

# RİSÂLE-İ MİCMÂRİYYE

AN EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN TREATISE  
ON ARCHITECTURE

FACSIMILE WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

HOWARD CRANE



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ON ARCHITECTURE

# STUDIES IN ISLAMIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE

SUPPLEMENTS TO MUQARNAS

VOLUME I



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E.J. BRILL  
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For Dushka



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## PREFACE

As is generally known, vernacular literary sources having to do with the architecture and visual arts of the Islamic world are notable for their scarcity, and those texts that do exist have attracted considerable interest. It is this circumstance that first drew my attention to the *Risāle-i Mi'māriyye* and subsequently prompted me to translate it in order to make the text more widely accessible to art and architectural historians. In doing so I make no claims to special expertise as an Ottomanist. It is my hope, nonetheless, that my efforts will be of some value to those persons interested in the visual arts of the Islamic peoples.

In this connection I wish to express my sincere gratitude to all those persons who have given me their time and assistance in the completion of this work: Dr. Filiz Çağman and the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul, for supplying me with a microfilm of YY 339; Dr. Bahaeddin Yediyıldız for assistance with transcription of the Ottoman; Ms. Müge Galin for patiently listening to my reading of long passages of translation and giving numerous invaluable suggestions; Mr. Nima Shafaieh, Dr. Walter Andrews and Dr. Barbara Groseclose for reading parts of the manuscript and offering valuable criticisms and suggestions; Mrs. Margaret Ševčenko of the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture for assistance in innumerable ways in preparing the manuscript for publication; Ms. Marty Marlatt for patiently typing various drafts of the manuscript. I need hardly add that I am fully responsible for all of its shortcomings.

HOWARD CRANE

Ohio State University, Columbus  
October, 1984

## NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The transliteration of Ottoman Turkish used here follows the system adopted by the *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. Arabic and Persian terms and passages are transliterated according to the system used in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, with the exception that *ḵ* rather than *q* is used for the *ق*, in order to keep Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Arabic cognates as close to one another as possible in their transliterated forms.

Ottoman Turkish contains a vast number of terms of Arabic and Persian origin. These will be transliterated as Ottoman unless the text identifies a particular term or passage as actually being Arabic or Persian. In other words, only those terms specifically designated as

Arabic, personal names and place names, Arabic book titles, and passages taken from the *Ḳurʿān*, *ḥadīth* or other Arabic literary sources will be transliterated as Arabic. Likewise, only terms designated as Persian will be given in Persian transcription.

Except for names not commonly known, place names are rendered in accordance with generally accepted English forms. Terms and titles of Turkish, Persian, or Arabic origin which have gained general acceptance in English will be spelled in accordance with the anglicized forms found in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*.

# INTRODUCTION

Some years ago the late L. A. Mayer noted that one of the most striking features of Islamic civilization is that, rich as it is in monumental architecture, it has left us but scanty information, either historical or legendary, about the architects who erected its buildings.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to the Romans or High Renaissance architects in Europe, Islamic architects have for the most part been relegated to the same anonymity as their counterparts in the medieval West.

To be sure, various types of administrative officials assigned to the supervision of official building projects are known to us by title as well as by name. "Clerks of Works" and "Superintendants of Building" are well attested in Mamluk Egypt and Syria where they bore the title *shādd al-ʿamāʾir*;<sup>2</sup> in Umayyad Spain, where they were called *ṣāhib al-mabāni*;<sup>3</sup> and in the Seljuk and Ottoman states, where they were designated *āmīr-i miʿmār* and *bināʾ emīni*.<sup>4</sup> For the most part they can be assumed to have performed the duties of supervisor and business manager in charge of the construction of state projects. Although in some instances they no doubt also possessed a certain amount of technical knowledge and were, along with the patron, involved in the planning of a particular building, they would not have had the training, experience or technical knowledge of a skilled architect-craftsman. But it is precisely these officials who are most often commemorated in epigraphy, and occasionally mentioned in literary sources and legends as well. The actual architect, who possessed at least some formal training and theoretical knowledge of engineering and geometry, was consigned to almost total obscurity.

Occasional epigraphic testimony to the activities of particular architects does of course exist, although as compared to the prominence given the names of

patrons and superintendants of building in texts of this sort, it is not only infrequent but almost always inconspicuous—situated at the end of an epigraph as if the result of an afterthought, for example, or placed separately in some out-of-the-way spot in a building. Mayer notes that "the hundreds of Mamluk inscriptions of Cairo, Aleppo and Damascus do not reveal more than half a dozen names of architects for each town, but they are thickly set with names of officials of all kinds, most of whom had nothing to do with the building operation proper."<sup>5</sup>

In large part, of course, this circumstance is to be explained by the fact that the Islamic architect functioned not as an independent professional, but as a client, or *intisāb*, in the service of a ruler or official. He thus belonged to the retinue of a particular patron with whom his activities were intimately identified and in whose service he often remained for long periods of time, if not for his entire professional life. This close and continuous association is made clear in the epigraphy of the Seljuks of Anatolia, where the same architects' names appear repeatedly in the construction inscriptions of particular patrons. Perhaps the best known examples are those of Kalūk ibn ʿAbd Allāh and Kālūyān al-Kūnawī, found on several buildings of Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī, the *ṣāhib-ʿatā*. A certain Abū ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Rajā al-Ḥalabī is also known from epigraphy to have acted as architect for several of the military foundations of Sultan Kaykāʾūs I.<sup>6</sup>

It appears, then, that in most Islamic societies throughout their history, the architect had little in the way of what we might call an independent professional existence. Moreover, his training was frequently deficient in formal education, and he appears often to have possessed little in the way of theoretical knowledge of

<sup>1</sup> L. A. Mayer, *Islamic Architects and Their Works* (Geneva: Albert Kundig, 1956), p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> See L. A. Mayer, "The Inspector of Buildings in the Mamluk Period," *Bulletin of the Institute for Jewish Studies of Hebrew University*, I (1925), pp. 87-91; also L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), pp. 54 and 67-68.

<sup>3</sup> Mayer, *Architects*, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> For the title *āmīr-i miʿmār*, see M. Th. Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, vol. IV (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1902), p. 147. The office of *bināʾ emīni* is described by H. A. R. Gibb and

Harold Bowen in *Islamic Society and the West*, I, 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 356-357, and by I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1945), pp. 375-378.

<sup>5</sup> Mayer, *Architects*, p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> See Et. Combe, J. Sauvaget and Gaston Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, XII (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1931-), nos. 4430, 4431, 4432, 4494 tes, 4646; also *ibid.*, X, nos. 3761, 3774; and *ibid.*, XI, no. 4031. For a full discussion of bibliography, see Mayer, *Architects*, pp. 35-36, 77-79.

engineering, if the massively overbuilt and irregular planning of so much of Islamic monumental architecture can be taken as any indication. In truth, the distinction between the architect and the foreman mason can often hardly be made, and it is likely that they frequently sprang from similar backgrounds.

The training and status of the Ottoman architect were in some ways strikingly different from those of architects in most traditional Islamic societies. In part these differences had to do with the bureaucratic centralization of construction and restoration of state and official monuments under the auspices of the *hâşşa mi'mârları ocağı* (Corps of Imperial Architects), a sort of ministry of public works headed by a professional architect with the title *ser-mi'mârân-ı hâşşa* or *hâşşa mi'mârbaşı* (Chief Imperial Architect) and staffed by a number of subordinate architects and skilled workmen specializing in particular crafts. Different also was the education afforded members of the *hâşşa mi'mârlar ocağı*, who generally began their training as *'acemi oğlans* or Janissary recruits specializing in a particular manual skill in the imperial palace or in the household of a high-ranking Ottoman official, with architects in particular receiving instruction in the science of geometry and in surveying before being apprenticed to the *ocağ*.

Although better understood than is generally the case for Islamic architects, the training and activities of the Ottoman architect, as well as the specific character and historical evolution of the bureaucratic framework within which he worked, are still only poorly known.<sup>7</sup> The research that has been done has been based in part on literary sources—histories, travel accounts, biographies—and in part on archival materials in the

Başbakanlık Arşivi, the Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi and other Turkish archival repositories. Archival sources of value range from imperial and bureaucratic commands (*hüküm*) to account books of various sorts (*ta'mirât defterleri*, *keşif defterleri* and *inşâât defterleri*), deeds of trust for pious foundations (*vakfiyyes*), and judicial records of religious courts (*ser'î mahkeme sicilleri*).<sup>8</sup> Literary sources include Ottoman court histories—Na'imâ, Selânîkî, Râşid and others<sup>9</sup>—travel accounts, and descriptive works such as Evliyâ Çelebi's *Seyâhatnâme* and Hâfîz Hüseyin al-Ayvânsarâyî's *Hadiikat al-Cevâmî*.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps the most famous literary sources dealing with a specific architect are the *Tezkiret al-Ebniye* of Nakkaş Sâ'î Muştafâ Çelebi and the other *tezkeres* that recount the life of the sixteenth-century architect Sinân.<sup>11</sup>

Using these materials, scholars have begun the task of researching the lives and identifying the works of specific Ottoman architects. One of the earliest writers to work in this vein was Ahmet Refik, whose *Türk Mimarları*<sup>12</sup> contained chapters on the imperial architects Sinân, Dâvüd Ağa, Kâsım Ağa and Muştafâ Ağa, as well as the transcribed texts of a number of sixteenth-century *hüküms* having to do with architecture. Another series of important studies of individual imperial architects was published by Muzaffer Erdoğan, who wrote on Dâvüd Ağa, Kayseri'li Mehmed Ağa and Mehmed Tâhir Ağa.<sup>13</sup> Şehabeddin Akalın published an important study of the Chief Imperial Architect Ahmed Dâlgîç Pasha,<sup>14</sup> and Semavi Eyice did a similar study of Mi'mâr Kâsım.<sup>15</sup> For Sinân, the best known of the Ottoman imperial architects, accounts have been published by a number of writers, including İ. H. Konyalı, Aptullah Kuran and Ernst Egli.<sup>16</sup> But

<sup>7</sup> For the most systematic description of the *hâşşa mi'mârları ocağı*, see Şerafettin Turan, "Osmanlı Teşkilatında Hassa Mimarlar," *Tarih Araştırmalar Dergisi*, I, 1, 1963, pp. 157-202.

<sup>8</sup> For a description of some of these types of materials, see Muzaffer Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Mimarısı Tarihinin Otantik Yazma Kaynakları," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, VI, 1965, pp. 111-136; also Tahsin Öz, "Sultan Ahmet Camii," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, I, 1938, pp. 25-28.

<sup>9</sup> Selânîkî Muştafâ, *Ta'rih-i Selânîkî Muştafâ* (Istanbul: Matba'a-ı 'Âmire, 1281); Muştafâ Na'imâ, *Ta'rih-i Na'imâ* (Istanbul: Matba'a-ı 'Âmire, 1283); Mehmed Râşid, *Ta'rih Râşid* (Istanbul: Matba'a-ı 'Âmire, 1282). For references to some of the lesser known histories of interest to the architectural historian, see Erdoğan, "Kaynaklar," pp. 113-115.

<sup>10</sup> Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme*, vols. I-VI (Istanbul: İkdâm Matba'ası, 1314-1318); vol. VII (Istanbul: Devlet Matba'ası, 1928); vol. VIII (Istanbul: Orhâniyye Matba'ası, 1928); vols. IX-X (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1935-38). Hâfîz Hüseyin Efendi ibn Hâcî İsmâ'il al-Ayvânsarâyî, *Hadiikat al-Cevâmî* (Istanbul: Matba'a-ı 'Âmire, 1281).

<sup>11</sup> The *tezkeres* on the life of Sinân have been published in a critical edition by Rıfki Melul Meriç, under the title, *Mimar Sinan Hayatı*,

*Eseri. I. Mimar Sinan'ın Hayatına Dair Metinler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1965).

<sup>12</sup> Ahmet Refik, *Türk Mimarları (Hazine evrak vesikalarna göre)*. (Istanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1936).

<sup>13</sup> Muzaffer Erdoğan, "Mimar Davud Ağa'nın Hayatı ve Eserleri," *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, XII, 1955, pp. 179-204; *Lale Devri Baş Mi'marı Kayseri'li Mehmed Ağa* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1962); "Onsekizinci asır sonlarında bir Türk san'atkârı, Hassa Başmimarı Mehmed Tahir Ağa. Hayatı ve mesleki faaliyetleri," *Tarih Dergisi*, VII, 10, 1954, pp. 157-180; VIII, 11-12, 1955, pp. 159-178; IX, 13, 1958, pp. 161-170; XI, 15, 1960, pp. 25-46.

<sup>14</sup> Şehabeddin Akalın, "Mi'mar Dalgıç Ahmed Paşa," *Tarih Dergisi*, IX, 1958, pp. 71-80.

<sup>15</sup> Semavi Eyice, "Mimar Kasım Hakkında," *Belleten*, XLIII, 1979, pp. 767-808.

<sup>16</sup> İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Mimar Koca Sinan. Vakfiyyeleri—hayır eserleri—hayatı—Padîşaha vekaleti—azadlık kağıdı—alım, satım hüccetleri* (Istanbul: Nihat Topcubaşı, 1948); Aptullah Kuran, "Mimar Sinan'ın İlk Eserleri," *Belleten*, XXXVII, 148, 1973, pp. 533-556; also Ernst Egli, *Sinan, der Baumeister osmanischen Glanzzeit* (Zurich: Verlag für Architektur, 1954).

despite these pioneering endeavors, our knowledge of the activities and careers of the great Ottoman imperial architects remains at best vague and fragmentary. In large part this reflects the nature of the sources with which the historian must work: they are few, usually brief and cryptic, scattered, and often poorly known to scholars.

One of the most extensive and detailed sources devoted to a particular architect is the *Risāle-i Mi'māriyye*, written by a certain Ca'fer Efendi. An account of the life and works of the imperial architect Mehmed Ağa, builder of the Sultan Ahmed complex in Istanbul, it not only gives specific information on his life and activities, but serves as well to suggest something of the general character of career evolution of the entire class of Ottoman imperial architects. With the exception of the far more abridged *tezkeres* dedicated to Sinān, the *Risāle-i Mi'māriyye* is the only systematic Ottoman account of the life of an imperial architect known to exist. It is extant in a manuscript copy in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi in Istanbul, catalogued Yeni Yazma 339 dating to the second decade of the seventeenth century.

The earliest published reference to Ca'fer Efendi's *Risāle-i Mi'māriyye* of which I am aware occurs in a communication dated 17 April 1918 to the Hungarian Scientific Institute in Constantinople by Arminag Sakisian Bey and published in the Hungarian journal *Túrán*. In it the author enumerates the manuscript sources for the study of Ottoman art and architecture and includes among them the *Risāle*, the contents of which he describes in brief summary.<sup>17</sup>

Bürsalı Mehmed Tahir also mentions the *Risāle* in his *Osmanlı Mü'ellifleri*,<sup>18</sup> where he ascribes it to the Ottoman historian Ca'fer İyānī Bey (late sixteenth–early seventeenth century),<sup>19</sup> an attribution repeated in an equally brief reference by Franz Babinger in his study, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*.<sup>20</sup>

Reference was again made to the *Risāle* in a series of five articles published in February and March 1926, in the Istanbul newspaper *İkdam*, by the paper's owner,

Ahmed Cevdet Bey. In the first of these articles (26 February 1926; *İkdam*, no. 10373), under the title "Kitāb al-Mi'māriyye ve Safā'-nāme" ("The Book of Architecture and Book of Pleasure"), Ahmed Cevdet Bey alerted his readers to the existence of the manuscript and stated that useful and interesting selections from it would be printed in subsequent numbers of the newspaper. This was followed on March 3, 10, 20, and 28 (*İkdam*, nos. 10378, 10385, 10395 and 10405) with excerpts from chapters one, two and three of the *Risāle*, detailing the life of Mehmed Ağa, and in particular his early training in music, geometry and the working of mother-of-pearl, his appointments as *kaçıcı* and *muḥzır başı*, and his travels in the Arab lands of the Ottoman Empire and in Rüm-ili.

Celal Esad Arseven also noted the existence of the *Risāle* in his *Türk Sanatı Tarihi* and published information taken from it defining the terms *arşun*, *boğun* and *parmak*.<sup>21</sup> Elsewhere, while discussing Mehmed Ağa, he again mentions the *Risāle*, and states, following Ca'fer Efendi, that

at that time [i.e., at the time of Sinān and Mehmed Ağa] because it was customary to write a *manakibname* [that is, a biography] for each important architect, one of his [Mehmed Ağa's] friends who was his constant companion, Ca'fer Çelebi [sic] also wrote a *Risale* about this master excelling in architecture, entitled *Risale-i Mimariye*, having to do with Mehmed Ağa's biography and the works that he brought into existence with his skill in his art. And he added to this a glossary of technical terms [technical vocabulary] and principles used in architecture at that time.<sup>22</sup>

In another of his works, *L'Art turc*,<sup>23</sup> the same author again makes brief reference to the *Risāle* ("un *menakibname* [biographie] de l'architecte de la mosquée d'Ahmediye") in the course of his discussion of Mehmed Ağa's life and the construction of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque.

Portions of the *Risāle* were published in a rather defective transcription along with a brief introduction and notes, by Tahsin Öz in several numbers of the journal *Arkitekt* in 1943 and 1944.<sup>24</sup> Öz radically

<sup>17</sup> "Mitteilungen des Ungarischen Wissenschaftlichen Instituts in Konstantinople," *Túrán. Folyóirat Keleturópai, Elő-és Belsőázsiai Kutatások Számára. A Magyar Keleti Kulturközpont (Turáni Társaság)*, 1918, p. 238.

<sup>18</sup> Bürsalı Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Mü'ellifleri*, III (Istanbul: Matba'a-ı 'Amire, 1343), pp. 42, 192.

<sup>19</sup> See below, p. 6.

<sup>20</sup> Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1927), p. 123.

<sup>21</sup> Celal Esad Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi; Menşinden Bugüne Kadar. Mimarı, Heykel, Resim, Süsleme ve Tezini Sanatlar* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1955-1959), p. 374.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 767 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Celal Esad Arseven, *L'Art turc, depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours* (Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1939), p. 172.

<sup>24</sup> Tahsin Öz, "Mimar Mehmet Ağa ve Risale-i Mimariye," *Arkitekt*, 139-140, 1943, pp. 179-186; 141-142, 1943, pp. 228-234; 143-144, 1943, pp. 276-282; 145-146, 1944, pp. 37-41.

abridged the text, but included in his published selections parts of the introductory chapter, as well as of chapter one, recounting Meḥmed Ağa's arrival in Istanbul from Rûm-ili, his early enthusiasm for music, and his subsequent training in geometry and mother-of-pearl inlay; of chapter two on his relations with Mi'mâr Sinân, his presentation of gifts to Sultan Murâd III and his appointment as a *kapıcı* and later as a *muḥzır başı*; and of chapter three, describing his tour of inspection in the Balkans, his service in Diyarbakır and Damascus, and his appointment as *şu nâzırı* and *mi'mâr başı*. Öz follows this with brief selections from chapter four dealing with Ca'fer Efendi's origins, from chapters five and six describing Meḥmed Ağa's repairs of the holy shrines of Mecca and Medina and his construction of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, of chapters seven through fourteen on technical terms, and of chapter fifteen's benediction.

A brief reference to the *Risâle* is made by İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı in his *Mimar Koca Sinan*. There he remarks on the publication of selections from the text in *İkdâm* and goes on to assert that copies of the *Risâle* had once been in the possession of the bookseller Raif Yelkenci, Ali Emiri Efendi, Fuat Reşad Bey, and Ahmed Cevdet Bey. All, he claims, were copied from an original manuscript of the *Risâle* found in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library.<sup>25</sup> A detailed description of the appearance and content of this manuscript (YY339) is given in Fehmi Edhem Karatay's catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library.<sup>26</sup> Muzaffer Erdoğan, in his "Osmanlı Mimarisi Tarihinin Otantik Yazma Kaynakları" ("Authentic Manuscript Sources for the History of Ottoman Architecture"), describes the manuscript and states that the Topkapı text is the unique manuscript copy of Ca'fer Efendi's work.<sup>27</sup>

Şerafettin Turan mentions the *Risâle* in his article "Osmanlı Teşkilatında Hassa Mimarları" ("Imperial Architects in the Ottoman State Organization"), and briefly describes its contents.<sup>28</sup> Kemal Çig, former director of the Topkapı Sarayı Museum, also referred to it in a paper delivered at the Third International

Congress of Turkish Art, held at Cambridge University, 24-29 July, 1967. Entitled "Mimarinin Muzikle ilgili konusunda Sultan Ahmet Camii ile alakalı bir Vesika" ("A Document concerning the Sultan Ahmet Camii on the Subject of Architecture's Relationship with Music"), he provided a short description of both the manuscript and its contents, and a more detailed discussion of those parts of chapter six concerning the acoustic properties of the various marbles used in the construction of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque.

Zeynep Nayır made extensive use of the *Risâle* in her published doctoral dissertation, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi ve Sonrası (1609-1690) (The Sultan Ahmet Complex and Its Aftermath in Ottoman Architecture [1609-1690])*,<sup>29</sup> particularly for the life and activities of Meḥmed Ağa, for the history of the building of the Sultan Ahmed complex, and for the information it contains on building materials and technical terms relating to the construction trades.<sup>30</sup>

Finally, approximately two-thirds of the *Risâle* was published in modern Turkish translation along with notes and a brief introductory essay entitled "Risale-i Mimariyye—Mimar Mehmed Ağa—Eserleri" by Orhan Şaik Gökyay in the commemorative volume for Professor İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı.<sup>31</sup> In it Gökyay remarks that, "After a book, the *Tezkiretü 'l-Bunyan* written about the life and works of Mimar Koca Sinan, the *Risale-i Mimariyye* describing the life of Mimarbaşı Mehmed Ağa is a second valuable source of this type, and is useful in several respects."<sup>32</sup> These include its significance as a reference for the life of Meḥmed Ağa and its extensive Turkish architectural vocabulary.

In presenting the *Risâle*, Gökyay reorganized the fifteen chapters of its text into four broad sections. The first of these (pp. 117-122) consists of excerpts from the *fihrîst*; the second (pp. 122-147) is made up of parts of chapters one through four and deals with the life of Meḥmed Ağa; the third (pp. 147-173) contains extracts from chapters five, six and fifteen and brings together those parts of the *Risâle* having to do with Meḥmed Ağa's architectural works; and finally, the fourth (pp. 173-215) pulls together those parts of the text, in-

<sup>25</sup> Konyalı, *Sinan*, p. 39, note 4.

<sup>26</sup> Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu, 1, Din, Tarih Bilimler* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), pp. 632-633.

<sup>27</sup> Erdoğan, "Kaynaklar," pp. 112-113.

<sup>28</sup> Turan, "Mimarlar," pp. 177-178.

<sup>29</sup> Zeynep Nayır, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi ve*

*Sonrası (1609-1690)* (Istanbul: Istanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, 1975).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38-41, 88-112.

<sup>31</sup> Orhan Şaik Gökyay, "Risale-i Mimariyye—Mimar Mehmed Ağa—Eserleri," *İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya Armağan* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1976), pp. 113-214.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

cluding portions of chapters six through fourteen, devoted to technical terminology. To this Gökyay appends notes and a commentary describing the manuscript and referring to some of the earlier literature in which the *Risāle* is discussed. He also attempts to clarify the identity of its author, Ca'fer Efendi, and he enumerates the other buildings attributable to Mehmed Ağa but not mentioned in the *Risāle*.

#### THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE RISĀLE

Both Öz<sup>33</sup> and Erdoğan<sup>34</sup> state that only a single manuscript of the *Risāle* exists, YY339 in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library. However, other authors report the existence at one time or another of several other copies of this text. It appears from Ahmed Cevdet Bey's account in the newspaper *İkdam*, for example, that he himself had a copy of the *Risāle* in his private library.<sup>35</sup> Both Arseven<sup>36</sup> and Gökyay<sup>37</sup> make reference to the existence of this manuscript, but state that its whereabouts is no longer known. Gökyay, however, cites a notice in the newspaper *Şon Sâ'at* (29 Haziran, 1928) reporting that at a certain point Ahmed Cevdet's books had been stolen and sold by an unnamed book dealer, and that legal action had been taken. Konyalı<sup>38</sup> writes that at one time the book dealer Raif Yelkenci had a copy of the *Risāle* in his possession, but that it had been borrowed by a certain Selim Nüzhet, who had sold it to some unnamed Americans, and it had since been lost sight of. Konyalı also reports that there were copies of the *Risāle* in the libraries of Ali Emiri Efendi and Fuad Reşad Bey, both made from the Ahmed Cevdet manuscript.<sup>39</sup>

Konyalı<sup>40</sup> asserts that the text of the *Risāle* in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library was the original from which all other copies were derived. Because of that and because it has in any case been impossible to trace any of the privately held copies of the *Risāle* mentioned by Gökyay or Konyalı, if they in fact exist, YY339 remains the single available version of Ca'fer Efendi's text, and therefore the one from which the translation presented here was made.

YY339 is a narrow, rectangular codex measuring 415 mm × 150 mm, and consisting of 87 folios of sized cream-colored unwatermarked Turkish paper. Bound in brown leather, it is penned in black ink, with chapter headings, some marginal notes, Qur'anic verses and the *hadith* written in red. Each page contains twenty-five lines of *ta'lik* script, occasionally with short vowels pointed. The colophon at the end of the text gives the date of its completion as 1023 (1614-15).

Although the copyist of the manuscript is not identified in the colophon, it seems probable that he was, in fact, the author of the *Risāle* and that YY339 is thus an autograph copy of Ca'fer Efendi's text. This is suggested in part by the repetitive content of certain parts of the text (chapters nine and ten in particular), which appear to be unedited drafts, in part by the several blank folios at the end of chapter five (47v through 51v) which were presumably meant to be used for a complete enumeration of Mehmed Ağa's works when he had ended his tenure as Chief Imperial Architect, much in the manner of Nağkaş Sâ'î Muştafâ Çelebi's account of Sinân's buildings as found in the *Tezkiret al-Ebniye*.<sup>41</sup>

Whether or not scribe and author were the same person, we know very little about him. At several points in the text the author identifies himself as Ca'fer Efendi<sup>42</sup> or simply as Ca'fer.<sup>43</sup> Elsewhere he states that he was the son of the pious Shaikh Behrâm, concerning whom he writes,

... in our province there was no one more righteous and pious, and ascetic and visibly devout.... His pious works were a legend among the people in our region and his admired virtues and even sainthood, being manifest and apparent, the tales [about him] in the mouths [of the people] were without number or end.<sup>44</sup>

Although Ca'fer does not identify his place of origin in the *Risāle*, he does say that it was a month's travel away from Istanbul and that as a young man he journeyed to the capital from his home in order to study the sciences (*ilm*). Having been given very little money by his father for the trip and for living in Istanbul, he soon, probably around the year 1000/1591-92, seems to have become a client of Mehmed Ağa, for he states in the

<sup>33</sup> Öz, *Arktekt*, p. 180.

