to guarantee their existence in the field. While some actors make a profit with a limited number of products, others need continuous funding to sustain the business or remain in the field without an economic profit. Therefore, it is no easy task to determine the factors and motivations for staying or surviving in the field. The reasons and rationales for some actors may not parallel those of other actors in the publishing field.

Though there are exceptional examples of successful entrepreneurs who made serious economic gains by publishing and selling a certain volume, it is more usual that social capital (the network of a community), symbolic capital (branding and sectoral recognition), and intellectual capital (authentic production) bring about the economic capital. These mechanisms improve and strengthen each other.

There are also actors who publish books and publications which require almost no intellectual capital, which might bring about a profitable business and limited economic capital, as well. The typical example of such publications is the *mushaf* (Qur'an) and other prayer collections of publishers that specialized in such popular genres. Therefore, the field of Islamic print in Turkey and the Islamic book publication sector in particular is complicated. A wider, cautious effort is needed to decode the mechanisms entwined with the plurality of power relations.

6

Conclusion

Pro captu lectoris, habent sua fata libelli
(According to the capabilities of the reader, books have their destiny)

– Terentianus Maurus, *De Litteris, De Syllabis, De Metris*

In Turco-Ottoman history, the printing and publication of religious litera-ture, specifically Islamic books, was a subject of concern for authorities. After the adoption of printing technology in the early eighteenth century, the printing of the first Islamic book waited for almost another century. The fun-damental Islamic text, the Qur'an was only printed in 1870 and afterwards with great caution. Print is assumed as an agent of modernization and the flourishing of a modern way of thinking for European societies. Therefore, this comparative "late-arrival" and the exclusion of Islamic literature at the begin-ning of the adoption of technology is claimed to be a factor in the delay of an Islamic reformation and Enlightenment in Islamic societies. The problem and shortcomings of such an approach to the Turco-Ottoman history of print are discussed in the related chapter.

One of the points underscored in this study is the distinctive characteris-tics of the development of Islamic printing and publishing in Ottoman and

especially Republican Turkish history. In this regard, making a chronological, historical periodization is inevitable. Starting from the printing of first Islamic book in 1803 up until today, Islamic print can be evaluated in three main stages including the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic. The period 1800-1870 can be designated as the incunnabula of print Islam; the period 1870-1923/28 can be called as its adolescence; and 1923/28 onwards can be labeled the maturity.

With respect to the last stage covering almost ninety-year Republican period, on which current study mainly focuses, three subperiods, with diverse characteristics are evident. Those are a period of stagnation (1923-1950), a period of regeneration (1950-1980), and a period of progress and professionalization (1980-2010). Despite the fact that the first three decades of Republic were an attempt to cut ties with the Ottoman past, there was some continuity between the Ottoman legacy and the inheritance of the early actors of the Republican period. The field of print, in opposition to the common perception among Muslim intellectuals and some scholars dealing with the issue, to an extent validates periodization of modern Turkish history of Erik J. Zurcher,[1] who extends the cultural and structural continuity of the empire up until the end of Second World War and the transition to a multi-party political arena. While in an atmosphere of a scarcity of texts and reflection since the 1950s there was an approach to import texts on Islamic thought and to translate them into Turkish, there was always consumption of local texts and authors or actors operating in this field. These actors were either the remnants of the Ottoman ulema class, the leading figures of established religious orders, that were rooted in the Ottoman period, or contemporary literati with a personal interest in the subject and mostly autodidactic formations.

Through supervision by the Ottoman bureaucracy and the direct employment of central ulema, peripheral ulama (terms borrowed from Amit Bein) were strongly controlled or prevented from dominating the field of religious text production via printing and publishing. The surveillance operations of the Ottoman Empire kept the field of print in "safe hands" as far as possible by taking necessary measures to stop just anyone from printing ideas and books

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1   Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*.

as they liked. However, in the Republican period, such surveillance mechanisms did not address the content of books with religious or professional concerns; rather, motivations of the ruling authority changed over time. Potential threat to the regime and the convenience of a given printed material for use as an ideological or counter-ideological apparatus were among major concerns. That is to say, books were banned after their distribution and authors were prosecuted if their works were considered an ideological threat to the official discourse of republic. They were usually charged with "reactionary activities" or "jeopardizing the secular regime."

On the other hand, especially after 1980s, the plurality of actors operating in the field and the diversity of the works published can be considered a process of democratization and pluralization in the Islamic print field. This is linked to the massification of education and literacy, developments in printing and publishing technologies, economic growth and the purchasing power of society as well as diversification of audio-visual and internet media. Different genres used for the transfer of culture or knowledge fed the publication of books and other printed materials rather than hindering it.

In this dissertation, I discussed how printed materials and especially books were a venue for reflection on Islam and how social, political, economic, and historical processes functioned as catalysts in the development of the field of print Islam. The skeleton of the research can be located on three pillars. The transformation of the material under concern, the depiction of the actors producing the material and the habitus they act within, and the evaluation of the impact of this production processes on the religious learning, understanding and practice.

In Chapter one, I outlined the pros and cons of studying Islamic print in Turkey, presented a detailed literature review from general book history and print culture studies to discussion of public Islam. I conceptualized the assessment of thought on religion via the exploration of print materials and publishing field with its multiple aspects such as habitus and capital networks.

In chapter 2, I provided a detailed historical background on the development of print in the Turco- Ottoman context, and drew the framework of the historical path of printing and publishing Islamic books and how trends changed with certain social and political developments on the national or

world stages. I traced the continuity and disruptions, intervals and vicissi-tudes, from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic and elaborated on two basic discussions developed around print culture: "late adoption of print" and the "revival of Islam" in the public sphere. I supported my arguments with concrete numbers and graphs of the statistical development of the publishing sector in general and religious publication. To show the long-term continuity and moments of change, I also provided a periodization from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic.

Chapter 3 described an inventory of print and non-print media used for religious pedagogy, learning, and knowledge transfer and how they are em-ployed by the Turkish public. I offered a detailed graphic analysis of the dis-tribution of books printed on Islam in Turkey based on genre and subject. I developed a list of key genres and subject matters with which to code the bib-liography. In addition to the general development of religious books within the wider sector of book publication during the Republican era, I described the trends with respect to genre and subject matter followed by Islamic books. I drew correlations between political and social developments in the country and the shifting loci of the subject matters and genres printed at the time. All these specific research data and outcomes demonstrate the establishment of a national repertoire of Islamic knowledge and discourse.

In chapter 4, I focused and made a threefold classification of the major actors of print Islam - namely state, community, and individual. In this regard, the models of business (extensive or intensive publishing) and motivations (commercial or missionary) were discussed and the activity of established re-ligious orders in Turkey and their strong visibility and function within the field of Islamic print were debated. Contradicting my initial assumptions with regard to strength and efficiency of Diyanet in the early decades of Republic, the quantitative findings from reveal that the real activity of Diyanet in the print field corresponds to the post-2000 period.

