

## [TREATISE ON ARCHITECTURE]

[1a] HE [GOD]

Praise and thanks and unsurpassed glory upon that matchless Creator and all-powerful God—may He be honored and glorified—Who, in accord with the blessed verse of the Qur’an, “And [have We not] built for you the seven firmaments?,”<sup>1</sup> without architect or builder and without column or pier made apparent and manifest above the earth’s pure face the green vault and spreading canopy of the heavens. And kneading water and clay, [He] created humankind, and, by means of a cloak of excellence, rendered it more distinguished and superior than [His] other creations. And, in accord with the meaning of the truthful verse of the Qur’an “And We raise some of them above others in rank,”<sup>2</sup> He made them differ in esteem from one another. And pure prayers upon that lord of lords and quintessence of Creation, His Excellency Muhammad Mustafa, thanks to the fount of whose paradise-like, shining countenance the beautiful garden of thanksgiving and satisfaction grew and flourished. And because that Beloved of God was the cause of all Creation, on the Night of the Prophet’s miraculous ascent to the Throne of God, [that] seal of the seal ring, signet of intercession, and joyful crown was exalted and celebrated with the jeweled ornament, “But for thee, but for thee, verily the spheres had not been created!”<sup>3</sup> May the blessings of God be upon him, his family, and his companions as long as the earth and the heavens endure!

Verse

O God, the glory of the crown and throne of the  
House of Osman,  
Shah, who is the conqueror of the nations, celebrated  
ghazi, Sultan Murad,  
Shah in the manner of Selim, of Solomon-like dig-  
nity, in whose  
Perfection of justice and benevolence neither equal  
nor like is found,

[1b] May his sun-like star of fortune seize the world,  
inasmuch as

He is the illustrious ruler, seizing provinces with his  
saintliness!

May he gain dominion over the whole world and  
create buildings in the lands of China!

May he bestow allotments upon his cavalry soldiers  
from his fiefs and pious foundations!

Let his works in Istanbul be lofty and sun-like!

[And] his gifts and honors for those possessed of skill  
be beyond limit!

Now, this servant of little renown, Sinan son of ‘Abdül-  
mennan, celebrated as the humble chief architect  
(*mi‘mārbaşı*), who is in truth a son of ‘Abdullah<sup>4</sup> in  
accord with Ottoman dynastic law and imperial custom,  
came years ago to the Threshold of the State [Istan-  
bul], together with the *devşirme*<sup>5</sup> boys of the province  
of Karaman and the lands of the Greeks. Thereafter,  
I was employed in various capacities in the provinces  
for some time, until I was promoted through the rank  
of the *acemioğlan*<sup>6</sup> and attained the rank of Janissary.  
And while a member of that corps I took part in  
the Rhodes and Belgrade campaigns as part of the  
imperial retinue and attained the rank of *sekban*.<sup>7</sup>  
And together with the aforesaid corps, I participated  
in the Mohács campaign and became a *yayabaşı*<sup>8</sup> of  
the *acemioğlan*. After a time, I was favored with the  
office of *kapuyayabaşı*<sup>9</sup> and some time later joined the  
German campaign with the rank of *zenberekçibaşı*,<sup>10</sup>  
until I became a *haseki*<sup>11</sup> in the Baghdad campaign.  
And returning as the result of good fortune, and fol-  
lowing the Corfu and Apulia campaigns,<sup>12</sup> I set out  
on the Moldavian campaign. And upon my return,  
the office of chief imperial architect was committed  
to my charge. And from that time until the present,  
in the days of three most glorious padishahs, that is,  
Sultan Süleyman Khan [I], Sultan Selim Khan [II],  
and Sultan Murad Khan [III]...<sup>13</sup>

[2a] Of the buildings that came into being after

the felicitous accession of the deceased and departed lord of fortunate conjunction, Sultan Süleyman Khan [I], all of them, with the exception of the exalted complex<sup>14</sup> built in the city of Istanbul for his nation-conquering father, His Majesty Sultan Selim Khan—may God's pardon and mercy be upon him—were created during the tenure of this servant. Listed in terms of eleven [building] types, they are truthfully made known and commented upon so as to be the cause of prayers of blessing!