<sup>34</sup> Erdoğan, "Kaynaklar," p. 112.

<sup>35</sup> Ahmet Cevdet, *İkdam*, no. 10373, 26 February 1926.

<sup>36</sup> Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi*, p. 374.

<sup>37</sup> Gökyay, *Armağan*, p. 115.

<sup>38</sup> Konyalı, *Sinan*, p. 39.

<sup>39</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 39, and Gökyay, *Armağan*, p. 114, who bases his assertion on the letters (location not noted) of a certain Muhittin, ad-

dressed to Ahmet Cevdet, and to the Director of Culture, Hamit Zübeyr (Kosay).

<sup>40</sup> Konyalı, *Sinan*, p. 39.

<sup>41</sup> For a discussion of the date at which Mehmed Ağa's tenure as *ser-mi'mārān-ı hâşşa* ended, see pp. 10-11, below.

<sup>42</sup> For example, *Risāle*, 27v, 28r, 56r.

<sup>43</sup> For example, *Risāle*, 4r, 5r, 5v, 22v, 32r, 41v.

<sup>44</sup> *Risāle*, 27r.

text of the *Risāle* that, “the Ağa has always been thus generous and benevolent to us for more than twenty years.”<sup>45</sup> Beyond this rather bald outline, however, the author has very little to say about himself in the *Risāle*.

Nonetheless, beginning with Būrsalı Meḥmed Ṭāhīr, several authors<sup>46</sup> have suggested that Caʿfer Efendi is to be identified with Tezkereci Caʿfer ʿİyānī Bey, the author of several histories, including the *Gazavāt-ı Tiryaki Hasan Paşa*, the *Zübdet al-Naşāʾih ve ʿUmdet al-Tevārīḥ* and the *Taʾrīḥ-i Cedīd-i Ūngürūs*, who was born in Peç in Hungary, was active around the year 1000/1591-92, and was for a time the *defterdār* or director of the financial administration of Temesvar in Ottoman Hungary.<sup>47</sup>

Öz, referring to the author of the *Risāle* as “Caʿfer Çelebi,” rejects Būrsalı Meḥmed Ṭāhīr’s suggested identification, stating—although without source reference—that he came from Anatolia, not Peç, the home of Caʿfer ʿİyānī Bey.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, he notes that nowhere in the *Risāle* is reference made to any of Caʿfer ʿİyānī Bey’s other works. Gökyay adds that if the Caʿfer Efendi of the *Risāle* had been identical with Caʿfer ʿİyānī, we might have expected that he would have used his *maḥlaş* (pseudonym) ʿİyānī in some of the many poems in the work, and that he would somewhere have made reference to his origins in Peç and his appointments in the Ottoman state bureaucracy. But in fact, no information whatsoever is given in this regard. Moreover, Caʿfer ʿİyānī is referred to by the title *bey*, whereas the Caʿfer of the *Risāle* speaks of himself as *efendi*.<sup>49</sup>

It appears doubtful that the author of the *Risāle* is the same as the Caʿfer ʿİyānī Bey of Būrsalı Meḥmed Ṭāhīr. On the other hand it is clear from the *Risāle*’s text that Caʿfer Efendi had gained a certain familiarity with architecture and the science of geometry from his long years of association with Meḥmed Ağa, and one wonders if he were not possibly one of Meḥmed Ağa’s assistants in the *ḥāşşa miʿmārları ocağı*. Whatever his circumstance, Caʿfer cannot be considered an outstanding literary figure, for his poetry is undistinguished, and his mastery of Arabic and Persian is at best imperfect.<sup>50</sup>

We know little, then, about the life and identity of Caʿfer Efendi beyond what he tells us himself in his text. There can be little doubt, however, that he was Meḥmed Ağa’s client of long standing, his service extending from the period before the latter’s appointment as *şu nāzırı* until at least 1023/1614-15. Whether the text of the *Risāle* remained incomplete because its author died or because he parted company with Meḥmed Ağa before the latter relinquished the office of *ser-miʿmārān-ı ḥāşşa* (probably c. 1623) is unclear.

#### THE RISĀLE’S PURPOSE AND CONTENT

The *Risāle-i Miʿmāriyye* belongs to that genre of Islamic literature known as *tezkere* (biographical memoirs) and immediately calls to mind the eulogistic biographies of the architect Sinān, the *Tuhfet al-Miʿmārān* and the *Tezkiret al-Ebniye* by Nakkaş Sāʿi Muştafā Çelebi.<sup>51</sup> The relationship between the *Risāle* and these earlier accounts is made specific by Caʿfer Efendi, himself: “... before this, *menākib-nāmes* [books of deeds] were written and composed about some of the chief architects [*miʿmār ağaları*]. As *menākib-nāmes* were written down for them, it is necessary for us to write ... a *menākib-nāme* on our generous Ağa.”<sup>52</sup>

At the same time, however, the *Risāle-i Miʿmāriyye* is not simply a *tezkere* of Meḥmed Ağa. It is also, in substantial part, a treatise on the science of geometry, or at least that aspect of the science related to surveying, and a compilation of terms having to do with architecture, the building trades and music. This material, says Caʿfer Efendi, derived from the author’s longstanding intimacy with Meḥmed Ağa:

Because we have been connected with him [Meḥmed Ağa], for the most part closely, for many years until the present time, when certain subjects concerning the science of geometry were being discussed this humble servant took and wrote down everything. In accordance with this, [I] set down and composed a treatise [*risāle*] concerning the science of geometry.<sup>53</sup>

Specifically, the *Risāle-i Miʿmāriyye* consists of a detailed preface, which explains the circumstances of the writing of the *Risāle* and contains an index of its

<sup>45</sup> *Risāle*, 27r-27v.

<sup>46</sup> Būrsalı Meḥmed Ṭāhīr, *ʿOsmānlı Müʿellifleri*, III, pp. 41-42.

<sup>47</sup> See also Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 122-123; Karatay, *Katalog*, I, p. 633.

<sup>48</sup> Öz, *Arkiitekt*, p. 180.

<sup>49</sup> Gökyay, *Armağan*, pp. 115-116.

<sup>50</sup> Curiously, Nayır, *Sultan Ahmet*, p. 39, refers to the author of the

*Risāle* as *şāʿir* (poet) Caʿfer Efendi, but cites no authority for this epithet.

<sup>51</sup> Both published, as noted above, in critical edition by Meriç (see above, note 11).

<sup>52</sup> *Risāle*, 6r.

<sup>53</sup> *Risāle*, 6r.

chapters and poems. This is followed by fifteen chapters which in terms of subject matter can be grouped into five sections. The first (chapters 1 through 4) deals with Mehmed Ağa's life and character; the second (chapters 5 and 6) with some of his architectural works; the third (chapters 7 through 10) with units of linear and surface measurement used in surveying and in geometry; the fourth (chapters 11 through 14) is a trilingual (Arabic, Persian and Turkish) glossary of terms for architecture, the building trades and music. Chapter 15, the benediction, comprises the fifth.

Interspersed throughout the narrative text are numerous poetic passages, *kıt'a*, *ğazel* and *kaşide*. From a literary and stylistic point of view, none is of any particular significance, although their subject matter is of occasional interest as a supplement to the narrative. For the most part, however, both narrative and verse use the typically complicated and elaborate style of literary Ottoman. The large numbers of terms and passages in Arabic and Persian that Ca'fer Efendi includes contain numerous grammatical and orthographic errors and display an ignorance of idiomatic usage, but are nonetheless valuable for the insight they provide into seventeenth-century Ottoman.

#### THE LIFE OF MEHMET AĞA

The first section of the *Risāle*, which recounts Mehmed Ağa's life and deeds, tells us that Mehmed Ağa, whose full name is given by Ca'fer Efendi as Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Mu'īn,<sup>54</sup> was brought from Rūm-ili to Istanbul as a Janissary recruit (*devşirme 'acemi oğlan*) in the last years of the reign of Sultan Süleymān Kānūnī, (970/1562-63).<sup>55</sup> As a *devşirme* it is clear that Mehmed Ağa must have been born a Christian, but the *Risāle* records nothing of his date of birth, his family origins,<sup>56</sup> or from what town or city in Rūm-ili he came. Erdoğan<sup>57</sup> states (without citing his authority) that

Mehmed Ağa was from Kalkandelen in western Macedonia. Nayır,<sup>58</sup> on the other hand, noting the large number of fountains in Ilbasan in central Albania which Evliyā Çelebi<sup>59</sup> records Mehmed Ağa as having built, speculates that this remarkable interest in a rather remote Albanian town indicates Mehmed Ağa might have had his antecedents there, or that he was conscripted in that region.

Ca'fer Efendi also tells us that Mehmed Ağa was trained as an *'acemi oğlan* between 970/1562-63 and 975/1567-68, and then enrolled as a paid (*'ulūfeli*) member of the *ocağ* or corps of *bostāncı* (gardeners) of the imperial household. His first assignment was as watchman of the garden (*bağçe bekçisi*) around the tomb of Sultan Süleymān I,<sup>60</sup> located immediately to the south of Sinān's newly completed Süleymaniye Mosque. A year later Mehmed Ağa was sent to the *hāşş bağçe* (Imperial Gardens) to be trained for the imperial service in a particular craft.<sup>61</sup>

As he entered the *hāşş bağçe*, Ca'fer reports Mehmed Ağa encountered a musician, and was so captivated by his performance that he immediately determined to learn the art of music. Under the musician's guidance, he progressed rapidly and applied himself to his studies with such zeal that he denied himself sleep for many nights in order to practice. Finally, overcome by weariness Mehmed Ağa fell asleep and dreamed he saw a band of gypsy musicians.<sup>62</sup> Awakening from his dream, Mehmed Ağa went to his teacher for an explanation of its meaning. The musician answered that the art of music was in truth a gypsy art,<sup>63</sup> but promised to teach Mehmed Ağa all that he knew about it.<sup>64</sup> The Ağa remained troubled, however, and turned for advice to the great Ḥalvetī shaikh of the period of Sultan Murād III, Vişne Mehmed Efendi, one of the most renowned savants and mystics of the age,<sup>65</sup> who told him:

<sup>54</sup> *Risāle*, 6r.

<sup>55</sup> *Risāle*, 8v.

<sup>56</sup> Franz Babinger ("Quellen zur osmanischen Künstlergeschichte," *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, I, 1924, p. 37) gives the date of Mehmed Ağa's birth as c. 1540. This seems reasonable enough if we assume he was conscripted as a *devşirme* sometime between the age of 14 and 18 years, as seems to have been normal practice in the sixteenth century, and that he subsequently spent the customary five to seven years in the service of a *sipāhī* in Anatolia. For the *devşirme* system, see Albert Howe Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913), p. 48; and H. Bowen, "Adjami Oghlan," *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, I, pp. 206-207.

<sup>57</sup> Erdoğan, "Kaynaklar," p. 112. See also İzzet Kumbaracılar, "Türk Mimarları," *Arkitekt*, VII, 1937, p. 60, who also identifies Mehmet Ağa as from Kalkandelen.

<sup>58</sup> Nayır, *Sultan Ahmet*, p. 40. See also Ramadan Sokoli, "Sur les traces de artistes albanais anciens: l'architecte d'Elbasan," *L'Albanie nouvelle*, XXVI, 1972, pp. 34-35.

<sup>59</sup> Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāhatnāme*, VIII, pp. 723-724.

<sup>60</sup> *Risāle*, 8v.

<sup>61</sup> *Risāle*, 8v.

<sup>62</sup> *Risāle*, 10r.

<sup>63</sup> *Risāle*, 10v.

<sup>64</sup> *Risāle*, 11v.

<sup>65</sup> *Risāle*, 12v.

My son, it is necessary for you to renounce that art. If that art were a good art, it would be practiced by righteous and virtuous [persons]. It would not have fallen like this into the hands of the tribe of Satan, who are evil men. ... If your nature inclines toward another art, consult with us again. If one is encountered which is useful in this and the other world, let us give you permission and blessing to follow it.<sup>66</sup>

As a result of this advice, Ca'fer concludes, Meḫmed Ağa turned away from music with regret for the days and hours he had wasted at it.<sup>67</sup>

Filled with remorse, the *Risāle* continues, the Ağa noticed in the workshop of the mother-of-pearl workers (*şedefkârlar*) in the *hâşş bağçe* a youth reading aloud to the craftsmen from a book on geometry. Listening, he soon became interested in that science and attracted the attention of the workers in mother-of-pearl.<sup>68</sup> Their *halife* (master) Üstād Muḫammad then tested the Ağa's strength and sureness of hand and concluded, "The appropriate thing is this, from now on [for Meḫmed Ağa] to enter our brotherhood [and] learn [and] grow in this art."<sup>69</sup> Returning subsequently to Vişne Meḫmed Efendi, Meḫmed Ağa received the saint's blessing to apprentice in the arts of architecture and the working of mother-of-pearl.<sup>70</sup>

From 977/1569-70, when he took up the arts of architecture and the working of mother-of-pearl, until the death of Sinān, "chief of the world's engineers" (*ser-i mühendisân-ı cihân*), in 996/1587-88, Meḫmed Ağa studied in the *hâşş bağçe* under the supervision of Sinān himself and of Üstād Muḫammad, master of the mother-of-pearl workers.<sup>71</sup> That he must have made rapid progress and shown an unusual talent is attested by Ca'fer Efendi's statement that

<sup>66</sup> *Risāle*, 12v.

<sup>67</sup> *Risāle*, 13r.

<sup>68</sup> *Risāle*, 13r-17r.

<sup>69</sup> *Risāle*, 17v.

<sup>70</sup> *Risāle*, 17v-18v.

<sup>71</sup> *Risāle*, 19v. The historian Selānikî Muştafâ (*Ta'riḫ*, pp. 120-121) states that at the time Sinān was building the Selimiye, he had among his assistants Dālgic Aḫmed, Dāvūd Ağa and Meḫmed Ağa. Akalın ("Mimar Dalgıç," p. 76) notes that Meḫmet Ağa and Dālgic Aḫmed were contemporaries in their apprenticeships as *şedefkâr*, but incorrectly identifies their teacher as Aḫmed Ustâ.

<sup>72</sup> *Risāle*, 19v.

<sup>73</sup> For the text of the *hüküm*, see Refik, *Türk Mimarları*, p. 118, no. 51.

<sup>74</sup> Listed as Sinān's fifty-ninth mosque by Sâfi Muştafâ in the *Tezkiret al-Ebniye*; see Meriç, *Sinan*, p. 82.

<sup>75</sup> This is the date given in the inscription over the entrance to the Muradiye; see Rudolf M. Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in Southwestern*

... each time he [Meḫmed Ağa] executed some artistically fashioned work of art, he showed it to the above-mentioned deceased Sinān Ağa. And Sinān Ağa said now and then, "Bravo, apprentice! You have created a work without equal. There is no one who can create works [as fine as] these works of yours."<sup>72</sup>

Meḫmed Ağa also soon showed skill as an architect, for according to a *hüküm* dated 10 Safer 994 (10 January, 1586) he was appointed by Sinān to complete the construction of the Muradiye Mosque in Manisa.<sup>73</sup> This was an important imperial commission, the last of Sinān's sultan's mosques, and was almost certainly designed by the Chief Imperial Architect himself.<sup>74</sup> The construction of the mosque appears to have been started by the architect Maḫmud, mentioned in Sinān's *hüküm*, probably in 991/1583.<sup>75</sup> But, Sinān continues, addressing the Lālā Pasha who was residing at that time in Manisa with the *şehzāde* Meḫmed, Maḫmūd having died, Meḫmed Ağa was appointed in his place at 30 *aḳçe* per diem.

The identification of the Meḫmed in Sinān's *hüküm* with Meḫmed Ağa the future Chief Imperial Architect, although accepted by Aslanapa and Goodwin,<sup>76</sup> is open to question, especially in view of the fact that Ca'fer Efendi makes no mention of Meḫmed Ağa's involvement in the construction of the Muradiye. On the other hand, a linkage does seem to be supported by the fact that the Meḫmed of the *hüküm* appears to have been a decorator (*naḳkaş*) as well as an architect. This is suggested by an inscription on the ornamented ceilings of the Muradiye, which states that the ceilings were the work of the Imperial Decorator (*hâşşa naḳkaşı*) Meḫmed Ḥalife, who completed work on them with the help of a few assistants in the last lustrum of the tenth century (1587-92).<sup>77</sup>

*Anatolia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 17; also Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), p. 317.

<sup>76</sup> Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture* (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 226; Goodwin, *History*, p. 317. Mayer, *Architects*, p. 89, on the other hand, does not venture an opinion one way or another.

<sup>77</sup> See Tahsin Öz, "Tavanlarımız," *Güzel Sanatlar*, V, 1944, p. 33, figs. 3-6; also L. A. Mayer, *Islamic Woodcarvers and Their Works* (Geneva: Albert Kundig, 1958), p. 57. For photographic views, see Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture*, pls. 22f and 22g. In connection with the assertion of Meḫmed Ağa's early aptitude as an architect, note should be taken of the attempt by Konyalı (*Sinan*, p. 66) to link him with the Meḫmed Şubaşı who served as a witness to Sinān's second *vakfiyye* and was appointed as the Chief Imperial Architect's temporary replacement, or *kā'im-i makām*, at the time of Sinān's hajj in 992/1584. (For the text of the *hüküm* of appointment dated 16 Safer 992 [28 February 1584], see Refik, *Türk Mimarları*, pp. 114-115, no. 47.) Caution is suggested with regard to this linkage; nowhere is

The *Risāle* tells us that Sinān urged Mehmed Ağa, because of his skill in the working of mother-of-pearl, to fashion a gift and present it to the sultan.

“Sultan Murād [Sinān is quoted as saying] is an appreciative padishah. You would be the object of his favor, would receive his benevolence and become a member of the imperial household staff if you were to present him with a rare gift.” And in the end, the command producing an effect, the aforementioned Ağa, on the advice and counsel of the late Great Ağa [Sinān] fashioned a lectern [*tılāvet iskemlesi*] in the form of a reading desk [*rahlı*] of a type which was the rarity of the age.<sup>78</sup>

This he presented to Murād two years after Sinān’s death, in the year 998/1589-90, through the agency of the *silāhdār* Aḥmed Pasha Dāmādī. The sultan is recorded as being much pleased and in return appointed Mehmed Ağa a *kapuçı* of the imperial court (*dergāh-ı ‘ālī bevāvı*) with the rank of *kulle şōfisi* (harem guard).<sup>79</sup>

As a *kulle şōfisi* Mehmed Ağa conveyed a certain Şehlā Maḥmūd to Egypt in fetters as a prisoner and delivered him to the *beglerbegi* Üveys Pasha in Cairo, probably in the year 998/1589-90 or 999/1590-91. On his return to Istanbul, the *Risāle* continues,<sup>80</sup> he traveled “through all of Arabia,” visiting “the blessed tombs of most of the saints and prophets.” That he did not journey into the Hijaz and visit Mecca and Medina, however, is clear from the fact that nowhere is Mehmed Ağa given the title hajji. It is probable, rather, that he visited the shrines of Jerusalem, Hebron, Damascus and other towns in Palestine and Syria, before returning to Rūm and Istanbul.

As soon as Mehmed Ağa returned, he was commissioned by the sultan to inspect the fortresses and garrisons of Rūm-ili. He therefore journeyed through Salonika to Albania, Bosnia and the frontier forts on the borders of Austria, Hungary, Croatia, Italy, France, Spain, and Malta. In each, states Ca’fer Efendi, he collected news of the infidels’ plans. He then pro-

ceeded into Turkish Hungary, inspecting the fortresses of Buda and Temesvar, and traveled secretly through Transylvania, Walachia, Poland, and Moldavia, all at that time on the verge of war or rebellion against the Ottoman sultan.<sup>81</sup> Then, visiting the Crimea, including the Ottoman garrison at Kaffa, he returned via a circuitous route along the Danube, passing through Silistre, Nicopolis, Feth-i İslām, Golubac, Smederovo and Belgrade, before actually reporting to the sultan in Istanbul.<sup>82</sup>

In spite of all these travels, Mehmed Ağa apparently managed to keep up with his craft, for under the year 1000/1591-92 it is recorded that he fashioned a second gift for Murād III, a jeweled and gold-inlaid bow case (*yaylık, kemāndan*), “like the first [gift] without peer or equal.”<sup>83</sup> This he presented to the sultan through the agency of the *bāb-ı sa’adet ağası*. Sultan Murād, states Ca’fer Efendi, was much pleased with the present, and at the suggestion of the *bāb-ı sa’adet ağası*, he issued an imperial edict (*fermān-ı hümāyūn*) promoting Mehmed Ağa to the office of *muḥzır başı* or chief summoner of the four kadis of Istanbul.<sup>84</sup> Whether this appointment was purely honorific or bore real responsibilities is unclear. The former is the more likely, however, since in 1002/1593-94, shortly after his appointment as *muḥzır başı*, Mehmed Ağa was made the *müsellim* of Ḥusrev Pasha, at that time governor in Diyarbakır. As *müsellim* Mehmed Ağa administered Diyarbakır for six months, according to the *Risāle*, and “as a result of his justice, the wolf and the sheep became companions to one another in that region.”<sup>85</sup> After Ḥusrev Pasha’s arrival in Diyarbakır, however, he relinquished administrative responsibility and was made—probably late in 1002/1593-94 or 1003/1594-95—the pasha’s *kapu kethüdāsı* in the Ottoman capital.

Two years later, in 1004/1595-96, when Ḥusrev Pasha was appointed for a second time *beglerbegi* of Damascus, Mehmed Ağa again served as his *müsellim* and administered Damascus pending the pasha’s ar-

Mehmed Ağa mentioned as having the title *şubası* (troop commander), which in Ottoman times had come to be used to designate the police chief of a *kaḫā* charged with carrying out a kadi’s sentences. (See Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, 1, pp. 154-155.) It is true, of course, that eight years later, in 1000/1591-92, Mehmed Ağa was appointed to the related post of *muḥzır-bası* of the four kadis of Istanbul (see below), but Konyalı’s identification of the two offices, one with another, if indeed this was his intent, is an anachronism. Curiously, Konyalı’s suggestion is accepted by Goodwin (*History*, p. 342); it is ignored by other authorities.

<sup>78</sup> *Risāle*, 19v.

<sup>79</sup> *Risāle*, 20r-20v, 22v.

<sup>80</sup> *Risāle*, 23r.

<sup>81</sup> The Ottoman-Hapsburg war of 1593-1606 must have broken out just a few months after Mehmed Ağa’s journey. For details, see below, chapter 5, note 60; also Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 184-188.

<sup>82</sup> *Risāle*, 23r.

<sup>83</sup> *Risāle*, 20v.

<sup>84</sup> *Risāle*, 21r, 23r.

<sup>85</sup> *Risāle*, 23v.

rival. Subsequently designated *hâkim* of the *nâhiye* (district) of Hawran in south Syria, Mehmed Ağa is described in the *Risâle* as fighting the Arab bandits infesting the pilgrimage road and restoring security to it after the capture of the bandit chief Shaikh Cum'â Kâsib and his band.<sup>86</sup> But the jealousies of Mehmed Ağa's rivals in Husrev Pasha's entourage turned the *beglerbegi* against his *hâkim* and resulted in Mehmed Ağa's return to Istanbul, probably sometime in 1005/1596-97 or 1006/1597-98.<sup>87</sup>

Along with these administrative duties, Mehmed Ağa appears to have maintained his connections with the craft workshops in the *hâşş bağçe* and with the *hâşşa mi'mârlar ocağı* or Corps of Imperial Architects. For Ca'fer states,

... until the Great Architect, the late Sinân Ağa, died [996/1587-88] he [Mehmed Ağa] studied the art [of architecture] with him. Then he worked with the architect Dâvüd Ağa, who took his [Sinân's] place as *mi'mâr-[başı]*. And the late Dâvüd Ağa dying [in 1007/1598-99], he became an apprentice of the master of the art of working mother-of-pearl in the *hâşş bağçe*, the late Dâlgic Ahmed Ağa, who took his [Dâvüd Ağa's] place as *mi'mâr-[başı]*, from 1007/1598-99 to 1015/1606]. And in his time, however many public buildings he [Dâlgic Ahmed] created, all of them were the work of the above-mentioned Mehmed Ağa.<sup>88</sup>

On his return to Istanbul from Damascus, Mehmed Ağa was appointed *şu nâzırı* (*nâzır-ı âb*) of the city of Istanbul. This, according to the *Risâle*, occurred in the year 1006/1597-98,<sup>89</sup> a date which would seem, however, to contradict evidence that Dâlgic Ahmed Ağa remained *şu nâzırı* until Dâvüd Ağa's death from the plague in the first ten days of Şafer 1007/September 1598.<sup>90</sup>

Whatever the actual date, by his appointment to the post of *şu nâzırı* Mehmed Ağa became the second rank-

ing official in the *hâşşa mi'mârları ocağı* after the *ser-mi'mârân-ı hâşşa*, and the prospective successor to that latter office. The *Risâle*<sup>91</sup> states that Mehmed Ağa held the office of *şu nâzırı* for eight years, that is, throughout Dâlgic Ahmed's tenure as Chief Imperial Architect. Although we have very little in the way of specific information about his activities during these years, entries in *keşif* and *masraf defterleri* in the Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi (D205 and 4411 respectively) refer to repairs carried out by Mehmed Ağa along with a certain Hasan Usta on the İbrahim Paşa Sarayı on the At Meydanı in Istanbul and to the tiles of the minaret and spire of the Enderun Mosque and adjacent Kasr-ı Hümayun in the Topkapı Sarayı.<sup>92</sup> In addition, an inscription in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, dated 1013 (1604), states that it belonged to a fountain (today no longer extant and of uncertain location) known as the Mehmed Ağa Çeşmesi, presumably a private endowment of the *şu nâzırı*.<sup>93</sup>

After Dâlgic Ahmed Ağa's promotion to the rank of *paşa* and his designation as *beglerbegi* of Silistre in Rûm-ili, Mehmed Ağa was appointed *ser-mi'mârân-ı hâşşa*, according to the *Risâle*, on Wednesday, 8 Cemâziyelâhır 1015 (11 October 1606).<sup>94</sup> As such, he was responsible for the construction of the Sultan Ahmed complex, begun in the year 1018/1609-10,<sup>95</sup> as well as numerous other monuments both in Istanbul and elsewhere.

Little is known of his life during that period, and even the date of his death remains uncertain. It is likely, however, that as was the custom at the time, he continued in office for the remainder of his life. Certainly, he was active at the time of the composition of the *Risâle* (1023/1614-15)<sup>96</sup> and still alive when the Sultan Ahmed Mosque was finished in 1026/1617.<sup>97</sup> Although Mayer<sup>98</sup> and Goodwin<sup>99</sup> state that he died shortly there-

<sup>86</sup> *Risâle*, 23v-25r.

<sup>87</sup> *Risâle*, 25r-25v.