One astonishing fact about the Turkish Islamic print field is that religious organizations involved in illegal activities have also actively used print for their organizational goals and propaganda and have statistically dominated book production with flooded texts. The two umbrella terms, Nurcu and Sufi encompass many different groups that, with respect to publishing, act with

different models and motives despite common genealogies. Capacity to attract human and economic capital, and effectively managing networks determined corporative presence and persistence in the field.

Again, existing religious circles and organizations in Turkey and their relationship to print and publishing as a double edged field was among my concerns. The quantitative research led me to crystallize the print ventures of especially Nurcu and Sufi groups in Turkey as well as to reflect on and conceptualize their styles of business and the habitus they embody and act within.

In chapter 5, I focused on three basic processes of transformation in which print played a significant role: Pedagogy, authority, and religiosity. I focused on discussions of orality vis-à-vis literacy in the framework of religious pedagogy, on the discussion between ulema and Muslim intellectuals in the frame of authority, and on discussions of reformist and political Islam in the frame of translated books with respect to changes in religiosity.

The multi-faceted nature of print related phenomena provides researchers with multivariate issues touching on various disciplines and areas. In this regard, the employment of print technology in Islamic contexts is often discussed with respect to its impact on the Muslim mind, identity, and theology. The most common arguments by specialists on the issue are that print has an undeniable impact on traditional, predominantly oral ways of learning in Muslim societies, by promoting an uncontrolled spread of texts. This undermines the traditional authority of elites by eliminating the intermediary position of scholars and ulema with respect to learning and practice, facilitating subjective, individual learning, instead.

As for the radical change to models of knowledge transfer and learning, print is discussed as a new medium that bypasses traditional oral forms. When starting this project, I had no opinion or well-formed thoughts on the subject; however, after collecting my data and closely exploring the bibliographic records, I realized that percentage of books produced as a result of oral activity were high, especially in the first half of the period explored in this research. Oral genres used for religious education, learning, and conversation fostered the development of printed materials and the expansion of "the word" pro-

vided by their reproduction in diverse media. After combining this observation with previous information regarding the intense use of Islamic print materials in gatherings and religious conversation or in oral educational events, I concluded that at least in Turkey, oral and print forms of pedagogy are closely interrelated. Moreover, the two realms feed and nourish each other. Actually, the relationship between religious orality and literacy in Turkey is a fertile, untouched field awaiting enthusiastic researchers.

The issue of the religious authority and its relation to print was another basic subject of interest that prompted this research. While claims that religious authority has eroded or fragmented in Muslim settings due to print seem intuitively valid or reasonable, the issue needed to be handled in detailed manner. Associated questions of who were the bearers of traditional religious authority, how they enjoyed their power, and how this structure changed with the impact of print and publishing activities, extend the course of the discussion.

As a result of my bibliographic exploration, I realized that the identity of many authors and publishers producing Islamic texts in Turkey, at least the most popular of them, were from one of the "official" (central) ulema class – that is, remnants of the Ottoman ulema, sheikhs and community leaders that can be called "peripheral ulama," or members of a "new" ulema – that is, new Muslim intellectuals, as they are defined in the academic literature. My observations led me to believe that while print eroded some actors' authority, it gave some new actors the opportunity to enjoy authority and provided new forms of authority enjoyed through the printed texts themselves.

One common argument related to Islamist thought in contemporary Turkey and the phenomenon of a revival of Islam in the public sphere was the impact of translated Islamist texts starting in the 1960s and introduction of this political ideology via imported books. Although this intensive translation activity did occur and those books provided a public space for the discussion and reception of such ideas among a certain segment of the pious population, the translation activity was not novel (similar activities and diffusion of a similar literature started in late Ottoman period), nor was the only locus of reflection on Islam in Turkey.

The term Islamist is often a basket containing many similar and dissimilar approaches and schools of thought ranging from modernist to traditionalist, progressive to Salafi, scripturalist to neo-Salafi. The political agendas and activities of supposedly non-Islamist groups in Turkish society (Sufi orders and other communal organizations) are usually underestimated and deemed "less threatening" for secular lebensraum since they are considered moderate and hence more compatible forms of an Islamic worldview. By bringing print and publishing activities into focus, this paints a more detailed picture of the fragmentation among religious groups in Turkey and demarcates their similarities and dissimilarities. Moreover, business models and publishing strategies in the print field are a portrayal of the political struggle to gain ground and social, symbolic, and intellectual capital in the field of cultural production. This study reveals the efforts of such communal groups in Turkey to dominate the field by quantitative means. It also offers a critical perception on the assessment of Islamist approaches. In addition to their heterogeneity, their impact factor in the society is exaggerated. In fact, they have been overtaken by more mainstream communal traditions and initiatives in the realm of religious knowledge and culture production.

At the start this project, speculation of a fall of Islamist literature at the millennium and the spread of books on Sufism was untested. Therefore, interrogation of the incredible rise in the popularity of Sufism-related texts in the market was among the objectives of this research in order to offer the explanations of the causes behind this phenomenon. The findings clearly demonstrate the increasing activity and influence of Nurcu and Sufi - especially Naqshbandi - actors in the field.

In sum, all those findings show the variety of loci where religious knowledge and culture is produced and shaped and points to non-mainstream subjects and actors as well. Moreover, based on the three pillars over which this study seated, the trends explained in the coming section are the preponderant phenomena and processes that the Islamic print field underwent over the last century.

§ 6.1 Quo Vadis Print Islam in Contemporary Turkey?

In the light of aforementioned discussion of the actors and loci of Islamic book production in contemporary Turkey, the trends and developments that accompanied the construction and progress of the field are encapsulated in six phenomena: Interrelatedness, pluralization, professionalization, localization, contemporarization, and hybridization/cosmopolitanization.

Interrelatedness implies that many genres and loci of Islamic print are produced, developed, and reproduced by reciprocal creation and nourishment processes. This phenomenon contains the producers (authors and publishers), the output (in the forms of different genres such as book or periodical), and outreaching non-print terrains of cultural production. By this I mean that authors are often inclined to establish the businesses to print and publish their own books or that those in publishing business usually take on additional roles as authors, editors, printers or keepers of bokshops. Also, those who pen books are likely to produce for periodicals and vice versa. And in addition to fluidity among roles and print genres, other terrains of cultural production are in direct contact with the print field, too. For example, sermons and hutbes are turned into printed books , other printed books comprise the main reading material for religiously-oriented reading groups, sohbets, and collective gatherings. Early examples of fiction serve in the production of scripts for an Islamic cinema emerged in the 1970s.

With respect to pluralization, there has been a pluralization of genres, of actors, and of subject matters and issues covered. For the products printed in the early decades of the Republic, it is no easy task to put a book in a well-defined category. In time, books became more to the point, and the distribution of Islamic books became more heterogenous.