### [2b] HE [GOD]

If there were no architect to build the world,  
With stone alone, no wall could be made.  
Above all, a wise architect such as this,  
A master engineer, pious and without defect:  
Sinan of Kayseri is his celebrated name.  
His diligence is abundant in architecture.  
It would be fitting were he called most famous.  
He was the servant of three illustrious kings.  
During each of those three reigns he built many build-  
ings  
And attained in his art [great] skill.  
And in the Friday mosque of the sainted Sultan  
Süleyman  
His abilities in this science he did perfect.  
Fearlessly, with but the least of his art,  
Many soaring columns did he dismantle and raise.  
[Building] aqueducts resembling the Çekmece  
Bridge,  
He joined arch atop arch.  
Seeing one of these [aqueducts], a wise person pos-  
sessed of reason  
Would the Arch of Ctesiphon<sup>15</sup> forget!  
If [the palace of] Khawarnaq<sup>16</sup> was the wonder of  
the age,  
He like Khawarnaq many mansions built.  
Men of wisdom who look at his buildings  
Would surely say, "God's mercy upon the master [who  
created them]!"<sup>17</sup>

[3a] The First [Building] Type: It sets forth the num-  
ber of congregational mosques (*cevāmi'*) that  
were built.  
The Second [Building] Type: It sets forth the number  
of maşjids (*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 (*'imārāt*) that were built.

The Fifth [Building] Type: It sets forth the number  
of hospitals (*dārü's-şifā*) that were built.

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

The Seventh [Building] Type: It sets forth the number  
of water channels (*şu yolu kemerleri*) that were  
built.

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

The Ninth [Building] Type: It sets forth the bath-  
houses (*hammāmlar*) that were built.

The Tenth [Building] Type: It sets forth the ware-  
houses (*mağzenler*) that were built.

The Eleventh [Building] Type: It sets forth the cara-  
vansarays (*kārbānsarāylar*) that were built.

### THE FIRST [BUILDING] TYPE

It sets forth the Friday mosques that were built.<sup>18</sup>

[29a]<sup>19</sup> (And thus, in auspicious times, with) much  
courage and in blessed moments, with countless ideas  
and geometry (lives were consumed and with a thou-  
sand bitter tears, with hitting and beating), auspicious  
madrasas and exalted hospices were designed. And in  
order that a memorial and record [of them] endure  
through the pages of time, a blessed index, a pref-  
ace, eleven [chapters listing building] types, and an  
epilogue were prepared (...) It was given the name  
*Treatise on Architecture*. And success is from God!

### NOTES

1. Qur'an, 78:12.
2. Qur'an, 43:32.
3. Hadith.
4. *'Abdullāh oğlu*; see AR, translation, n. 2.
5. *değişirme*; see AR, translation, n. 3.
6. *'acemiöğlan*; see AR, translation, n. 6.
7. *sekbān*, same as *atlusekbān*; see AR, translation, n. 4.
8. *yayabaşı*; see AR, translation, n. 5.
9. *qapuyayabaşı*; see AR, translation, n. 7.
10. *zenberekçibaşı*; see AR, translation, n. 8.
11. *hāşekī*; see AR, translation, n. 9.
12. Of 1537.
13. The text of RM breaks off at this point with a long fragmen-  
tary section that has been crossed out in revision. For trans-  
lation, see n. 6 of the transcription.
14. The Selimiye complex in Istanbul.
15. *Tāq-ı Kısra* (the Arch of Khusraw), name given to the great  
Sasanian palace built about 20 miles south of Baghdad, at

- al-Mada'in on the Tigris, which in literature and the popular mind assumed a mythic quality for its vast scale and the skill of its builders.
16. *Havernak*, the palace of the Lakhmid chief Nu'man near Najaf in southern Iraq, which among the pre-Islamic Arab poets was regarded as one of the wonders of the world and later became a metaphor for splendor and architectural ingenuity.
  17. A couplet is crossed out at the top of 3a. For translation, see n. 14 of the transcription.
  18. There follow several lines of text at the bottom of 3b and the top of 4a that have been crossed out. For translation, see n. 15 of transcription.
  19. Crossed-out passages are placed in parentheses.

