# AHMED b. MAHMŪD

Göynüklü (b.~ 1650's, d. > March 1759)

LIFE

A.M. was born in Göynük.<sup>1</sup> In his  $Ta'r\bar{t}h$ , as a part of his appointment records ( $tevc\bar{t}h\bar{a}t\ qayd\iota$ ) of 6 Şevval 1163/8 September 1750, he mentions his own name as Göynüklü Aḥmed Efendi.<sup>2</sup> His date of birth is not known with any certainty. The year of his death is given as 1172/1759 in the Sicill and it is stated that he was over 100 years old when he died.<sup>3</sup> The fact that A.M. lived a long life can be understood through his eyewitness account of the 1687 rebellion during the reign of Meḥmed IV (r. 1058-1099/1648-1687)<sup>4</sup> and his being mature enough at that time to provide a critique of the rebellion. We can surmise from this that he must have been born in the 1060s/1650s.

Although A.M. had a long life, current information on both his life and his work is very limited. Babinger gives a brief note about his work but provides no further information about his life.<sup>5</sup> A. N. Kurat was the first modern historian to refer to A.M. and to use his work. In his article Kurat adjures that A.M. should occupy the respected place he deserves among Ottoman historians. Based on linguistic evidence, he also assumes that A.M., about whom little is known, could have been from Anatolia.<sup>6</sup> The Romanian historian A. Tertecel later brought A.M.'s work to the attention of scholars and noted that A.M.'s account of the Prut Campaign (1711) is original and provides important information for Moldavian (Boġdan) history. More recently S. Çolak's dissertation on A.M., Ta'rīh-i Göynüklü (1999), presented his Ta'rīh as an important source for 18th century Ottoman history. A 2004 article by E. Afyoncu aimed at shedding some light on the identity of A.M. on the basis of research in the appointment records of the Prime Ministry Archives. Kurat published 30 pages of A.M.'s history on the Prut Campaign in Arabic script along with a transliteration.<sup>8</sup> The entire text of his *Ta'rīh* is being edited by S. Çolak and A. Sağırlı.

The text of A.M.'s  $Ta'r\bar{t}h$  together with much additional information are compiled in a manuscript. Information about his life can be derived from the author's notes in this compilation. According to these notes, A.M. was a scribe in the royal treasury ( $haz\bar{t}ne-i$   $b\bar{t}r\bar{u}n$   $k\bar{t}tibi$ ) when he began to write his compilation and his diary. While still in this office, he took part in the Prut Campaign against Russia (1123/1711) and he recorded the events that he witnessed on a daily basis. In 1127/1715, during the campaign against Austria, he was granted the office of clerk of the infantry ( $piy\bar{a}de$   $muq\bar{a}beleciligi$ ) in addition to his position as scribe to the royal treasury. About a year later, on 10 Şevval 1128/18 September 1716, he was appointed head of suspended payments ( $mevq\bar{u}f\bar{a}t\bar{c}v$ ). He was dismissed shortly thereafter, on 11 Cemaziyülahir 1129/23 May 1717. According to a note in the compilation, on 13 Şevval 1132/18 August 1720 he was a scribe for the armourers (cebeciler  $k\bar{a}tibi$ ) and had earlier been a scribe for the sword-bearer