With respect to the pluralization of actors, there has been a tremendous increase in the number of actors involved in the production of Islamic texts, and the authors, publishers, printers, editors, and translators have become diversified. In the early decades of the Republic, it was not always possible to distinguish among authors, translators, printers, and publishers. In some cases, a single individual would manage all of these tasks for a single enter-

prise. Without a doubt, the trend of pluralization is closely linked to an increase in economic and human capital and the process of professionalization. In addition to these socioeconomic and demographic factors, competitiveness in the field – that is, the effort to dominate or seize a share in the power distribution of religious symbolism and discourse - must be highligted. In addition to individualistic initiatives in the first half of the Republic, many enterprises linked with existing Islamic communities and Sufi circles started to be especially active in the field in the last thirty years. This plurality of actors suggests both an intrareligious rivalry for the formation and maintenance of textual authority[2] and cooperation against interreligious or non-religious actors in the wider field. Additionally, while the participation of numerous, diverse actors in the field can be considered as a process of democratization of religious knowledge[3] and facilitator of the fragmentation of religious authority,[4] textualization of religious doctrine via print also leads the hardening sectarianism.[5]

Regarding the pluralization of issues and subject matters, the changing social, political, and economic conditions as well as psychological and demographic transformations have changed the content and trajectory of the problems and the questions under consideration. For example, while basic learning materials were considered a fundamental need in the first half of the Republican period, leaps and advances in reflexive works by contemporary Muslim intellectuals on a wide array of topics reveal changing cultural and intellectual demands in the second half. Popular subjects changed in time and those trends were narrated in chapter 3.

With respect to professionalization, Islamic print materials in general and books in particular have undergone serious technological and contextual development. As an example in the past, Islamic books were often produced in a way to contain miscellaneous subjects, styles, and content. Though the reasons are open to debate, a lack of economic and human capital as well as a

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2   Lambek, "Certain Knowledge, Contestable Authority," 1990.

3   See, Eickelman and Anderson, "Print, Islam, and the Prospects for Civic Pluralis."

4   Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print."

5   Zappa, "Between Standardization and Pluralism: The Islamic Printing Market and Its Social Spaces in Bamako, Mali," 53.

desire to produce multi-functional print materials that could serve various ends on various occasion are plausible reasons behind this strategy. In the course of time, such products became fewer, while books produced for specific ends, that address specific groups of readers or professionals, that are well-formed, aesthetic, and properly designed have become the standard.

Paralleling the technological transformation of the general publication sector, the religious print field also adapted itself to technological advancements. This trend can be correlated to increasing cultural, human, and financial capital available in recent decades that parallel the economic growth of the country and access to public resources. This professionalization also accompanies specialization, which implies the emergence of specialist authors equipped with empirical knowledge of a professional field as opposed to omniscient authority figures writing on many issues and fields. To illustrate, up until a couple of decades ago, anyone claiming knowledge of basic religious beliefs and practices could pen a book to teach them to children; however, in recent years, knowledge of modern pedagogy is also a prerequisite to prepare religious teaching materials for kids.

By localization of the field, I intend the trend of local production in the field which is now dominated by books published in the Turkish vernacular. In fact, this has became a trend after the establishment of the Republic and the making of a new nation on ruins of the empire. This nationalization process is in fact, a leading factor in bringing religious knowledge to the masses and popularing it. While the ulema and religious literati were expected to have command of Arabic in order to access basic resources, this is not a sine quo non for ordinary Muslims interested in religious issues. With the rise in translation activities, it is possible to access a large literature ranging from classics to contemporary productions produced in other languages. On the other hand, globalization and its impact on communication promoted extensive, intense connection and communication among Muslim subjects – whether individually or collectively - with other Muslims around the world. Such channels of contact brought about opportunities motivated by commercial or missionary concerns to export texts produced in Turkish to other countries. In recent years, a reverse translation activity (from Turkish to other languages) has accompanied the long-standing translation trend (from other languages

to Turkish) and sometimes giving birth to the emergence of local versions of specific genres.

The Islamic literature covered in this study is largely a national literature produced for a local audience in the local language. Putting specific efforts in recent decades aside, the Islamic literature produced in Turkey does not address a larger global Muslim community but rather the native citizens of the country.

By contemporarization I mean that, despite the fact that classical works have a specific share of the circulation in the Islamic text market, a majority of works produced and consumed are those produced by the last representatives of ulema who lived in the twentieth century or by contemporary Muslim intellectuals. In this regard, updated versions of the language and discourse and the ability and capacity to address the needs of contemporary readers is crucial. Contemporarization of the issues and problems covered in these works also constitute one of its basic characteristics. As the discussion in chapter 3 covers comprehensively, self-reflexive literature – which is by definition mostly produced by contemporary figures (Muslim intellectuals, theologians, and academicians) has achieved an incredible share of the Islamic text market.

Last, the trend of hybridization or cosmopolitanism must be emphasized as a change with respect to the content of Islamic books. Books and texts produced have traditionally been categorized as Islamic due to their authors or publishers. But recent writing and production efforts not only address an imagined community but also a more cosmopolitan, heterogenous, mass readership, whether pious or secular. Moreover, these materials emphasize individualism and subjectivity instead of religious identity and their producers are seeking to place them in more general literary catagories rather than have them be relegated to Islamic literature. In this regard, reflexive Islamic works converge with works on general contemporary thought, and works addressing family and children have much in common with popular works on psychology and pedagogy.

As well as the target audience, the identity and profiles of the text producers (both authors and publishers) have also changed. Many of those reflecting on issues related to Islam or Muslim subjects are no longer pious Muslim in-

dividuals. Secular and non-Muslim authors with various concerns and interests have started to produce on the issue and take a place in the field of Islam-in-print.

It is thus possible to assert that the field of Islamic print is no longer an identity marker or a field of the imagination of belonging to a specific community but a field of individual and collective performance imagined in new frames of meaning. This is closely related to a transformation in the habitus which previously formed and constructed the references of practice. Production practices in the print field have been emancipated from religious significations and articulations; direct formulation of religious meanings and references to Islamic lexicon have decreased as the quantity of Islamic books continues to increase.

§ 6.2   Epilogue

To conclude, both print and non-print media and communication tools have been used for the transfer of religious knowledge and discourse and as the loci of reflecting on religion as well as fields of religious practice. These turned both text production (writing, printing and publishing) and reading activities into pious acts. Growth of audio visual materials did not hinder the print field; on the contrary, books and other print media continue to increase in quantity and quality. The rising financial, cultural, and human capital accumulation in wider society and the share of religious people and communities among these different forms of capital accumulation, as described by Bourdieu, play a crucial role in the formation, transformation, and progress of the Islamic print field.

As for policy implications to be derived from this work, I must mention the issues of disorganization, a lack of standardization, the incompleteness, and the incohesiveness of data concerning print materials in general and books in particular. These constitute huge problems that any researcher interested in the field will encounter. In this regard, the collective catalogues of libraries nationwide, user-friendly access to data they provide, and the development of means of crosschecking diverse resources can be maintained as a larger goal. In addition to bibliographic data and materials, basic statistical

and physical information collections provided by diverse governmental and non-governmental bodies need synchronization and ease of access for researchers.