<sup>88</sup> *Risâle*, 22r. Among the buildings which have been credited to Mehmed Ağa in the period before 1015/1606 are the Nişancı Mehmed Paşa Camii in Istanbul (begun 992/1584), the Mesih Paşa Camii, also in Istanbul (dating to 994/1585-86), and the Yeni Cami in Tosya (982/1574-75); see Goodwin, *History*, pp. 270, 311 and 336. None of these attributions is confirmed by epigraphy or in other contemporary documents, however.

<sup>89</sup> *Risâle*, 26r.

<sup>90</sup> See Akalın ("Mimar Dalgic," p. 73) who cites a document dated 1006/1597-98 (*Maliye Defteri*, no. 1779, p. 134) transferring funds to Dâlgic Ahmed for repair of the aqueducts of Istanbul. For the date and cause of the death of Dâvüd Ağa, see Erdoğan, "Mimar Davud," p. 185.

<sup>91</sup> *Risâle*, 26r.

<sup>92</sup> See Nurhan Atasoy, *İbrahim Paşa Sarayı* (Istanbul: Istanbul

Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1972), p. 30. Also Öz, *Arkitektik*, p. 228; Gökyay, *Armağan*, p. 173; and Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi*, p. 769. With regard to the repair of the tiles of the minaret and spire (*kulâh*) of the Enderun Camii and of the adjacent Kasr-ı Hümayun, the entry states that Mehmed Ağa ordered the faience tilemaker (*kâşîci*) Hasan Usta to produce the necessary tiles after patterns which Mehmed Ağa himself had drawn.

<sup>93</sup> Gökyay, *Armağan*, p. 173; İbrahim Hilmi Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, I (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1943), p. 56.

<sup>94</sup> *Risâle*, 26r.

<sup>95</sup> For a chronology of the construction of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque with notes on sources, see Nayır, *Sultan Ahmet*, p. 46.

<sup>96</sup> *Risâle*, 54v-55r, 56r-57r.

<sup>97</sup> For a description of the completion of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, see Na'imâ, *Ta'rih*, II, pp. 150 ff.

<sup>98</sup> Mayer, *Architects*, p. 91.

<sup>99</sup> Goodwin, *History*, p. 342.

after, there is no evidence that he did not survive until 1032/1622, the year of Kasım Ağa's appointment as Chief Imperial Architect.<sup>100</sup> Thus it would appear that Mehmed Ağa lived about eighty years and that he was Chief Imperial Architect probably from 1606 to c. 1623.<sup>101</sup>

#### ARCHITECTURAL WORKS

In the *Tezkiret al-Ebniye* and the *Tuhufet al-Mi'mārān*, Nakkaş Sâ'î Muştafâ Çelebi gives long, though slightly differing, lists of the monuments built by Sinân.<sup>102</sup> Although no such list is provided in the *Risāle-i Mi'māriyye*, the several blank pages at the end of chapter five suggest that Ca'fer Efendi intended to provide a similar tabulation of buildings constructed by, or under the supervision of, Mehmed Ağa during his tenure as *ser-mi'mārān-ı hāşşa*, but never actually did so. As a result, the *Risāle* mentions only very few of Mehmed Ağa's architectural works.

From a pious Muslim's point of view, the most important of them were surely the repairs and restorations of the sanctuaries in the two Holy Cities, Mecca and Medina, described in chapter five. In Mecca these consisted of the construction of braces to shore up the crumbling façades of the Ka'ba, the replacement of the Golden Gutter (*altun oluğ*) overhanging its northwest side, and the erection of a minbar on the Maḳām İbrāhīm, opposite the Ka'ba in the Great Mosque of Mecca. In addition, for the Tomb of the Prophet in the southeast corner of the Great Mosque of Medina, Mehmed Ağa fashioned window grills and locks of pure gold.<sup>103</sup>

Following his description of Mehmed Ağa's work on the sanctuaries of Mecca and Medina, Ca'fer Efendi devotes a second chapter to what from an architect's point of view was unquestionably Mehmed Ağa's greatest work, the Sultan Ahmed Mosque in Istanbul.<sup>104</sup> Construction of the mosque was still in progress when the *Risāle* was written in 1023/1614-15: Ca'fer Efendi tells us that when he visited it in that year, "this

noble building had risen to the zone of its high dome."<sup>105</sup> The *Risāle* does not, however, refer directly to any of Mehmed Ağa's other architectural works, though Ca'fer Efendi makes it clear in several passages that the architect's *œuvre* was not limited to these three projects. In the introduction to chapter five, he writes that the chapter will describe,

... how many noble Friday mosques [*cāmi'*], and how many delightful quarter mosques [*mescid*], and how many medreses, and how many baths [*hammām*] and how many palaces [*sarāy*], and how many pavilions [*köşk*], and how many footways [*kaldırım*], and how many bridges [*köprü*], and how many fountains [*çeşme*], and altogether how many pious foundations the Ağa has built up to the present time.<sup>106</sup>

Although no such accounting was made, it is apparent that Mehmed Ağa must have supervised the construction of monuments belonging to all of the listed categories.

That he was involved with work on other projects at the same time as he was supervising the building of the Sultan Ahmed complex is also clear from a passage in the *Risāle*, where its author has a fatigued and harried Mehmed Ağa ask him:

O Ca'fer Efendi, why should our nature not be downcast and weary? Observe how the heavy burden of a noble building like this [the Sultan Ahmed Mosque] bears down upon me! If it were only this, persisting in my devotions and litanies, distress would not be suffered. But in addition to this noble building, there are other buildings scattered in many places. It is necessary to undertake to pay attention to each one. ... Now this is the reason for the uneasiness and dejection which you have observed in our spirit. [For] I am also anxious about those scattered buildings." And in fact [Ca'fer Efendi continues] this humble servant, counting the scattered buildings with which he was busy and preoccupied, had pity [for Mehmed Ağa].<sup>107</sup>

Although a precise enumeration of the entire corpus of Mehmed Ağa's architectural monuments will probably never be feasible, it is possible, using a variety of sources, to identify a number of his works with certainty. These include:

1. The Mimar Ağa Mescidi in the district of Vefa in

<sup>100</sup> Kumbaracılar, ("Türk Mimarları," p. 60) gives this as the date of Mehmed Ağa's death but includes no citation. For a discussion of the date of Kasım Ağa's appointment as Chief Imperial Architect, see Eyice, "Mimar Kasım," pp. 773-780.

<sup>101</sup> These dates are also accepted by Nayır, *Sultan Ahmet*, p. 41.

<sup>102</sup> Meriç, *Sinan*, pp. 24-50, 74-129.

<sup>103</sup> *Risāle*, 7r, 31v-47v.

<sup>104</sup> *Risāle*, 52r-61v.

<sup>105</sup> *Risāle*, 52r; for a description and literature, see Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbul* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1977), pp. 470-474.

<sup>106</sup> *Risāle*, 32r; see also 7r. On 6r, Ca'fer Efendi also gives a part of this list, specifying in particular that Mehmed Ağa erected more than a hundred fountains (*çeşme*).

<sup>107</sup> *Risāle*, 56r-56v.

Istanbul. Originally built in the second half of the fifteenth century by Zeyni Mehmed Efendi, *vakf rûz-nâmçeci* (clerk accountant of pious endowments) of Fâtih Sultan Mehmed, as the classroom of a medrese, it was located opposite the house of Mehmed Ağa. According to Ayvânsarâyî, the mosque was destroyed in the Cibali fire, and subsequently both mosque and minaret were rebuilt by "Koca Mi'mâr Mehmed Ağa."<sup>108</sup>

2. The İstavroz Mescidi, located in the İstavroz Sarayı, built for Sultan Ahmed I in Beylerbeyi on the Asian side of the Bosphorus to the north of Istanbul, no longer extant.<sup>109</sup>

3. The Sultan Ahmed Çeşmesi on the shore at Tophane in Istanbul, no longer extant.<sup>110</sup>

4. Forty fountains in the town of Ilbasan in Albania, built, according to Evliyâ Çelebi,<sup>111</sup> by "the Chief Architect (*mi'mâr başı*) who built the new mosque of Sultan Ahmed Khan on the At Meydanı in Istanbul." He further notes that the dates of all the *çeşmes* are written in verse in faience (*kâşî-i çîn*) on the fountains' arches, and gives a fragment of one of these poems in the *Seyâhatnâme*.<sup>112</sup>

In addition, as Ca'fer Efendi states, during Dâlgîc

Ahmed's term as Chief Imperial Architect, "however many public buildings he [Dâlgîc Ahmed] created, all of them were the work of the above-mentioned Mehmed Ağa."<sup>113</sup> Extant documents attest to the probability of his completion of the Muradiye Mosque in Manisa and his repairing of the İbrahim Paşa Sarayı and the Enderun Mosque and Kasr-ı Hümayun in the Topkapı Palace; an epigraph in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi identifies Mehmed Ağa as the builder of a fountain, no longer extant.<sup>114</sup>

A number of authors have speculated on Mehmed Ağa's responsibility for other important foundations built during his tenure as Chief Imperial Architect. Gökyay,<sup>115</sup> for example, asserts that he was the builder of the Dar al-Şifa Mosque, founded by Sultan Ahmed for the Muslim workers involved in the construction of his imperial mosque on the At Meydanı. Aslanapa<sup>116</sup> suggests that he may have been responsible for the completion in 1608 of the tomb of Mehmed III, begun by Dâlgîc Ahmed Ağa, as well as for that of Sultan Ahmed I himself, built in 1619. But the longest list of works ascribed to Mehmed Ağa is that given by Nayır.<sup>117</sup> Compiled from contemporary sources, it con-

<sup>108</sup> Ayvânsarâyî, *Hadîkat*, I, pp. 195-196. The great Cibali fire occurred in 1633; see Mustafa Cezar, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul'da Yangınlar ve Tabii Afetler," *Türk San'atı Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri*, I, 1963, p. 333. Presumably, Ayvânsarâyî refers to an earlier fire of uncertain date in the same district. The mosque itself is located on the present-day Kitapçelebi Caddesi, and was restored in 1960; see Tahsin Öz, *Istanbul Camileri*, I (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1962), p. 105.

<sup>109</sup> For the İstavroz Sarayı, within which the mosque was located, see Uzunçarşılı, *Sarayı Teşkilatı*, p. 14. According to Kâtip Çelebi (*Fezleke-i Ta'rih*, I [Istanbul: Ma'ba'a-ı 'Âmire, 1287], p. 353), the mosque was built in forty days at the order of Sultan Ahmed I for the use of the *kapukulları* and the retinue of the *vezîr-i a'zâm*. On the İstavroz Mescidi, see also Na'imâ, *Ta'rih*, II, p. 109, who draws on Kâtip Çelebi; also, Gökyay, *Armağan*, p. 173.

<sup>110</sup> Na'imâ, *Ta'rih*, II, p. 91; also Gökyay, *Armağan*, p. 173.

<sup>111</sup> Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme*, VIII, pp. 723-724.

<sup>112</sup> The next to the last line of the verse as given by Evliyâ Çelebi reads in part, "Its date falling on ten..." (*Deh düşüb ta'rihini...*). One wonders if this is to be taken as dating the fountain or fountains to 1010/1601-02.

<sup>113</sup> *Risâle*, 22r.

<sup>114</sup> See p. 10 above.

<sup>115</sup> Gökyay, *Armağan*, p. 173; Ayvânsarâyî, *Hadîkat*, I, pp. 110-111.

<sup>116</sup> Aslanapa, *Turkish Art*, pp. 242-243.

<sup>117</sup> Nayır, *Sultan Ahmet*, pp. 42-44. Her list includes:

(1) *Mosques*: In addition to the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, repair of St. Sophia (1609); addition of a dome to the Haseki Camii (1611); the Kurt Çelebi Camii (1611); the Sultan Ahmed Mescidi in the Edirne Sarayı (1612); the Osman Ağa Mescidi in Kadiköy (1612); the İstavroz Mescidi (1613); the Kürkcübaşı Mescidi (1613); the

Arabacılar Mescidi (1614); the Kara İmam Mescidi (1615); the Halil Paşa Camii (1617); the Gedik Abdi Mescidi (1621); the Gülşeni Tekesi Mescidi (1622); and the Sormagır Odaları Mescidi (1622). (2) *Türbes*: The Kuyucu Murad Paşa Türbesi; Ekmekcioğlu Ahmed Paşa Türbesi; Sultan Ahmed Türbesi; Sultan Mehmed III Türbesi; Sadrazam Halil Paşa Türbesi; Nakkaş Hasan Paşa Türbesi; Güzelce Ali Paşa Türbesi; Destarı Mustafa Paşa Türbesi. (3) *Medreses*: The medreses in the Kuyucu Murad Paşa and Ekmekcioğlu complexes. (4) *Hamams*: Hamam in the Sultan Ahmed Complex. (5) *Sarays and Köşks*: The Sultan Ahmed I Odası in the Harem of the Topkapı Sarayı (1608); the Kasr-ı Ali in the Tershane Bahçe on the Golden Horn; the İstavroz Sarayı; Beylerbeyi. (6) *Bridges*: The Ekmekcioğlu Ahmed Paşa Köprüsü over the Tunca at Edirne; a four-arched bridge on the road to Silivri (1618, name and location unknown, mentioned in *Defter 5112* of the documents relating to the construction of the Sultan Ahmet Complex, in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi. (7) *Fountains (Çeşme)*: Those located as follows: before the entrance to Gülhane in the Topkapı Sarayı (1606); before the Haydarpaşa Bahçesi in Kadiköy; before the Şahr ül-Revvân Ahrevî (?); before the imperial bake oven (*baş fırın*) in the Üsküdar Bahçesi; and before the Tazıcılar Odaları near the Üsküdar Bahçesi. Also the Sultan Ahmed Çeşmesi in Tophane (1611); the Aziz Mahmud Hüdayî Çeşmesi in Üsküdar (1610); the Esad Mehmed Efendi Çeşmesi in Kabataş (1613); and forty fountains in Ilbasan in Albania. (8) *Fountains (Sebil)*: The fountain on the northeast side of the outer court of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque (with inscription giving Mehmed Ağa's name); also the Kuyucu Murad Paşa Sebili in Vezneciler; the Halil Paşa Sebili in Üsküdar; the Canfeda Kadın Sebili in Saraçhanebaşı; the Sultan Ahmed Sebili near the tomb of Eyüp Sultan (1613); the Çinili Sebili (1607), Ayse Sultan Sebili (1618), and Evliyâ Çelebi's (*Seyâhatnâme*, II, p. 98) "artistically fashioned *sebil*" (1606), all in Istanbul. (9) *Caravanserais*: The Ekmekcioğlu Kervansarayı at Edirne (1609).

sists of foundations, both imperial and those of high state functionaries, dating to Mehmed Ağa's tenure as Chief Imperial Architect. The monuments enumerated by Nayır include not only those for which there are attested attributions to Mehmed Ağa, but others whose dates would suggest such an attribution. Certainly it is likely that many of these were in fact Mehmed Ağa's work.

#### WORKS IN MOTHER-OF-PEARL

Mehmed Ağa was instructed in the *hâşş bağçe* not only in architecture and the science of geometry, but also in the art of mother-of-pearl inlay (*şadefkârlık*). His skill in the craft is mentioned repeatedly in the *Risâle*, and Ca'fer Efendi has both Sinân and Sultan Murâd III lavish praise upon his workmanship.<sup>118</sup> According to the *Risâle* he was trained under the supervision of a certain Üstâd Muḥammad,<sup>119</sup> and it was through the agency of gifts fashioned in this craft and presented to Murâd III that he was appointed a *kapuci* of the imperial palace (*dergâh-ı ʿâlî bevvâbı*) in the year 998/1589-90, and *muḥzür başı* of the four kadıs of Istanbul in 1000/1591-92.<sup>120</sup> Because of his skill, Mehmed Ağa is often referred to with the *laḳab*, *şadefkâr*.<sup>121</sup>

Although it is clear that Mehmed Ağa must have been one of the foremost craftsmen in the art of mother-of-pearl inlay of his time, we have only fragmentary information concerning specific works, some deriving from the epigraphs on surviving pieces of mother-of-pearl inlay; the rest given in the *Risâle* itself. One of these latter is a reading desk (*rahl*) or lectern (*tilâvet iskemlesi*) fashioned in 998/1589-90 by Mehmed Ağa at the suggestion of Sinân for presentation to Sultan Murâd III. According to Ca'fer Efendi,

From top to bottom [it was covered with] the interlocking sides of triangles and quadrangles and the sides of pentagons and hexagons and heptagons, and the patterns were possessed of various forms. That is, looking from one

corner one type of form and circle was seen, and when one looked again at that place from another corner, other types of designs and patterns forming, other designs appeared. However much the point of view was changed, that many forms were transformed into other shapes.<sup>122</sup>

In addition, Ca'fer Efendi states that two years later Mehmed Ağa created a jeweled and gold-inlaid bow case (*yaylık*, *kemândan*) for the sultan which, like the earlier gift, was "without peer or equal."<sup>123</sup>

... it was so esteemed and beautiful, and so polished like a mirror, that like the surface of the Mirror of Alexander, every piece of mother-of-pearl was here and there always visible from a great distance [when it was worn] on the back of His Majesty the Padishah.<sup>124</sup>

Finally, briefly mentioned are "an artistically made small table (*bîş-tahta*) fashioned by Mehmed Ağa as a means of purchasing a rare Qurʾân in order to make it wakf,<sup>125</sup> and an "elegant minbar" executed for the Maḳâm İbrâhîm in the courtyard of the Great Mosque of Mecca.<sup>126</sup>

None of the objects described in the *Risâle* still exist, but a number of other works in mother-of-pearl inlay attributable to Mehmed Ağa are extant. They include: the ʿArife Tahtı, dated 1016/1607-08, fashioned for Sultan Ahmed I, and housed today in the Hazine of the Topkapı Sarayı;<sup>127</sup> the ornamented wooden ceiling of the Muradiye Mosque in Manisa, signed Mehmed Hâlıfe, one of the decorators of the imperial court (*hâşşa nakkaşlarından*) and dated to the last lustrum of the tenth century of the Hegira (1587-92);<sup>128</sup> and a Qurʾân box dated 1025/1616, with mother-of-pearl inlay, fashioned according to its inscription by Mehmed, the doorkeeper of the imperial palace (*bevvâb bider-gâh-ı ʿâlî*), formerly in the tomb of Ahmed I.<sup>129</sup> In addition it seems reasonable to speculate, as Aslanapa does,<sup>130</sup> that the elaborate wooden doors and shutters of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque,<sup>131</sup> if not Mehmed Ağa's own work, were at least created under his supervision.

<sup>118</sup> *Risâle*, 19v-21r.

<sup>119</sup> *Risâle*, 19v.

<sup>120</sup> See p. 9 above.

<sup>121</sup> For example, Nayır, *Sultan Ahmet*, p. 39.

<sup>122</sup> *Risâle*, 20r.

<sup>123</sup> *Risâle*, 20v.

<sup>124</sup> *Risâle*, 21r.

<sup>125</sup> *Risâle*, 22r.

<sup>126</sup> *Risâle*, 7r, 32r, 41r, 42r.

<sup>127</sup> See Kemal Çiğ, *Treasury, Guide, Topkapı Palace Museums* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1966), pp. 27, 29; Goodwin, *History*, p. 342; Fanny Davis, *The Palace of Topkapı in Istanbul* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), p. 127. For plate, see Davis, *Palace*, p. 128. Curiously, Celal Esad Arseven, *Les Arts decoratifs turcs* (Istan-

bul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, n.d.), p. 213, pl. 519, attributes the throne to Dalgıç Ahmed Ağa.

<sup>128</sup> See Öz, *Tavanlarımız*, p. 33, figs. 3-6; Mayer, *Woodcarvers*, p. 57 (where the craftsman's name is transcribed Muḥammad Hâlıfa); Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture*, pls. 22f and 22g.

<sup>129</sup> See Ernst Kühnel, *Die Sammlung türkischer und islamischer Kunst im Tschinili Köschk* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1938), p. 20, pl. 19; Mayer, *Woodcarvers*, p. 52 (where the craftsman's name is transcribed Muḥammed).

<sup>130</sup> Aslanapa, *Turkish Art*, p. 230.

<sup>131</sup> For a discussion and views of the wooden doors and shutters of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, see Tahsin Öz, "Sultan Ahmet Camii'nin tezyini hususiyetleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, II, 1942, pp. 209-212.

## MEHMET AĞA'S CHARACTER

Considerable attention is devoted by Ca'fer Efendi in the *Risāle* to the description of Mehmed Ağa's character, since one of the main purposes of the text is to delineate and portray the Ağa's qualities and attributes. These include, according to the author, modesty, piety, generosity, courage, charity, benevolence, mildness and incorruptibility, a veritable catalogue of pious Muslim virtues.

Of these it is perhaps Mehmed Ağa's charity and generosity which are most strongly stressed by Ca'fer Efendi. He writes, "Our Ağa keeps the gates of generosity and kindness open and full at all times, like the hands of Hâtîm Tâ'î."<sup>132</sup>

Many times his noble person experienced hardship. Yet at those times of want he did not act stingily in any way. At those times even more than at times of prosperity, his house becoming a public kitchen [*imâret*] for travelers, for free and slave and equally for the great and humble, [and] for neighbors and strangers, various delectables and foods were set out day and night. And like those excellent foods, his purse remaining open before him, he would honor the banqueters with abundant favors and would show great kindness and respect to those who took his gifts and favors.<sup>133</sup>

Not only was Ca'fer Efendi himself the object of Mehmed Ağa's largess,<sup>134</sup> but his generosity was so widespread that "if all the persons upon whom the Ağa bestowed gifts and kindness were sought out, a man becoming aware [of them] would be astounded."<sup>135</sup>

The *Risāle* also emphasizes Mehmed Ağa's mildness and good nature. "In his noble temperament," writes Ca'fer Efendi, "there is such a level of kindness and munificence that he would not [even] let an ant be hurt by him."<sup>136</sup> Yet at the same time, Mehmed Ağa is depicted as courageous and incorruptible in the defense of state and religion. He attacked Arab rebels in Syria despite the numerical disadvantage of his forces, cleared the pilgrimage road to the Holy Cities of the Hijaz of predatory bands, and refused the bribes offered to him by the bandit chieftain Shaikh Cum'â Kāsib.<sup>137</sup>

Mehmed Ağa's activities as a builder of pious foundations and an endower of wakfs are lauded in the

*Risāle* as well. Ca'fer Efendi states that Mehmed Ağa "continuously built and erected noble Friday mosques (*câmi*) and exalted small mosques (*mescid*) as well as medreses and many bridges (*köprü*) and more than a hundred fountains (*çeşme*), some with other people's wealth (*mâl*), some with his own wealth."<sup>138</sup> That this was in fact the case finds confirmation in Evliyâ Çelebi's *Seyâhatnâme*, where Mehmed Ağa is described as having erected forty fountains, presumably as his own pious foundation, in the town of Ilbasan in Albania.<sup>139</sup> Ca'fer Efendi elsewhere describes Mehmed Ağa's making wakf a particularly fine *Qur'an*.<sup>140</sup>

With all these virtues, Mehmed Ağa still retained his modesty. Ca'fer Efendi notes, for example, "It is his noble wish and exalted habit that only the transcendent God ... know of his benevolence and charity, [and] that it not be known to anyone else."<sup>141</sup> With respect to his craft, Mehmed Ağa

did not care to show off his learning and accomplishments. ... And if an outsider came and was associated with him for years, it would not be possible [for the outsider] to be aware of his ability, his work and skill in the science of geometry until he had taken up [and] worked at one of the crafts, because he [the Ağa] does not praise himself like others.<sup>142</sup>

In sum, says Ca'fer Efendi, Mehmed Ağa is to be likened to a peerless Kirmânî sword which is kept in its scabbard. For just as the Ağa avoided public praise and carefully hid his good works from public view, so to, asks Ca'fer rhetorically, "who knows how sharp is a sword remaining in its scabbard or with what kinds of jewels it is set?"<sup>143</sup>

In broad outline, Mehmed Ağa's career in Ottoman service is paradigmatic of the lives (insofar as we know them) of many of the Ottoman imperial architects. Like other members of the *hâşşa mi'mârları ocağı* until the middle of the seventeenth century, he was of *devşirme* origin. Formal instruction in his crafts was given in the context of the *bostancı ocağı* of the Janissary corps. His official career, however, was characterized by appointment in the vast and complex Ottoman bureaucracy to a variety of offices, more often than not having little to do with his formal training. In all these respects, his life is wholly unexceptional for an occupant of the office of

<sup>132</sup> *Risāle*, 26v.

<sup>133</sup> *Risāle*, 26v-27r.

<sup>134</sup> *Risāle*, 27r-28r, 57r.

<sup>135</sup> *Risāle*, 28v.

<sup>136</sup> *Risāle*, 27v.

<sup>137</sup> *Risāle*, 23v-25r.

<sup>138</sup> *Risāle*, 6r.

<sup>139</sup> Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme*, VIII, pp. 723-724.

<sup>140</sup> *Risāle*, 21v-22r.

<sup>141</sup> *Risāle*, 26r.

<sup>142</sup> *Risāle*, 19r.

<sup>143</sup> *Risāle*, 22v.

*ser-mi'mārān-ı hāşşa* and finds close parallels in the careers of Sinān, Dālgīc Aḥmed Aġa, Kayseri'li Meḥmed Aġa and Meḥmed Tāhir Aġa, among others.<sup>144</sup>

What makes the account of Meḥmed Aġa's life and work unique is the detail available to us in the *Risāle*. While we would like to know more—the corpus of his works surely exceeded those we can at present attribute to him, and Meḥmed Aġa's later life remains largely a blank—the information given in the *Risāle* concerning the career of this one Ottoman architect finds no

counterpart for any other single Ottoman builder with the exception, perhaps, of Sinān. This fact alone would be sufficient to mark the *Risāle* as an important literary document for the history of Ottoman architecture. When combined with the technical information found in the text, however, it is clear that Ca'fer Efendi's account is a key source not only for the human context but also for the technological environment which produced the great monuments of the Ottoman classical age.

<sup>144</sup> The *deuşirme* origins of both Sinān and Dālgīc Aḥmed are well attested. Meḥmed Tāhir's connection with the Janissary corps seems probable in view of his participation while still a youth in the military campaigns against Austria and Russia in the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd I. Almost nothing is known of the origins of Kayseri'li Meḥmed Aġa. In later life, however, all four led varied careers in the Ottoman bureaucracy, holding at different times offices little connected with their professional training. Sinān, for example, had a career as a military officer in the Janissary corps; Dālgīc Aḥmed was

appointed to the rank of *paşa* and made *beglerbegi* of several districts in the Balkans, Anatolia and Syria; Kayseri'li Meḥmed Aġa was designated *sürre emīnī* (the official charged with the delivery of the sultan's annual gift to the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina); and Meḥmed Tāhir was made *cizye bāşbāķi kŭlŭ* (chief inspector for the collection of the *cizye* tax) in the district of Feth-i İslām in the Balkans. See Meriç, *Mimar Sinan*, pp. 5, 16-17, 69-71; Akalın, "Mimar Dalgıç," pp. 71-74; Erdoğan, *Kayseri'li Mehmed*, pp. 1-3; Erdoğan, "Mehmed Tahir," VII, pp. 158, 161-162.