regiments (silāhdār kātibi). 12 Later on, on 8 Sevval 1134/22 July 1722, he was appointed secretary of the large fortresses (büyük qale tezkireciligi)<sup>13</sup> and was dismissed about a year later, on 22 Şevval 1135/24 July 1723. 14 Two years after this dismissal, on 12 Sevval 1137/24 June 1725, he again became clerk of the infantry. 15 On 9 Sevval 1142/27 April 1730, he was appointed as scribe to the armourers for the third time. 16 Shortly before the Patrona Halil rebellion, on 16 Muharrem 1143/1 August 1730, he was granted for the second time the offices of secretary of the large fortresses and agent for the clerk of finances (küçük rūznāmçelik vekāleti). <sup>17</sup> From a note in his Ta'rīh dated 4 Rebiülahir 1143/17 October 1730 it is understood that A.M. became mevqūfātçı for a second time. 18 After this tenure, he became Clerk of Finances (küçük rūznāmçeci) between 1 Zilhicce 1144/26 May 1732 and 1 Cemaziyülevvel 1145/20 October 1732. 19 On 27 Muharrem 1149/7 June 1736, when the Ottoman army had gone to the Plain of Dāvūd Paşa on campaign against Russia, A.M. was bookkeeper for the shipping office (qalyonlar defderdārı) and was exempted from attending the campaign. As holder of this office, he was responsible for registering 5000 irregulars armed with fire-arms (*tüfenk-endāz levendāt*) to be sent to the Crimea.<sup>20</sup> On 2 Rebiülahir 1153/27 June 1740, he was again appointed accountant for Anatolia (Anadolu *muḥāsebecisi*),<sup>21</sup> but on 12 Şevval 1153/31 December 1740 he was dismissed from this office.<sup>22</sup>

According to the  $\S{ub}h\bar{\imath}\ Ta'r\bar{\imath}hi$ , on 17 Şevval 1155/17 December 1742, he was re-appointed as scribe of the armourers<sup>23</sup> and stayed in this office until 7 Ramazan 1156/25 October 1743.<sup>24</sup> A note in his  $Ta'r\bar{\imath}h$  states that he was the official in charge of granaries ( $anbar\ em\bar{\imath}ni$ ) during the storm which struck Istanbul on 14 Rebiülevvel 1162/3-4 March 1749, when several ships carrying provisions were damaged.<sup>25</sup> On 12 Şevval 1158/7 November 1714, he was appointed assistant official to the provincial treasury ( $\S{\imath}qq-\imath\ \underline{\imath}a\bar{n}\bar{\imath}\ defterd\bar{\imath}ni$ ) and he occupied this position for 14 years, until his death.<sup>26</sup> A.M, who lived for over 100 years, died in Şa'ban 1172/March-April 1759, and is buried in Üsküdar.<sup>27</sup> The last note in his  $Ta'r\bar{\imath}h$ , dated 25 Receb 1172/24 March 1759, shows that he continued writing until his death.

### Works

①  $Ta'r\bar{\imath}h$ : An autograph copy is found in the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin under the reference Ms. or quart. 1209. The text is covered by a brown leather 20 x 30 cm. binding, the interior of which is decorated with flower motifs. The compilation consists of 372 folios. The text is written in a nesih, occasionally divani script. This compilation comprises, in addition to the  $Ta'r\bar{\imath}h$ , approximately 20 different entries including the  $Q\bar{a}n\bar{u}nn\bar{a}mes$  of  ${}^cAz\bar{\imath}z$  Efendi and  ${}^cAyn$   ${}^cAl\bar{\imath}$ , ordinary puzzles, the sobriquets of Imperial Council ( $d\bar{\imath}v\bar{a}n-\imath$   $h\ddot{\imath}um\bar{a}y\bar{\imath}un$ ) members, models for letter-writing and notes on botanical medicines. However, several folios were misplaced when the compilation was bound and four pages about the Prut Campaign are missing. At the beginning of the text there is a table of contents, but there is no real correspondence between the chapters and the table. A

considerable part of the compilation after page 215b is dedicated to the  $Ta'r\bar{\iota}h$ , which includes his personal observations of events between 1123 and 1172 (1711-1759). Although A.M. does not give a title for this text, he occasionally uses the term "defter". S. Çolak, in her dissertation, suggests the title  $Ta'r\bar{\iota}h$ -i  $G\ddot{o}yn\ddot{\iota}kl\ddot{\iota}u$ .

The *Ta'rīḫ* begins on 1 Muharrem 1123/19 February 1711, when the Ottoman army began its campaign against the Russian army, and ends in 25 Receb 1172/24 March 1759 with the festivities to celebrate the birth of Muṣṭafā III's (r. 1757-1774) daughter. A.M. tried to record events which he personally witnessed chronologically, on a daily basis. Although in the beginning of the text the author was careful in doing this, after his description of the Austria Campaign (1128/1726) from about fol. 295 onwards he does not take care to continue his day-by-day narrative. Towards the end of the text one year is narrated in a few brief notes, and this section consists mostly of notes on appointments. The author's name is not given in the beginning, but one can establish from reading the notes that the copy was written by the author himself.