Print culture studies in general and print Islam in particular are exclusive, fertile lands that provide brilliant inspiration for humanities scholars. It allows comprehension and consciousness with regard to many related social, political, and cultural issues and phenomena that should attract the attention of researchers. This dissertation offers an outline of the historical background of events that brought about the contemporary religious publishing sector in Turkey. It provides a practical, convenient analytical tool that can be employed for similar data not only in Turkey but in similar Muslim geographies. It illustrates the application of multiple quantitative and qualitative methods to draw a map depicting the Islamic book production field. And it draws attention to the dominant habitus and primary actors of the field with reference to the reconstruction and contestation of textual religious authority. The substantial figures of social and symbolic capital emerged from established orders and the interrelations of these capital resources with economic ones are also among the points clarified and highlighted in the current manuscript.

One of the peculiarities of this study is that by putting publishing activity into focus, a more comprehensive map of Islamic communities and Sufi groups in Turkey can be offered. Groups such as the Işıkçılar and Menzil among other Naqshbandis that are underrepresented in scholarly works focusing Islamic groups and movements have been brought into the discussion via their serious publishing efforts. The same is valid for less-examined Nurcu groups, as well.

A related predisposition in academic writing is to highlight specific names among the Islamist or Muslim intellectual figures influential in the Turkish intellectual terrain. Although for a selective group of readers (most probably urban, educated, male Muslims) the influence of such authors and intellectuals is relevant, for the larger population is questionable. The findings derived from the comprehensive bibliographic data that cover not only specific genres of books but the whole set of Islamic books led to new names. They led me to reflect on the statistically significant figures in Turkey and treat Islamic cul-

tural production as a highly heterogeneous, sophisticated field with multiplicity of actors that change in time. Moreover, these new names lead to think them in new reflexive schemes, as well. Finally, it contributes to common arguments about the impact of print in Muslim societies and on the knowledge transfer system, related religious authority, understanding, and practice.

Appendix A   Books in the Epigraph to the Introduction

This list is organized in the order they appear in the text of Mehmet Efe.

1   Canatan, Kadir. *Göçmenlerin Kimlik Arayışı*, Istanbul: Endülüs Yayınları, 1990.

2   Esed, Muhammed. *Yolların Ayrılış Noktasında İslam* 18th ed. (Trans. Hayreddin Karaman). Istanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2017.

3   Arslan, Sami. Karanlık *Gecelerin Nurlu Sabahı*, Istanbul: Çelik, 2011. (First published in 1962 and reprinted dozens of times by various publishers. This is the most recent print accessed by the author of this dissertation.)

4   Kazancı, Ahmet Lütfi. *Bir Vicdan Uyanıyor*. Istanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 2001. (A work of fiction)

5   Kutub, Seyyid. *Din Bu*. Istanbul: Özgün yayıncılık, 2013.

6   Kazancı, Ahmet Lütfi. *Özlenen Şafak*, Istanbul: Marifet Yayınları, 1984.

7   Şenler, Şule Yüksel. *Huzur Sokağı*. Istanbul: Seher Yayınları, 1971. (First edition. This work of fiction has been printed by various publishing houses. Timaş Publishing House has printed it 117 times, most recently in 2018.)

8   Mevdudi, Ebu'l Ala. *İslam'ın Çağrısı*. Istanbul: Bir Yayıncılık, n.d.

9   Mevdudi, Ebu'l Ala. *İslam'a İlk Adım*. Istanbul: İnkılab Yayınları, 1986.

10 Tozduman, Aysel Zeynep. *Yaşayan Cahiliye*. Istanbul: İnkılab, 1987.

11 Alagaş, Mehmed. *Şeytanizme Rağmen İslami Uyanış*. Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 1990.

12 Kutub, Muhammed. *Örnek İslam Toplumu*. Istanbul: Risale, 1989 (2nd print.)

13 Yeken, Fethi. *Müslüman Olmam Neyi Gerektirir?* Istanbul: İslamoğlu Yayıncılık, 1990.

14 Kandemir, Yaşar. *Örneklerle İslam Ahlakı*. Istanbul: Nesil, 1984.

15 Suruç, Salih. *Peygamberimizin Hayatı*. Istanbul: Nesil, 2018. (Although many books share the same title "Life of Our Prophet," this is one of the most common and bibliographic entry belongs to the latest reprint, the 591st of this author's work. Books in the Turkish publishing sector hardly achieve such a high number of prints, so it means that the book has sold millions of copies.)

16 el-Başa, Abdurrahman Refet. *Sahabe Hayatından Tablolar*. Konya: Uysal Kitabevi, 1990.

17 Korkmaz, Ebubekir Sıddık. *Cep İlahi Kitabı, En güzel ilahiler kasideler, marşlar*. Istanbul: İslamoğlu Yayıncılık, 1988.

18 El-Meftuni, Abdulmabud. *Cep Şafii İlmihali*. Istanbul: İslamoğlu Yayıncılık, 1986.

19 Çağırıcı, Mustafa. *Ana Hatlarıyla İslam Ahlakı*. Istanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 1991.

20 Taylan, Necip. *Ana Hatlarıyla İslam Felsefesi*. Istanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 1985.

21 Karaman, Hayreddin. *Ana Hatlarıyla İslam Hukuku*. Istanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 1984.

22 Monsma, John Clover. *Niçin Allah'a İnanıyoruz?* (Çeviri: İbrahim Sıtkı Eröz), Istanbul: Hikmet Yayınları, 1981.

23 Kutub, Seyyid. *Kur'an'ın Gölgesinde (Fi Zilali'l-Kuran)*. Istanbul: Hikmet Neşriyat, 1979. (This contemporary Quranic exegesis by Seyyid Qutb has been printed translated by various translators and printed by various publishers.)

24 Özdenören, Rasim. *Müslümanca Düşünme Üzerine Denemeler*. Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 1985. (Reprinted thirty times by İz Yayıncılık since the 1990s, most recently in 2018.)

25 Yeken, Fethi. *İslam: Fikir- Hareket-İnkılab* (Çeviri: Cuma Ağaç) Istanbul: Inkılab Yayınları, 1986.

26 Bulaç Ali. *İslam Dünyasında Düşünce Sorunları*. Istanbul: Burhan Yayınları, 1983.

27 El-heytemi, ibn Hacer. *İslamda Helaller ve Haramlar*. Istanbul: Kayıhan Yayınları, 1986.

28 Belviranlı, Ali Kemal. *İslam Prensipleri*. Istanbul: Ahmed Said Basımevi, 1962.

29 Kutub, Seyyid. *İslamda Sosyal Adalet*. Istanbul: Cağaloğlu Yayınevi, 1962

30 El-Gazali, Ebu Hamid. *İhya-u Ulumu'd-din* Istanbul: Çelik Yayınları, 1970. (This classic by Al-Ghazali has been printed and reprinted by more than a dozen publishers in different sizes and formats, usually as four thick volumes.)