## [RİSĀLETÜ'L-Mİ' MĀRİYYE]

[1a] [1] HŪ

[2] Həmd ü sipās ve sənā-yi bī-qiyās ol Şāni' i bī-hemtā ve Qādir-i tūvānā celle şānühū ve 'azuma bürhānühū [3] Həzretlerine ki hāk-i pāk üzre t̄aq-ı hāzrā ve rivāq-ı fers-şā-yı 'arş-peymā-yı bilā-mi' mār ü bennā [4] ve bī-sütün u filpā naşş-ı şerif *wa banaynā fawqakum sab'an shidādan* tıbāqınca [5] peydā vū hüveydā eyledi. Ve təhmīr-i āb ü gilden nev'-i beşeri hālq idüp [6] ve hıl'at-ı kerāmetle sāyir maḥlūqātdan mümtāz ü ser-efrāz qılup *wa rafā'nā ba'dakum* [7] *fawqa ba'din darajāt* āyet-i vāfiyyü'l-hidāyesi mefhūmiyle birbirinden mütefāvitü[8]'l-i'tibār qıldı. Ve şalavāt-ı zākiyāt ol seyyid-i sādāt ve zübde-'i mevcūdāt [9] Həzret-i Muḥammed Muştāfā ki hədəyiq-ı zātü'l-behce-'i şükr ü rızā anuñ serçeşme-'i āb-ı rü-yı [10] cennet-āsālariyle neşv ü nemā bulup hılqat-i mäsivāya ol Həbib-i Hüdā [11] bā'is olduğu için Leyletü'l-Mi'rācda hətem-i hətemiyyeti (nigin-i şefā'at ve təc-ı ibtihāci gevher-i)<sup>1</sup> *lawlāka lawlāka* [12] *lamā halaqtu'l-aflāka* tarsi'i<sup>2</sup> birle iştiḥār ü i'tilā buldı. [13] *Şalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa 'alā ālihī wa aşḫābihī mā dāmāti'l-arḍu wa dārati's-samā'*.

Nəzm

[14] İlähī Āl-i 'Oşmān taht ü təcnuñ ser-efrāzi Şeh-i kişver-güşā Sultān Murād-ı nāmver gāzi  
[15] Selim-etvār bir şāh-ı Süleymān-menziletdür kim  
Kemāl-i 'adl ü ihsānda bulunmaz mişl ü enbāzi  
[1b] [1] Güneş-mānend necm-i bahtı tutsun 'ālemi zirā  
Velāyetle vilāyet almanuñdur hān-ı mümtāzi  
(Cihānı hep açup yapsun 'imāret Çin ü Māçinde  
Sipāhiye virüp tūmār ü evqāfından ifrāzi  
Sıtānbül içre āsarı bülend olsun güneş-mānend  
Füzün ḥadden<sup>3</sup> hüner erbābına ikrām ü i'zāzi)<sup>4</sup>

[2] Ve ba'd bu bende-'i qalilü'l-i'tibār Sinān bin<sup>5</sup> 'Abdü'l-Mennān eş-şehīr bi-mi'mārbaşı-yı [3] hāksār ki fi'l-

ḥaqıqa 'Abdullāh oğlu olmağla sinin-i sābıqada qānūn-ı 'Oşmāniyye [4] ve āyin-i Hāqāniyye üzre Vilāyet-i Qarāmān ve bilād-ı Yūnān devşirme oğlanlariyle [5] der-i devlete gelüp ve andan birqaç zamān taşrada ba'zi ḥidemāta qullanılup [6] tā ki 'acemioglanlığı pāyesin qat' idüp yeñiçeri olmaq rütbesine irişdüm [7] ve ol bölükde iken Rodös ve Belğrad seferlerinde rikāb-ı hümāyünda bulunup [8] sekbānliq mertebesin buldum ve zümre-'i mezbüre ile Mohāc seferine irişüp [9] 'acemi-oğlanları yayabaşısı oldum. Ve niçe müddetdenşoñra qapuyayabaşılığı 'ināyet [10] buyurilup ba'dezamān zenberekci-başılığıla Ālāmān seferine vardum tā ki [11] Bağdād seferinde ḥāşekī olup ve ḥayırla mürāca'at qılınup Körföz [12] ve Pūlya seferlerinüñ şoñında Qara-boğdān seferine varilup geldükde mi'mār[13]başılıq ḥidmeti tefvīz qılındı. Ve ol zamāndan bu āna dek üç pādīşāh-ı 'azimü'ş-şān [14] a'ni Sultān Süleymān Hān ve Sultān Selim Hān ve Sultān Murād Hān Həzretlerinüñ eyyām-ı hümāyunlarında...<sup>6</sup>  
[2a] [1] Vāqi' olan binālardan ancaq [2] merḥūm ve mağfürunleh Sultān Süleymān Hān-ı [3] şahib-quranuñ cülüs-i sa'adet-me'nuslarındanşoñra [4] vālid-i mācid-i kişver-sitān Sultān Selim Hān [5] 'alayhi'r-rahmatu wa'l-gufrān Həzretlerinüñ [6] üzerlerine nefsi İstanbulda yapılan [7] 'imāret-i 'aliyyeden gayrı bi'l-cümle bu bendelerinüñ [8] təhviline vāqi' olmuşdur ki on bir nev' üzre [9] fihrist bağlanup ḥaqıqatıle şerḥ ü beyān qılınur [10] ki bā'is-i du'a-'i ḥayr ola...