A.M. describes the events that he witnessed or that were related to him in a simple, clear language. He does not elaborate on the causes of events, but he occasionally expresses his opinions and criticisms, as in the case of the Patrona Halil uprising  $(1143/1730)^{28}$  and the assassination of Damad İbrāhīm Paşa (18 Rebiülevvel 1143/1 October 1730).<sup>29</sup>

The topics covered in the  $Ta'r\bar{\imath}h$  are in general as follows: between folios 215b-242a, the Ottoman-Russia war is narrated. This section begins with the movement of Ottoman troops to the Plain of Dāvūd Paşa. The military camp sites and the length of time spent at each one, the time distance between camps and their physical descriptions, and the battlefield in Novi Stanilisce (?) (Kekec Ağzı) are all described in detail. The battle is also depicted on a colored map. Folios 243b-269a are on the Campaign of the Morea (1127/1715). 243b begins with a letter explaining the reasons for the campaign which was sent to judges  $(q\bar{a}d\bar{t})$ , stewards ( $kethud\bar{a}$ ) and local notables ( $a^cy\bar{a}n$ ) and to the imperial cavalry (qapıqulu süvārī bölükleri). A.M. joined the army on the campaign which began in Rebiülevvel 1127/March 1715, and he describes about 58 military camp sites up to the fortress of Methone (Modon). This chapter includes descriptions of the conquests of strongholds in Korinthos (Gördös), Navplion (Anapoli), Methone, Levkas (Ayamavra) and ends, with the return of the army to Burgas (Lüleburgaz) on 29 Zilka'de 1127/26 November 1715, on page 269a. On page 270a, the Austria Campaign of 1128/1716 begins. A.M. took part in the campaign. From Rebiülevvel 1128/February 1716 onwards he records the camp sites, the correspondence between the two states, and appointments and dismissals. In this chapter, A.M. occasionally expresses his personal opinions and criticisms. The last note in this chapter on 295a is on the arrival of the Ottoman army in Istanbul on 25 Zilka'de 1130/21 October 1718. After the campaign A.M. remained in Istanbul and continued to record his observations. On page 296a, he tells about the preparations carried out for the festivities (sūr-ı hümāyūn şenlikleri) surrounding the imperial circumcision on 1 Şevval 1132/6 August 1720, and he gives a

detailed account of their expenses. The weddings of both Zeyneb Sulṭān and Muṣṭafā Paṣa and of Ḥasībe Sulṭān and Silaḥdār Meḥmed Paṣa (15 Rebiülahir 1141/18 October 1728), and also the wedding of Esmā Sulṭān (4 Muharrem 1156/28 February 1743), are also described. A.M., who stayed in Istanbul, followed and recorded the negotiations with Iran until 21 Cemaziyülevvel 1149/27 September 1736. This chapter begins on page 301a with 3 Cemaziyülevvel 1135/9 February 1723 deliberations concerning the letters of Silāḥdār İbrāḥim Paṣa, the Governor (vālī) of Erzurum, stating that Tebrīz, Tbilisi (Tiflis) and Yerevan (Revān) had expressed their wish to accept Ottoman rule, and it continues with an account of the Ottoman-Iranian treaty dated 21 Cemaziyülevvel 1149/27 September 1736 (333b).

A.M. also notes fires, earthquakes and extraordinary incidents occuring at that time in Istanbul. From 322a, he gives accounts of the Patrona Halil uprising (15 Rebiülevvel 1143/28 September 1730), of the activities of the rebels in Istanbul, and of the dethronement of Aḥmed III (r. 1114-1143/1703-1730). On pages 354b-358b, he gives a list of botanical medicines as cures for various diseases.