# RİSÂLE-İ MİCMÂRİYYE

## [1r] IN EXPLANATION OF THE INDEX OF THE FIFTEEN CHAPTERS FOUND IN THIS BOOK

The first chapter begins on the seventh folio....7. It describes who the master architects were and from whom His Excellency the Ağa, with the blessing of his noble shaikh, learned the arts of architecture [*mi<sup>c</sup>mârlık*] and the working of mother-of-pearl [*şedefkârlık*].

The second chapter begins on the eighteenth folio....18. It describes how skillful the Ağa became in his art and how, as a reward for the works which he created, he became the object of the Padishah's favor.

The third chapter begins on the twenty-first folio....21. It describes how many provinces His Excellency the Ağa visited and how with the help of God—whose name be exalted—he destroyed with a few soldiers the many thousand rebel Arabs who prevented the passage of pilgrimage caravans along the roads, obstructing the routes to the Revered Ka<sup>c</sup>ba, and how he cleared the roads to the noble Ka<sup>c</sup>ba.

The fourth chapter begins on the twenty-fifth folio....25. It describes the natural kindness, benevolence and munificence of His Excellency the Ağa.

The fifth chapter begins on the thirty-first folio....31. It describes the beautiful works laid out by the hand of His Excellency the Ağa for the structure of the Revered Ka<sup>c</sup>ba—honored by God, whose name be exalted—and for the Noble Sanctuary<sup>1</sup> and Illuminated Medina—may the blessings of God, whose name be exalted, be upon he who illumines it—and the exalted, illustrious Tomb of the Prophet, and all of the buildings created to the present time by the noble hand of His Excellency the Ağa.

The sixth chapter begins on the fifty-first folio....51. It describes the noble mosque of His Majesty, the shadow of God, the felicitous Padishah, refuge of this world, being built at the present time by His Excellency the Ağa in the city of Istanbul, which noble building has attained the height of the dome, and the extra effort and zeal expended by His Excellency the Ağa on that building.

The seventh chapter begins on the sixty-first folio....61. It describes the dissimilarity and inequality between the *bennâ<sup>3</sup> zirâ<sup>c</sup>* [architect's cubit] and the *‘âmme zirâ<sup>c</sup>* [common cubit] and the total number of *parmak* [fingers], in each, and the reason for each of these two cubits' being so defined.

The eighth chapter begins on the sixty-third folio....63. It describes the *mîl* and the *fersenk* and the *karış* and the *dirsek* and the *kulaç* and the *ayak* and the *adım* and the *oğ atımı* and things related to these.

The ninth chapter begins on the sixty-fourth folio....64. It describes in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages the *dönüm* and the *evlek* and the *çibık* and the *nişân* and all things related to these.

The tenth chapter begins on the sixty-fifth folio....65. It describes in accordance with the science of geometry the *dönüm* and the *çibık* and the *nişân*, the reason why each one of these is defined in several different ways, and the rules having to do with the measurement of the *dönüm* and the *nişân* as inscribed in wakf registers,<sup>2</sup> for surveying and for the various qualities [of land] in the inhabited quarter of the earth.

The eleventh chapter begins on the seventy-first folio....71. It describes the names of [various types of] buildings and the things connected with buildings in the Arabic language, the Persian language and the Turkish language.

<sup>1</sup> *Harâm-i Şerîf*: the term is usually used to designate the building complex on Mt. Moriah in Jerusalem, including the Dome of the Rock, the Aḳsâ Mosque, and associated structures; see "al-Ḥaram al-Şarîf," by Oleg Grabar, *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, vol. II, pp. 173-175. Here, however, the term is used to describe the Great Mosque of Mecca, at the center of which is situated the Ka<sup>c</sup>ba.

<sup>2</sup> Registration books of the properties of pious foundations. For an example of such a survey, see Ö. L. Barkan and E. H. Ayverdi, *Istanbul Vakıflar Tahrir Defteri; 953 (1546) tarihli* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1970), which contains the Istanbul section of the general registration of wakf property in the Ottoman Empire carried out in 1546 at the order of Sultan Süleymân I.

The twelfth chapter begins on the seventy-fourth folio....74. It describes the building materials of a house and the things connected with a house in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages.

The thirteenth chapter begins on the seventy-seventh folio....77. It describes the names of carpenters' tools in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages.

The fourteenth chapter begins on the eighty-first folio....81. It describes how all craftsmen's tools are made in conformity with geometric forms.

The fifteenth chapter begins on the eight-second folio....82. It is the benediction.

### [2r] IN EXPLANATION OF THE ODES (KAŞİDE) OCCURRING IN THIS BOOK

Some parts of this book are in prose and some parts are in verse. And some of the poems found in it are single couplets [*ebÿât-ı müfred*] and some are short poems [*kiş'a*] and some are lyric poems [*ğazel*] and some are odes [*kaşide*]. And the total of the odes found here and there [in this text] is ten.

2. The first ode rhymes in *elif* and *lām*. It is in praise of Divine creation—may His fame be exalted. It is on the second folio.

3. The second ode rhymes in *rā*. It is an ode in praise of the Messenger of God—may God, whose name be exalted, commend and salute him. It is on the third folio.

4. The third ode rhymes in *elif* and *mīm*. It is an ode in praise of the exalted family and noble Companions of the Prophet—may the blessings of God, whose name be exalted, be upon them all. It is on the fourth folio.

42. The fourth ode also rhymes in *elif* and *mīm*. It is an ode in celebration and praise of the Revered Ka'ba—may God, whose name be exalted, honor it. It is on the forty-second folio.

45. The fifth ode rhymes in *bā*. It is an ode in celebration and praise of Illuminated Medina—may the blessings of God, whose name be exalted, be upon he who illumines it. It is on the forty-fifth folio.

<sup>3</sup> Sultan Ahmed Khan (Ahmed I): fourteenth sultan of the Ottoman dynasty; reigned 1012/1603 to 1026/1617.

<sup>4</sup> *Bahāriyye*: a type of *kaşide* in praise of an important personage beginning with a eulogy to spring.

<sup>5</sup> *İdiyye*: a type of congratulatory *kaşide* composed for and offered to important personages at the end of Ramazān.

<sup>6</sup> *hādīm al-harameyn* ("Servitor of the Two Holy Cities," Mecca and

46. The sixth ode rhymes in *vāv* and *rā*. It is an ode in praise of all of the Holy Places. It is on the forty-sixth folio.

51. The seventh ode rhymes in *elif* and *rā*. It is an ode named *Esāsīyye* about the noble mosque of His Majesty Sultan Ahmed Khan.<sup>3</sup> It is on the fifty-first folio.

59. The eighth ode also rhymes in *elif* and *rā*. It is an ode entitled *Bahāriyye*<sup>4</sup> in praise of the noble mosque of His Majesty Sultan Ahmed Khan. It is on the fifty-ninth folio.

83. The ninth ode rhymes in *yā* and *dāl*. It is an ode entitled '*Idiyye*'<sup>5</sup> about the noble name of His Excellency the Ağa. It is on the eighty-third folio.

86. The tenth ode rhymes in *elif* and *bā*. It is the ode concluding and dating the book. It is on the eighty-sixth folio.

### IN EXPLANATION OF THE LYRIC POEMS (ĞAZEL) OCCURRING IN THIS BOOK

And in this book there are exactly four lyric poems. And each of them is concerned with a different subject.

21. The first lyric poem concerns His Excellency the Ağa's courage and his expertise in his art. It is on the twenty-first folio.

30. The second lyric poem concerns His Excellency the Ağa's kindness and benevolence and generosity. It is on the thirtieth folio.

40. The third lyric poem concerns His Excellency the Ağa's possession of the noble title of Architect of the Servitor of the Two Holy Cities [*mi'cmar-ı hādīm al-harameyn*].<sup>6</sup> It is on the fortieth folio.

82. The fourth lyric poem reproaches the revelry of this world and concerns special preparations for the next world. It is on the eighty-second folio.

### [2v] THIS IS THE TREATISE ENTITLED ARCHITECTURE [AL-MİCMÂRIYYE] IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

Let there be endless thanks and numberless praises of that God who created men, who opened the door of

Medina): title first given to Sultan Selīm I in 1517 by the Sharīf of Mecca, who sent the Ottoman ruler the keys of these cities, it was subsequently part of the standard protocol of the Ottoman sultans. See A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 115. It is clear from its use here that it was employed as an alternative means of designating the Chief Imperial Architect.

the palace of wisdom and who in accordance with the command "Be! And it is,"<sup>7</sup> and the glorious Qurʾānic verse, *wa mā khalaktu al-jinna wa al-insa illā li-yaʿbudūni*,<sup>8</sup> with the holy meaning, "I created jinn and mankind only that they might worship Me," created in the pale of existence and conferred on each of the above-mentioned two classes of beings, this sanctuary [i.e., the universe] of the tribe of jinns and the sons of Adam, this great workshop, perfect in form as an ideal of the mind, containing and comprising seven lower levels and seven upper levels, in order that there be everywhere places of worship, and *tekyes* and *hānḳāhs*. Before the creation of the earth and the heavens, when this developing world was passing from the state of nonexistence into the province of existence, when due to [God's] divine majesty and infinite power, the ocean of the primeval world became rough and turbulent, when it boiled up, a vapor rose from that wild sea and mist-shrouded ocean to collect in the cloud-filled heavens. [Then] in accordance with God's wisdom and divine power, the sea froze and the high void of water vapor became dense. From the foam of the frozen sea the world was created, and from the water vapor, the heavens. While remaining suspended in the void like a single cloud, each of them separated into seven levels, the levels being separated from one another by a distance of five hundred years. The earth became seven levels and the heavens became [3r] seven levels. The first region of the lower levels was [named] *Demgā*, the second region *Ḥulde*, the third region *ʿArfe*, the fourth region *Cerbā*, the fifth region *Melsā*, the sixth region *Siccīn*, and the seventh region, *ʿAcībā* *ʿAcībā*; and the seven suspended lower levels were arranged one beneath the other in this order. And the upper arches of the firmament and superior levels of the vaults of heaven rose one above the other like seven

great tents in the high upper reaches of space, without support and without prop, the first being the sphere of the moon which is the beryl-green lower heaven called *Berḳīʿā*, the second being the ruby-yellow sphere of Mercury called *Ḳaydūm*, the third being the ruby-red *Maʿūn* which is the sphere of Venus, the fourth being the silver-white sphere of the Sun called *Erḳālūt*, the fifth being the red-gold sphere of Mars called *Retḳā*, the sixth being the pearl-white sphere of Jupiter called *Raḳīʿā*, and the seventh being the sphere of Saturn called *Ġarībā* of pure light. And when the seven revolving spheres of heaven were created in accord with [God's] wonderful wisdom and awful power, it being necessary, in conformity with [His] decree, that these have spreading bases and cushions, a faithful angel, descending on divine command from the exalted throne, took all of these seven created terrestrial planes and seven created heavens on his exalted shoulders like an ornament, becoming himself one story of the foundation of this, and his legs remained suspended in air. And the second level was supported by the paradise of the green ruby, the third level by the paradise of the constellation Taurus called the Lions, the fourth by the vast wilderness, the fifth by the constellation Pisces called the Lamb, the sixth by water, the seventh by cruelty and carnal passions. These various immense things [3v] are situated in seven levels in this order. The region beneath this is not known to mankind.<sup>9</sup> They are all in the glorious presence of that Lord God—whose name be exalted—the Veiler of Sins, the Omniscient, with knowledge of the truth. He is God—whose name be exalted—knowing of His truth and able to create that which He wants to create of His creatures. And He is the God who created the heavens and the earth. And praise be to God, the best of creators. And praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds.

### *In Praise of Divine Creation*<sup>10</sup>

What is this exalted mosque and retreat for witnessing?  
 What is this lofty vault and lamp ornament?  
 What is this bright window, what is this luminous taper?  
 What is this wonderful creation, and what is this beauteous form?  
 What is this vault of heaven, and what is this surface of the world?  
 What is this lofty arch, and what is this great pavilion?  
 What is this? Who made such an edifice

<sup>7</sup> Qurʾān, II:117; III:59.

<sup>8</sup> Qurʾān, LI:56.

<sup>9</sup> For an analogous account of the Creation, see Muḥammad ibn

ʿAbd Allāh al-Kisāʿī, *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisāʿī*, trans. W. M. Thackston, Jr. (Boston: Twayne, 1978), pp. 5-12.

<sup>10</sup> Marginal note gives meter of verse, and reads, *mefāʿilūn fe ʿilatūn mefāʿilūn fe ʿilāt*. "This is the beautiful *müctess* meter."

Without drawings and without mathematics and without analogy?  
 How can a person describe this pure creation?  
 Could that complete description be contained in the pages of documents?  
 O God! Your great strength and wisdom are vast!  
 If one goes on a hundred thousand years one does not reach its end.  
 Finally we understood Your existence and uniqueness.  
 So that in this the Way became most clear to everyone.  
 All the universe is witness to Your being.  
 Proof and evidence of the unique truth are not necessary.  
 [4r] Your blessed, noble Name is the One, God.  
 And in its uniqueness how it stands apart from the mundane!  
 We say, I bear witness that there is no God but God,  
 So that this witnessing of ours is thus recorded.  
 This is what will be necessary for all on the Day of Judgment.  
 This is the delightful saying and sheltering tree.  
 For whomsoever the tree of this saying is a shelter,  
 This is our hope, that he not remain a most miserable sinner.  
 This is what will be humanity's salvation on the Day of Judgment.  
 If God's help and bountiful reward are to be granted, this will be the reason.  
 Help us to be constant in our duty to this sacred word,  
 Since the hastening hour of death inexorably approaches from every side.  
 Our sins for which we shall be called to account are many.  
 How would it be if there were not a pardoning or all-forgiving God,  
 So that if all crimes and felonies were brought to light,  
 The long record would contain disasters from end to end?  
 O God! If we are called to account, save us,  
 Because there is no other guarantor for us save You.  
 Cafer commits his affairs to You,  
 Because You are again the protector and guardian of all the universe.

In praise of our exalted Prophet—peace be upon him—and may praise and peace be upon that beloved of God who is lord of mankind and most noble of the glorious prophets, for whose brilliant, divine ardor the seven heavens were created in accordance with the

beautiful thought expressed in the noble Tradition, *lawlāka lawlāka lama khalaktu al-aflāk*, “But for you, but for you, O Muhammad, I would not have created the heavens.”<sup>11</sup>

[4v] What a lustrous gem is that jewel [Muhammad]!  
 May he illumine the world like the sun!  
 That light was the ultimate cause!  
 Out of yearning for him the heavens were created.  
 He laid the foundation for this world.  
 May the heavens glorify and the earth thank him!  
 All day a cloud sheltered him,

<sup>11</sup> Marginal note gives meter of verse, and reads, *mefāʿilūn mefāʿilūn feʿulūn* “All persons come into existence through knowledge.”

So that the luminous sun might light the universe.  
 The sun had made that cloud a curtain [for itself].  
 So that the radiance of the Prophet would not overwhelm its radiance.  
 You ask, why do they call him the glory of the two existences?  
 Because he is the crown of the two worlds.  
 Is it a wonder that he is the Seal of the Prophets?  
 For [his] sublime nature won most the hearts [of mankind].  
 You are the beloved of the Lord, the Prophet of God.  
 The waters of paradise are your possession.  
 With the Burāk<sup>12</sup> you journeyed to the summit of the heavens.  
 By you alone was that Rakhsh<sup>13</sup> subdued.  
 Yours is the Abode of the Two Bowshots.  
 From that place Gabriel drew back his wing.<sup>14</sup>  
 O Prophet! What nearness [to God] this is that  
 Your place is not permitted [even] to a spirit [i.e., Gabriel].  
 [5r] The dust of your feet is like fresh ambergris.  
 The dust of your path is like sweet-smelling musk.  
 What is this ultimate wisdom such that the world  
 Is perfumed by the dust of your feet?  
 The flowers blossomed at your smiling countenance.  
 Your blessed blossom became a red rose.  
 From head to toe your noble person's self  
 Is embellished with radiance.  
 The water which fell to earth from your ablutions  
 Is that which made the world pure.  
 All the world hopes for your intercession.  
 O King! You are the intercessor of the Day of Judgment.  
 Be kind! Do not leave the Muslim Community wanting!  
 Let not so many of their corpses turn to dust!  
 Ask this from God—whose name be exalted—  
 May your servants be the objects of Your mercy.  
 Be kind! Ca'fer's sins are many.  
 Without intercession his state would be sad.

In praise of the Companions<sup>15</sup> and family of the Prophet Muhammad—may the blessings of God, whose name be exalted, be upon them all. And praise and peace be upon the family and associates of His

Majesty, the prince of creation and the glory of the universe, whose noble persons are the ornaments of the world like the stars of heaven, and manifest the Islamic religion through their virtue and glorious learning.

<sup>12</sup> Burāk: the mythical creature on which the Prophet Muhammad is supposed to have ridden on his Night Journey, usually described as a winged cross between a mule and an ass with a human head. See R. Paret, "al-Burāk," *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, I, pp. 1310-1311; for visual representations, R. Ettinghausen, "Persian Ascension Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century," *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, XII Convegno, "Volta" promosso della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1957), pp. 360-383.

<sup>13</sup> Rakhsh: the horse of the hero Rustam in the *Shāh Nāma*, the Iranian national epic written by Firdawsi. The horse was renowned for his great strength and intelligence.

<sup>14</sup> The distance from the Throne of God to which the angel Gabriel conducted Muhammad on the night of the Mi'rāj.

<sup>15</sup> Companions of the Prophet: those Muslims who were contemporaries of and were closely associated with the Prophet Muhammad; see I. Goldziher, "Aṣḥāb," *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, I, pp. 477-478.

Verse<sup>16</sup>

And peace be upon the four Orthodox Caliphs!  
 Because with them the Community of Islam attained greatness.  
 [5v] [Abū Bakr] Šiddīk, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī,<sup>17</sup>  
 These are the imams of the Community of Muhammad.  
 In their ordinances there was not the slightest defect.  
 They showed the true holy law to the Muslim Community.  
 Many greetings also to the other Companions of the Prophet,  
 Who showed great respect to the Pure Religion.  
 In support of religion how vigorously they pursued holy war!  
 What perseverance and care were shown by each one!  
 They put the enemies of religion to the sword.  
 Instantly the bodies of the infidels became the sheaths of swords.  
 Those swords were wielded to destroy the enemies [of Islam].  
 And until [the enemies] were destroyed, the scabbard was forbidden to them.  
 The infidels thought the shouts of the Prophet's Companions to be thunder.  
 With every breath they were made hopeless with perpetual fear.  
 And we hope for kindness and mercy from the Companions of the Prophet,  
 For all mankind has recourse to them.  
 What would be Ca'fer's [fate] on the Day of Judgment, if to our condition  
 They showed no compassion? May this noble group shelter us!

Now to our subject. In this noble century and pleasant age, that is in the year of the Hegira of the Prophet—may the highest peace be upon him—one thousand and twelve,<sup>18</sup> in the prosperous reign and [period of] glorious power of His Majesty the great King of Kings, exalted with dominion over the seven climes, the most noble khakan who unites the virtues of goodness and natural habits, the caliph of God in the world, the defender of the Muslim lands, the annihilator of the infidels and rebels, the builder of mosques and medreses, [6r] the extirpator of churches and synagogues, lord of the reigns of the great artery linking past and present, sultan of the two continents and the two seas, Servitor of the Two Holy Cities [Mecca and Medina], the one who holds in his hands the countries of the Greeks and the Crimea, and the lands of the Arabs and of the Persians, the Shadow of God over all the protected nations of the world [i.e., the

lands of Islam], the one who raises the banner of the bright religion, the illuminator of the sign of God's sacred law, the fourteenth sultan of the house of the masters of the holy war and of conquest, Sultan Ahmed Khan Ghazi—may God, whose name be exalted, glorify with his being the throne of his country and shower down the signs of His munificence and justice on mankind—His Excellency the Ağa of the Imperial Architects [*bāssa-ı mi'mārān aḡası*], the honorable and dignified Muḥammad Ağa ibn 'Abd al-Mu'īn, continuously built and erected noble Friday mosques [*cāmi'*] and exalted small mosques [*mescid*] as well as many medreses and many bridges [*köprü*] and more than a hundred fountains [*çeşme*], some with other people's wealth, some also with his own wealth. And he showed perfect good will to this humble servant [Ca'fer]. Because we have been connected with him for many years until the present time, for the most part

<sup>16</sup> Marginal note gives meter of verse, and reads, *me'c'ülü fā'ilātü mefā'ilü fā'ilā* "Mankind animates the *muzari'* meter."

<sup>17</sup> The first four caliphs, often referred to as the Orthodox or Rightly Guided Caliphs (*al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn*), Abū Bakr (11/632), 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb (13/634), 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (23/644), and 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib (35-40/656-661), who were the immediate successors of the Prophet Muhammad to leadership of the Islamic Community. See C. E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties. A Chronological and*

*Geneological Handbook* (Edinburgh: The University Press, 1967), pp. 3-4.

<sup>18</sup> Curiously, Ca'fer Efendi seems here to have written the date erroneously, for the year given in the colophon at the end of the *Risāle* is 1023, and from references made to the construction of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque in the introduction, it is clear that the entire text is coeval with this latter date.

closely, when certain subjects concerning the science of geometry were being discussed, this humble servant took and wrote down everything. In accordance with this, he set down and composed a treatise concerning the science of geometry. However, previous to this, books of deeds [*menâkıb-nâme*] were written and composed about some of the chief architects [*mi'mâr ağa*].<sup>19</sup> As books of deeds were written down for them, it was necessary for us to write, in addition to that treatise on the science of geometry, a book of deeds about our generous Ağa, and it was written with the help of the Lord God—may His name be exalted, His glory be enhanced and His blessings universal. [6v] In all, it consists of fifteen chapters, and as every chapter is concerned with His Excellency the Ağa, it is entitled *Risâle-i Mi'mâriyye*.

## FIRST CHAPTER

It describes how His Excellency the Ağa came from Rûm-ili as a Janissary recruit, entered the [service of the ] Imperial Gardens, took a fancy to a certain art, and saw a dream concerning that art to which he had taken a fancy. And how he caused a saint to interpret that dream and how that saint caused the Ağa to give up that fancied art. And then, how the Ağa, when he wished to learn the arts of the working of mother-of-pearl and architecture, mastered them with the permission and blessing of that saint. And in addition it describes who it was who first built the stone Beyt Allah [Ka'ba] and who the master stonemasons and carpenters of ancient times were.

## SECOND CHAPTER

It describes in detail how skillful and expert in his arts the Ağa was after learning the working of mother-of-pearl and architecture, and how, in reward for the works he created, he became the object of the Padishah's and viziers' favor, and how His Majesty the deceased and divinely forgiven Sultan Murâd Khan, in reward for the rare works which the Ağa created, honored him with the office of Gate Keeper of the Sublime Porte [*dergâh-ı 'âlî kapuçuluğu*]. And how, by a felicitous imperial decree, he became the Chief Summoning Officer [*muhür başı*] of the four kadıs of Istanbul.

<sup>19</sup> The *menâkıb-nâmes* of the architect Sinân (Koca Mi'mâr Sinân, 895-996/1489-1588) including the so-called *Adsız Risâle*, the *Risâlet al-Mi'mâriyye*, the *Tuhfet al-Mi'mârân*, and the *Tezkiret al-Ebniye* of Nakkaş Sâ'î Muştafâ Çelebi have been published in a critical edition by Meriç; see Introduction, note 11 above.

## [7r] THIRD CHAPTER

It describes the many places in the Arab lands, Anatolia, the Balkans and the Crimea to which His Excellency the Ağa traveled before he became water inspector [*şu nâzırı*] and architect [*mi'mâr*] in the imperial capital. And it describes how, being lieutenant-governor [*vezîr müsellimi*] in various provinces, he governed those provinces with justice, and how, with but a few soldiers, he crushed many thousands of rebel Arabs who had cut the pilgrimage roads [to Mecca], clearing and making safe the caravan routes to the Revered Ka'ba.

## FOURTH CHAPTER

It describes the goodness, benevolence, kindness and benefactions of the aforementioned Ağa.

## FIFTH CHAPTER

It describes how the steel braces covered entirely with gold and silver fittings and the Golden Gutter [*altun oluk*] fixed to the Revered Ka'ba, and the minbar of the Sanctuary of the Prophet Abraham—peace be upon him—and the locks of pure gold for the Tomb of the Prophet were made. And it describes how many noble Friday mosques [*câmi'*], and how many charming small mosques [*mescid*], and how many medreses, and how many baths [*hammâm*], and how many palaces [*sarây*], and how many pavilions [*köşk*], and how many bridges [*köprü*], and how many fountains [*çeşme*], and altogether how many pious foundations he built.<sup>20</sup>

## SIXTH CHAPTER

It describes the present state of the structure of the noble Friday mosque of His Majesty, the Padishah, refuge of the universe, located on the At Meydanı in the Protected City of Istanbul, the completion of which will be facilitated with the help of God—whose name be exalted—in the near future. And it describes how, by the grace of God—whose name be exalted—the Ağa attends diligently to this noble building and how he expends on it all zeal humanly possible. [7v] And it describes how much effort and care he lavishes on it at present.

<sup>20</sup> In the actual body of the text, the list of Mehmet Ağa's monuments is incomplete, folios 47v through 51v having been left blank, presumably to provide space for subsequent additions; for further details, see Fifth Chapter.

## SEVENTH CHAPTER

It describes how many *barmağ* both the architect's cubit [*bennā*<sup>3</sup> *zīrā*<sup>4</sup>'] and the common cubit [*āmmē zīrā*<sup>4</sup>'] contain and what the *barmağ* is defined as, and what the reason is for the architect's cubit being defined as thirty-four *barmağ* and for the common cubit being one hundred *barmağ*, that is thirty-two *giriḥ*.

## EIGHTH CHAPTER

It describes what an *ayağ*, and an *adım*, and an *oğ atımı*, and a *mül*, and a *fersenk*, and a *berīd*, and a *karış*, and a *dirsek*, and a *çulağ* are, and how much each one of the things connected with these are. And it describes all their names in three languages—that is, Arabic and Persian and Turkish.

## NINTH CHAPTER

It describes what [the terms for] *dönüm*, and *evlek*, and *çibük*, and *nişān* are in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages, and it defines them.

## TENTH CHAPTER

It describes the details of the *dönüm*, and the *çibük*, and the *nişān*, in accordance with the science of geometry, and also the three ways in which the *dönüm* is fixed, the reasons for its being defined in three ways, and how many *zīrā*<sup>4</sup> each of these three types is in terms of the architect's *zīrā*<sup>4</sup>.

