

[UNTITLED TREATISE]

[5a] Let there be unsurpassed praise and grateful acclaim for that self-sufficient Sovereign¹ who brought humankind into the realm of existence and honored and exalted it above all creation. And, from the perfection of His wisdom and the fount of His kindness, He gave [humankind] the faculty of speech and made [its] lot the acknowledgement of the unity of God and the giving of thanks for [His] diverse blessings. And let thousands of prayers be offered to the purified tomb and illuminated grave of His Excellency, the lord of lords and glory of creation, Muhammad Mustafa—may God, be He exalted, commend and salute him—and upon his family, his Companions, [and] his followers, who are people guided by God’s law. May God, be He exalted, be pleased with them all!

Subsequently, this humble slave of many sins, being the son of a slave of God,² became a *değişirme*³ and matured into a Janissary. I went on the Rhodes and Belgrade campaigns as a Janissary and later went on the Mohács campaign as an *atlusekban*,⁴ and became a *yayabaşı*⁵ of the *acemioğlan*.⁶ Sometime later, I became a *kapuyayabaşı*⁷ and, after a time, became a *zenberekçibaşı*.⁸ I joined the German campaign and, after that, the Baghdad campaign, and subsequently became a *haseki*⁹ and participated in the Corfu and Apulia campaigns. After that, I participated in the Moldavian campaign and upon my return was appointed to the office of chief imperial architect (*mi‘mārbaşı*). From the above-mentioned date to this day, I have served as [chief] architect. The buildings that came into existence [during my tenure] are set forth and commented upon in terms of eleven types in order that those who read [about them] should not forget to pronounce blessings upon this humble one.

[5b] The First [Building] Type: It sets forth the number of Friday mosques (*cāmi‘ler*) that were built.
The Second [Building] Type: It sets forth the number of masjids (*mesācid*) that were built.
The Third [Building] Type: It sets forth the number

of madrasas (*medāris*) that were built.

The Fourth [Building] Type: It sets forth the number of hospices (*‘imāretler*) that were built.

The Fifth [Building] Type: The hospitals (*dārü’ş-şifā*) that were built.

The Sixth [Building] Type: It sets forth the aqueducts (*şu yolu kemerleri*) that were built.

The Seventh [Building] Type: It sets forth the bridges (*cisrler*) [that were built].

The Eighth [Building] Type: It sets forth the number of palaces (*sarāylar*) that were built.

The Ninth [Building] Type: It sets forth the caravan-sarays (*kārbānsarāylar*) [that were built].

The Tenth [Building] Type: It sets forth the warehouses (*mahāzin*) that were built.

The Eleventh [Building] Type: It sets forth the bathhouses (*hammāmlar*) that were built.

[1b] THE NUMBER OF EXALTED BATHHOUSES THAT WERE BUILT IN HIS TIME UNDER HIS DIRECTION¹⁰

(1)¹¹ In [the environs of] the Blessed Ka‘ba the bathhouse of [Sokollu] Mehmed Pasha.¹²

(2) The bathhouse of the late Sultan Süleyman Khan Ghazi.¹³

(3) And three bathhouses were built in the New Imperial Palace.¹⁴

(4) And 3 bathhouses were built in the Üsküdar Palace.

(5) And the bathhouse of Karapınar.¹⁵

(6) And the bathhouses of the late Haseki [Hurrem] Sultan,¹⁶ one near Hagia Sophia and one inside [the quarter of] Yahudiler.

(7) And in Üsküdar, the bathhouse of Her Majesty the Valide [Nurbanu] Sultan.¹⁷

[2a] (8) And near the Cebe Ali Gate, again a bathhouse of the Valide Sultan.¹⁸

(9) And near the Edirne Gate, the bathhouse of Rüstem Pasha’s sultana [Mihrümah Sultan].

(10) And the bathhouse of the late grand vizier Lutfi Pasha [in Yenibahçe].

(11) And inside the Azeb Gate in Galata, the bathhouse of the grand vizier [Sokollu] Mehmed Pasha.

(12) And in Edirne, another bathhouse of the said late pasha.

[2b] (13) And in Yenibahçe, the bathhouse of Koca Mustafa Pasha.