31 Ulvan, Abdullah. *İslam'da Sosyal Dayanışma*. Konya: Uysal Kitabevi, 1985.

32 Baktır, Mustafa. *İslam Hukukunda Zaruret Hali*. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, date unknown.

33 Han, Vahidüddin. *Kur'an'ın Öngördüğü İnsan*. Istanbul: Bir Yayıncılık, 1987.

Ve Göçmenlerin Kimlik Arayışı, Yolların Ayrılış Noktasında İslam'ı buldu. İşte bu, Karanlık Gecelerin Nurlu Sabahı'ydı. Bir Vicdan Uyanıyor'du. Din Bu'ydu. İslam'ın Çağrısı'nı duyduk ve Huzur Sokağı'na yani İslam'a İlk Adım'ı attık. Bunun adı, Şeytanizme Rağmen İslami Uyanış'tı. Yaşayan Cahiliye içinde Yeni Bir Nesil Yeni Bir Toplum doğuyordu, doğmalıydı. Özlenen Şafak, İslam Toplumu'ydu. Ama önce, Müslüman Olmam Neyi Gerektirir'di? Örneklerle İslam Ahlakı edinmeliydik ve Peygamberimizin Hayatı, Sahabe Hayatından Tablolar gerekliydi bize. En azından, Ana Hatlarıyla İslam Hukuku'nu, Ana Hatlarıyla İslam Ahlakı'nı, Ana Hatlarıyla İslam felsefesi'ni öğrenmeliydik. Doldurduk ceplerimize, Cep İlahi Kitabı'nı, Cep Şafii İlmihali'ni, Cep Boyu Kur'an'ı. Niçin Allah'a İnanıyoruz dedik ve Kur'an'ın Gölgesinde bulduk hakikati. Gördük ki İslam: Fikir-Hareket-İnkılap'tan ibarettir. Önce fikir dedik: Müslümanca Düşünme Üzerine Denemeler'de bulunduk ve İslam Dünyasında Düşünce Sorunları'yla tanıştık. İslam'da Helaller ve Haramlar nelerdir? İslam Prensipleri nasıldır? İslam'da Sosyal Adalet nasıldır? İslam Toplumunda Dayanışma nasıl olacaktır? İhya-i Ulumi'd Din'in gerekliliği hangi boyutlardadır? İslam Hukukunda Zaruret Hali nasıldır? Kur'an'ın Öngördüğü İnsan kimdir? Hepsini öğrendik.

Appendix B   The Digital Bibliography of Islam in Turkey

I began this project in early 2013 and I encountered various, serious difficulties tracking the bibliography of works related to Islam in Turkey. Library catalogues suffered from a lack of standardization even though they were excellent resources compared to private initiatives that monitor books in print but lack either digital or historical data. I sweat blood transforming and standardizing data obtained from national library software and printed bibliographies into a researchable format and content.

Therefore, it is not possible to share the full database included of more than thirty thousand bibliographic titles and related information, which would take hundreds of book pages. If I can find the necessary funding and technical support, I would like to transform the Excel database into a researcher-friendly digital bibliography that could be made available on the internet and that would be extended and developed in the future with the contributions of users. If this happens, researchers from Turkey and around the world would have an operative and comprehensive primary resource that could be employed in hundreds of separate research projects and save individual labor and time.

This appendix is a small sample of the three different stages of the second basket of my data set collected from the National Library catalogue. These three different phases display the processes applied to the bibliographic data to help the readers of this work imagine the intellectual and manual work to prepare the data for such a research project. First, the text pages illustrate the format collected from the library software. Second, initial Excel pages illustrate the first stage of converting records into a table, the earliest version of the bibliographic database. The second page illustrates the latest version of the same records after undergoing several indexing, spellchecking, and standardization processes.

Sample of three entries.

```
Sistem Numarasi    000255299

Sistem Numarasi    000255299

ISBN               15 TL

Dewey No           297.7

Dewey No           297.72

Dewey No           297.751

Yer Numarasi       1974 AD 4636

Ana Giris           Abdulhakim Arvasi,1860 ya da 1865-1943.

Eser Adi           Rabita-i serife / Abdulhakim Arvasi
                    ;Sadelestiren Necip Fazil Kisakurek

Basim              [Y.y.] : Buyuk Dogu Yayinlari, 1974

Fiziksel Niteleme   157 s. ; 19 cm

Seri               Buyuk dogu yayinlari ; 6

Dil                 TUR

Add.Entry           Kisakurek, Necip Fazil, 1905-1983

Saglama No         D.M. 3431-74
```

Sistem Numarasi   000253872

ISBN   15 TL

Dewey No   297.652

Yer Numarasi   1974 AD 692

Ana Giris   Abdulhamid, Muhsin

Eser Adi   Islama yonelen yikici hareketler : Babilik ve
                     Bahailigin ic yuzu / Yazan : Muhsin Abdulham:
                     cevirenler : M. Saim Yeprem, Hasan Gulec