## ELEVENTH CHAPTER

It describes the terms for palace [*sarāy*], and house [*ev*], and cell [*hücre*], and stone bench [*soffa*], and entrance hall [*dehlīz*], and terrace [*saḥl*], and roof [*sakf*], and dervish lodge [*tekye*], and dervish monastery [*hānḳāh*], and caravanserai [*kārbān-sarāy*], and things connected with these [8r] in the Arabic language, the Persian language and the Turkish language, and which terms are Arabic, and which ones are Persian and which ones are Turkish.

<sup>1</sup> Süleymān I Kānūnī ('the Lawgiver,' referred to in Western usage as 'the Magnificent'): tenth sultan of the Ottoman dynasty; reigned 926/1520 to 947/1566.

<sup>2</sup> Rūm-ili: *eyālet* or province of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, including in the sixteenth century Thrace, Macedonia,

## TWELFTH CHAPTER

It describes in three languages, namely Arabic, Persian and Turkish, the terms for all the materials [*kār-ārāste*] used in building.

## THIRTEENTH CHAPTER

In the same way, it gives the names of the tools and implements of the stonemason [*haccār*] and carpenter [*neccār*] in the three languages.

## FOURTEENTH CHAPTER

It describes how all craftsmen's tools and implements, even musician's instruments, are fashioned in conformity with the science of geometry, some of them [the latter] in imitation of the tools of stonemasons and carpenters.

## FIFTEENTH CHAPTER

It is a benediction which is, indeed, more blessed and beneficial than all else.

## FIRST CHAPTER

It describes how His Excellency the Āga came from Rūm-ili as a Janissary recruit, entered the [service of the ] Imperial Gardens and, taking a fancy to a certain art, saw a dream concerning that art to which he had taken a liking. And how he caused a saint to interpret that dream, and how that saint caused the Āga to give up that fancied art. And then how the Āga, resolving to learn the arts of the working of mother-of-pearl and architecture, [8v] with the permission and blessing of that saint, mastered the arts of mother-of-pearl working and architecture. And in addition it describes who it was who first built the stone Beyt Allāh [Ka<sup>c</sup>ba] and who the master stonemasons and carpenters [of ancient times] were.

His Excellency the aforementioned Āga, in the last years of His Majesty the late Sultan Süleymān Khan<sup>1</sup>—God's most generous pardon be upon him—in the year nine hundred seventy [1562-63] came to Istanbul from Rūm-ili<sup>2</sup> as a Janissary recruit [*deüşirme* *acemi-*

Epirus, Thessaly, Albania, southern Serbia and western Bulgaria. The term was also used loosely to describe the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire as a whole; see D. E. Pitcher, *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), pp. 137-138, and maps 26 and 27.

*oğlan*].<sup>3</sup> Remaining unpaid [*‘ulüfesiz*] for five years, he then in the sixth year, after being enrolled as a paid Janissary [*‘ulüfe*], became for a year the watchman of the garden [*bağçe bekçisi*] of the exalted tomb [*türbe*] of His Majesty the late Sultan Süleymân Khan—may he rest in peace.<sup>4</sup> After a year he entered [the service of] the imperial gardens [*hâşş bağçe*].<sup>5</sup> When he arrived and went inside he saw groups of recruits gathered in a place. And in their midst a tall man from among the aforementioned troops had arranged before himself several types of *sâz*.<sup>6</sup> In order to show off his skill and attainment, he was taking them into his hands one by one and playing them. When he demonstrated various melodic modes and melodies and diverse trills and improvisations, when he brought forth laments like the nightingale and passions like the butterfly, every member of that above-mentioned troop and group exclaimed, “O, bravo! O, bravo! It is not possible that there be a rarer pleasure, a greater happiness and greater felicity than this [our pleasure] from this art.” They applauded the above-mentioned musician in diverse ways and lauded him from various sides with a thousand cheers. [9r] When the above-mentioned Ağa witnessed this state of affairs, he thought that this appeared to be the largest garden of His Majesty, the fortunate Padishah, shadow of God, the refuge of the universe, ruler of the Arabs and Greeks and Persians and the Crimea—long may he live and may his wishes be realized. And [he thought] it is certain that the work and art of this musician are the best of works and arts. If of all the arts this were not the best, and were this work not more exalted than other arts, this manner of crowd, gathering in groups, would not have congregated in this place to listen to the *sâz*. And they would not be envious of the great happiness and pleasure of the musician. And they would not unanimously have shown this esteem for his art. Therefore, from now on, this is the suitable thing to do: It is necessary for this lonely, wretched soul to master this work, which is longed for with all his heart and soul.

*Couplet<sup>7</sup>*

Though seemingly but a sound and echo,  
Yet for the oppressed heart it is a rare delight.

Saying, “Ah, if only I could find a way to be alone with that master and could beseech him, perhaps he would share with me that beautiful art and desired work,” he began to pray that the musician remain alone. At once his prayer was answered and the Janissary recruits in that crowd all went back to their work. The musician remained alone in that spot. And the above-mentioned Ağa, trembling, beseeched the musician “[to instruct him in his art].

*Couplet<sup>8</sup>*

Deign to look at me, O perfect master!  
Make me joyous with this art!

[9v] In this manner, he begged and implored the musician and showed his steel-melting anguish. And the musician saw that his longing for this art was overwhelming and that on the face of the earth there had, perhaps, never been one so desirous. He said, “The fitting thing is this, that I exert and expend my best efforts for this wretch and not conceal [from him] a single detail of the science of my art. Therefore, O you who are desirous and longing and are completely devoted to learning this art, it is necessary first that you should exercise your hand in order to make it strong. Then you should come and begin to play the *sâz*.” Saying this, he brought forth a plectrum for exercise and put it in his hand. And the above-mentioned Ağa took the plectrum in his hand and kissing [the musician’s] hand, drew eighty or ninety florins [*filori*],<sup>9</sup> which was all that he possessed, from his breast pocket and gave it to the musician. He said, “However many types of musical instruments there are, buy me one of each of them, and however many florins are left over, let that be your commission. And let the musical instruments be ready

<sup>3</sup> Christian youth conscripted for training for posts in the imperial palace, the Ottoman bureaucracy or the *kapı kulu* (slave) military corps; see Bowen, “‘Adjamî Oğhlân;” also V. L. Menage, “Devshirme,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, II, pp. 210-213.

<sup>4</sup> Located on the south side of the Süleymaniye Mosque built by Sinân in Istanbul. See plan in Goodwin, *History*, p. 217 (numbered 13 on plan), and plates 215 and 226.

<sup>5</sup> *hâşş bağçe*: The gardens of the imperial palace.

<sup>6</sup> *sâz*: general term used to designate a variety of types of musical

instruments. Used in its specific sense it refers to a type of long-necked lute; see K. L. Signell, *Makam: Modal Practice in Turkish Art Music* (Seattle: Asian Music Publications, 1977), pp. 177, 182.

<sup>7</sup> Marginal note gives meter of couplet, *fâ‘ilâtün fe‘ilâtün fe‘ilâtün fe‘lün*.

<sup>8</sup> Marginal note gives meter of couplet, *mefâ‘ilün mefâ‘ilün fe‘lün*.

<sup>9</sup> *filori*: Ottoman name for the standard gold coins of Europe, it derives from the Italian *fiorino* or florin; see H. Inalcik, “Filore,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, II, pp. 914-915.

when I exercise." And the musician took these florins. With a portion of them he bought one of every type of instrument and turned them over to the above-mentioned Ağa. As for His Excellency the Ağa, as soon as he left that place, he went to his room and, shutting himself up in it and taking the plectrum which the musician had given him in his hand, morning and evening, day and night, without rest he exercised his hand. His skill increased such that when he exercised his hand even its shadow could not be seen. Observe, however, the wisdom of God—whose name he exalted—as later, in the arts of architecture and the working of mother-of-pearl, the exercising of his hand was a prerequisite to his manipulating the adze. As a matter of fact, God—whose name he exalted—willing, this will be described in the second chapter. [10r] In short, the above-mentioned Ağa, forbidding himself sleep for many nights and many days while exercising his hand, was [finally] briefly overcome by sleep. In his dream what should he see but a group of musicians rise up and appear in the form of a band of gypsies. In their hands some of them held tambourines [*def*], some harps [*çenk*] and zithers [*kânûn*], some violins [*rebâb*] and some pandore [*şeyhâne*], some organs [*erganûn*], some pan-pipes [*mûsikâl*], some lutes [*tanbûr*], some castanets [*çarpâre*], some dulcimers [*santûr*].<sup>10</sup> In short, when the men and musicians, preparing all the instruments which they had among them, began to play in unison all the *sâz* which they had in their hands, the sound of the party threw the universe into tumult and resulted in a trembling of the earth and the heavens. And saying to the above-mentioned Ağa, "If you have a liking for our art, if you want to learn it, God bless you!" all and sundry treated him with respect and showed deference to him in a variety of ways. And crossing to Üsküdar [in his dream] in order to make an excursion on 'Alem Dağı,<sup>11</sup> as he was ascending the slope, His Excellency the Ağa suddenly awoke from sleep and fell deep into thought. He began to pray, saying, "I take refuge in God. O God of the Universe and most excellent of Helpers! What manner of dream and what sort of vision is this? And what is the meaning of these gypsies? Perchance when it is morning, first thing I will go to the musician whom I have taken as a teacher and describe

this dream to him. Let us see! What answer will he give? Perhaps he will answer that he too had such dreams when he began his career." Thinking this, as soon as it was morning he went to the musician and described and related the dream he had seen as it had occurred. [10v] And the musician listened. After the description was finished, he smiled and said: "In truth this art is a gypsy art. But they are an ignorant tribe. What is a note [*nağme*]? What is time [*zamân*]? What is harmony [*mülâyemet*]? What is dissonance [*münâferet*]? What is melody [*lahn*]? What is interval [*bu'cd*]? What is tone [*şavt*]? What is song [*ğinâ*]?" They know not. A note is the same as a deliberate producing of the sound *ten*.<sup>12</sup> *Ten* [ ن ن in Arabic letters] consists of two letters. When a person produces it with a specific tone, that is a note. And this is the definition of time: time is the sound of that interval between the voicing of the letter *ta* and the beginning of the letter *nûn* when a person pronounces the word *ten*. In the technical terminology of the science of music, a tone resembling *ten* produced by the *sâz* and other things is called a note. Harmony is that which is agreeable to nature. Dissonance is that which is offensive to nature. In the technical terminology of music, melody means to play the sound of notes high in some places and low in other places, that is treble and bass. Interval is what they call the space between two notes. *Şavt* [sound] is Arabic. In Persian they say *âvâz*, and in present-day Turkish they also say *âvâz*. But in old Turkish they said *ün* and *ses* and *haykırmağ*. *Ğinâ*, [song, tune] is Arabic. In Persian they say *surûd*, and in Turkish *yrlamak*. In addition to this there are twelve principal modes [*mağâm*]. As with the twelve constellations of the zodiac of the eighth heaven, the modes are divided into twelve kinds. The twelve constellations referred to are Ares, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces. And the twelve modes referred to are [11r] Râst, 'Irâk, İsfahân, Zîrefkend, Büzürg, Şernegüle, Rehâvî, Hüseynî, Hicâz, Bûselik, Nevâ, and 'Uşşâk. And in addition to these, there are also four elements, and these four elements referred to are fire, air, water and earth. And the number of derivative modes known as *şu'be* is four, since the derivative modes are defined in accord with the four

<sup>10</sup> For a description of Turkish musical instruments, see Raouf Yekta, "La Musique turque," in Albert Lavignac and Lionel de la Laurencie, eds., *Encyclopédie de la musique*, V (Paris: Delagrave, 1922), pp. 3012-3023.

<sup>11</sup> 'Alem Dağı: an excursion spot on the Asian side of the Bosphorus above Anadolu Hisarı.

<sup>12</sup> *ten*: a syllable to which notes are sung in Turkish; also a syllabic notation of rhythm used for music. See Ella Zonis, *Classical Persian Music, An Introduction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 205.

elements. The four derivative modes mentioned are Yegâh, Dügâh, Segâh and Çârgâh. The lowest in initial tone is Yegâh. The highest in initial tone is Çârgâh. Dügâh and Segâh are between these two. Dügâh is close to Yegâh. Segâh is close to Çârgâh. In terms of classification there are four initial tones. The first tone is Yegâh, the second tone is Dügâh, the third tone is Segâh, the fourth tone is Çârgâh. In Persian *yak* means one, *du* two, *sa* three and *châr* four. As for *gâh*, it means place. Yegâh means first place, Dügâh second place, Segâh third place, Çârgâh fourth place. And there are seven planets. The seven planets referred to are Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon. And there are seven [derivative modes known as] *âvâze* [song] because the *âvâze* are arranged in accordance with the seven planets. And the seven *âvâze* mentioned are Kûşt, Nevrûz, Selmek, Şehnâz, Mâye, Gerdâniyye and Hîsâr. And in addition to this there are twenty-four [derivative modes known as] *terkîb* [composition] because *terkîb* are arranged in accordance with the twenty-four hours.<sup>13</sup> Beginning one *makâm*, that is starting in one [mode] and shifting into another, produces a composition, and this science is called [11v] the science of musical composition [*‘ilm-i edvar*] and the science of musicology [*‘ilm-i mûsikî*]. In place of *mûsikî*, it is also correct to say *mûsikî* and *mûsikâr*. All of these are proper terms. In Greek [the word] *mûs* means melody and *kî* and *kâr* mean well-balanced. The person who systematized this science is the disciple of the prophet Solomon—peace be upon him—the philosopher Pythagoras.<sup>14</sup> It is agreed that he is the most distinguished of the seven eminent philosophers. He discovered, arranged and classified rhythmic patterns from the crashing of the waves of the sea, that is from the surges of the ocean which come one after another on the surface of the sea and strike the shore. And this science [of music] is an ancient science. Now it is the nine hundred seventy-seventh year since the Hegira of the most noble Prophet—may God, whose name be exalted, commend and salute him. It is two thousand six hundred forty-three years from the time this science of music was systematized until the present time. And I am capable of playing as many modes as Pythagoras. Seeing that you are seeking [to learn] much, I propose to teach you everything [about

the science of music]. And should you have recourse to a master other than myself, he would lead you astray. Once again, you will be held back from obtaining [your desire].” And in this way he gave evidence of [his] investigations and research into the science of music. Then, as he watched the hand of His Excellency the Āga, he saw that even the shadow of his hand could not be seen. When he saw that it was a thousand times more nimble than his own hand, he said, “Your hand is so swift that from the time Pythagoras arranged and systematized this science until the present, no one has possessed speed equal to that of your hand. God bless you and give strength to your arm and hand! [12r] May that be so! Now, begin at once [to practice] the musical instruments and modes, and words and melodies.” Saying this he exerted and applied himself in teaching [the Āga] the twelve basic modes. But His Excellency the Āga did not play. On a pretext he went again in the direction of the training school. When he arrived and went inside, he plunged again into the sea of thought. In short, the musician’s advice and words, far from putting his heart to rest, he viewed them with the utmost dislike, and addressing himself, he said, “O unfortunate wretch! As soon as you saw that art you immediately turned and ran toward it like water. Had that art been acceptable and desirable and esteemed and beloved in the sight of the Lord God the all-bounteous, that abject tribe and loathsome band [of gypsies] which I saw in my dream would not have shown interest in the aforementioned art. They would have turned away from it as Satan—curses be upon him—turned away from Adam’s form.<sup>15</sup> The best, most necessary, excellent and appropriate [thing to do] is this: not to act on the musician’s words, but to go to one of the righteous ulema [doctors of Muslim theology] and advice-giving shaikhs and have him interpret the dream. Whatever he says, it will be necessary to act in accord with his noble command. Let the musician’s great happiness, eminence and good fortune be entirely his own! I do not need them.” With this thought, he went out and encountered a Janissary recruit. He said, “I had a dream. I wish to have an interpreter of dreams to interpret it. If you know one of the great shaikhs and wise saints, take me and go into his exalted presence! Let me give you whatever

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of the basic and derivative modes (*makâm*, *şu‘be*, *âvâze*, *terkîb*) in Turkish art music, see Signell, *Makam*, pp. 23-151.

<sup>14</sup> Pythagoras was held by Muslims to be the inventor of the science of music and the propagator of arithmetic and geometry

among the Greeks; see F. Rosenthal, “Fîḥāghûras,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, II, pp. 929-930.

<sup>15</sup> See *Qur‘ân*, II:33-34; VII:11-13; XV:26-36; XX:116.

messenger’s fee you wish.” Saying [this], he took out and gave him a handful of aspers [*aķçe*].<sup>16</sup> And the above-mentioned Janissary recruit, [12v] taking him by the hand, went into the exalted presence of the honored saint named Vişne Mehmed Efendi<sup>17</sup>—may his grave be hallowed. After kissing his hand, His Excellency the Ağa described, explained, reported and expressed to the aforementioned saint, in the manner [already] related, the dream which he had seen, the musician’s advice and words, and his own opinions and ideas, as they had occurred. The aforementioned saint, looking up from meditating, gave a proper answer: “My son, it is necessary for you to renounce that art. If that art were a good art, it would be practiced by righteous and virtuous persons. It would not have fallen like this into the hands of the tribe of Satan, who are evil men. Since your desire is art, the appropriate thing to do is this: tarry a few days. If your nature inclines toward another art, consult with us again. If one is encountered which is useful in this world and the other world, let us give you blessing and permission [to follow it]. Then, with our blessing and permission, may you master that art! To see gypsies in a dream is just like seeing the tribe of spirits and demons. And [the word] gypsy [*çinkân*] means jinn [*cinler*]<sup>18</sup> because the suffix *kân* in *çinkân* is a plural [ending]. Originally, [the word jinn] was *cinne*, like *zinde*. When the plural form was used in the Persian language, it became *çinnegân*, like *zindegân*. Later, lightening and softening the *nûn*, they said *çingân*. From the point of view of words, *cin* is in this *cinne* in exactly the same way. And in the Arabic language, jinn is a common noun. It refers to both of these two groups [gypsies and jinns]. When both types are being referred to, the plural is used. And one of these two types can be seen, the other is invisible. [13r] In short, it is necessary that you turn back from this art and ask God’s forgiveness and repent in the fullest degree.” The aforementioned Ağa, being moved by the advice of

the above-mentioned saint, renounced in his exalted presence the disapproved counsel given by that erring and mistaken musician. And even the musician himself became aware of the propriety of what our young man had done. He [the Ağa] turned away from that art and with sincere repentance asked God’s forgiveness for his sins. In short, he regretted the waste of many days and the loss of many hours in pursuit of that despised and disdained art. In that state of regret he kissed the exalted hand and illustrious person of that above-mentioned saint and returned again in the direction of the Imperial Gardens. When he came to the training school he felt such repentance that he avoided entering it because of the possibility that a fly, buzzing inside, would make a sound resembling that of a *sâz*. While in this deep regret, pacing back and forth like a blind man in the garden, he saw that in the workshop of the mother-of-pearl workers [*şedefkârîler kâr-hânesi*], a youth was holding a book in his hand and reading. As he read each section, he would turn and narrate and explain it to them [the mother-of-pearl workers]. By chance, the book which he was reading was about the science of geometry. Addressing the master mother-of-pearl workers, he said, “Regarding that which is called the science of geometry, in this age, if the science of geometry is discussed among architects and learned men, each one will answer, ‘Yes, we have heard of it, but in essence we have not heard how the science of geometry works and what it deals with.’ Now this noble book fully describes that fine science. [13v] As long as a person does not understand this rare and agreeable science, he is not capable of the finest working in mother-of-pearl, nor can he be expert and skilled in the art of architecture. Now we have come [to the question], who was the earliest master among the craftsmen expert in building in stone, that is in masonry, and in the building of noble Friday mosques and fine small mosques? Let me explain. Their master is the son of

<sup>16</sup> *aķçe*: a small silver coin (asper) which formed the basic unit of the older Ottoman monetary system. The name derives from the Turkish *aķ* (white), the color of silver; see H. Bowen, “Aķçe,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, I, pp. 317-318.

<sup>17</sup> Vişne Mehmed Efendi: one of the great ulema of the period of Sultan Murād III. After completion of his medrese training, he became a disciple of the Ḥalvetî master Kastamonulu Shaikh Şa‘bân Efendi, and himself became shaikh of the Ferruḥ Ketḫüdâ Tekkesi near Balat. He was subsequently appointed preacher and professor of *tefsîr* and Tradition in the *dâr al-ḥadîḡ* built by the mother of Sultan

Murād III next to her mosque and medrese in Üsküdar. His death is reported to have occurred in the summer of 992/1584. See Nev‘î-zâde ‘Aṣṡâ‘î, *Ḥadâ‘îḡ al-Ḥakâ‘îḡ fî Tekmilât al-Şakâ‘îḡ*, I (Istanbul: Maḡba‘a-i ‘Âmire, 1268), p. 361.

<sup>18</sup> *jinn*: one of the three classes of intelligent beings (along with mankind and angels), they are believed by Muslims to have been created out of smokeless flame and are imperceptible to the senses although they appear in a variety of forms and are capable of salvation; see P. N. Boratov and D. B. MacDonald, “Djinn,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, II, pp. 546-549.

Adam, the pure of God, the prophet Seth<sup>19</sup>—peace be upon them. And he is called the gift of God and the favor of God. The heavenly prototype of the Ka‘ba in the Seventh Heaven [Beyt al-Ma‘mūr],<sup>20</sup> which issued from heaven, came to reside on the present spot of the Blessed Ka‘ba. After it had again returned to heaven, the prophet Seth—peace be upon him—built the Blessed Ka‘ba from clay and marble on the pure plot of that prototype. According to the tradition of Ibn ‘Abbās<sup>21</sup>—may God, whose name be exalted, be well pleased with him—from the time of the death of the prophet Seth—peace be upon him—until the present nine hundred seventy-seventh year of the Hegira of the Prophet [1569-70], five thousand six hundred seventy-nine years have passed, inasmuch as there are five thousand seven hundred fifty years from the time Adam—may the prayers of God, whose name be exalted, be upon him—issued from heaven to earth until the time of the Hegira of [Muhammad] the Glory of the World—may God commend and salute him. Until the present nine hundred seventy-seventh year of the Hegira, in all there have been six thousand seven hundred twenty-six years [since the creation of Adam]. The noble life of Adam—peace be upon him—spanned one thousand years. The prophet Seth—peace be upon him—lived forty-seven years after Adam. The prophet Seth—peace be upon him—was born in the one hundred thirty-fifth year after Adam issued from heaven.

In all, his noble life lasted nine hundred twelve years. And according to some histories, [14r] the heavenly prototype of the Ka‘ba remained standing until the flood of the prophet Noah—peace be upon him. It was destroyed at the time of the flood. Subsequently, they write, after the flood of the prophet Noah—peace be upon him—the illustrious forerunner of the Prophet [Muhammad], Abraham,<sup>22</sup> the Friend of God, rebuilt it. And as to foundations previously laid by the prophet Seth—peace be upon him—it is written in one of the esteemed histories, the *Behcet al-Tevarīh*,<sup>23</sup> that after the flood the most perfect Friend of God—peace be upon him—laid new foundations on the surviving remains of the [earlier] foundations and built on them. From the [time of] the death of Abraham, the Friend of God, until this nine hundred seventy-seventh year of the Hegira, there are three thousand three hundred eighty-six years. And the most esteemed of the carpenters is still the prophet Noah—peace be upon him.<sup>24</sup> From the time of the death of the prophet Noah—peace be upon him—until this time, there are four thousand five hundred twenty-six years. And in some histories they write that the foundations of the Blessed Ka‘ba were first laid by the prophet Adam—God, whose name be exalted, bless and salute him. Therefore, the master stonemasons are the prophet Seth and the prophet Abraham—peace be upon them—and as to the master of the carpenters, he is the prophet Noah—peace be upon him.

*Verse*<sup>25</sup>

If you wish to know your master, this is your way.

If you ask who our master is, he is the builder of the venerable Ka‘ba,  
Your answer will include Abraham and Seth and Adam.

In consequence, O devoted man, salute them all!

[14v] Thus, pure prophets are your masters!

Thus, in the science of geometry one immediately becomes profound as the sea.

<sup>19</sup> Seth (Şit): third son of Adam and Eve, he is supposed to have built the Ka‘ba from stone and clay and to have founded more than a thousand cities; see al-Kisā‘ī, *Tales*, p. 86; also the article “Şihīth,” *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, IV, p. 385.

<sup>20</sup> Beyt al-Ma‘mūr: the “Prosperous House,” heavenly prototype of the Ka‘ba; see al-Kisā‘ī, *Tales*, pp. 339-340.

<sup>21</sup> ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-‘Abbās, called al-Ĥibr (“the Learned”) or al-Baḥr (“the Sea”), was one of the greatest scholars of the first generation of Muslims. Born three years before the Hegira, he died in the year 68/686-687 and is particularly renowned as the founder of Qur’ānic exegesis; see L. Veccia Vaglieri, “‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, I, pp. 40-41.

<sup>22</sup> Abraham (Ibrāhīm): the biblical Abraham, described in the

Qur’ān (II:124-141; III: 65-68; 95-97; IV: 125; XXII: 26-29, 78) as builder of the Ka‘ba; see R. Paret, “Ibrāhīm,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, III, 980-981; also A. J. Wensinck, “Ka‘ba,” *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, II, p. 589.

<sup>23</sup> *Behcet al-Tevarīh*: a world history written for the *şadr-ı a‘zam* of Sultan Mehmed II, Maḥmūd Paşa-ı Velī, in 861/1457. Its author was the Ottoman historian Şükrullāh ibn Şihāb al-Dīn Aḥmed (d. 894/1488), a member of the ulema under sultans Murād II and Mehmed II. For details, see Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber* pp. 19-20.

<sup>24</sup> Noah (Nūh): the Biblical Noah, esteemed in Muslim legend as a carpenter because of his building of the Ark; see Bernhard Heller, “Nūh,” *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, III, pp. 948-949.