The only complete copy known of A.M.'s work is the Berlin copy mentioned above. In a 1986 article, Şevket Rado mentions the presence in his library of an approximately 30 pages-long copy, covering only the Prut Campaign. This copy begins in Muharrem 1123/February 1711 and ends in Receb 1126/July-August 1714, with the return of the King of Sweden Karl XII to his homeland. According to Rado, the copy was written in 1205/1790, as it is stated on the last page of the text.<sup>30</sup> The Rado library is not open to researchers at the present time.

## Contents: This classification is taken from the Berlin Ms. or. quart 1209.

216b: Sefer-i hümāyūn. 1 Muharrem 1123. 243b: Mora cezīresine sefer-i hümāyūn. 1126. 270a: Sefer-i hümāyūn can cānib-i Nemçe. 1128. 295b: Der beyān-ı elçi-i Nemçe. 296a: Sūr-i hümāyūn içün etrāf ve eknāfa tenbīh olunub, pīş-keşler içün defterleri verildi. 1 Şevval 1132. 300b: Müşāvere der bāb-ı ḥażret-i ṣadr-ı cālī der ḥużūr-ı ṣadr-ı cālī. 6 Muharrem 1135. 300b: Faṣl-ı müşävere der bāb-ı ḥażret-i vezīr-i aczam der ḥużūr-ı ḥażret-i ṣadr-ı cālī. 13 Safer 1135. 301a: Tebdīlāt-ı hvācegān-ı bacz. 17 Rebiülevvel 1135. 301a: Müşāvere der bāb-ı sarāy-ı ḥazret-i ṣadr-ı cālī der hużūr-ı şadr-ı <sup>c</sup>ālī. 3 Cemaziyülevvel 1135. 302a: Tebdīlāt-ı ḫ<sup>v</sup>ācegān-ı dīvān-i hümāyūn. 22 Şevval 1135. 314b: Devlet-i 'aliyyeden İşfahān hākimi Eşref Hana gidecek elçidir. 315a: 'Aqd-i nikāḥ. 15 Rebiülahir 1141. 316b: Tevcīhāt. 17 Şevval 1141. 317a: Elçi-i Rāşid Paşa āmed. 26 Zilkade 1141. 317b: Kebīr iḥrāq. Muharrem 1142. 318a: Sacdābād, ziyāfet, tertīb-i alay. 23 Muharrem 1142. 318b: Meşveret der bāb-ı ḥażret-i ṣadr-ı cālī ve ḥużūr-ı hümāyūn. 4 Şevval 1142. 319b: Tevcīhāt-ı h acegān-ı aqlām tebdīlā[t] ve muqarrer ve ocaģ-ı aģayān ve sā'ire. 16 Şevval 1142. 319b: Elçi-i Qızılbaş. Pazar, 2 Zilhicce 1142. 320a: Der beyān-ı meşveret ve mükāleme-i elçi-i Şāh-1 °Acem. 320a: Meşveret der bāb-1 şadr-1 °ālī. 24 Zilkade 1142. 320b: İḫrāc-1 mevācib. 9 Muharrem sene 1143. 321a: Ḥurūc-1 Ṣāh-1 Ṭahmāsp. 321a: Eşref Ḥana imdād. 321a: Firār-1 Eşref Han. 321b: İḥrāc-ı ehl-i İslām [ez] qalce-i Hamadān [ve] duḥūl-i Qızılbaş. 321b: İḥrāc-ı ehl-i İslām [ez] qażā-i Kirmān şāhān [ve] duḫūl-i Qızılbaş. 321b: Elçi-i Şāh Ṭahmāsp Qulu. 322b: Hāze-lvaq<sup>c</sup>a [Padişah ve şehzadelerin Üsküdar'dan Istanbul'a geçişi]. 323a: Qatl-i İbrāhīm Paşa ve Qapudan Muştafā Paşa ve Meḥmed Kethudā. 323a: Cülūs-i hümāyūn [Mahmud I]. 324a: Aqlām-ı hazīneden verilen icmāller mūcibince verilecek caṭiyye-i hümāyūnuñ defteridir. 27 Rebiülevvel 1143. 325b: Zorbālar. 17 Ramazan 1143. 326b: Def<sup>c</sup>a-i sālis-i eşqiyā. 29 Safer. 327b: Sūret-i mektūb-ı Sercasker Ahmed Paşa bā-cānib-i şarq. 328b: Tahlīs-i Bagdād. 330b: İhrāqlar. 9 Rebiülahir 1148. 331a: Mosqov Çasarı naqż-i °ahd ėdüb. 331b: Fevt-i Sultān Ahmed. 341b: Żiyāfet-i