Basim   Ankara : Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi, 1973

Fiziksel Niteleme   285 s. ; 19 cm

Dil   TUR

Add.Entry   Yeprem, M. Saim (Mustafa Saim), 1941-

Add.Entry   Gulec, Hasan

Add.Title   Babilik ve Bahaligin ic yuzu

Saglama No   D.M. 6883-73

```
Sistem Numarasi     000245988

Sistem Numarasi     000245988

ISBN                8 TL

Dewey No            297.541

Yer Numarasi        1973 AD 4749

Ana Giris            Abdulkadir Geylani Muhyiddin b. Abdullah b. Musa,1077
                      ya da 8-1166.

Eser Adi            Uc aylar ve faziletleri / Abdulkadir Gilani ;
                      ceviren : Mustafa Guner

Edisyon              2.bsk

Basim                Ankara : Nur [Dagitim], [1973?]

Fiziksel Niteleme   150 s. ; 19 cm

Seri                Nur yayinlari ; no.6

Dil                  TUR

Add.Entry            Guner, Mustafa

Saglama No          D.M. 4460-73
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Sample of twenty randomly-selected entries.

Kitap No	Sistem Numarasi	ISBN	Dewey No	Yer Numarasi	Ana Giris
1	255299	15 TL	297,7	1974 AD 4636	Abdulhakim Arvasi, 1860 ya da 1865-1943.
2	253872	15 TL	297,652	1974 AD 692	Abdulhamid, Muhsin
3	245988	8 TL	297,541	1973 AD 4749	Abdulkadir Geylani Muhyiddin b. Abdullah b. Musa,1077 ya da 8-1166.
4	86870	20 TL.	297,45	1975 AD 425	Ahmed b. Muhammed Emin
5	248871	15 Tl (1. ve 2.c)	297,792	1974 AD 614	Ahmet Eflaki,?-o.1360
6	281627	15 TL	T811.213	1974 AD 3812	Ahmet Fakih (F)
7	253925	750 Kr	297,02	1974 AD 697	Akaltun, Nevzat,1933-2008.
8	89382	5 TL	297,541	1976 AD 904	Akaltun, Nevzat,1933-2008.
9	253581	5 TL	297,84	1974 AD 4632	Akdemir, Ali Riza.
10	234296	7 TL	297,84	1974 AD 5363	Akdemir, Ali Riza
11	283802	25 TL	297,85	1975 AD 3540	Akfirat, Muhammed Osman (F)
12	100968	7.5 TL	297,8	1975 AD 399	Akgul, Huseyin
13	81844	15 TL	297,652	1976 AD 1054	Akgun, M. Zerrin
14	116235	15 TL	297,8	1975 AD 3839	Akkad, A. M. (F)
15	106484	10 TL	297,85	1975 AD 2379	#N/A
16	301168	500 Kr	297,99	1974 AD 3341	Akpinarli, Kerim Kani
17	261137	25 TL	297,75	1973 AD 4775	Aksakal, Sabahaddin
18	237328	850 Krs	297,451	1974 AD 1540	Akseki, Ahmed Hamdi,1887-1951.
19	298177	850 Kr	297,04	1976 AD 120	Akseki, Ahmed Hamdi,1887-1951.
20	273405	250 Kr	297,212	1974 AD 4764	Akseki, Ahmed Hamdi,1887-1951.

Eser Adi	Yazar	Ceviren & Hazirlayan
Rabita-i serife	Abdulhakim Arvasi	Sadelestiren Necip Fazil Kisakurek
Islama yonelen yikici hareketler : Babilik ve Bahailigin ic yuzu	Muhsin Abdulhamid	cevirenler : M. Saim Yeprem, Hasan Gulec
Uc aylar ve faziletleri	Abdulkadir Gilani	ceviren : Mustafa Guner
Buyuk amentu serhi : (Feraid-ul fevaid fi beyan-il akaid)	Ahmed Bin Muhammed Emin	hazirlayan : A. Faruk Meyan
Ariflerin Menkibeleri = Manakib al-Arifin)	Ahmet Eflaki	ceviren : Tahsin Yazici
Kitabu evsafi mesacidi's-serife	Ahmet Fakih	Yayimlayan : Hasibe Mazioglu
Sorulu cevapli din ve namaz hocasi	Nevzat Akaltun	
Sorulu cevapli namaz hocasi : 32 ve 54 farz	Nevzat Akaltun	
Inci taneleri : dini siirler manzum ogutler	Yazan Riza Akdemir	
Billur damlalar : Manzum ogutler dini siirler	Riza Akdemir	
Ilahi emirler	Muhammed Osman Akfirat	haz. :H.Arif Pamuk
huzur islamdadir	huseyin Akgul	
Islamiyet bakimindan babilik bahahilik ve hukuki durumlari-yargitay kararlari	M. Zerrin Aggun	
Kur'an'da kadin haklari	A. M. Akkad	ceviren : Ahmet Demirci
Imanin subeleri ve Peygamber Efendimizin dualari	Ziya Akman	
Balikesir'de yatirlar : (Hasan Baba ve diger turbeler)	Kerim Kani Akpinarli	
Hakkin mudafaasi	Sabahaddin Aksakal	