<sup>25</sup> Marginal note gives meter of verse, *fā‘ilātūn fā‘ilātūn fā‘ilātūn fā‘ilat.*

The definition of the science of geometry is this: *al-handasatu ʿilmun yuʿrafu bihî kadru dhāt al-ashyāʾi wa al-ashkālî hasba-mā yuḡtaḡihî ʿilmu al-ḥisābi wa jadhruhu*. That is, geometry is a science. And by means of that science of geometry a thing's volume and a form's size are known. The first person after Adam, the pure of God—may God bless and salute him—to write on the method of the science of arithmetic and the science of roots was the prophet Enoch<sup>26</sup>—peace be upon him—the compiler and systematizer of the science of arithmetic and the science of astronomy, who is also known by the noble names Aḥnūḥ and Hürmüs. In that time the prophet Enoch—peace be upon him—taught certain of the sciences, but the sciences were not written in a book. Rather, they [his students] committed them to memory as he explained them, working with them in that manner. Later, the philosopher Pythagoras collected both the science of geometry and the science of mathematics into a book. They were collected in the time of the prophet David and the prophet Solomon<sup>27</sup>—peace be upon them—when the Kaʿba was being built. From the time of the prophet David until this year nine hundred seventy-seven of the Hegira, it is two thousand six hundred eighty years. [The Arabic word] *handasa* [geometry] is derived from *hindāz* [quantity, measure]. *Hindāz* is arabicized from *andāza* [measure, quantity]. And *andāza* is Persian. [Those things] which are called *tašmīn*, *resm*, *ölçmek* and *arşun* are wooden or iron measuring rods with which [15r] cloth and other things are measured. And in the dictionary of Niʿmet Allāh<sup>28</sup> they are explained as follows: *dhirāʿ* is Arabic [for cubit], *arşun* is the Turkish. When *andāza* was arabicized, they changed the *elif* to a *hā* in the Arabic language and it became *hindāza*, just as *āl* became *ahl*. And in place of *hā* with a *fethā* [a/e short vowel sign] they used a *kesre* [i/i short vowel sign] and they said *hindāz*. And they made *hindāzi* a quadrilateral verb [a verb based on a root of four consonants]. *Handaza* is the past tense. In accord with the *faʿlala* pattern they said *handaza* [past tense], *yuhandizu* [the indicative], *handazatan* [the noun], and *muhandizun* [the active par-

ticiples]. But there is no word in the Arabic language which ends in the letter *zā* preceded by the letter *dāl*. [Therefore,] they changed the extant *zā* to a *sīn*, like *zirāʿ* and *sirāʿ*. The extant [*hindāz*] becomes *handasa*. And they said *muhandis* for the active participle. It is thus in the *Mukhtār al-Şihāḥ*.<sup>29</sup> And in the *Mukhtār al-Şihāḥ* the dictionary meaning of *handasa* is explained as, “to measure and estimate buildings and foundations.” Some persons of Arab descent, when requesting a gift, say *aḥsin yā sayyidanā al-mumtāz bi-lā ḥisāb wa lā hindāz*, that is, ‘O, our master, grant us numberless and measureless favors!’ But the dictionary *Sāmī fī al-Asāmī*<sup>30</sup> only accepts the meaning ‘estimator,’ defining geometrician as estimator, that is one who determines measurements. And as to the meanings of *takhmīn* and *handasa*, finally, *takhmīn* has only one meaning, to measure [*oranlamaḡ*]. But *handasa* has two meanings. One meaning is to measure in cubits [*zirāʿ ile ölçmek*]; the second meaning is to measure [*oranlamaḡ*]. And *oranlamaḡ* is old Turkish. Today it is not used. *Takhmīn* [estimate] is used in its place. [15v] And today *handasa* is not used either. *Takhmīn* is generally used in the sense of *handasa*. And *handasa*'s dictionary meaning is as it is explained here. The technical meaning of *handasa*, as was explained in its definition, is to determine the measurements of volumes and forms using the required science of arithmetic. Now, in the science of geometry there are several forms. When these are mastered, the rest is easy. The first is the round circumference [*devr-i muḥīṯ*], which is a perfect circle [*kāmil bir dāire*]. The second is the arc of a round circumference [*kaṣ-i devr-i muḥīṯ*], which is a half circle. The third is the small arc of a round circumference [*aşğar-i kaṣ-i devr-i muḥīṯ*], which is less than a half circle. The fourth is the large arc of a round circumference [*ekber kaṣ-i devr-i muḥīṯ*], which is more than half a circle. The fifth are triangular forms [*eşkal-i müsellesāt*]. The equilateral triangle [*sekl-i müselles muṭlaḡ*] is simple, because its sides, that is its ribs, are equal. Similarly, its shape is like a [triangular] trivit [*şacayaḡ*] the three sides and ribs of which are equal. Trivits are made in the shape of equilateral

<sup>26</sup> Enoch (Idris): the Old Testament patriarch, credited by Muslim legend with various inventions including divination and the arts of writing and the making of garments. Among Ottoman craftsmen he was regarded as patron saint of the craft guilds; see G. Vajda, “Idris,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, III, pp. 1030-1031.

<sup>27</sup> David and Solomon (Dāvūd and Süleymān): the biblical David and his son Solomon, both of whom are mentioned in several places in the Kurʿān; see R. Paret, “Dāvūd,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, II, p. 182, and J. Walker, “Sulaimān,” *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, IV, pp. 519-521.

<sup>28</sup> Dictionary of Niʿmet Allāh: Persian-to-Turkish dictionary com-

pleted in the year 947/1540 by the Naqşbandī shaikh Hoca Niʿmet-Allāh Efendi (d. Istanbul 969/1561).

<sup>29</sup> *Mukhtār al-Şihāḥ*: the abridgment by the late 7th/13th century Hanafite jurist Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr al-Rāzī of the great Arabic dictionary by Abū Naşr Ismāʿīl ibn Ḥammād al-Jawharī al-Fārābī (d. 393/1002-03) entitled *Tāj al-luġha wa şihāḥ al-ʿArabiyya*; see Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, I (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1943), pp. 133-134, 478; also *Supplement I*, pp. 658-659.

<sup>30</sup> *Sāmī fī al-Asāmī*: Arabic dictionary of Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maydānī al-Nishābūrī (d. 518/1124); see Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, I, p. 344.

triangles. The other triangles, all of them, have unequal sides and angles. That is, some sides are short and other sides are longer. This being the case, the angles that are the corners are different; they are not equal to one another. Some of the angles are obtuse and some are acute. There are many of these forms. In the science of geometry, all of them are characterized by their [triangular] form. The sixth are quadrangles [*murabb'ât*], and after that pentagons [*muḥammesât*], and hexagons [*müseddesât*], and heptagons [*müsebbe'ât*], [16r] and octagons [*müsemmenât*], and nonagons [*mütese'ât*], and decagons [*mu'aşşerât*], and so on accordingly. And all these forms are described in the science of geometry. And these forms are used above all in the art of mother-of-pearl working. The art of mother-of-pearl inlay makes use only of forms derived from the science of geometry. And the word *mi'mâr* [architect] is Arabic. It is the active participle. In Persian they say *âbādân kunanda* [builder], in Turkish *şenledici* [builder]. *Şenledici* is old Turkish. Today it is no longer used at all, and in its place they say *ma'mûr idici* [builder]. *Imârât* [? building] is Arabic. In Persian they say *âbādân kardan* [to build], in Turkish *şenletmek* [to build]. And *umrân* [prosperity, development] is Arabic. In Persian they say *âbādânî* [prosperity, development], in Turkish *şenlik* [prosperity]. *Amir*, *ma'mûr* and *amir* [developed, flourishing] are Arabic. All three have the same meaning. In Persian they say *âbādân* [built up, developed, flourishing] and in Turkish *şen* and *günc* [developed, flourishing]. But this *şen* and *günc* are also originally borrowed from Persian. Because in the Persian lands some nomadic groups wander in the mountains and countryside, they build houses in the places where they camp. Building houses below ground, they cover the ground with holes. Those underground houses—that is, excavated, dug-out places—are called *günc* and *şenc* [hole, excavation]. And in Arabic *thaḫb* and *naḫb* [excavation, hole] have this meaning. *Hajjâr* [stone cutter] is Arabic. In Persian they say *sang-tirâsh* [stone cutter] and in Turkish *taş yönüci* [stone cutter] and *taşçı* [stone cutter, mason]. *Najjâr* [carpenter] and *bannâ*<sup>2</sup> [builder] and *hâjiri* [builder] and *fatîk* [construction worker] are Arabic. All have the same meaning. In Persian they say *durûrgar* [carpenter] and in Turkish *dülger* [carpenter, builder]. *Dülger* is a corruption of the Persian *durûrgar*. *Şâni*<sup>c</sup> [artisan] and *mukhtariif* [skilled artisan] are Arabic. [16v] In Persian they say *dastkâr* [artisan] and *pîshavar* [artisan] and in old Turkish *eli-ḳolaylı*. But in present-day Turkish they say *şan'at ehli* [craftsman]. *Amal* [work] and *şan'at* [craft] are Arabic. In Persian they say

*kâr* [work] and *pîsha* [craft]. In Turkish they say *iş* [work] and *peşe* [craft]. *Şinâ'at* [craft] and *hîrfat* [handicraft] are also Arabic. In Persian they say *pîsha* [craft], in Turkish *şan'at* [craft]. But some common people, corrupting [it], say *zenâ*. *Şâni*<sup>c</sup> [expert, dexterous] and *şanâ*<sup>c</sup> [? creating, forming] are Arabic. Both have the same meaning. In Persian they say *jarb-dast* [expert, dexterous], in Turkish *eli-düz* [sic. *eli düzgün*, dexterous]. *Ustâd* [master] and *mu'allim* [master] are Arabic. In Persian, also, they say *ustâd*, and in Turkish *usta* and *öğredici* [master, teacher]. But again, the Arabic *ustâd* is arabicized from the Persian, and the Turkish *usta* is also a corruption of *ustâd*. *Mâhîr* [expert, skilled person] and *hâdhik* [skilled, expert] are Arabic. In Persian they say *hunarmand* [skilled] and *ustâd-i bî-mânand* [master without equal], in Turkish *eyü usta* [skilled master], *iş eri* [skilled worker] and *başarıcı* [accomplished, skilled]. *Muttakhadhlik* [one who pretends to skills] is Arabic. In Persian they say *nâ-sâz* [unskilled], in Turkish *ölçüm* [one who overestimates himself]. *Tilmîdh* [student], *ghulâm* [youth] and *muta'allim* [student], the three of them, are Arabic. In Persian they say *shâkird* [student, apprentice] and *khidmatkâr* [servant, apprentice], in Turkish also, *şakird* and *hidmetkâr* and *oglan* [servant] and *öğrenici* [apprentice, student]. *Âlat* [tool] and *adât* [tool] are Arabic. Their plurals are *âlât* and *adawât*. In Persian they say *dast-afraz* [tool] and in Turkish *tutacak*, *kapacak* and *âvâdânlık* [set of tools]. *Avâdânlık* is a corruption of *âlât* with *adawât*. Every craftsman has a workshop. In the Arabic language there are many different names [for them]. But in Persian they are not differentiated. They say *dastgâh* [workshop] for all craftsmen's workshops. In Turkish they say *tezgâh* [workshop]. And this is a corruption of *dastgâh*." Details in addition to these [17r] concerning tools and instruments related to architecture will be found, God—whose name be exalted—willing, in the thirteenth chapter. In short, while the intelligent youth was reading the book which thus described geometry and architecture and had stimulated his interest, His Excellency the Ağa observed him with careful regard and sharpness of eye and listened with all his heart and soul. And all the masters in the workshop, without showing it, took note of the Ağa's complete attention and careful concentration. Addressing that youth reading the book, they said, concerning His Excellency the Ağa, "This boy, admiring your learning, has become desirous [of studying] the arts of working mother-of-pearl and of architecture." And the youth with the book answered them thus, "If this boy is really

as talented as you say, if he is inclined to these arts, it is easy in a moment to try and test him. Strike a plank with an adze and mark a spot. Then, wishing him good luck, give that adze to him. And let him take it, and confiding in God, swing it and strike [the plank]. If the adze hits the spot that was marked, that would make evident and manifest his propensity and talent. And later he will be very skilled and expert in this art.” And Master [ūstād] Muḥammed, the overseer [ḥalīfē] of the mother-of-pearl workers, immediately seized an adze, struck a plank and notched it. Then he offered the adze to His Excellency the Aḡa. And the Aḡa took the adze with his right hand which had been exercised with the plectrum. Saying, “In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate,” [17v] placing his trust in the Lord God, the Helper, he swung the adze and struck that plank many times. Each time that he swung it, he hit that notch in the same way without fail. He did not miss it even once or go astray at all. The masters who were present were amazed and bewildered by His Excellency the Aḡa’s hitting of the notch and swinging of the adze. They said, “May your hand and arm be strong! God, whose name be exalted, bless you with long life! It is your right to be a master of the arts of architecture and the working of mother-of-pearl. The appropriate thing is this, from now on enter our brotherhood and learn and grow in this art.” And the young man reading the book said, “If this boy turns toward this art with this skill, let me also teach him the science of geometry, and transcribe and present him with a copy of the book in my hand so that as long as he lives he will have in his hands a token from me.” All [of those present] made noble promises like this. And the Aḡa replied, “I have taken an oath of allegiance from a saint. Let me return to him and ask his leave. Then, God—whose name be exalted—willing, returning with his permission and blessing, I shall begin the study of [these] arts.” Then he went in haste to the above-mentioned saint. Arriving, he kissed the blessed hand of the aforementioned saint and related and described in detail the past events as they had occurred. And the above-mentioned saint fell into thought and pondered for some time in a state of meditation. After a time, raising his head from the attitude of meditation, he said, “Son, this art and work were seen fit and

worthy for you because [18r] for the most part it is the work of architects to build noble Friday mosques, and fine small mosques, and medreses, and bridges, and *tekyes*, and fortresses, and walls, and all sorts of charitable and pious buildings. In accord with the blessed Tradition, *man banā masjidan wa law ka-mafḥaṣin kaṭātin bana Allāhu lahu baytan fī al-jannati*, if one builds a blessed mosque, even if it is like the nest of a tiny bird, in reward for it, God—may He be glorified and His name exalted—makes a room in heaven for that person. And another blessed Tradition [states], *muhūru al-ḥūri al-īni kansu al-masājidi wa ‘imāratuha*, [that is], to build and sweep a blessed mosque is the bride price [kābin] for the houris [ḥūr-i ‘īn] in heaven. *Ḥūr* is the plural of *hawrā* [houris] and ‘īn is the plural of ‘aynā [beautiful-eyed]. It means that the whites and blacks of the eyes of houris are very white and black. ‘Aynā means beautiful-eyed. Both of these [qualities] give beauty. And *ṣadāq* [bride price] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kābin* and in Turkish *ḡalın*. And now even the word *nikāḥ* [marriage] has taken on this meaning. And another blessed Tradition [states] *man māta yeshhadu an lā ilāha illā Allāh wa anna Muḥammadan Rasūlu Allāhi mūḡinan*, [that is] heaven is the due of those persons who die [saying] the blessed words, ‘There is no God but God’, that is, complete them with their last breath.<sup>31</sup> And another blessed Tradition [states], *man māta yashhadu an lā ilāha illā Allāh wa anna Muḥammadan Rasūlu Allāhi mūḡinan dakhala al-jannata*,<sup>32</sup> [that is] if a person dies testifying with conviction that there is no God other than the Lord God—whose name be exalted—and that the Prophet Muhammad Muṣṭafā—may God, whose name be exalted, commend and salute him—is incontrovertibly the apostle of God, that person will go to heaven. [18v] Now what a great blessing it is if a man who is involved with this sort of art attending unremittingly, to the limit of his strength, to prayer and witnessing, thus arrives at his final end! And what a joy of the two worlds it is that while in the manner described you prosper in this life, in truth you also obtain the other world. You must master this art without delay!” Saying this, he gave his permission and consent to the above-mentioned Aḡa to master the arts of the working of mother-of-pearl and architecture. In short, from the bottom of his heart he rendered prayers

<sup>31</sup> A marginal note on the right reads, “This blessed tradition was written by mistake when its place was below.” In the left-hand margin a second note corrects the text. It is written in the same hand as the text itself and in the same red ink as the erroneously written line in the main body of the manuscript. It reads, *man khutima lahū bi-*

*lā ilāha illā Allāh wajabat lahū al-jannat*, the translation of which is given in the main body of the text.

<sup>32</sup> This tradition is the same as the one mistakenly written above. A marginal note on the left repeats it.

and praise. And from that auspicious hour, His Excellency the Ağa, with favor and guidance from God—the Sublime and Exalted—and the sanction and blessing of the above-mentioned saint, began to master the arts of the working of mother-of-pearl and architecture. Afterwards, at the time of the afternoon prayer, when it became necessary for him to return to his regiment, he entered the training school alluded to in the course [of describing] these above-mentioned events and upon entering he brought outside those instruments of pleasure which had been purchased and which were inside. He said, “One of our masters ought to be the

prophet Abraham—peace be upon him. As he smashed the idols,<sup>33</sup> so also I will smash these.” And he took an ax in his hand. The musician and others arriving just at that moment, said, “O, young man! Have mercy! Do not put yourself at a financial loss! However many aspers went to [purchase] these, let us return to you their price,” and thus begged him repeatedly not to break them. And although they wanted to give their price, His Excellency the Ağa, not taking their coin and money, completely turned them all into bits of scrap with the ax.

*Verse<sup>34</sup>*

Good works are required of the servants of God.  
 But they must be given by the grace of the holy saints.  
 In this world be associated with the holy saints!  
 May their holiness communicate itself to you!  
 [19r] We all seek after the straight and narrow path.  
 O God, give us spiritual guidance!

## SECOND CHAPTER

It describes how skilled and how perfect in art was His Excellency the Ağa after fully and thoroughly learning the arts of architecture and the working of mother-of-pearl, and how, in reward for the works he fashioned, he was honored with the favor of the padishah and of viziers, and how His Majesty the late Sultan Murād Khan, in reward for the rare works which His Excellency the Ağa created, favored him with the office of Gate Keeper of the Sublime Porte [*dergāh-ı ‘ālī kapucılığ*], and how, by a felicitous imperial decree, he became Chief Summoning Officer of the four kadis of Istanbul.

His Excellency the above-mentioned Ağa, being a noble person of most perfect good and gentle temperament, along with being very devout in religion and faith, did not have the slightest pride or malice in his heart. And he did not care to show off his learning and accomplishments. It is possible that he had not, even once in his life, said, “I am capable of such and such

a work and I am expert in such and such an art and such and such a craft.” And if an outsider came and was associated with him for years, it would not be possible for that outsider to be aware of his [the Ağa’s] ability, his work and skill in the science of geometry until he had taken up and worked at one of the crafts, for he [the Ağa] does not praise himself like others and is a dignified, exalted person. He does not say, “I have such and such sorts and such and such types of accomplishments.” But let us describe how many skills and accomplishments he possesses, and how many masters he was associated with, and how, because of his excellence, he was the object of the Padishah’s favor [19v] and benevolence. From the date nine hundred seventy-seven [1569-70], when the aforementioned Ağa took up the arts of architecture and the working of mother-of-pearl, until the year nine hundred ninety-seven [1588-89], [that is] until the death of the warrior renowned as the Great Architect [*koca mi‘c mār*], the late

<sup>33</sup> Allusion is made here to accounts in the Qurʾān describing Abraham as attacking the idol worship of his father and his people;

see Qurʾān VI:74-84; XXXVII:83-98; XXVI:69-89; XIX:41-50; XLII:26-28; XXI:51-73; XXIX:16-27.

<sup>34</sup> Marginal note gives meter of couplet, *mefā‘ilün mefā‘ilün fe‘ulün*.

Sinân Ağa,<sup>1</sup> who was the chief of the world’s engineers [*ser-i mühendisân-ı cihân*] and famed to the horizons and throughout the ages, he studied under Üstâd Muḥammad, the masters [*ḥalîfe*] of the [Imperial] Garden and the above-mentioned late Sinân Ağa. And each time the late Great Architect came to the Imperial Gardens, he [the Ağa] studied the science of geometry and the art of architecture with him and others. And each time that he executed some artistically fashioned work of art, he showed it to the above-mentioned deceased Sinân Ağa. And Sinân Ağa said now and then, “Bravo, apprentice! You have created a work without equal. There is no one now who can create works as fine as these works of yours. Why do you not fashion a rare gift and give it as a present to the felicitous Padishah? Sultan Murād<sup>2</sup> is an appreciative Padishah. If you were to present him with a rare gift, you would be the object of his favor, would receive his benevolence, and become a member of the imperial household staff. And in the end, the command producing an effect, the aforementioned Ağa, on the advice and counsel of the late Great Ağa [*koca ağa*], fashioned a lectern [*tilâvet iskemlesi*] in the form of a reading desk [*rahl*]<sup>3</sup> [decorated] in geometric forms with sides joined to one another, of a type which was the rarity of the age. In the year nine hundred ninety-eight [1589-90] he gave, presented and conveyed it to His Majesty the late Sultan Murād—may he rest in peace—through the agency of Aḥmed Ağa, known as Aḥmed Pasha Dâmâdı,<sup>4</sup> who was then *silâhdâr*.<sup>5</sup> When it was placed in the Exalted Presence, [20r] that worldly-wise and blessed sultan, scrutinizing and examining it with care, saw that the Holy Qur’ân had no such peerless throne

and that its equal was not to be found in the world. From top to bottom [it was covered with] the interlocking sides of triangles and quadrangles and the sides of pentagons and hexagons and heptagons, and the patterns were possessed of various forms. That is, looking from one angle, one type of form or circle was seen, and when one looked again at that place from another angle, other types of designs and patterns emerging, other forms appeared. However much the point of view was changed, that many forms were transformed into other shapes. When the late [sultan], out of his delight, turned and examined and inspected it, now from this direction, now from that, he recited extemporaneously this noble verse.

*Couplet*<sup>6</sup>

God! God! What are these beautiful forms?

Like wine, they instantly caused me to lose my head.

Then, turning toward the *silâhdâr ağa*, he addressed him. “From which country did this rare work come to be presented to my imperial presence?” On the uttering of the imperial words, the above-mentioned *silâhdâr ağa* replied, “My padishah, it was fashioned by one of your slaves who is an assistant [*ḥalîfe*] of the workers of mother-of-pearl from among the *‘acemi oğlans* of the Great Garden. He brought it, saying it is suitable for our Padishah. On [the *silâhdâr*] saying this, that appreciative king of the world, feeling incomparable delight, said, “Now that assistant would be suitable as an official of my court. It is necessary that he be given

<sup>1</sup> Sinân ibn ‘Abd al-Mennân, the Great Architect (*koca mi‘mâr*): born in a village of Kayseri (c. 895/1489-90), he was drafted as an *‘acemi oğlan* into the corps of Janissaries and took part in the campaigns of Belgrade (1521), Rhodes (1522), Iran (1534), and Walachia (1538), in the course of which he distinguished himself as a military engineer. He was appointed *mi‘mâr başı* in 944/1538, a post he occupied until his death in 996/1588 (not 997 as recorded above by Ca‘fer Efendi). The greatest of the Ottoman architects, his *menâkıb-nâmes* list 455 buildings as having been designed and erected by him, though doubtless many were the work of his assistants. Among his most remarkable buildings are the Şehzade (1543-48) and Süleymaniye (1550-57) complexes in Istanbul, and the Selimiye complex (1569-75) in Edirne. For his *menâkıb-nâmes* and other accounts, see p. 2, note 11; also Aptullah Kuran, “The Mosques of Sinan,” *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art, Proceedings*, G. Feher, ed. (Budapest: Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1979), pp. 559-568; and Mayer, *Architects*, pp. 121-124.

<sup>2</sup> Sultan Murād (Murād III): twelfth sultan of the Ottoman dynasty; reigned 982/1574 to 1003/1595.

<sup>3</sup> *rahl*: a low reading desk. For a photograph of an eighteenth-century mother-of-pearl inlaid *rahl* of very likely similar type, see Arseven, *Arts decoratifs*, pl. 12 and fig. 526.

<sup>4</sup> Aḥmed Pasha Dâmâdı: presumably Çühadâr Aḥmed Pasha (d. 1027/1618), son-in-law of Murād III, who was at various times married to two of the sultan’s daughters (in 1013/1604 to Faḥriyye, and in c. 1024/1615 to Fetḥiyye); see Alderson, Table XXXII.

<sup>5</sup> *silâhdâr* or *silâhdâr ağa*: the sultan’s swordkeeper, who also handled all communications to and from the sultan; see Mehmet Zeki Pakalan, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1953), III, pp. 221-225; also Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I. 1, pp. 338-339.

<sup>6</sup> Marginal note gives meter of verse, *fâ‘ilâtün mef‘ilün fe‘lâi*.

a post near the Bâb-ı Sa'âdet<sup>7</sup> of my Imperial Court. Think of a post for him!" When he said this, [20v] the *silâhdâr ağa*, the *kaşu ağası*<sup>8</sup> and the other *ağas* set to thinking. "With what must this person be rewarded that the imperial command of His Majesty the Padishah, who is the refuge of the world, be carried out?" At that time, there was among the slaves of the sultan nothing more esteemed than the post of gatekeeper [*kaşucı*].<sup>9</sup> Consulting, they said, "The felicitous Padishah said that he would be suitable at my door. The meaning of such a statement is, 'Let him be a gatekeeper.'" When, agreeing, they suggested the office of gatekeeper, that sultan of sultans who is a mine of mercy and generosity said, "That was also my wish." Upon his saying this the said *ağas* quickly brought the aforementioned Ağa from the Imperial Garden and caused him to appear in the exalted presence of His Majesty, the felicitous Padishah, the shadow of God, refuge of the world. And the *silâhdâr ağa*, saying, "Congratulations!" snatched his [the Ağa's] conical 'acemi oğlan's cap [*külâh*]<sup>10</sup> from his head and immediately placed on his head a matchless golden *üşküf*,<sup>11</sup> which is the costume of the *kaşucıs* of the Imperial Court.

#### Couplet<sup>12</sup>

When Murâd made his wish come true,  
He said, "May the office of doorkeeper be  
auspicious."

And in addition to this, two years later, the above-mentioned Ağa, addressing and reproaching himself,

said, "His Majesty the felicitous Padishah, the refuge of the world, having accepted your work to this extent, considered it a gift. Why not fashion another rare gift and dedicate and present it to him? The appropriate thing to do is this, to make a bow case [*yaylık*] of the best quality for a weapon and present it [to him]." With this thought he created an artistically fashioned, jeweled and gold-inlaid bow case [*kemândan*], like the first [gift], without peer or equal. This time he presented it to his Imperial Majesty through the agency of the *bâb-ı sa'âdet ağası*.<sup>13</sup> [21r] And as with the first [gift], when this was placed in the [sultan's] exalted presence, as soon as he saw [it], he immediately knew whose work it was. Extemporaneously, he uttered this couplet:

#### Couplet<sup>14</sup>

This bow case is the work of the Doorkeeper.  
It is suitable for the King of Kings.

And as with the first [gift] he [the sultan] expressed his admiration for the bow case and praised it again and again. And like the previous [gift], this one was laden with mother-of-pearl which dumbfounded him when he examined it. And the reason for his being so delighted with it was this, that the Padishah, being at all times clear-sighted and shrewd, in order to protect himself from enemies, always had a bow case at his side. As for the bow case, it was so esteemed and beautiful and so polished like a mirror, that, like the surface of the Mirror of Alexander, every piece of mother-of-pearl was here and there always visible from

<sup>7</sup> Bâb-ı Sa'âdet: literally Gate of Felicity, it is the entrance to the Third Court of the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul, and is located at the north end of the Second Court. Immediately within it stands the 'Arz Odası, the Presentation or Throne Room. The Bâb-ı Sa'âdet thus stood at the point of juncture of the public and private zones of the palace, since the Third Court, with the exception of the 'Arz Odası, was forbidden to outsiders and strictly reserved to the sultan and his immediate following. The term is used here to suggest that the sultan wished Mehmed Ağa to be given a post close to his person. For the Bâb-ı Sa'âdet and Third Court, see Barnette Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931), pp. 205 f.; also Fanny Davis, *The Palace of Topkapı in Istanbul* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), pp. 79-88.