şadr-ı °ālī elçi-i Nemçe der Sa°dābād. 7 Receb 1153. 342a: Tevcīhāt der ḥużūr-ı şadr-ı °ālī. 12 Şevval 1153. 342b: Tevcīhāt-ı ocaģ-ı aġayān. 13 Şevval 1153. 343a: Der maḥall-i elçi-i Ṭahmāsp Qulu Şāh. 23 Zi'l-Hicce 1153. 344b: Acem elçisi hazret-i vezīr-i aczam hazretlerine geldi. 12 Muharrem 1154. 345a: Mosqov elçisi dahi gelüb. 19 Muharrem 1154. 346b: Der ziyāfet-i elçi-i Mosqov. 28 Cemaziyülevvel 1154. 346b: Şulh-1 Mosqov. 347b: Meşveret der bāb-1 şadr-1 cālī. 8 Safer 1155. 349a: Meşveret-i maḥfī der bāb-ı ḥazret-i ṣadr-ı ʿālī. 3 Receb 1155. 351a: ʿAzl-i ʿAlī Paşa. 4 Şaban 1156. 351b: Tevcīhāt-1 erbāb-1 münāsib. 351b: Ḥaber-i meserret, inhizām-1 Şāh-1 <sup>c</sup>Acem Nādir Şāh. 351b: Ḥaber-i meserret. [Muşul seraskeri Hüseyin Paşa'dan gelen ve Nādir Şāh'ın Sencān'da Yezīd Kürtlerine yenilmesi hakkında]. 8 Şevval 1156. 352a: Tebdīlāt ve tevcīhāt. 16 Şaban 1158. 352b: Tevcīhāt-1 bacż-1 ricāl. 7 Cemaziyülahir 1159. 353a: Gün-i şemsiñ tutulması. 353a: Şūret-i husüf. 353b: Tevcīhāt-ı hazret-i şadr-ı calī der bab-ı saray-ı şadr-ı calī. 10 Şevval 1161. 353b: Ḥabsu'l-bevl içün cilāc budur. 20 Rebiülevvel 1165. 358b: Cehāz-ı Zübeyde Sulţān bintü'l-Gāzī Sulţān. 359b: 'Avdet-i donanma-i hümāyūn. 360a: Şūret-i qamer ve şūret-i şems. 360b: İḥrāq-ı kebīr. 360b: İḥrāq-ı hāne-i şeyhü'l-islām efendi der qarīb-i Bāhçe Qapusu. 14 Rebiülevvel 1163. 361a: <sup>c</sup>Azl-i yeñiçeri aġası 24 Cemaziyülevvel 1163. 361a: Tevcīhāt-ı qāżī°asker-i Rūmeli. 12 Cemaziyyelahir 1163. 361a: Tevcīhāt-ı emīn-i Tersāne-i °āmire. 17 Cemaziyyelahir 1163. 361a: Tevcīhāt-1 şeyhü'l-islām efendi. 27 Cemaziyyelahir 1163. 361a: Bacż-1 tevcīhāt ve tebdīlāt. 24 Şaban 1163. 361a: Tevcīhāt-ı erbāb-ı mansūb der hużūr-ı sadr-ı cālī. 6 Şevval 1163. 361b: Be-cavdet-i donanma dāhil-i Āsitāne ve mac hazīne-i Mısr-ı Qāhire dāhil-i Āsitāne. 362a: Elçi-i Dubrovnik [cizye teslimi için gelişi], 15 Muharrem 1164. Baczi-ı ricāle dahi hil°at-i fāhire der hużūr-ı hümāyūn. 362a: Qar zuhūru. 23 Muharrem 1164. 362a: Ba°ż-ı tevcīhāt der bāb-ı sadr-ı cālī hużūr-ı sadr-ı cālī. 20 Safer sene 1164. 362a: Defca-i tevcīhāt-ı kethüdā beg hażret-i sadr-ı calī defterdar efendi. 362b: İhraq-ı kebir der Āsitane-i sacadet fi 9 Temmuz/fi 7 Saban sene 1164. 362b: Oar yagdı. 362b: İhrāc-ı donanma-i hümāyūn. 16 Cemaziyyelahir 1165. 363a: İhrāq-ı kebīr Gedik Pasa gurbunda Sabuncılar hānında. 363a: Hācc-ı serīf[-i] sadr-ı aczam hażretleriniñ vālidesi. 363a: Zelzele-i <sup>c</sup>azīm. 363a: Vefāt-ı Sultān <sup>c</sup>Avse Sultān. 17 Zilkade 1165. 363b: Tevcīhāt-ı kethüdā beg hażret[-i] sadr-ı cālī. 10 Muharrem 1166. 