[2b] [1] HŪ

[2] Cihān ta'mirine olmasa mi'mār  
[3] Yapılmaz yalnız taşile divār  
[4] Ḥuşuşā söyle bir mi'mār-ı 'āqil  
[5] Mühendis zū-fünün dindār ü kāmil  
[6] Sinān-ı<sup>7</sup> Qayşeri meşhūr nāmı  
[7] Füzün mi'mārliqda ihtimāmı  
[8] 'Azimü'ş-şān dinilürse yoludur  
[9] Mu'azzam üç şehinşāhuñ qulhdur  
[10] <sup>8</sup>Her üç 'ahd içre yapmış çoq 'imāret

- [11] <sup>9</sup>Ki buldı şan'atındaki mehâret  
 [12] <sup>10</sup>Veli Sultân Süleymân câmi'inde  
 [13] Hünere qısmın tamâm<sup>11</sup> itdi bu fennde  
 [14] <sup>12</sup>(Bir ednâ şan'atıyla bi-tehâşi  
 [15] Yıqup dikdi niçe dikilü taş  
 [16] Su yolu Çekmece köprisi mænend  
 [17] Kemer üzre kemerler itdi peyvend<sup>13</sup>  
 [18] Birisin seyr iden dānā-yi zī-hüş  
 [19] İderdi Tāq-ı Kisrāyi ferāmüş  
 [20] Hāvernaqdur egerçi şöhre-'i aşr  
 [21] Hāvernaq gibi yapmışdur niçe qaşr  
 [22] Yapısına baqan erbāb-ı hikmet  
 [23] Dir elbette üstādına rahmet)

- [3a]<sup>14</sup> [2] Nev'ü'l-evvelî / Binā olman cevāmi'ün 'adedin beyān ider  
 [3] Nev'ü's-sānî / Binā olman mesācidün 'adedin beyān ider  
 [4] Nev'ü's-sālîs / Binā olman medārisün 'adedin beyān ider  
 [5] Nev'ü'r-rābi' / Binā olman 'imārātun 'adedin beyān ider  
 [6] Nev'ü'l-hāmis / Binā olman dārü's-şifānuñ / 'adedin beyān ider  
 [7] Nev'ü's-sādîs / Binā olman sarāylarun 'adedin beyān ider  
 [8] Nev'ü's-sābi' / Binā olman şu yolu kemerlerin beyān ider  
 [9] Nev'ü's-sāmin / Binā olman cisrleri beyān ider  
 [10] Nev'ü't-tāsi' / Binā olman hāmmāmları beyān ider  
 [11] Nev'ü'l-'āşir / Binā olman maḥzenleri beyān ider  
 [12] Nev'ü'l-hādî 'aşr / Binā olman kārbaşarāyları beyān ider

[13] NEV'Ü'L-EVVELİ

Binā olman câmi'lerün 'adedin beyān ider<sup>15</sup>

[29a] [1]<sup>16</sup> (Ve bu deñlü ezmān-ı hüceste) niçe diller ve avān-ı müteberreke de hezār fikr ü hendese ile ([2] 'ömürler şarf olup hezār hün-i cigerle [3] cerh ü darb) [4] şüret bulan medāris-i hüceste ve 'imārāt-ı 'aliyyenün [5] bu şerh ü tafşili şahāy-ı rüzgārda [6] nümüne ü yādgār qalmaq için [7] fihrist-i müteberrikesi bir muqaddime [8] ve on bir nev' bir hātıme [9] ile tertüb qılndı. [10] (... [11] ... [12]) *Risāletü'l-Mi' mariyye* diyü ad qonuldu. [13] *Wa bi-llāhi't-tawfiq*.