<sup>8</sup> *kaşu ağası* (known also as the *bâb-ı sa'âdet ağası*): chief of the white eunuchs who dominated the inside service and harem of the Imperial Palace; see Pakalan, *Deyimler*, II, "Kapı Ağası," pp. 166-167.

<sup>9</sup> *kaşucı*: official of the outside service of the imperial palace; see Pakalan, *Deyimler*, II, "Kapıcı Bölükleri," pp. 169-170. *Kaşucıs* were charged with such tasks as guarding the gates of the palace, transmitting orders and messages, and executing decisions of the imperial council (*divân-ı hümayun*).

<sup>10</sup> *külâh*: tall, conical cap worn by the 'acemi oğlan. For contemporary depictions, see woodcuts of "azamoglan" in Nicolas de Nicolay, *The Navigations, Peregrinations and Voyages made into Turkie* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1585), pp. 70, 72.

<sup>11</sup> *üşküf*: the type of headgear worn by the officers of the Janissary *ocağs* and various other high court officials. It was identical to the *börk* of the Janissary corps, that is, a headgear made of felt or broadcloth with a long flap hanging back over the shoulders and a metal clasp (called *kâşıklık* or "spoon holder," supposedly for holding spoons while on campaign and feathers while on parade) on the front. The *üşküf* was differentiated from this simply by the fact of its enrichment with gold and silver embroidery. See Reşat Ekrem Kocu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Başnur Matbaası, 1967), pp. 45-46, 236-237. For contemporary depiction, see N. de Nicolay, *Navigations*, p. 77.

<sup>12</sup> Marginal note gives meter of couplet, *fâ'ilâtün mefâ'ilâtün fi'lâl/fe'ilâl*.

<sup>13</sup> *bâb-ı sa'âdet ağası*: same as *kaşu ağası* (see note 8 above).

<sup>14</sup> Marginal note gives meter of couplet, *fâ'ilâtün fe'ilâtün fe'lün*.

a great distance [when it was worn] by His Majesty the Padishah on his back. And the benevolent sultan, treating him [the Ağa] with respect, showed him kindness in reward for the bow case, saying, "Let him be considered for a good office, but let not the above-mentioned slave be sent far from the Abode of Felicity [Istanbul]." When the imperial edict was issued, the *kaşu ağası* immediately said, "My Padishah, the kadi of Istanbul has need at the present time of a *muḥzır başı*."<sup>15</sup> [Upon this] an auspicious imperial edict concerning the [appointment of the Ağa to the] office of *muḥzır başı* was drawn up. On handing it to the Ağa, he [the sultan] expressed himself with the contents of this couplet:

*Couplet*<sup>16</sup>

May appointment to high state office be yours, come what may.

Go! May the office of *muḥzır başı* be auspicious for you!

After that, the above-mentioned Ağa became *muḥzır başı* to four kadıs. [21v] And in addition to this, fashioning many rare gifts and presents and being the object of great and abundant favors, countless and without number, from the exalted sultan, the noble ministers, eminent persons and men of state, he was rewarded with various honors, and there was no end to them. If one tenth of a tenth [of this] were related, it would be necessary to speak to excess. [Therefore] only this much is related and the rest must be inferred by analogy. But let us narrate one more story about the art of the Ağa. One day, at the time the Ağa was *şu nâzırı*,<sup>17</sup> this well-wisher [Ca'fer] was sitting in company with

him in the upper story *selâmlık*<sup>18</sup> of his house having a friendly conversation, when suddenly a middleman for a secondhand book dealer arrived. In his hand there was a noble *Ḳur'ân* of large size selling for thirty thousand aspers in the Grand Bazaar, with calligraphy in the *Yâkût* style,<sup>19</sup> Devlet-âbâdî paper, verses in the borders throughout in the Ottoman manner, some letters resembling the Shaikh's *celî*<sup>20</sup> and some tending toward Ibn Muḳla's,<sup>21</sup> the golden face of every page of which each time it was opened flashed like lightning and shown like the sun. And His Excellency the Ağa, out of respect for the Holy Word, rose to his feet, took it from the middleman's hands, kissed it, and paying his respects, examined it. After saying the *tekbîr*<sup>22</sup> and sacred prayers, he said to the middleman, "Buy this noble gift for me for one thousand aspers more [than the price being asked]! But I ask forty days' grace [before paying] the aspers." And upon the middleman's consenting and leaving, the Ağa, addressing this humble servant, said, "Ca'fer Efendi, do you know why [22r] I requested forty days' grace from the middleman? The reason is this, that within one month—God, whose name be exalted, willing—I am resolved to fashion an artistically made small table [*ḫiş-tahta*]. When it is sold it will realize thirty thousand aspers and more. Let me buy this noble *Ḳur'ân* with the labor of my hands, make it wakf,<sup>23</sup> and place it in a noble mosque that they may read it for [the glorification of] the Lord God—whose name be exalted. May it be accepted in the sight of God, so that the merit of its reading might also descend upon me." Subsequently, he acted in this way. In his art his two hands are pure gold [i.e., he is most skilled].

<sup>15</sup> *muḥzır-başı*: chief summoner of persons called before the kadi courts; see Pakalan, *Deyimler*, II, "Muḥzır," and "Muḥzır-başı," pp. 572-573.

<sup>16</sup> Marginal note gives meter of couplet, *fâ'ilâtün fe'îlâtün fe'îlâtün fe'lün*.

<sup>17</sup> *şu nâzırı*: Literally, "water inspector." An official of the outer service of the Imperial Palace under the *şehir emîni*, he was charged with maintaining the waterworks and water systems of the capital.

<sup>18</sup> *selâmlık*: that part of a large house reserved for men, where male guests were received and entertained.

<sup>19</sup> *Yâkût hattı*: literally *Yâkût's handwriting*. The script known as *Yâkûtî*, a particularly elegant and beautiful type of *thuluth* developed by the thirteenth-century Baghdad calligrapher *Yâkût al-Musta'simî* (d. 1298); see Cl. Huart, "Yâkût al-Musta'simî," *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, IV, p. 1154.

<sup>20</sup> Shaikh's *celî*: *celî* is a type of monumental cursive script characterized by embellishment with various decorative devices. Presumably, reference is here made to *celî* written by Shaikh Ḥamd Allāh (840-926/1439-1520) the greatest calligrapher of the Ottoman period, who tutored Sultan Bâyezîd II in the art of writing. The latter

is reputed to have regarded Ḥamd Allāh with such high esteem that he held the Shaikh's inkpot while Ḥamd Allāh wrote his lines; see Celal Melek, *Şeyh Ḥamdullah* (Istanbul: Kenan Matbaası, 1948); also A. Süheyl Ünver, *Hattat Şeyh Ḥamdullah* (Istanbul: Kemal Matbaası, 1953).

<sup>21</sup> Ibn Muḳla (Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḳla): (272-328/885-940), vizier of the 'Abbāsid caliphs al-Muqtadir, al-Ḳāhir and al-Rāḍī and a famous calligrapher, he is considered the inventor of "proportioned script" (*al-ḫaṭṭ al-mansūb*), which he based on his knowledge of the science of geometry, and as such he is held to be the true founder of Arabic cursive calligraphy; see Nabia Abbott, "The Contribution of Ibn Muḳlah to the North Arabic Script," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 56, 1939, pp. 70-83.

<sup>22</sup> *tekbîr*: the affirmation *Allāhü ekber* (God is most great).

<sup>23</sup> wakf: a pious endowment, that is, a grant of property to be held in perpetuity for pious or charitable purposes. For the history and principles of wakf, see Heffening, "Wakf," *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, IV, pp. 1096-1103.

*Couplet*<sup>24</sup>

If you search for a golden gate in a house of silver,  
You see the alchemist and philosopher's stone, as  
well as the pure [of heart], are rare.

What other craftsman would be capable of such work and earning! If they labor for a month over a work, then take their works to the bazaar and wish to sell them to dealers in ready-made goods or sellers of cheap shoes and dealers in secondhand books, it would be purchased for forty, fifty or sixty aspers, or at most a hundred aspers. The above-mentioned Ağa, while being the possessor of so much skill and ability, did not even once praise himself in any way. And his courage and bravery were equal to this. Some of his military exploits will be described in the third chapter—God, whose name be exalted, willing. And until the Great Architect, the late Sinân Ağa, died, he [the Ağa] studied art with him. Then he worked with the architect Dāvūd Ağa,<sup>25</sup> who took his [Sinân's] place as *mi‘mār başı*. And when the late Dāvūd Ağa also died, he became an apprentice to the master of the art of

working mother-of-pearl in the Imperial Garden, the late Dālgīc Aḥmed Ağa,<sup>26</sup> who took his [Dāvūd Ağa's] place as *mi‘mār başı*. And in this time, however many public buildings he created, all of them were built by the above-mentioned Meḥmed Ağa. And it will be related in the third chapter—God, whose name be exalted, willing—how many high state offices he has occupied until the present day. [22v] They were not obtained through anyone's intervention. All of them were won by the labor of his own hands and the help of God, the supreme Lord. His exalted being is like a peerless Kirmānī sword in its scabbard. Who knows how sharp is a sword which remains in its scabbard, or with what kinds of jewels it is set when a man carefully cares for it and does not use it? Someone looking at the mildness and good nature of the aforementioned Ağa would think that he had not yet in his life taken up an adze and that if someone gave him an adze, he would not be capable of wielding it. Not only did he wield an adze, but making war, how he struck the enemies of religion with sword and battle ax, cutting off their heads! And in his art his two hands are quantities of gold.

*Verse*<sup>27</sup>

The hand of that man who is the mine of munificence must be of gold.  
His noble person must be a jewel like a diamond.  
Let no one seeing him quiet, think him empty.  
Like a hidden treasure his interior must be pure skill.  
But now, in order to make them consent with his enemies,  
He must have an ax for each of them.

<sup>24</sup> Marginal note gives meter of couplet, *fā‘ilātūn fe‘ilātūn fe‘ilātūn fe‘ilāt.*

<sup>25</sup> Dāvūd Ağa: Ottoman architect, a student of Sinân, who served as *su nâzırı* from 983/1575-76 to 990/1582. After 1585, on Sinân's orders and much to the satisfaction of Sultan Murâd III, he worked on buildings in the Topkapı Palace. He was appointed *mi‘mār başı* after Sinân's death, and himself died in Istanbul in 1007/1598-99 or 1008/1599-1600. According to one account he was a victim of the plague; according to another he was executed for impiety. His works include the mosque of Meḥmed Ağa (993/1583), the Incilī Kōşk and the Bāyezīd Kōşk (999/1590-91) both in the Topkapı Palace, and the mausoleum of Murâd III, all in Istanbul. It was Dāvūd Ağa, also, who began the construction of the Yeni Cami for Vâlīde Şafıyye Sultan, one of the wives of Murâd III. For further details, see Ahmet Refik, "Mimar Davut," *Darülfünûn Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, I, 1932, pp. 1-16; idem, *Türk Mimarları*, pp. 26-33; Erdoğan, "Mimar Davud," p. 179-204; Mayer, *Architects*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>26</sup> Dālgīc Aḥmed Ağa (sometimes Dālgīc Ahmed Çāvüş): Ottoman

architect and worker in mother-of-pearl. Trained by Sinân, he was appointed *su nâzırı*, and later, in 1007/1598-1599 or 1008/1599-1600 was made *mi‘mār başı* in place of Mi‘mār Dāvūd Ağa. Subsequently he was advanced to the rank of pasha and was made *beglerbegi* of Erzurum, Damascus, Aleppo and Silistre. He was killed in the Kalenderoğlu rebellion, after Rabī II, 1013/1604. (According to Meḥmed Şüreyyâ, *Şicill-i ‘Osmānī*, II [Istanbul: Maḥba‘a-ı ‘Âmire, 1308], p. 207, in Sevvâl 1016/January-February, 1608). Among the buildings attributed to him is the tomb of Sultan Meḥmed III (1016/1608). He continued work on the mosque of Şafıyye Sultan (the Yeni Cami) until her son Meḥmed III abandoned the project. Mother-of-pearl inlaid objects fashioned by Dālgīc Aḥmed include a Qur‘ân box, for a time in the tomb of Meḥmed III but now in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul, and the doors of the tomb of Murâd III. See Akalın, "Mi‘mar Dalgıç," pp. 71-80; Z. Orgun, "Mimar Dalgıç Ahmed," *Arkitekt*, XI, 1941, pp. 59-62; Mayer, *Architects*, pp. 37-38.

<sup>27</sup> Marginal note gives meter of verse, *mef‘ülü fā‘ilātü mefā‘ilü fa‘ilün.*

Among his enemies there are many who have thick necks.  
 But so as not to be hurt, he must have a sharp ax.  
 I have never seen one as courageous as the Ağa.  
 O Ca'fer, would that there were another like him in the world!

### THIRD CHAPTER

It describes how many provinces His Excellency the aforementioned Ağa visited, how many state offices he held, and how carrying out a very great military campaign and crushing Arab rebels on the hajj road, he brought peace and security to the pilgrimage route. As was explained in the first chapter, in the year nine hundred seventy [1562-63], in the time of the late Sultan Süleymân Khan, the aforementioned Ağa came from Rûm-ili to Istanbul as a Janissary recruit. For a period of five years he remained *‘ulüfesiz*. In the year [nine hundred] seventy-five [1567-68] he was enrolled as an *‘ulüfe*, and for a period of one year he was the watchman for the garden of the noble tomb of the aforementioned deceased. And at the end of the year [nine hundred] seventy-six [1568-69], entering the service of the Imperial Gardens, he took up the art of the working of mother-of-pearl. Studying and learning the arts of architecture and the working of mother-of-pearl for exactly twenty years, in the year [nine hundred] ninety-eight [1589-90], giving a lecture to His Majesty, the appreciative, generous Sultan Murâd Khan, he was favored with the office of Gatekeeper of the Sultan's court [*dergâh-ı ‘âlî bevvâblığı*], and for two years after that he was [23r] a *kulle şofisi*.<sup>1</sup> At this time, taking Şehlâ Maḥmûd [?] in fetters to Cairo in Egypt, he surrendered him to Üveys Pasha<sup>2</sup> who was at that time *beglerbegi* of Egypt. And the late Üveys Pasha treated him [the Ağa] with great respect. In that way, journeying and traveling through all Arabia, he visited the blessed tombs of most of the saints and prophets. Returning again from there to Asia Minor, as soon as

he got to Istanbul he was commissioned by the exalted sultan to inspect Rûm-ili. From the walls of Protected Constantinople to Salonika, he examined and studied all of the fortresses and cities and towns and fortress garrisons situated to his left on the sea coast. Then, going from Salonika to the province of Albania, he inspected the fortresses and cities and towns along with their garrisons situated on the frontiers of Spain and Malta. From there he traveled to the province of Bosnia. In the province of Bosnia he likewise traversed all the fortresses on the frontiers of the eight enemies of evil end, Austria and Hungary and Slovakia and Croatia and Italy and France and Spain and Malta. In each of them he collected news of the confused plans and sinful behavior of the base infidels. After that he traveled along the frontiers of the provinces of Buda and Temesvar and, again inspecting them, saw as required all their fortresses and fortress garrisons. After that, going to the provinces of Transylvania and Walachia and Poland and Moldavia, he visited them secretly. Then, descending into the Tatar province, the Crimea and Kaffa, he also examined them. Again, after that, from Kaffa he visited and saw Silistre and Nicopolis and Feḥ-i Islâm and Golubac and Smederovo and Belgrade and all of the fortresses along the banks of the Danube. And after that, coming straight to Istanbul, he communicated and made known directly to the felicitous Padishah the actual state of affairs as they were, without omission. Then, fashioning that gold-inlaid bow case, and giving it as a gift to the distinguished king of kings, he became the *muḥzîr başı* of four kadis [of Istanbul], in all the late Bostân-zâde Efendi,<sup>3</sup> and the late Şun<sup>c</sup> Allâh Efendi,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *kulle şofisi*: servant to the eunuchs who guarded the gates of the harem in the imperial palace.

<sup>2</sup> Üveys Pasha: high Ottoman official in the later years of the 10th/16th century. He was *baş defterdâr* (chief treasurer) during the reign of Murâd III. Subsequently, in 995/1586-87 he was appointed *beglerbegi* of Egypt, and in 998/1589-90, the year of his death, was promoted to the rank of *vezîr*. For details, see Şüreyyâ, *Şicill*, I, p. 445.

<sup>3</sup> Bostân-zâde Efendi (Bostân-zâde Mehmed Efendi): son of Tireli Bostân-zâde Muştafâ Efendi, twice appointed *kâdi-‘asker* of Rûm-ili, and subsequently designated *şeyḥ al-islâm* for a first time in 977/1589. Dismissed in Receb 1000/April 1592, he was again appointed *kâdi-‘asker* of Rûm-ili. Then, in Şevvâl 1001/June 1592 he was appointed *şeyḥ al-islâm* a second time, which office he occupied until his death in Şa‘bân 1006/March 1598. See I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı*

*Tarihî*, III, 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954), pp. 455-456.

<sup>4</sup> Şun<sup>c</sup> Allâh Efendi (Şun<sup>c</sup> Allâh Muştafâ Efendi): a student of Ebû al-Su‘ûd Efendi and a member of the *ulema*, appointed a mullah in Bursa in 998/1589-90, in Edirne in 999/1590-91, and in Istanbul in 1001/1591-92. In the same year he was made *kâdi-‘asker* of Anatolia, and in 1001/1592-93 *kâdi-‘asker* of Rûm-ili. Dismissed in 1003/1594-95, he was appointed *şeyḥ al-islâm* for the first time in 1008/1599-1600, but was removed from office in 1010/1601-02. He again served as *şeyḥ al-islâm* from 1011/1602-03 to 1012/1603-04, and for a third time between 1013/1604-05 and Rebî‘ I 1015/July-August 1606. Finally, he was appointed *şeyḥ al-islâm* for a fourth time in Receb/November of the same year and was retired in Şafer 1017/May-June 1608. For details see Şüreyyâ, *Şicill*, III, pp. 233-234; also Uzunçarşılı, *Tarihî*, III, 2, pp. 458-459

and the late Ebū al-Su‘ūd-zāde Muştafâ Efendi,<sup>5</sup> and the late Şems al-Dîn Efendi.<sup>6</sup> [23v] After that, on the late Hüsrev Pasha’s<sup>7</sup> becoming *beglerbegi* of Diyarbakır, he [Hüsrev Pasha] sent him [the Ağa] to Diyarbakır as *müsellim*.<sup>8</sup> He administered Diyarbakır as *müsellim* for approximately six months, and as a result of his justice, the wolf and the sheep became companions to one another in that region [i.e., peace and security reigned]. As a result of his administration, throughout all that region, many good works were accomplished, and the people of Diyarbakır from that time to this and even now are busy blessing him. Then, after Hüsrev Pasha arrived in Diyarbakır, the aforementioned Ağa, having come to Istanbul, became the *kapu kethüdâsı*<sup>9</sup> of the above-mentioned Pasha. Subsequently, the late Hüsrev Pasha, having been made *beglerbegi* of Noble Damascus, the aforementioned Ağa again became *müsellim*, and until Hüsrev Pasha came went to administer Noble Damascus as *müsellim*. After Hüsrev Pasha arrived in Damascus, he became magistrate [*hâkim*]<sup>10</sup> of one of the districts of Damascus named Hâwrân.<sup>11</sup> And at that time, rebel Arabs having attacked and robbed the pilgrimage caravan of Damascus [and] the roads to the Ka‘ba having been blocked, the late Hüsrev Pasha set out after the rebel Arabs with all the soldiers of Noble Damascus. For a period of one month he wandered about the desert in company with all the soldiers and the aforementioned Ağa. He searched for the rebel Arabs but did not come upon them. Finally, supplies and provisions exhausted, the aforementioned pasha and all of the Damascus soldiers accompanying him returned again to Noble

Damascus. [But] His Excellency the Ağa, did not return [but] parted from the pasha and the Damascus soldiers with about one hundred and fifty of his own men who accompanied him [and] went in another direction. He was sorrowful at not being free from disgrace and was utterly dejected at wasting time wandering vainly in the desert for so many days. Possessed of that dejection and sorrow and weariness, he stopped and visited one of the noble graves of the great sayyids, the sacred tomb of Shaikh Sayyid İbrâhîm—may his blessings help us—and sacrificed several sheep. Placing his soldiers around it, he remained alone by himself in the sacred tomb. Turning to God the Creator, he begged for the assistance of the victorious soul of the aforementioned holy saint. [24r] While in that state and busy with prayers, recitations from the Qur‘ân and petitions for a sign from God, a brief sleep overcame him. While sleeping, in a dream, that brilliant saint suddenly appeared opposite him with a green turban on his head. And when His Excellency the Ağa, trembling and prostrating himself before him was about to beg his exalted blessing, the above-mentioned saint said that the so-called Arabs had come, exhausted, to such and such a place and had fallen into an indolent sleep. “You must approach, attack suddenly and kill all of them so that the Community of Muhammad—may God commend and salute him—shall be delivered from harm. What is this sleep of yours? Get up! Opportunity is yours!” On the saint’s saying this, the above-mentioned Ağa immediately jumped to his feet. Thinking that he had not slept, he began looking this way and that, saying, “Where did

<sup>5</sup> Ebū al-Su‘ūd-zāde Muştafâ Efendi: one of the sons and a student of the great sixteenth-century religious scholar Ebū al-Su‘ūd Efendi (896-982/1490-1575); see Uzunçarşılı, *Tarih*, III, 2, p. 674.

<sup>6</sup> Şems al-Dîn Efendi (Ahmed Şems al-Dîn Efendi Kâdî-zāde): son of one of the slaves of Hâdim ‘Alî Pasha, trained for the ulema under Ebū al-Su‘ūd Efendi and Kadî Efendi. Appointed a *muderris*, he gradually rose in rank and was in time designated kadi of Istanbul. Made *kâdî-asker* of Rûm-ili in 974/1566-67, he subsequently had a falling out with Şokullu Mehmed Pasha and resigned his office to become *muderris* of a *dâr al-hadîs* in Edirne. In 983/1575-76 he was appointed *muderris* of the *dâr al-hadîs* of the Süleymaniye in Istanbul, and in the same year was made *kâdî-asker* of Rûm-ili. On the death of Hâmid Efendi he became *şeyh al-islâm* in 985/1577-78. He remained in this office for three years until his death in 988/1580-81. He wrote several important commentaries on Islamic law. See Uzunçarşılı, *Tarih*, III, 2, pp. 453-454; also Şüreyyâ, *Şicill*, III, pp. 164-165.

<sup>7</sup> Hüsrev Pasha (Hâdim): high official in the imperial palace in the last years of the 10th/16th century, he held several offices including that of *kilârcı-başı*. In the year 1000/1591-92 he was appointed

*beglerbegi* of Damascus, of Diyarbakır in 1002/1593-94, of Sivas in 1003/1594-95, of Damascus a second time in 1004/1595-96, of Erzurum in 1005/1596-97, and of Damascus a third time in 1007/1598-99. In 1010/1601-02 he was appointed governor of Diyarbakır a second time, of Bosnia in 1012/1603-04, and of Kayseri in 1015/1606-07, in which place he died. Mehmed Ağa must have served Hüsrev Pasha between 1002/1593-94 and 1004/1595-96, that is, during his first governorship of Diyarbakır and his second in Damascus. See Şüreyyâ, *Şicill*, I, p. 274.

<sup>8</sup> *müsellim*: vulgar for *mütesellim*, an official who prior to the nineteenth century acted as a deputy-governor or lieutenant under a *vâlî* (governor of an *eyâlet*) or a *mutaşarraf* (governor of a *sancak*); see Pakalan, *Deyimler*, II, p. 639.

<sup>9</sup> *kapu kethüdâsı*: an agent appointed by the governor of a province to represent him at court in the Ottoman capital; see Pakalan, *Deyimler*, II, pp. 172-173.

<sup>10</sup> *hâkim*: magistrate or district administrator for a *nâhiye*.

<sup>11</sup> Hâwrân: a district (*nâhiye*) in Syria, located south of Damascus and west of the Jabal al-Durûz; see D. Sourdel, “Hâwrân,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, III, pp. 292-293.

the aforementioned saint go?" Then, on understanding and certainty coming to him that these events had taken place in a dream, he prostrated himself before the holy tomb, saying, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate," tightened his horse's girth and as soon as he mounted, setting out for the above-mentioned place, he swiftly galloped off. That day, which was a blessed Friday, after the afternoon prayer, he came close to the place described and saw that the rebels and bandits, their cloaks pulled up over their heads, were all lying about [in sleep] like corpses. But the soldiers accompanying His Excellency the Ağa, seeing the great number of those rebels and the quantity of those soldiers, refused battle and disdained resistance, saying to the Ağa, "O our lord, even if these rebels do not awaken from indolent sleep, and even if not one of them moved, and even if they were mere corpses, how many days would it take us to crush them? Now, we are such a small force! It is impossible to fight such a vast army which has seen so many wars and tricks and deceptions!

*Couplet*<sup>12</sup>

These words for us from [our] forebears are a bit of wisdom:

It is wise for a person in [the proper] circumstance to flee.

Let us flee immediately before they are aware of our coming here. [24v] If they see us, we will not be able to flee and escape. If we were collyrium, we would not be enough to rub on each of their eyes. On their saying this, His Excellency the Ağa, becoming stern with them, replied, "By God Almighty, if any among you flees, I will immediately behead him. O cowardly ones, who knew that the rebels were here? Concerning this place, His Excellency, Shaikh Sayyid Ibrâhîm—may his grave be hallowed—pointed out in my dream, 'The rebels are there. Do not hesitate! You must attack and destroy them. Opportunity is yours!' God—whose name be exalted—willing, all the saints are, without doubt or uncertainty, together with us. Approaching them before evening, at the moment when I—with the help and permission of God, whose name be exalted—shout 'Ya Allâh!' every one of you attack, shouting like

me. Let us advance on the rebels suddenly, before sleep has left their eyes, and begin to kill them." Agreeing on this, they approached them [the rebels]. The battle cry being sounded from one direction, they began in the manner explained to kill them before they could open their eyes. With the aid of the saints and the assistance of the aforementioned saint, with the help of God, the master of the universe, the all-forgiving, they struck those rebels in a single moment with the executioner's sword. Seizing alive the chief of the rebels, Shaikh Cum'a Kāsib, and a total of seventeen of the leading rebels accompanying him, they put all the rest to the sword. The next day, finding many thousands of their sheep and camels, they [Meḥmet Ağa and his men] turned back, driving this booty before them. Arriving at another halting place, on their settling in for the night, a person who was the Ağa's translator, approached, whispering in his [the Ağa's] ear, "Shaikh Cum'a Kāsib wants to give you ten *yük*<sup>13</sup> aspers for himself and ten more *yük* aspers for the other prisoners. Would it be permissible to release them?" The Ağa, saying "Well, let me see," plunged into thought. He observed, "This cursed man says, 'Let me give this many aspers.' If I go and take him back alive to Noble Damascus, it is certain that he will free himself and his wealth, later to do ever so much evil to the pilgrims and caravans! [25r] The lord of the saints, His Excellency Shaikh Sayyid Ibrâhîm, gave me the glorious command, 'Kill all the rebels!'" And [thinking this] he hurriedly had them beheaded and their bodies impaled. Then, as a gift for Ḥusrev Pasha, he separated out seven thousand sheep and a thousand camels. He turned over the remaining sheep and booty to the ghazis<sup>14</sup> accompanying him, who divided and distributed it among themselves. Then they turned toward Noble Damascus. And the people of Noble Damascus, receiving news of this military expedition, Ḥusrev Pasha and all of the soldiers of Noble Damascus went out to meet the Ağa. Together they reentered Noble Damascus which was decked with festive trappings. And the illumination of the city having been commanded, the city was lighted for three days and three nights in succession. And His Excellency Ḥusrev Pasha was extremely pleased. But the more he said [to himself], "Why did I not carry out this very great military expedition?," [the more] he endured in silence. And per-

<sup>12</sup> Marginal note gives meter of couplet, *mefâ'ilün mefâ'ilün fe'ülün*.