(14) And near the Silivri Gate, the bathhouse of [Hadım] İbrahim Pasha.¹⁹

(15) And in Beşiktaş, the bathhouse of Kapudan (grand admiral) Sinan Pasha.

(16) And the bathhouse of Haydar Pasha.

(17) And in Zeyrek, the bathhouse of [Barbaros] Hayreddin Pasha.

(18) And near the Fenar Gate, the bathhouse of Kapudan [Kılıç] Ali Pasha.²⁰

(19) And in Tophane, the bathhouse of the said Kapudan Paşa.

(20) And in Sulumanastır, the bathhouse of Kapıağası (chief white eunuch) Yakub Ağa.

[3a] (21) And in the place called the Macuncu Market in Istanbul, the bathhouse of the late mufti Ebussuud Efendi.

(22) And in the town named Hafsa, the bathhouse of Mirimiran (governor general) [Sokollu] Kasım Pasha.

(23) And the bathhouse of Odabaşı (chief of the royal privy chamber) [Behruz Ağa].

(24) And the bathhouse of Merkez Efendi.²¹

(25) Near Canfeda, the bathhouse of Molla Çelebi.²²

(26) And the bathhouse of Nişancı [Celalzade Mustafa] Pasha.²³

(27) And in Ortaköy, the bathhouse of Husrev Kethüda.

(28) And the bathhouse of İzmit.²⁴

(29) And the bathhouse of Çatalca.²⁵

[3b] (30) And the bathhouse of Karapınar.²⁶

(31) [The Aksaray *mirlivasi*] Hüseyin Beg had a bathhouse built in Kayseri.

(32) And the bathhouse of Sarı Gürz.²⁷

(33) And near the Gümrükhane, the bathhouse of the son of [Barbaros] Hayreddin Pasha.²⁸

(34) And in Tophane, the bathhouse of Yakub Ağa.

(35) And in Tophane, the bathhouse of Kapudan Kılıç Ali Pasha.²⁹

NOTES

1. God. The term used in the text is *pādişāh*.
2. ‘*Abdullāh oğlu* is a patronymic that was frequently used by converts to Islam.
3. *devşirme*, a boy included in the periodic levy of children, originally Christian, but later Muslim as well, recruited for training to fill the ranks of the Janissary corps and to occupy posts in the palace service and administration.
4. *atlusekbān*, mounted keepers of the hounds for the royal hunt, a unit of the Janissary corps.
5. *yayabaşı*, the commander of an infantry unit of 100 men in the Janissary corps.
6. ‘*acemioglan*, literally “novice boy”, the term applied to Christian youths enrolled through the *devşirme* for service in the sultan’s palace troops.
7. *qaşuyayabaşı*, a commander of a unit of 100 men in the Janissary corps, who attended council meetings at the imperial palace.
8. *zenberekçibaşı*, commander of the corps in charge of catapults (*zenberek*), the 82nd regiment of the Janissaries.
9. *hāsekī*, a member of the imperial guards, the most prestigious units of the Janissary corps, consisting of the 14th, 49th, 66th, and 67th regiments.
10. The tentative draft nature of the inventory below is suggested by the absence of logical order toward the end of the list. Thus, while bathhouses (1) to (4) are sultans’ foundations, (5) to (8) are the foundations of imperial women, (9) to (27) are the foundations of grandees in Istanbul, and (28) to (31) are the foundations of grandees in the provinces, (32) to (35) are again baths of grandees in Istanbul that logically should come before bathhouse (28). In addition, several bathhouses have been added to these last two groups as emendations in a hand different from that of the main body of the text.
11. Numbers in parentheses refer to the sequence of the buildings in the enumeration.
12. Written as a note in a different hand in the right margin. Logically Sokollu Mehmed Pasha’s bathhouse should be placed among the foundations of the grandees. Significantly, its placement here is repeated in the arrangement of TM, where again it is (1) in the inventory of bathhouses.
13. In the Süleymaniye complex in Istanbul.
14. I.e., the Topkapı Palace.
15. Written as a note in a different hand in the right margin. The entry duplicates (30) below. It is repeated here presumably because a later redactor, aware that the patron of the foundation was Selim II, felt that the Karapınar bathhouse belonged in the list of sultans’ foundations.
16. The chief consort of Süleyman I and mother of Selim II.
17. The chief consort of Selim II and mother of Murad III.
18. I.e., the Cibali Gate in Fenar, Istanbul.
19. The bath, which appears to be no longer extant, was part of the complex of Hadım İbrahim Pasha, located at the Silivri Gate in Istanbul.
20. No longer extant but mentioned in the patron’s *waqfiyya*.
21. Located outside the New Gate (Yeni Kapı) in Istanbul.
22. Located in Fındıklı, in Istanbul. Its patron was Mehmed Vusuli Efendi, better known as Molla Çelebi.
23. Located in Eyüp, in Istanbul.

