CONTENTS

Color plates: 'Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt by Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283), MS D 370 from the collection of St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences (see p. 56).

Front cover:

Fol. 34a. The Archangel 'Izra'il, 160 × 124 mm.

Back cover:

Plate 1. Fol. 13b. The Planet Venus, 225 × 145 mm.
Plate 2. Fol. 35b. The Angels of the Second Heaven, 171 × 94 mm.

RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
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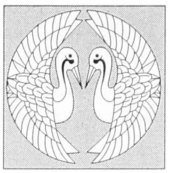

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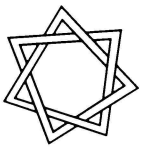

TESA
St. Petersburg-Helsinki

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ON THREE ANONYMOUS TURKISH MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES COLLECTION. THE PROBLEM OF AUTHORSHIP *

In the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies manuscript collection there are three Turkish manuscripts so far identified as works by anonymous authors. Two of them are of the same contents and, in the opinion of the authors of the catalogue of the Institute's Turkish manuscript collection, present the work translated into German by W. F. A. Behrnauer [1]. This work contains a collection of counsels which seem to be addressed to a person of the highest rank, to the Sultan himself. One of these two manuscripts (call number C 2339), bears the title "*Nasîhat al-mülûk*" (Counsels for Sultans). There is also a later note, most probably by the owner of the manuscript, — "Merhûm ve mağfûrla sultan saadetiyle tahta geçtikte işbu kanûnnâmeyi verdiler" (When the late Sultan Ibrahim, whose sins are forgiven, luckily ascended the throne, he granted these state regulations) [2].

This manuscript was described for the first time in 1897 by Russian turcologist V. D. Smirnov [3]. He thought that the manuscript from the National Library of Vienna translated by W. F. A. Behrnauer, and identical to MS C 2339, was a version of the same work. After studying the text of the St. Petersburg MS V. D. Smirnov came to the conclusion that the work was a collection of reports submitted to Sultan Ibrahim I (1640—8). According to V. D. Smirnov, an unknown author "taught the inexperienced Sultan the rules of governing the state" [4]. The scholar stressed the fact that the work could be composed only by some person of a very high rank, standing very close to the Sultan; it is obvious from the very special manner the author is addressing his sovereign as well as from the way he is treating the subject [5]. Nevertheless, V. D. Smirnov failed to identify the name of the author, although he probably came very close to the solution of the problem.

While studying quite another work on the history of the janissary corps written at the very beginning of the seventeenth century, I had a chance to compare it to MS C 2339, and was fortunate to notice that its text was almost completely similar to that known as the second treatise by Kochibey. It has been translated into Russian by the late A. S. Tveretinova [6]. In her work she used the Turkish edition of the text made by A. K. Aksüt in 1939 [7], not even suspecting that the work she translated was present in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies collection.

The text of A. K. Aksüt's MS was published in Latin transliteration. It is almost identical to the text of MS C 2339 and MS A 319 from the Institute's collection. Certainly, A. K. Aksüt was unaware that his manuscript was not unique. The publisher identified the work basing mainly on the marginal note in the manuscript where Kochibey was mentioned as its author. At the same time, he did not give much information on the manuscript which he considered to be unique. One can only learn that he found it in the library of Mehmed Fatih Djami. A. K. Aksüt probably thought that the information presented by the marginal note was sufficient to identify the author of the text. Indeed, there were some grounds for such a conclusion. I mean that the so-called second treatise by Kochibey in Aksüt's manuscript was attached as a supplement to the undoubtedly Kochibey's treatise on the government of the Ottoman state earlier submitted by him to Murad IV (1623—40). Moreover, it was known that Kochibey wrote another work. It was meant to be presented to Ibrahim I, according to the suggestion made by the nineteenth century Turkish scholar Ahmed Vefik. He thought Kochibey to be the author of the treatise submitted to Ibrahim I [8]. His assumption did not remain unnoticed both by V. D. Smirnov [9] and A. K. Aksüt [10]. For a long time it was believed that the work had been lost. When publishing his manuscript, A. K. Aksüt considered the second part of it to be the lost Kochibey's treatise. The published text in-

* This is a revised version of the author's article published in Russian in: *Turcologica 1986. K vos'midesiatiletiiu akademika A. N. Kononova* (Turcologica 1986. On the 80th Anniversary of the Academician A. N. Kononov) (Leningrad, 1986,), pp. 211—8.

cludes 19 reports (or rather epistles) submitted to Ibrahim I and dealing with the ways of governing the state [11].