Islam dini : Itikat, ibadet ve ahlak	A. Hamdi Akseki	
Islam dini, itikat, ibadet ve ahlak	yaz. : A. Hamdi Akseki	
Namaz surelerinin Turkce terceme ve tefsiri	A. Hamdi Akseki	

Basim Yeri	Basim Yili	Yayinevi	Fiziksel Niteleme	Seri	Dil
[Y.y.]	1974	Buyuk Dogu Yayinlari	157 s. ; 19 cm	Buyuk dogu yayinlari ; 6	TUR
Ankara	1973	Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi	285 s. ; 19 cm	#N/A	TUR
Ankara	[1973?]	Nur [Dagitim]	150 s. ; 19 cm	Nur yayinlari ; no.6	TUR
Istanbul	1974	Berekat Yayinevi	375 s. ; 20 cm.	Berekat yayinlari ; nu. 6	TUR
Istanbul	1973	Hurriyet yayinlari	2 c. ; 20 cm	Hurriyet yayinlari : 50 Buyuk klasikler : 3 Islam Klasikleri : 1 Hurriyet yayinlari : 64 Buyuk Klasikler : 6 Islam Klasikleri : 2	tur
[Ankara]	1974	Turk Dil Kurumu Yayinlari	119 s. ; 24 cm	#N/A	TUR
Ankara	[1973]	Kilic Kitabevi	158 s. ; 19 cm	Kilic Kitabevi yayinlarindan ; no. 15	TUR
Ankara	1975	Kilic Kitabevi	64 s. ; 20 cm.	Kilic Kitabevi yayinlarindan ; no. 16	TUR
[Ankara]	[1974?]	Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi	47 s. ; 19cm	#N/A	TUR
[Ankara]	[1974?]	Dinayet Isleri Baskanligi	63 s. ; 20 cm	Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi yayinlari ; no: 161	TUR
Istanbul	1975	Pamuk Yayinlari	...c<1.c> ; 20 cm	#N/A	TUR
[Ankara	1974	yayl.y.]	103 s. ; 20 cm	#N/A	TUR
[Ankara	1975?]	yayl.y.	144 s. ; 20 cm	#N/A	TUR
Istanbul	1975	Cigir	208 s. ; 19 cm	Cigir yayinlari ; 10. Fikri Eserler : 4	TUR
Konya	1975	Umumi Dagitim Uysal Kitabevi	124, [11] s. ; 20 cm	#N/A	TUR
[Balikesir?	1973?	yayl.y.]	...c.<1> ; 24 cm	#N/A	TUR
[Istanbul?]	1973	Yeni Asya Yayinlari	XXVIII, 526 [16] s. : fotog. ; 19 cm	Yeni Asya yayinlari ; nesir no: 25	TUR
Ankara	1973	Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi	323 s. ; 24 cm	Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi yayinlari ; no. 31/16	TUR
Ankara	1975	Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi	323+[1] s. ; 24 cm	Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi yayinlari ; No. 31/16	TUR
Ankara	1974	Diyanet Isleri Bakanligi	64 s. ; 16 cm	Diyanet Isleri Bakanligi yayinlari ; No. 31/22	TUR

Add.Entry	Saglama No	Edisyon	Gen. Not	Add.Title	Bibliogr.	Per. Sub.	Subject
Kisakurek, Necip Fazil, 1905-1983	D.M. 3431-74	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
Yeprem, M. Saim (Mustafa Saim), 1941-	D.M. 6883-73	#N/A	#N/A	Babilik ve Bahaligin ic yuzu	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
Guner, Mustafa	D.M. 4460-73	2.bsk	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
Meyan, A. Faruk	D.M. 5092-74	2. bsk.	Dizin var	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
Yazici, Tahsin, 1922-	D.M. 4621-73 (1. ve 2.c)	#N/A	#N/A	Manakib al-Arifin	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
Mazioglu, Hasibe (F)	D.M. 3863-74	#N/A	Dizin var	#N/A	Kaynakca : 17. s	#N/A	#N/A
#N/A	D.M. 6874-73	[7. bsk]	#N/A	Din ve namaz hocasi	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
#N/A	D.M. 6150-75	#N/A	#N/A	Namaz hocasi	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
#N/A	D.M. 2273-74	2. bsk	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
#N/A	D.M. 3663-74	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
Pamuk, H. Arif, 1940-	D.M. 1081-75	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
#N/A	D.M. 6474-74	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
#N/A	D.M. 5454-75	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
#N/A	D.M. 2977-75	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