24. Its patron was the Husrev Kethüda mentioned in (27),
above.
25. Another foundation of Husrev Kethüda.
26. This entry repeats (5) above. The bathhouse was founded
by Şehzade Selim, who was later Selim II.
27. Patron unknown.
28. According to the inventory of bathhouses in TE (21), located
in Kemeraltı in Istanbul.
29. Repeats (19) above.

[ADSIZ RİSALE]

[5a] [1] H̄amd-ı bî-qıyās ve senā-yi bā-sipās ol pādişāh-ı bî-niyāz H̄azretine olsun ki [2] Ādem oğlanını vücūd ‘ālemine getürüp cemī‘-i maḥlūqāt üzerine mükerrrem ü mufazzal [3] qıldı ve kemāl-i ḥikmetinden ve ‘ayn-i ‘ināyetinden nuṭuq virüp vaḥdāniyyetine iqrār ve elvān-ı [4] ni‘metine şükr eylemegi rūzī qıldı ve hezārān-ı şıla-‘i şalavāt seyyid-i sādāt ve meḥḥar-i mevcūdāt [5] Muḥammedü’l-Muştafā *şallā’ullāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam* H̄azretinün muṭahhar türbesine ve münevver ravzasına ve āl [ü] aşḥāb [ü] etbā’ına ki [6] muqtedā-yı şer‘ qavīmledür. *Riḍwānu’llāhi ta’ālā ‘alayhim ajma’in*. Ba‘dehū bu ‘abdü’l-ḥaḡir-i keşirü’t-taḡsir [7] ‘Abdullāh oğlı olmağın devşirme gelüp yeñiçeri olup yeñiçerilik ile Rodös ve Belğrād [8] seferin seferleyüp ba‘dehū atlusekbānıllık ile Moḥāc seferin seferleyüp ba‘dehū ‘acemioglanlar yayabaşısı [9] olup niçe müddetdenşoñra qapuyayabaşısı olup¹ bir zamāndanşoñra daḡı [10] zenberekçi-başı olup Alāmān seferin ba‘dehū Bağdād seferin seferleyüp ba‘dehū ḥāsekī olup [11] Körföz ve Pūlya seferin ve bundanşoñra Qara-boğdān seferin seferleyüp gelindükde [12] mi‘mārbaşılıq ḥidmeti ta’yin olup ilā yevminā hazā tārīḥ-i mezbürdan berü mi‘mārılıq [13] ḥizmetinde olup² vāqı‘ olan binālardur ki on bir [14] nev‘ üzre beyān ve şerḥ qılınur tā ki³ muṭāla‘a⁴ qılanlar bu ḥaḡiri [15] ḡayr du‘ādan ferāmūs buyurmayalar.

[5b] [1] Nev‘ü’l-ulā / Binā olınan cāmi‘lerün ‘adedin beyān ider
[2] Nev‘ü’ş-şānī / Binā olınan mesācidlerün ‘adedin beyān ider
[3] Nev‘ü’ş-şāliş / Binā olınan medārislerün ‘adedin beyān ider
[4] Nev‘ü’r-rābi‘ / Binā olınan ‘imāretlerün ‘adedin beyān ider
[5] Nev‘ü’l-ḥāmis / Binā olınan dārü’ş-şifā
[6] Nev‘ü’s-sādīs / Binā olınan şu yolu kemerlerin beyān ider
[7] Nev‘ü’s-sābi‘ / Beyān olınan cisrleri beyān ider