It is very likely that both works by Kochibey were copied by a scribe of the Aksüt's manuscript as one unit. If so, the marginal note might be an additional argument supporting the publisher's assumption.

In his article in the "İslam Ansiklopedisi", Turkish scholar Çagatay Uluçay was also inclined to consider the text of the manuscript published by A. K. Aksüt to be the work written by Kochibey. He remarks that although some doubts concerning the authorship of the work are still there, the comparison of the published text with that of the first treatise by Kochibey submitted to Murad IV, brings one to the conclusion that the author of both parts is one and the same person. According to Uluçay, the first work, as well as the second one have identical structure and are similar from the point of view of the subject. Both present a collection of counsels for Sultans and are marked by the same style of writing [12].

However, this opinion can not be accepted as the final, because there is a publication of another manuscript made by F. R. Unat, its text almost completely identical to that of the Aksüt's manuscript. The former names quite a different person as the author of the work, that is Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Pasha [13]. It is true that F. R. Unat had certain doubts about the authorship, for he was well aware of Aksüt's identification of the work. He admitted that Kochibey could also be the author of the work, but was more inclined to think that its author had been Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Pasha. Asserting that, he was basing mainly on the information provided by the manuscript which gave the name of this Ottoman functionary. F. R. Unat's manuscript has the following note at the beginning: "Kara Mustafa Paşanın sultan Ibrahime yazdığı kanunlar" ([These] are the state regulations, written by Kara Mustafa Pasha for Sultan Ibrahim) [14]. This note made F. R. Unat suggest that the grand vizier Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Pasha, who was an illiterate man, could employ Kochibey to write the work. It is quite probable that he dictated the text to Kochibey [15], though in my opinion it is not the best solution of the problem. The problem of authorship is made even more difficult by the absence of any information on Kochibey's personality. Kochibey was only the pen-name of the author, not his real name. He was known as the author of the book of counsels submitted to Sultan Murad IV. This work is sometimes called "*The First Treatise*" by Kochibey. As Mehmed Tahir Brusalî asserted on the evidence from a manuscript from the Khedive's Library in Cairo, Kochibey's real name was Mustafa [16]. His nisba: Görüdjeli (or Gömürdjineli, as V. D. Smirnov puts it) seems to originate from the name of the town of Görüdje (or Gömüldjina, according to V. D. Smirnov), where Kochibey was presumably born. In one of the Turkish manuscripts he is called Kochibey Bosnavî, while in some other sources it is mentioned his wife and son were buried in Görüdje (or Göridje, that is Goritziya in the former Yugoslavia) [17] . V. D. Smirnov seems to be incorrect when, after Behrnauer, he thought that Kochibey had been a native of Gömürdjina and a Turk [18]. Putting forward such an assumption, V. D. Smirnov kept in mind Kochibey's hatred towards "foreigners" — that was his interpretation of the term *ecnebi*. It is true that Kochibey's first treatise is full of complains about the predominance of the *ecnebis* in the military and state system of the Ottoman Empire. But we know perfectly well now, that the term *ecnebi* has nothing to do with nationality. In the context of the Ottoman socio-political criticism of the time this term was applied to define one's social position. The theme of many Ottoman writings of the first half of the seventeenth century was the wide penetration of the *ecnebis* into the social strata of the state; until that time, according to the traditional system of social stratification, certain ranks had not been available to them [19].

Mehmed Tahir Brusalî, who collected all the available information about Kochibey, considered him to be an Albanian. He derived his name Kochi from the Albanian word *koch*, which means 'red', but this etymological interpretation seems unreliable. Mehmed Tahir thought, as well, that Kochibey had been a *devşirme* system recruit, promoted to the rank of the Sultan's Palace agha. Kochibey was a member of the Ottoman bureaucratic staff from the time of Ahmed I (1603—17) till the reign of Ibrahim I. It is also known that his influence over state affairs was rather strong in the reign of Murad IV, for whom he wrote his famous work on the Ottoman state system suggesting some ways of its improvement. There was also, as mentioned above, some rather vague information about his second work submitted to Ibrahim I. Kochibey died presumably in 1650, at the very beginning of Mehmed IV reign (1648—87) [20].