363b: İḥrāc-ı mevācib. 21 Muharrem 1166. 363b: Tersāne-i 'āmīreniñ donanma-i hümāyūn qalyonları geldi. 8 Safer 1166. 364a: Dacvet-i mevlūd-i serīf; sūret-i fermān-1 cālī. 13 Rebiülevvel 1166. 364a: Tevcīhāt-1 Mısr-1 Qāhire. 1 Cemaziyülevvel 1166. 364a: İhrāc-1 mevācib. 1165. 364b: İhrāc-1 donanma-i hümāyūn [ez] Tersāne-i cāmire. 22 Cemaziyyelahir 1166. 364b: Ḥarīq. 1 Receb 1166. 364b: Defca-i ḥarīq. 20 Receb 1166. 364b: Def<sup>c</sup>a-i harīq. 24 Receb 1166. 364b: <sup>c</sup>Azl-i baş baqı qulu aġası. 4 Şaban 1166. 365a: İḥrāc-1 mevācib. 17 Şaban 1166. 365a: İmsākiyye. 1 Ramazan 1166. 365a: Dolu zuhūru. 365a: Ramazan-ı şerīfātıñ gurresi. 1166. 365a: Tevcīhāt-ı erbāb-ı menāsıb. 10 Şevval [1166]. 365b: Tevcīhāt. 1 Muharrem 1167. 365b: Qırā'at-ı mevlūd-i şerīf. 12 Rebiülevvel 1167. 366a: İḥrāq-ı kebīr. 15 Cemaziyülevvel [1167]. 366 b: Bā-ḥaṭṭ-ı hümāyūn. 5 Şaban 1167. 366b: Tevcīhāt-1 erbāb-1 münāsib. 7 Şevval 1167. 366b: °Azl-i kethüdā beg ve Rūmeli pāyesiyle iki tuģ. 367a: İḥrāq-ı kebīr. 11 Teşrīn-i evvel 1167. 367a: İntiqāl-i Sulţān Maḥmūd Ḥan, cülūs-ı Sulţān °Osmān Ḥan. 367b: Ṣūret-i fermān ki ṣadr-ı a°zam °Alī Paṣa ḥazretleri mühre geldügi da°vetdir. 367b: Şūret-i fermān bā-tezkire-i kethudā beg. 12 Cemaziyyelahir 1168. 367b: İḥrāq-ı eyvān-ı Şarı qal°e(?). 367b: °Azl-i vezīr-i a°zam °Alī Paşa ḥazretleri. 368a: Vefāt-ı Vālide Sulṭān bint-i ḥazret-i Sulţān <sup>c</sup>Osmān Ḥan. 26 [Safer] 1169. 368b: İḥrāq-ı kebīr <sup>c</sup>an tafsīl <sup>c</sup>an ḥaţṭ-ı hümāyūn ve bāfermān-ı cālī ve taḥrīr-i qāḍī-i Istanbul. 1169. 368b: cAzl-i vezīr-i aczam Mustafā Paşa. 369 a: Tevcīhāt der vüzerā (?) üç tug kethüdā beg Ahmed Paşa. 15 Rebiülahir 1169. 369b: Def<sup>c</sup>a-i iḥrāq. 27 Cemaziyülevvel 1169. 369b: °Azl-i vezīr-i a°zam Sa°īd Paşa. 1 Receb 1169. 370a: Vezāret-i Rāģib Meḥmed Paşa mühr-i şerīf verildigi ta'rīḥdir. 370a: İḥrāc-ı donanma-i hümāyūn. 3 Şaban 1170. 370a: Tevcīhāt-1 kethüdā-i ṣadr-1 cālī. 21 Cemaziyülevvel 1170. 370a: Müteveffā vezīr kethüdāsı Dervīş Mehmed Aga. 3 Zilhicce 1170. 370a: Naṣb-ı kethüdālıq. 3 Zilhicce 1170. 370b: Tevcīhāt. 3 Muharrem 1171. 370b: Müteveffā Sultān cOsmān b. Sultān el-Gāzī Mustafā Ḥan. 15 Safer 1171. 370b: Qırā'at-ı haţţ-ı hümāyūn der bāb-ı sarāy-ı şadr-ı cālī. 17 Safer 1171. 370b: Meşveret der huzur-1 hümāyun. 15 Rebiülevvel 1171. 370b: Tevcīhāt. 27 Rebiülevvel 1171. 371a: <sup>c</sup>Aqdü'l-nikāh-ı vezīr-i a<sup>c</sup>zam Rāģib Mehmed Paşa, [be-]Sālihā Sultān bint-i Sultān Ḥan. 27 Receb 1171. 371a: Teşrīf-i Sāliha Sultān. 5 Şaban/2 Nisan 1171. 371b: Tevcīhāt-1 erbāb-1 menāsıb,