[8] Nev‘ü’ş-şāmin / Binā olınan⁵ sarāylaruñ ‘adedin beyān ider
[9] Nev‘ü’t-tāsi‘ / Beyān olınan kārbānsarāyları beyān ider
[10] Nev‘ü’l-‘āşir / Binā olınan maḡāzinleri beyān ider
[11] Nev‘ü’l-iḥdā ve’l-‘āşir / Binā olınan ḡammāmları beyān ider

[1b] [1] ḤAMMĀMĀT-I ‘ĀLİYYĀT BİNĀLARI İ‘DĀ[D]IDUR Kİ [2] ZAMĀNLARINDA KENDİ MA‘RİFETLERİYLE BİNĀ OLMİŞDUR⁶

[3] (1)⁷ (*In right margin in naskh*) Ka‘be-i Mükerrremede
[4] Meḡmed Paşa ḡammāmı
[5] (2) Merḡüm Sultān Süleymān Ḥān-ı Ġāzī ḡammāmı
[6] (3) Ve Sarāy-ı Cedid-i Pādişāhīde üç [7] bāb ḡammām binā olınmışdur
[8] (4) Ve Üsküdār Sarāyında⁸ 3 ḡammām binā olmışdur
[9] (5) (*In right margin in naskh*) Ve ḡammām-ı Qarapınār
[10] (6) Ve merḡüme Ḥāsekī Sultān ḡammāmları (*added below line in a different hand*) Biri Ayāşöfyā / qurbinde / ve biri Yahūdiler / içinde
[11] (7) Ve Üsküdārda Vālide Sultān H̄azretleri / ḡammāmı
[2a] [1] (8) Ve Cebbe ‘Āli Qapısı qurbinde yine Vālide Sultān / ḡammāmı
[2] (9) Ve Edirne Qapısı qurbinde Rüstem Paşa sultānı / ḡammāmı⁹
[3] (10) Ve vezir-i a‘zam merḡüm Luṭfi Paşa ḡammāmı
[4] (11) Ve Ġalatada vezir-i a‘zam Meḡmed Paşa ḡammāmı (*Written above line in nasta‘liq*) ‘Azeb Qapusuñ iç yüzünde
[5] (12) Ve Edirne merḡüm-ı merqūm (merqūm *written above line*) paşanuñ bir ḡammāmı daḡı
[2b] [1] (13) Ve Yeñibāğçede Qoca Muštafā Paşa ḡammāmı

- [2] (14) Ve Silivrî Qapusu qurbinde İbrâhîm Paşa hammâmı
- [3] (15) Ve Beşiktaşda Qapūdân Sinân Paşa hammâmı¹⁰
- [4] (16) Ve Haydar Paşa hammâmı¹¹
- [5] (17) (Added before the line in a different hand: Zeyrekde) ve Hayreddin Paşa hammâmı¹²
- [6] (18) Ve Fenâr Qapusu qurbinde Qapūdân ‘Alî Paşa hammâmı
- [7] (19) Ve Topḥānede merqûm Qapūdân Paşa hammâmı
- [8] (20) Ve Şulmânâstırda Qapu Ağası Ya‘qûb Ağa / hammâmı
- [3a] [1] (21) Ve İstanbulda Ma‘cûncı Çârşüsü nâm maḥallde / müftî-yi merḥû[m] Ebû’s-Su‘ûd Efendi hammâmı
- [2] (22) Ve Hafşa nâm qaşabada Mîrimîrân Qâsım Paşa / hammâmı
- [3] (23) Ve Odabaşı hammâmı
(24) Ve Merkez Efendi hammâmı
- [4] (25)¹³ (Written above line: Canfedâ) qurbinde Mollâ Çelebî hammâmı
- [5] (26)¹⁴ Ve Nişâncı Paşa hammâmı
- [6] (27) Ve Ortaköyde Hüsrev Kethûdâ hammâmı
- [7] (28)¹⁵ Ve hammâm-ı İznikmîd
- [8] (29)¹⁶ Ve hammâm-ı Çatalca¹⁷
- [3b] [1] (30) Ve hammâm-ı Qarapınar¹⁸
- [2] (31) (Written in a different hand at angle at top right margin) Hüseyn Beg Qayşerîde bir hammâm binâ itmîşdür¹⁹
- [3] (32) Ve hammâm-ı Sarı Gürz²⁰
- [4] (33) Ve Gümrükḫâne qurbinde Hayreddin Paşazâde / hammâmı
- [5] (34) Ve Topḥānede Ya‘qûb Ağa hammâmı²¹
- [6] (35) Ve Topḥānede Qapudân Qılıç ‘Alî Paşa / hammâmı²²