Returning to the MSS C 2339 and A 319, we can state with certainty that both reproduce the text of the so-called second treatise by Kochibey, published by A. K. Aksüt and later translated into Russian by A. S. Tveretinova. Both manuscripts were copied in the eighteenth century. The names of the copyists and the dates are missing. It should be noted that MS C 2339 is dated to A.H. 1059, which corresponds to A.D. 1649. The date presents some problem. It cannot be taken as the date of copy, since it was undoubtedly copied in the eighteenth century. It can be judged on the evidence of paper of the manuscript. I may suggest that the copyist could mechanically reproduce the date of the protograph. However, it was not customary to put down the date of a copy in numerals, as we see it in MS C 2339. It is also possible that the date was written by a copyist by mistake, though, it should be mentioned again, it seems rather strange that it was written in numerals.

The St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection contains one more Turkish manuscript (MS B 2422) described in the catalogue as an anonymous. Its title, written in gold, is "*Kanûn-i Âl-i Osman*" [21]. That is the general name of the work which was copied in *divanî* in the eighteenth century. The text of the manuscript is rather richly decorated with headings and separate geographical, as well as administrative names written in red and gold. There are also little gold rosettes over the lines. Unfortunately, the manuscript lacks a colophon, so we do not know the exact time of copying and the copyist's name. The authors of the catalogue point out that the work deals with the administrative system of the Ottoman Empire in the reign of Ahmed I (1603—17). It contains much detailed information and a lot of figures being mentioned. They erroneously date the work (see below) to A.D. 1706/07 [22].

The work consists of two parts. It is interesting that the first part's title, written in gold, — "*Risâle-i kavânîn-i Âl-i Osman hulâsa-i mazâmin-i defter-i divân*" — appears only in the preface to the second part [23], as well as the

author's name — Aynî Ali [24]. The work under this title is well known as one composed by Aynî Ali, a state functionary of the time of Ahmed I. After comparing the text of MS B 2422 with that of Aynî Ali's work, which was published by the Turkish scholar Ahmed Vefik in the nineteenth century [25], one can easily guess that it is one and the same work. In the preface to the second part of the work in our MS, titled "*Risâle-i vazîfe-i horan ve merâtib-i bendegân-i Âl-i Osman*", Aynî Ali informs that previously he held the office of the *defter emini*, while now he is a *mukabeleci*, that is the state registers' controller. The author also adds that he has already composed a work on the *timar* system of the Ottoman Empire, which he submitted to the grand vizier Murad Pasha [26]. Aynî Ali surely means that "*Risâle-i kavânîn-i Âl-i Osman hulâsa-i mazâmin-i defter-i divân*", which constitutes the first part of our MS was his own composition. It is apparent that the two works by Aynî Ali are joined together in MS B 2422. Further on the author says he undertook his task because no one was fully aware of the true conditions of the state treasury expenditures on the palace staff and the regular army salaries. The work, as the author says, was composed by the order of the grand vizier Murad Pasha [27].

This writing by Aynî Ali can be easily dated, since the author informs that he used the salary registers for the *reşen* term of A.H. 1018, that is for October, November and December of A.D. 1609 [28]. It is known that the grand vizier Murad Pasha went out to the Persian frontiers late in May 1610, as he was appointed a chief commander of the Ottoman army, quartered there. He died in August 1611 in Diyarbekir when discussing peace terms with the representatives of Persia [29]. So, most probably the work was written by Aynî Ali in the period from January to May 1610 and submitted to Murad Pasha before his departure to the war.

The mistake of the catalogue's authors who dated the work to A.D. 1706/07 can be explained by a mere oversight. Evidently, they took the date A.H. 1018 for A.H. 1118, as it is evident from marginal note where the date A.H. 1118 is written in pencil just opposite the date A.H. 1018 of the text.