NOTES

1. Written in left margin.
2. *tāc-ı zū'l-ibtihāc* (joyful crown) crossed out.
3. *füzün olsun* (be abundant) crossed out.
4. These two couplets are written in the top and right margins of the page.
5. 'Abdü'l-Kerim crossed out
6. Fragmentary passages beginning on the last two lines of 1b and continuing on the top of 2a are crossed out. They read as follows: ...olan [15] *bināları on bir nev' üzre fihrist bağlanup haqqatı ile şerh ve beyān* [16] *qılınur ki bā'ış-i zikr-i cemil ve mücib-i du'ā-'i ḥayr ola nitekim dinilmişdür.* [2a] [1] *Merhūm ve mağfürunleh Sultān Süleymān Hān Hāzretlerinün cülüs-i sa'adet-me'nūslarından soñra nefs-i İstanbūlda vālid-i mācidleri üzre* [2] *binālardan ancaq İstanbūlda olan Sultān Selim bin Sultān Bāyezīd Hān* [3] *Vāqı' olan binālardan ancaq İstanbūlda yapılan Sultān Selim Hān 'alayhi'r-rahmatu* [4] *wa'l-gufrān Hāzretlerinün üzerlerine yapılan 'imāret-i 'aliyye. Nefs-i İstanbūlda yapılan 'imāret-i 'aliyye bu qulları ol zamān āher hüdmetde olduğıçün* [5] *türbe-i şerif bu bendelerinin tahviline vāqı' olmayup* [6] *gayrı mi'mār... ve andan mā'adā bi'l-cümle bu bendeleri vuqūfiyle tekmile irişmişdür.* [7] *Ki on bir nev' üzre...* (...buildings are listed in terms of eleven types and are truthfully made known and commented upon so as to be, it is hoped, the cause of praiseworthy mention and a motive for prayers of blessing. [2a] After the felicitous accession of His Majesty the deceased and departed Sultan Süleymān Khan, but for the buildings for his illustrious father in the city of Istanbul... Sultan Selim son of Sultan Bayezid Khan in the city of Istanbul... Among the buildings that came into being, only the exalted complex for His Majesty Sultan Selim Khan—may God's mercy and protection be upon him—which was built in Istanbul... The exalted complex that was built in the city of Istanbul... Because this slave was [involved] in a different service at that time, the noble tomb had not come into being at [the time of] this servant's appointment... another architect... And except that one, all other [buildings] reached completion through the expertise of this servant... And they are in terms of eleven types...)
7. *ağadur* (he is the aga) crossed out.
8. *yapdı cümle 'ahdında* (in all of whose reigns he built) at the beginning of the line crossed out.
9. *Buluşdur* (he attained) at the beginning of the line crossed out.
10. *soñra* (subsequently) at the beginning of the line crossed out.
11. *itmiş* ([he] made) crossed out.
12. Lines 14–23 are written in the left margin. With minor variations they are incorporated into the text of TM (5b:5–7).
13. *Niçe 'ālî kemer yapmış hünermend* (He built many noble [and] excellent arches) crossed out.
14. *Beyt Çüridi niçe biñ mi'mārbaşı / Durur İstanbūlun dikilü taş wa'llāhu a'lam bi's-sawāb* (Couplet: Many thousand a chief architect turned to dust, [but] Istanbul's columns endure, and God knows through good deeds) is written on folio 3a:1 and crossed out.
15. The text beginning with three lines at the bottom of 3a and continuing with the first two lines of 3b is crossed out. It reads as follows: *İttifāq-ı 'ahd-ı hümāyün-ı Sultān Süleymān Hān* [14] *'alayhi'r-rahmatu wa'l-gufrānda Hāzretlerinün 'ahd-*

*hümâyünlerinde bu bendeleri mi' mārbaşı olduğundan aqdem ancaq cāmī-i şerīf ve 'imāret ve [15] medrese-i laṭīfe ve zāviye-<sup>2</sup>i mā'mūre-<sup>2</sup>i Sultān Selīm Hān nawwara'llāh madjā'a āhīr üstād mi'mār mübāşeretīyle [3b] [1] yapılmışdur Ve andan mā'adāsı bu qalilü'l-bizā' anuñ 'iqdām ve ihtimām-ı birle itmām ve [2] ihtitāma işmişdür. Bi-'ināyeti'llāh ta'ālā wa tavfīqihī ki mücmelen tafsil qılınur. (Before this humble servant became chief architect in the imperial reign of His Majesty, in the imperial reign of Sultan Süleyman Khan—may God's mercy and protection be*

upon him—only the noble Friday mosque and hospice and fine madrasa and flourishing convent of Sultan Selim Khan—may God illumine his grave—had been built under the supervision of the former master architect. And the rest reached completion and perfection through the sincere care and effort of this one of little ability. By the grace of God, be He exalted, and divine assistance, it is concisely explained.)

16. Words in parentheses are crossed out in this fragmentary draft.