ḥażret-i ṣadr-ı <sup>c</sup>ālī ḥużūrunda ḫil <sup>c</sup>at-ı fāḫire ilbās. 3 Ramazan 1171. 371b: İḥrāq-ı kebīr. 21 Zilkade 1171. 371b: Dünyāya gelen sultān ta rīḥidir. 14 Receb 1172.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I have not been able to determine which Göynük this is.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Aḥmed b. Maḥmūd, *Ta'rīḫ-i Göynüklü*, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. or. quart. 1209, 361b. (henceforth *TG*).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Mehmed Süreyyā, *Sicill-i <sup>c</sup>Osmānī*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 1308/1890-91), 256.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>¬</sup> TG, 324

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig 1927), 313, fn. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Akdes Nimet Kurat, "Hazine-i Birûn Kâtibi Ahmed bin Mahmud'un (1123-1711) Prut Seferine Ait Defter'i," Ankara Üniversitesi DTCF Tarih Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi, IV/6-7 (1966), 266.

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<sup>8</sup> Kurat, *ibid.*, 267-427.

Songül ÇOLAK August 2005

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> TG, 266b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> TG, 283a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> *TG*, 287b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> TG, 296a.

 $<sup>^{13}</sup>$  TG, 300b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> TG, 302a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> *TG*, 302b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> *TG*, 319a-b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> *TG*, 320b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> *TG*, 324b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> S. Çolak, "XVIII. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarih Yazıcılarından Hazine-i Birûn Kâtibi Ahmed bin Mahmud'un Hayatı," *Belleten*, LXVII/250 (Aralık 2003), 861.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> TG, 332a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> *TG*, 341b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> TG, 342a.

 $<sup>^{23}</sup>$  Sāmi ve Şākir ve Subhī Ta'rīhi (Istanbul, 1198/1783-84), 214b. Cf. Sicill-i  $^{\circ}O\underline{s}m\bar{a}n\bar{\imath},$  vol. 1, 256.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Çolak, *ibid.*, 863.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> TG, 359a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Sicill-i <sup>c</sup>Osmānī, vol. 1, 257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> *TG*, 324a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> TG, 323b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Şevket Rado, "Hazine-i Bîrun Kâtibi Ahmed bin Mahmud Efendi'nin Tuttuğu Prut Seferine Ait Defterden Koparılan Sahifelerde Neler Vardı?," *Belleten*, L/198 (December 1986), 809.