To sum up, we know now, that the three Turkish manuscripts from the collection of the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, which are described in the catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts belonging to the collection as anonymous ones, are, in fact, the works written by quite famous authors of the first half of the seventeenth century. Moreover, the so-called second treatise by Kochibey cannot be considered an extremely rare Turkish manuscript. It seems to be a rather popular work of his, which was still being copied in the eighteenth century.

Notes

1. See L. V. Dmitrieva, S. N. Muratov, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia* (The Description of the Turkic Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies), ii (Moscow, 1975), pp. 109—11; see also W. F. A. Behrnauer, "Das Nasihatname: Dritter Beitrag zur osmanischen Finanzgeschichte", *ZDMG* XVIII (1864), pp. 699—740.

2. MS C 2339, f. 01a.

3. *Manuscrits turcs de l'Institut des langues orientales décrits par W. D. Smirnow*, Collections scientifiques de l'Institut des langues orientales du Ministère des affaires étrangères, vol. VIII, 28 (Saint-Pétersbourg, 1897), p. 50.

4. V. D. Smirnov, *Kuchibei Gömiurdzhinskii i drugie osmanskie pisateli XVII veka o prichinakh upadka Turtsii* (Kochibey Gömiurdjinsky and Other Ottoman Writers of the Seventeenth Century on the Causes of Turkey's Decay) (Saint-Petersburg, 1873), pp. 33—4.

5. *Manuscrits turcs de l'Institut*, p. 51.

6. A. S. Tveretinova, "Vtoroi traktat Kochibeia" (The Kochibey's Second Treatise), *Uchenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia* VI (1953), pp. 212—68.

7. *Koci Bey risalesi. Şimdiye kadar elde edilmemiş olan tarihi eserin tamamı.* Eseri bulup tahşiye eden Ali Kemali Aksüt, İstanbul, 1939.

8. *Nizâm-i devlete müteallik Göriceli Koçi Beğin saadetlü mehabetlü rebi' sultan Murad han Gaziye verdiği risâledir*, (İstanbul, A.H. 1277), p. 1.

9. Smirnov, *Kuchibei Gömiurdzhinskii*, p. 39.

10. *Koçi Bey risalesi*, p. 11.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Ç. Uluçay, "Koçi Bey", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, V, 2 (İstanbul, 1950), pp. 833—4.

13. F. R. Unat, "Sadrazam Kemankeş Kara Mustafa paşa laihası", *Tarih vesikaları*, I, 6 (1942), pp. 443—80.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 443.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 444—6.

16. Mehmed Tahir Brusalî, *Osmanlı müellifleri*, iii, (İstanbul, A.H. 1343), p. 119.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Smirnov, *Kuchibei Gömiurdzhinskii*, pp. 40—1.

19. See *e. g.* J. Káldy-Nagy, "The "Strangers" (*ecnebiler*) in the 17th Century Ottoman Military Organisation", *Between the Danube and the Caucasus. A Collection of Papers Concerning Oriental Sources on the History of the Peoples of Central and South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Gy. Kara (Budapest, 1987), pp. 165—9.

20. Mehmed Tahir Brusalî, *Osmanlı müellifleri*, pp. 119—20; F. Babinger, *Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 184—5; Ç. Uluçay, "Koci Bey", pp. 832—3; *Nizâm-i devlete*, p. 1.

21. For more information on the manuscript see Dmitrieva, Muratov, *Opisanie*, pp. 87—9.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

23. Kanûn-i Âl-i Osman (MS B 2422), f.37a.

24. MS B 2422, f.37b.

25. *Aynî efendinin kavânîn risâlesi* (İstanbul, 1864). See also M. Belen, "Essais sur l'histoire économique de la Turquie, d'après les écrivaines originaux", *JA*, Ser. VI, IV (1864), p. 243. Later on the works by Aynî Ali were edited, in modern Turkish translation, by Hadiye Tuncer, see (*Kanûnnâme-i Âl-i Osman*) *Osmanlı devleti arazi kanunlar* (Ankara, 1962).

26. MS B 2422, ff.36b, 37a.

27. *Ibid.*, f. 37b; *Aynî efendinin*, p. 84.

28. MS B 2422, f.38a.

29. See *Tarih-i Naimâ*, ii (Kostantiniye, A.H. 1280) pp. 83—4; see also I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii, 2 (Ankara, 1954), p. 364.