Akman, Ziya	D.M. 1166-75	#N/A	Eser sonunda "Konya ulemasindan faziletlu Ziya Efendi Hazretlerinin mubarek	Peygamber Efendimizin dualari	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
#N/A	D.M. 0327-74	#N/A	#N/A	Hasan Baba ve diger turbeler	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
#N/A	D.M. 2730-73	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
#N/A	D.M. 1105-74	25 bsk	Dizin var	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
#N/A	D.M. 4732-75	26. bsk	Dizin var	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
#N/A	D.M. 2241-74	7. bsk	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A

Sample of twenty-one randomly-selected entries.

BOOK TITLE	AUTHOR	EDITOR/TRANSLATOR	PUBLISHER	GENRE	SUBJECT	PLACE of PUBLICATION	YEAR
Abidler yolu	Imam Gazali	Mutercim Ilyas Ibni Abdullah El-Nihani Bugunku Turkcesi I. Turgut Ulusoy	Hisar yayinevi	2	11	Istanbul	1979
Abidler Yolu	Imam Gazali	turcume edenler : M. Sadi Cogenli, Ali Bayram	yay.y.	2	11	Istanbul	1980
Abidler yolu=(Minhac-ul Abidin)	Imam Gazali	Arapca aslindan Turkcelestiren Yaman Arikan	yay. y.	2	11	Y. y.	1976
Aci durum ve caresi	Mahmud Sakir	Arapca'dan ceviren: Ahmet Eren.	Misyon Yayinlari	7	1	Istanbul	2006
Aci gercekler	Meryem Canan Ceylan		Arslan Yayinlari	7	1	Istanbul	1990
Aci gercekler	Meryem Canan Ceylan		Arslan Yayinlari	7	1	Istanbul	1989
Acik kadinlar icin dualar	Ayse Yuceler		Ares Kitap	3	6	Istanbul	2005
Aciklamali buyuk dua hazinesi	Bilal Eren		Cihan Yayinlari	3	6	Istanbul	2010
Aciklamali buyuk dua kitabi	M. Cemal Sofoglu		TDV	3	6	Ankara	1997
Aciklamali buyuk dua mecmuasi	Arif Pamuk		Pamuk Yayincilik	3	6	Istanbul	1983
Aciklamali buyuk dua mecmuasi	Suleyman Ates		Kilic Kitabevi	3	6	Ankara	1973?
Aciklamali buyuk dua mecmuasi	Suleyman Ates		Kilic Kitabevi	3	6	Ankara	1979 ?
Aciklamali buyuk dua mecmuasi	Suleyman Ates		Kilic Kitabevi	3	6	Ankara	1988?
Aciklamali buyuk dua mecmuasi	Suleyman Ates		Kilic Kitabevi	3	6	Ankara	1990?
Aciklamali buyuk dua mecmuasi	Suleyman Ates		Kilic Kitabevi	3	6	Ankara	1984
Aciklamali buyuk dua mecmuasi	Suleyman Ates		Kilic Kitabevi	3	6	Ankara	1986
Aciklamali Cevsenu'l kebir ve transkripsiyonlu Turkce okunusu	Bediuzzaman Said Nursi	tercume: Mehmet Nihat	Sebat Basim Yayim	3	6	Istanbul	2010
Aciklamali delailu'l hayrat : secilmis Peygamber'e okunacak salavat	Suleyman Cezuli	hazirlayan: Ibrahim Tozlu	Semerkand	3	6	Istanbul	2009
Aciklamali delailu'l-hayrat : Secilmis Peygamber'e okunacak salavat = Delailu'l-hayrat ve sevariku'l envari fi zikri's salat ale'n-nebiyyi'l	Suleyman Cezuli	hazirlayan: Ibrahim Tozlu	Semerkand	3	6	Istanbul	2006
Aciklamali delailu'l-hayrat : Secilmis Peygamber'e okunacak salavat = Delailu'l-hayrat ve sevariku'l envari fi zikri's salat ale'n-nebiyyi'l	Suleyman Cezuli	hazirlayan: Ibrahim Tozlu	Semerkand	3	6	Istanbul	2006
Aciklamali delailu'l-hayrat: Secilmis Peygamber'e okunacak salavat = Delailu'l-hayrat ve sevariku'l envari fi zikri's salat ale'n-nebiyyi'l	Suleyman Cezuli	hazirlayan: Ibrahim Tozlu	Semerkand	3	6	Istanbul	2006

Appendix C   Supplementary Figures

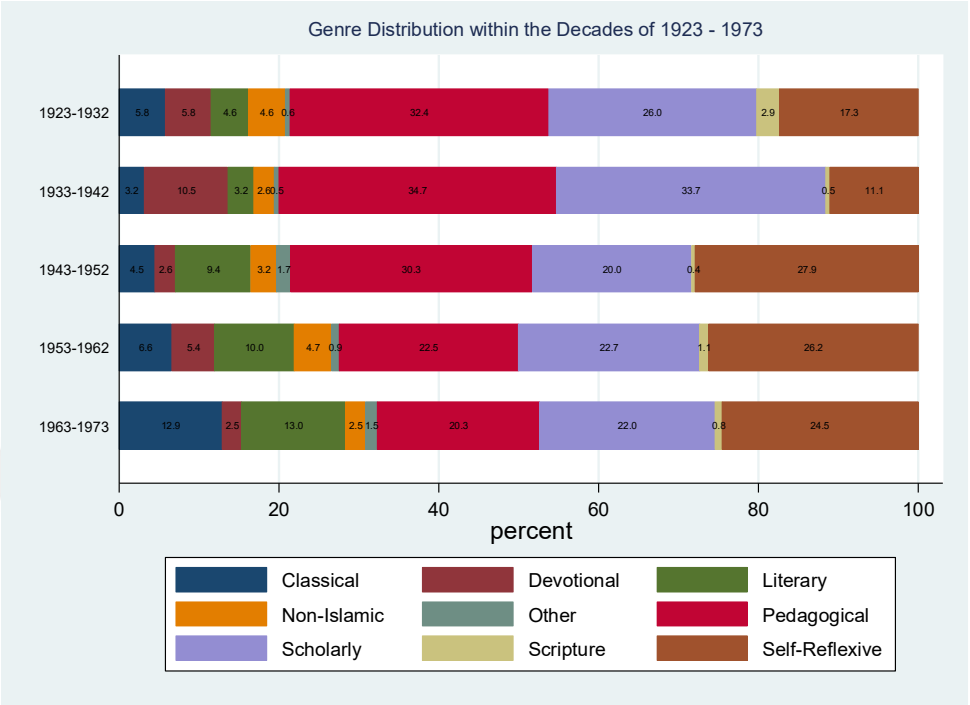Genre Distribution within the Decades of 1923 - 1973

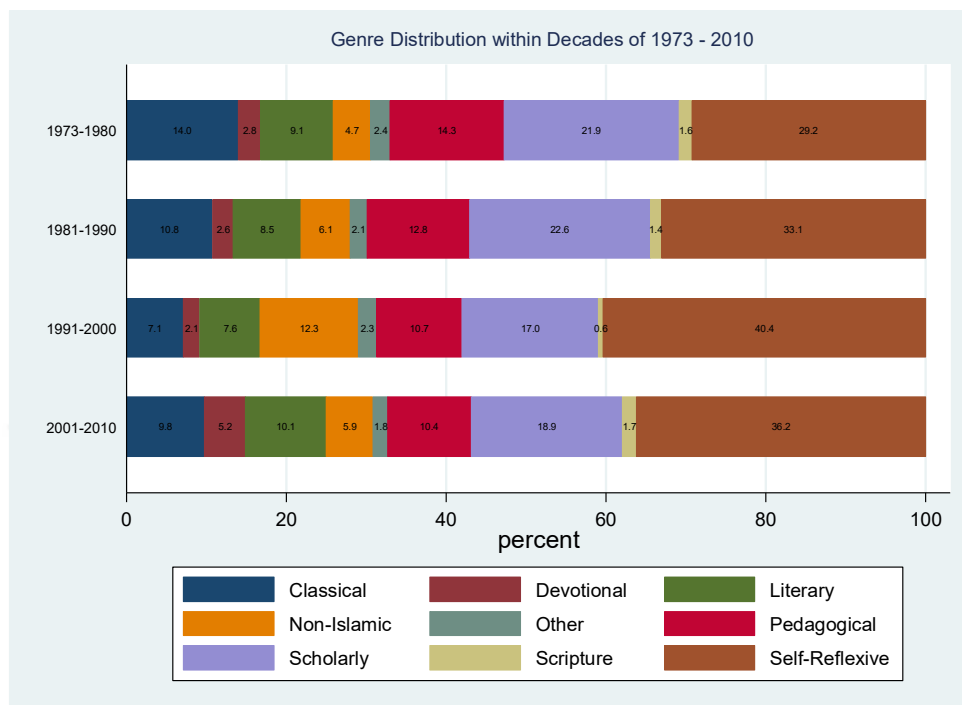Figure C1   Genre Distribution in the Period 1923-1973

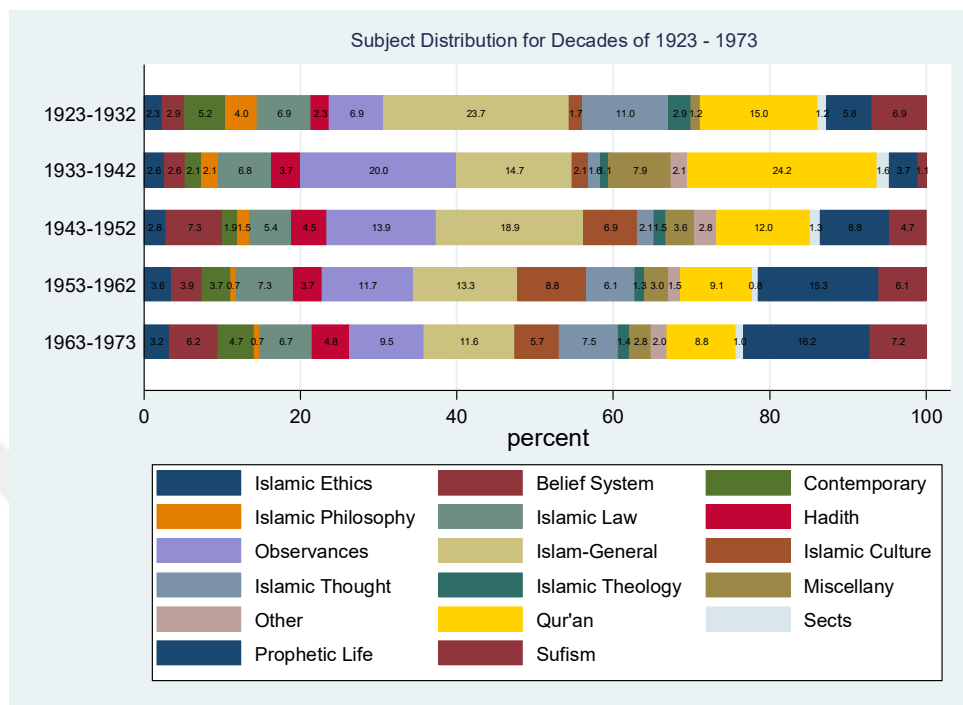Figure C2   Genre Distribution in the Period 1973-2010

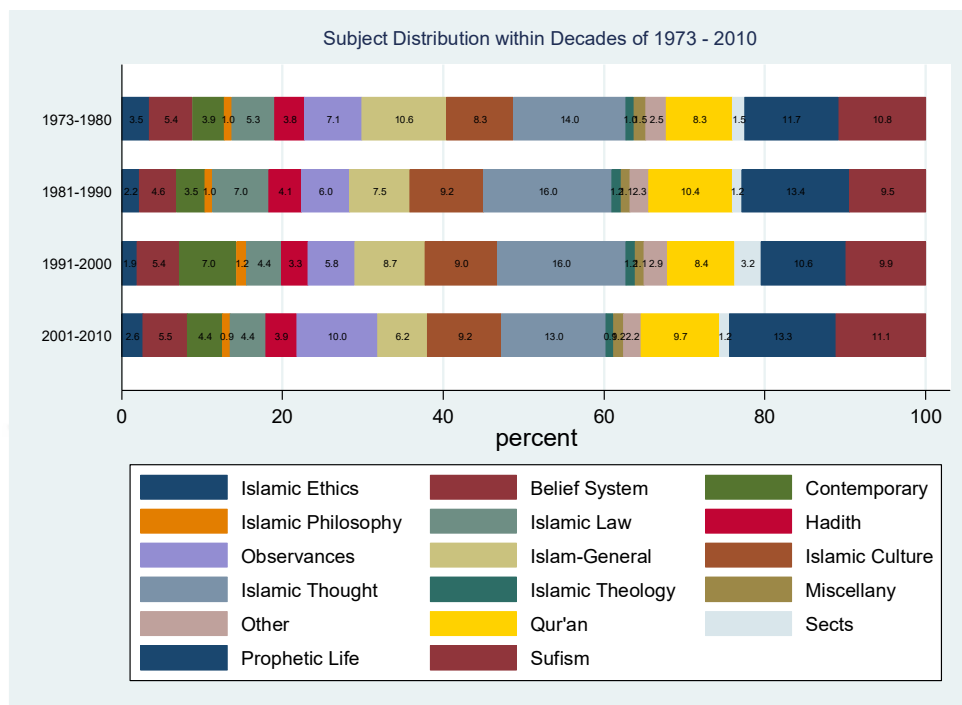Figure C3   Subject Distribution in the Period 1923-1973

Figure C4   Subject Distribution in the Period 1973-2010

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