NOTES

1. *ba‘dehû zenbereḳçibaşı* (subsequently [I became] a *zenbereḳçibaşı*) crossed out.
2. *binâ olunan câmi‘ler* (the Friday mosques that were built) crossed out.
3. *mutâla‘a* (read) crossed out.
4. *idenler* (who do) crossed out.
5. *cevâmi‘* (Friday mosques) crossed out.
6. Folios 1b–3b are written in *naskh*, in a hand clearly distinct from that of 4a–5b.

7. Numbers in parentheses following the line numbers in brackets refer to the sequence of the buildings in the enumeration.
8. *bir* (one) crossed out.
9. *Üşküdarı merqûme sultânıñ hammâmı* (The bathhouse of the aforesaid sultana in Üşküdar) crossed out.
10. *Ve Qâsım Paşa hammâmı çifte (?) binâ olmuştur* (And the bath of Kasım Pasha was built as a double [bathhouse]) crossed out. The same bath is referred to in (22), above.
11. *Ve Sultân-ı İskender Paşa hammâmı der Qaḥlıca* (And the bathhouse of the sultana of İskender Pasha in Kanlıca) crossed out.
12. *Qaḥlıcada İskender Paşa hammâmı* (The bathhouse of İskender Pasha in Kanlıca) written as marginal note at right and crossed out.
13. *Ve Topḥâne* (And Tophane) crossed out.
14. *Ve Eyyüb-i Enşârî hammâmı* (And the bathhouse of Eyüp) crossed out.
15. *Ve hammâm-ı Gēgbūze* (And the bathhouse of Gebze) crossed out. Referred to again on 3b, following (32), but crossed out there as well. The baths of both Gebze and İzmit (İznikmid) were built by the same Hüsrev Kethûda mentioned in (27) above.
16. *Ve hammâm-ı Şabanca* (And the bathhouse of Sapanca) crossed out.
17. Again built by the same Hüsrev Kethûda mentioned in (27) above.
18. Followed by *Ve hammâm-ı Qayşerîyye* (And the bathhouse of Kayseri), crossed out. The bathhouse in Karapınar is the same as (5) above, where it is placed in proper sequence, next to the royal baths, given that its patron was Şehzade Selim [II]. Its placement here was apparently governed by the scribe’s concern for geographical order; Karapınar is a provincial town near Konya, and this entry is followed in the inventory by a bathhouse in Kayseri (31).
19. This is the same bathhouse as that mentioned in the crossed-out entry in n. 18, above.
20. *Ve hammâm-ı Söfîler çifte olmuştur Ve hammâm-ı Hâcî Hâtûn çifte olmuştur Ve hammâm-ı Gēgbūze* (And the bathhouse of Sofular. It is a double [bathhouse]. And the bathhouse of Hacı Hatun. It is a double [bathhouse]. And the bathhouse of Gebze.) crossed out. This last was founded by the same Hüsrev Kethûda who founded the baths in Ortaköy, Çatalca, and İzmit and is mentioned above in the crossed-out portion of (28) (see n. 15).
21. *Ve hammâm-ı İznikmîd* (And the bathhouse of İzmit) crossed out. Built by Hüsrev Kethûda. The bath is mentioned in (28), above.
22. *Edirneqapusunda Rüstem Paşa hammâmı* (The bathhouse of [Mihriümah Sultan, the sultana of] Rüstem Pasha in Edirnekapı) written in a different hand in lower margin and crossed out since it repeats (9) above. A second note written in the right margin at the bottom of the page, also crossed out, reads, ‘*Azeb Qapusuñ iç yüzünde Mehmed Paşa hammâmı* (The bathhouse of [Sokollu] Mehmed Pasha inside the Azeb Gate). The same bath is listed in (11), above.