<sup>13</sup> *yük*: Ottoman historical term for 100,000 (or 100,000 *kurus*); see Palakan, *Deyimler*, III, p. 639.

<sup>14</sup> *ghazi*: title of honor designating those Muslim soldiers who take part in raids and wars against the infidels; see I. Melikoff, "Ghāzī," *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, II, pp. 1043-1045.

sons close to him said, "Our lord, if we also, having received word of the rebel Arabs, had then encountered and killed them, all the plunder would have belonged to our lord alone. Muḥammed Ağa uselessly attacked and destroyed them. If he had given word to our lord, again attacking, the military campaign and victory would have been in our lord's name. And he beheaded their leaders and the other rebel shaikhs who were taken alive. If he had brought them alive to our lord, how many *yük* aspers would have come to our lord from their ransom? And the gift which he brought was only seven thousand head of sheep and a thousand camels. Of what account are these many things? In addition to this the booty which would have come into your hands would have been beyond limit and reckoning." Saying this from time to time, they influenced the late pasha even more, and he began to show his dissatisfaction toward His Excellency the Ağa. One day His Excellency the Ağa came to the pasha when all of the pasha's men were in his presence. Kissing his [Ḥusrev Pasha's] hand, he said, "Until this time I have been in the very exalted service of my lord. How many faults of ours were perceived? Well now, forgive us! [25v] You have many brave and courageous slaves whose little fingers we cannot even touch [i.e., who are far more valuable than we are]. By holding us, your slave, in your noble favor and using us in particular, they do not [have the opportunity to] serve. Give them assignments, and let us go to the capital." Saying this, he saluted and left. The aforementioned pasha, considering, saw that until that time, although he perpetually fed and clothed them, not even one of his men had been of any use.

[Although] all of them wore his clothes without paying and ate his food without recompense, in many ways each of them was a loss to him. And seeing the innumerable and countless advantages which he had obtained from the Ağa whether in Diyarbakır or Noble Damascus, the men [of the pasha's entourage] had attacked him behind his back, and they worked so hard to prevent him from going to Istanbul that it cannot be described. But there being no way [to prevent him from going] His Excellency the Ağa, not turning back, went in happiness directly to Istanbul. And the late Ḥusrev Pasha, in regret, brought together and reproached some of those who had spoken slanders against His Excellency the Ağa. "You lazy, worthless crowd! You caused me to be parted from my man who was like a precious treasure and a fortunate and invincible hero! You have ruined and destroyed the foundations of my being!" Saying this, he ejected them all and they, with faces black as if from smoke, exited the palace and dispersing, went and disappeared. And they got the punishment they deserved.

*Couplet*<sup>15</sup>

Look not [in envy] at someone's success.

The fox cannot fill the place of the powerful lion.

In short, the Ağa came to Istanbul and found peace and glory, good fortune and power. And once again, because of him, the roads to the Revered Ka'ba were clear and free of fear. As the pilgrims and caravans desired, the wilderness and desert became places of security for them.

*Verse*<sup>16</sup>

His Excellency the Ağa, with God's help, fought a most great war.

[26r] He caused Damascus to be enclosed by moats filled with [corpses of] rebel chiefs.

From now on may the caravan reach the Ka'ba without fear!

Should anyone wish, may he carry his wealth in public.

After that, in the year one thousand and six [1597-98], that excellent person became the felicitous *nāzır-ı āb* [*şu nāzır*] of Protected Constantinople. After holding this office for exactly eight years, on Wednes-

day, the eighth of Cemāzīyelāhır in the year one thousand fifteen [11 October, 1606]—with the help of God, whose name be exalted—he became *mi'mār başı*.

<sup>15</sup> Marginal note gives meter of couplet, *fā'ilātūn fe'ilātūn fe'ilūn fe'lūn*.

<sup>16</sup> Marginal note gives meter of verse, *fā'ilātūn fā'ilātūn fā'ilātūn fa'ilūn*.

## FOURTH CHAPTER

It describes the kindness and generosity and benevolence and charity of the aforementioned Āga. There was no need to write this chapter because the Āga’s kindness and generosity are, like the day, manifest and evident to all the world. There is no need to explain and expound and make them clear. And in the event that they were written about, it is likely that his noble person would be troubled because it is his noble wish and exalted habit that only God, supreme, without end or associate, know of his benevolence and charity and that they not be known to anyone else. But there are five reasons why it was necessary to write this chapter. The first reason is this, that in the time of the late sultan of pure lineage Selīm Khan<sup>1</sup> and of his son the late and deceased Sultan Murād<sup>2</sup>—may they both rest in peace—high state officials’ being content with little, all of them were renowned for generosity. This was their noble custom, that if someone wanted to give something to them, they would not take it. In fact, even those high state officials who had little wealth would expend their own resources in order to give alms to the poor, and would search continuously for men worthy of benevolence and for a reason for mercy. Finding a poor and deserving person, they, of course, spared no effort in giving him help and assistance. Now none of the men of that age or generous ones of those times remain. [26v] And those remaining, with the exception of His Excellency our generous Āga, changing their conduct with common accord, do not give a thing or support anyone. But, as God, whose name be exalted—may His glory be praised and His blessings universal—makes this world of His and His other world prosperous, His Excellency the Āga keeps the gates of generosity and kindness open and full at all times, like the hand of Ḥātīm Ṭā’ī.<sup>3</sup> If an inferior should come [to the Āga] and, blushing, give him an apple or a green leaf, he would become the object of various favors and kindnesses and all sorts of alms and gifts. And again, the aforementioned Āga did not neglect secretly to ply his art of the working of mother-of-pearl. Saying, “Let

me give the canonically lawful [number] of aspers [as alms],” he would ply it, and later [so as] not to say, “I fashioned it,” he would have it [the object he fashioned] sold [by another]. He would give the lawful quantity of aspers to the poor and it was his noble custom, for the love of God, secretly to give and donate the aspers to the poor, as soon as he had them. There was no possibility of his hiding and hoarding and putting aside one asper or one seed, saying, “O, let me also collect a few aspers.” And because he was a far-sighted, intelligent and moral person, he did not, like others, loan [money] for interest. Taking much warning from others, doing his best, what matters he saw! He saw many grim faces become mad for possessions and with his own eyes he observed them unhealed at the time of death devouring their wealth. The second reason is this, that it is more than twenty years since we [Ca‘fer Efendi] arrived at his house. Many times his noble person experienced hardship. Yet at those times of want he did not act ungenerously in any way. At those times even more than at times of prosperity, his house became a public kitchen [*‘imāret*<sup>4</sup>] for travelers, free and slave, and equally for the great and the humble and for all neighbors and strangers, and various delectables and foods were set out day and night. [27r] And as with those excellent foods, his purse remained open before him and he would honor the banqueters with abundant presents and would show great kindness and respect to those who took his gifts and favors. The third reason is this, that my father, the late and deceased Shaikh Behrām, who was descended from shaikhs, did not in his entire life have even passing knowledge of those things forbidden by religion, and in our province there was no one more righteous and pious, and ascetic and visibly devout. From his infancy until his old age, during his lifetime and before his death, it is possible, God knows, that he was not late, nor did he omit at the proper time even one of his public prayers or one syllable of his private supplication. Most of his days and years were passed in seclusion for devotions and in retreats and circumambulations of holy places of worship. His pious works were a legend among the people in our region, and his admired virtues and even saint-

<sup>1</sup> Selīm Khan (Selīm II): eleventh sultan of the Ottoman dynasty, reigned 974/1566 to 982/1574.

<sup>2</sup> Sultan Murād (Murād III): see p. 34, note 2, above.

<sup>3</sup> Ḥātīm Ṭā’ī (Ḥātīm al-Ṭā’ī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Sa‘d): Arab poet of the second half of the sixth century. He is traditionally regarded as the ideal paradigm of the pre-Islamic knight, always victorious,

magnanimous toward the conquered, and renowned for his generosity and hospitality. See C. van Arendonk, “Ḥātīm al-Ṭā’ī,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, III, pp. 274-275.

<sup>4</sup> *‘imāret*: a public soup kitchen supported by wakf for the feeding of the poor and needy; see Pakalan, *Deyimler*, II, pp. 61-63.

hood being manifest and apparent, the tales in the mouths [of the people] were without number or end. Every one of the tales was told time and time again. And although the father to whom I was born was such a saint and monotheist and such an ascetic and worshiper, when it became necessary for your humble servant, in order to study the religious sciences, to leave his side and set out for Istanbul, some persons said, "Your son Ca'fer Efendi is setting out for Istanbul. Give him aspers in sufficient amount as a travel allowance." This being said, my late father drew out and gave a very small sum of money for one month's travel allowance and the expenses for getting situated in Istanbul. But His Excellency the Ağa, always amply giving and allotting aspers and *guruş* and florins, would send us away with honors and respect. [27v] Now what is so surprising about recounting one or two instances of his [the Ağa's] kindness from among the tales of one who was a thousand times more generous to me than my father to whom I was born and my mother who raised me? For more than twenty years the Ağa has always been thus generous and benevolent to us. And if they [people] ask if we have previously served him, [the answer is] yes, we have. We have been in his noble service for more than twenty years. Every time we go to his felicitous house, great quantities of food appealing to the senses appear, and we eat. He regards that

as a glorious deed and service. Our name merely being mentioned in connection with the eating of food there at his gate of felicity [his house], he would speak of "our Ca'fer Efendi." And the fourth reason is this, that in his noble temperament there is such a level of kindness and munificence that he would not hurt an ant. Although he possesses this much natural kindness, still, striving after increased kindness and liberality and augmented munificence and blessed magnanimity, his gifts and bounty are increasing from day to day. When the late Murād Pasha was still alive in Istanbul, the Ağa would often go and converse with him. One day he said to this humble slave, "Do you know why we are honored to visit the pasha whether or not it is convenient? The reason is this, that for the past fifty years I have been a companion of great viziers and learned ulema and magnanimous shaikhs and many other persons of the most honored class of legendary lords. At the time I was associated [with them], in whomsoever I witnessed a good quality having to do with generosity and kindness and gifts and merit, I exerted myself to acquire it. But I did not see as many worthy virtues in all of them as I witnessed in this auspicious person. Coming and going, I would humbly implore and beg Almighty God—whose name be exalted—"Would that [28r] He had also given me those worthy virtues!"

*Verse<sup>5</sup>*

What is this mildness and generosity? What is this kindness and munificence?

What is this calm and patience? And what is this sublime thoughtfulness?

What is this understanding? What is this courage?

What is this pious asceticism and righteousness? And what is this fortunate superiority?

"Now, Ca'fer Efendi, the fortunate pasha is an agreeable person and a rare jewel whose worth cannot be comprehended if one is not very close to him and does not properly witness his good behavior."

*Verse<sup>6</sup>*

Not being aware of the worth of that ruby. Fate

Caused it to fall to earth, fearing it would be lost.

If only his worthy virtues had influenced us,

We too would have been, like him, a jewel in this world.

He has hung his sword of holy war from the vault of the Throne of God.

And his generosity gained him access to heaven.

<sup>5</sup> Marginal note gives meter of verse, *mefā'ilün fe'ilātün mefā'ilün fe'ilün*.

<sup>6</sup> Marginal note gives meter of verse, *mefā'ilün fe'ilātün mefā'ilün fe'ilün (fe'ilün)*.

Truly, because of his various good works and numerous virtues, the aforementioned pasha was a noble, saintly and miraculous being and a fine person. His pure family tree and its glorious fruit were, by means of his blessing, prosperous in every way, and until his death he held the office of *serdār*.<sup>7</sup> As his life is prosperous, may his existence in the next world also be auspicious and the noble tomb in which he is laid be full of light! The universe and the earth and the heavens, still more the angels of the revolving spheres, reciting his praise morning and evening, recall him with commendation! But come, cleansing and purifying our hearts, let us rightly stop here and return to the story

of our generous Ağa. The Ağa, while following the way of charity, possessing these many fine moral qualities and performing the described esteemed acts, [28v] still not being content, endeavored to increase and augment them and had recourse to pious ulema, and advice-giving shaikhs, and great sultans, and generous viziers, so that taking from each of their auspicious speeches an anecdote and from each of their virtuous deeds a lesson, remembering these persons of great renown, he progressed and moved along that road and way. Is it, then, too much for one of the noble stories from among the legends of the mine of mercy [the Ağa] to be related?

*Verse*<sup>8</sup>

Ceaselessly being the companion of righteous persons,  
 May his good works adorn his noble temperament!  
 In goodness and munificence and kindness and piety and religion,  
 He wished that he might be as firm as the ramparts of Alexander!

The fifth reason is this, that if all the persons on whom the Ağa bestowed gifts and kindnesses were sought out, they would be found in so many places that, becoming aware [of them], one would be astounded. And in proof it may be mentioned that a great multitude and numerous group from the community of shaikhs and upright persons and from the assembly of poor religious students, becoming aware that this humble slave was beginning to write this treatise, all at once, early one morning, flooded through the door like sunlight. Each of them described and recounted the manner in which the Ağa showed kindness and favor to him. In accord with the Qurʾānic verse, “Therefore of the bounty of thy Lord be thy discourse,”<sup>9</sup> they said, “How appropriate [to our needs] were the gifts and kindness which he bestowed on us! And how he helped us just at the moment of our greatest need! And how much joy and pleasure his gifts have given us! It is necessary [?] to write of them in this book since all of those who have received one of the favors of His Excellency the Ağa would buy a copy of the narrative of those worthy virtues and reading it at all times, that book would give them pleasure. And for that reason, let the noble name of His Excellency the Ağa [29r] be

remembered until the Day of Judgment, and too let it be a cause for blessing and let its hearers bless [him].” In this way all of them importuned and insisted, and persevered and pressured me [to include their stories in this book]. And your humble servant said to them, “O good people, the Ağa has shown you so many kindnesses! If now you were to describe them to me in summary, and if I were to write about [this] behavior following that summary, a thousand chapters and a thousand sections, constituting perhaps many detailed books, would be necessary. Besides, would His Excellency that illustrious Ağa be pleased that gifts given secretly and covertly become well known and legendary in public? It is not possible to write about your situations in this book of deeds! But the gifts of His Excellency the Ağa being canonically lawful, they are like the money from the sale of the book of the Great Imām,<sup>10</sup> the most illustrious of generous men, Abū Ḥanīfa Nuʿmān—may the mercy of God, the manifest Sovereign, be upon him. And you are like the student who got the money [in the story of Abū Ḥanīfa]. Finally, to please you, let me write down and narrate that story and legend of a saint in this *Risāle*.” By doing this, I escaped their clutches. Now, in accord with that

<sup>7</sup> *serdār*: military title meaning “commander.” In Ottoman usage it was sometimes employed as the equivalent of *serʿasker* (commander-in-chief), though the latter title is more exactly rendered by the title *serdār-ı ekrem*. For details, see Pakalan, *Deyimler*, III, pp. 178-181.

<sup>8</sup> Marginal note gives meter of verse, *meʿʿülü fāʿilātü meʿʿilü fāʿilāt*.

<sup>9</sup> Qurʾān, XCIII:11.

<sup>10</sup> Great Imām: the title given to Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān ibn Thābit (c. 80-150/699-767), Arab jurist and theologian, and eponym of the Ḥanafi school of Islamic jurisprudence.

undertaking of ours, it is necessary to write that fourth chapter, and it must be the story and legend of that saint.

### Story

In times past, a prosperous scoundrel, son of a scoundrel, scattered his abundant wealth among people chosen at random in order to show off his generosity to simple folk. He gave each of them a handful of dirhams and a handful of dinars. At this time, a righteous saint was in great want. One of that saint's beloved friends said to him, "O my lord, why do you, abandoning the wood of the limbs of your being to the fire of destitution, [29v] burning, suffer the hardship of the burden of want and the enduring of pain? If you were noticed by the previously mentioned generous one, he would give you so many gifts you would be able to maintain your family." The above-mentioned saint, smiling, said to that friend of his, "Look here! In the time of the most illustrious, generous Great Imām, the ruler was

Marwān ibn Muḥammad ibn Marwān<sup>11</sup> renowned as Marwān the Ass, who became caliph in the victorious month of Ṣāfer in the one hundred twenty-ninth year of the Hegira [746-47]. The generosity which he [Marwān] manifested and his random giving of alms to persons resemble the hypocritical generosity and munificence and foolish squandering of the despicable generous person. This is the story of Marwān. That aforementioned Marwān, while he was displaying generosity, frequently giving riches as gifts and goods as alms, observed one day, 'Until this time I have given these many riches as alms. Let me investigate and see if they have been used appropriately.' Later, inquiring and examining, he saw that all his wealth, falling to infidels and sinners, was spent and expended on love, wine and the delicacies of parties. He did not rest with this grief and sorrow and with this affliction and complaint. Without delay he went directly to His Excellency the Great Imām, and arriving in his noble presence, at the moment of meeting, the above-mentioned caliph said,

### Verse<sup>12</sup>

'O, Your Excellency, Imām of the shaikhs of mankind,  
I am troubled. Let me explain my purpose.  
Thinking so many persons in need of healing were deserving,  
I gave them all my goods.  
Apparently, all of them were undeserving.  
Answer me! I have nothing to add but greetings.'

The most generous lord, His Excellency the Great Imām, not answering, took a purse from his own blessed breast pocket, gave the money in it to the caliph, and said, 'Give this purse full of money [30r] to a person as alms. Then see if it is used properly.' And the caliph took the purse and went. When he arrived at his palace, he thought, 'To whom should I give this purse of money? One night, being disguised, let me go outside early. Coming to a sacred mosque, let me perform my morning prayers there. Then, exiting the sacred mosque, let me give the purse to the first person I meet on the road.' Thus planning and deciding this,

and acting in this manner, early one night he left the palace in disguise. Arriving at a sacred mosque, he performed his morning prayer. Then, going out of the sacred mosque, when he went and set out on the road, a person dressed as a student, with a flat, wide sash, appeared before him. And as he approached, the caliph took out the purse full of money. In accord with his undertaking, he gave it to the above-mentioned person, and he [the student] took it and left. And the caliph said, 'I wonder, did it go to a deserving person?' In order to investigate, he followed the above-mentioned person. And the above-mentioned person, not settling

<sup>11</sup> Marwān ibn Muḥammad ibn Marwān (Marwān II): last of the Umayyad caliphs, he reigned from 127/744 to 132/750, when he was killed at Busir in lower Egypt in August, while attempting to stem the advance of the 'Abbāsīd armies. He is sometimes referred to as Marwān al-Ḥimār (Marwān the Ass), a name he earned by his dog-

gedness and perseverance in warfare before his succession to the caliphate. The epithet is here translated into Ottoman as Merwān-ı Ḥār.

<sup>12</sup> Marginal note gives meter of the verse, *fā'īlātūn fā'īlātūn fā'īlāt.*

down in a place either here or there, went out as far as the edge of the city. Coming to a dunghill, he took something out from under his belt and left it in that dunghill. And the caliph approached, saying, ‘What was that which was left in the dunghill?’ That which he saw was only a piece of spoiled meat [weighing] one *vuḳiyye*.<sup>13</sup> Then, pursuing the person again, and catching up to him, he asked ‘What is the reason you threw that piece of meat on the dunghill? Answer me!’ And the above-mentioned person, after thinking and pondering for some time, said, ‘Here! Take back the money which you gave me out of kindness, [30v] but do not ask the reason [for my throwing the meat on the dunghill].’ And the caliph insisting further said, ‘I am the ruler of the face of the earth. I came out with a disguise and a changed aspect. I secretly gave alms to the poor. I have a wish apart from the question. For the sake of God the Protector, you must describe and make clear to me the reason for this!’ The above-mentioned person said, ‘I came from a distant land. I am destitute. My father and mother having died in that land, and I, being without kith or kin, having a strong desire to study and learn the religious sciences, sold all of my property transferred as inheritance from my father for my expense money for studying and learning the religious sciences. Taking the money, and coming to the city of Baghdad, I studied the sciences for fifteen years. During that time, I subsisted little by little on that inheritance money. [Finally,] there were four days, including this day, when I had no money or resources. And in accord with the meaning of the noble Ḳurʿānic verse, “And be not cast by your own hands to ruin,”<sup>14</sup> I set out yesterday seeking subsistence. When I set out on the road thinking, ‘I wonder what to do? How difficult it is to ask and seek something from anyone!’ I saw in a market of the bazaars dogs crowding around a donkey’s carcass and eating it. I thought to myself, ‘O, what an odd spectacle this is, that the animal called the dog does not [have to] go to request and ask for its livelihood from anyone. In accordance [with the tradition], “Necessity permits forbidden things,” and in order that the animal’s life not go to waste, it is possible for you also to come at night with your wretched person, when the world is empty of strangers. And you also may take a piece of this meat, [31r] cook it and eat it.’ I decided [thus] at that moment and got up early that

night before the people had gone to the market. I went to the carcass of that donkey. It was necessary that I cut off, cook and eat that piece of meat discarded [later on the dunghill]. And now that you gave me this money, the need no longer existing, since the taking of carrion as food is sinful, again in order that no one see, I took it and left it in this deserted place,’ he answered. The caliph, marveling in this state of amazement, went again to His Excellency the Imām. Arriving, he narrated this story to him from beginning to end. His Excellency the Imām—may the mercy of the all-knowing God be upon him—said, ‘That wealth that you gave as alms, not being canonically lawful, did not reach its proper place. But that money I gave you was money [from the sale of] a book [presumably Abū Ḥanīfa’s book of Traditions]. I myself wrote and sold that book. Thinking it would perhaps be necessary for something, I put that canonically lawful money in my breast pocket. It found its place and the person entitled to it. Insofar as we can control it, it is canonically lawful [money]. In accord with the Ḳurʿānic verse, “Vile women are for vile men,”<sup>15</sup> unclean wealth unavoidably goes to the wicked. And according to the Ḳurʿānic verse, “Good women are for good men,”<sup>16</sup> pure wealth also goes unavoidably to the righteous,’ he said, ‘And this is the answer to that question.’

*Verse*<sup>17</sup>

The answer is that God best knows the truth.

What you have given [as alms] is illegitimate money.

Now [continued the saint to his friend] that prosperous person who you say is generous can neither give us money, nor can his money reach us. Because if a person who is entitled to alms comes into his presence, the Lord God, whose name be exalted—may His glory be praised and His gifts universal—would do injury to his [the giver’s] limbs so that his hand, becoming very stiff, even if a hundred people came [31v] to help, they would not be able to raise his hand and direct it to his pocket and purse, [this] simply so that not even a grain or asper of sinful property from a person like him should reach a place and a person entitled to alms. But if an unworthy fool came and, overwhelmed by the joy

<sup>13</sup> *vuḳiyye*: same as *oḳka*, an Ottoman unit of weight of 400 dirhems or 1.28 kg; see W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955), pp. 24, 36.

<sup>14</sup> Ḳurʿān, II:195.

<sup>15</sup> Ḳurʿān, XXIV:26.

<sup>16</sup> Ḳurʿān, XXIV:26.

<sup>17</sup> Marginal note gives meter of the verse, *fāʿilātūn fāʿilātūn fāʿilāt.*

of prosperity, began to dance with joy, his [the giver's] hand would begin to tremble and go into his pocket and purse to give money." When the above-mentioned saint thus narrated this story to the person who was his sympathetic friend, the aforementioned friend, without saying another word, recited the following couplet.

*Verse*<sup>18</sup>

Sinful property was not allotted to the ascetic.  
Whatever was your lot will befall you as your destiny.

Now the charity given by His Excellency that generous Ağa would equal or even exceed that given to that student, because the money given to that student as charity was not the property of the person who gave it. It was the wealth of the Great Imâm, and in addition that student was only a single person. The persons who receive the gifts of His Excellency the Ağa, each one of whom requires his subsistence, are like that student. How many dependents and clients he has studying the sacred sciences!

*Verse*<sup>19</sup>

How shall I phrase and formulate his noble description?  
How shall I relate and make manifest his kindness and goodness?  
The account of his kindness does not fit into a single book.  
Not even though I might [write] ever so many books and epics.  
In order that your description be beautiful, when speaking in your praise,  
This is my aim: Let me make the pure waters flow [let me describe your good deeds]  
Inscribing the description of his munificence on silver leaves,  
The appropriate thing is that I mark their surfaces with gold.  
Let my *gazels* fall like roses on the garden of your praise!  
Let me make the nightingales sing along with them!  
[32r] To those who understand, every word of mine is a book.  
This is my subject. Let me test his affectionate friends.  
Thus Ca'fer did not betray the secret of his liberality.  
But is there any way other than great patience by which I might conceal it?

## FIFTH CHAPTER

It describes how the steel braces [*pulâdi kuşakları*] covered entirely with gold and silver fittings, and the

Golden Gutter [*altun oluk*]<sup>1</sup> fixed to the Blessed Ka'ba, and the minbar of the Mağâm of Ibrâhîm [Ḥalîl al-Raḥmân mağâmı]<sup>2</sup>—peace be upon him—and the locks of pure gold and the iron window grills [*pençere demürleri*] of the Tomb of the Prophet [*ravza-t*

<sup>18</sup> Marginal note gives meter of the verse, *mef'ûlû fâ'ilâtû mefâ'ilû fâ'ilât*.

<sup>19</sup> Marginal note gives meter of the verse, *mef'ûlû fâ'ilâtû mefâ'ilû fâ'ilûn*.

<sup>1</sup> *altun oluk* (Golden Gutter): the gold water spout, often referred to as the "Spout of Mercy" (*mizâb al-raḥma*), projects from the northwest façade of the Ka'ba at about two feet below the top of the wall and serves to discharge the water that collects on the Ka'ba's roof. For details see A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier, "Ka'ba," *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, IV, p. 318; also Sir Richard F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, II (London: Tylston and Edwards, 1893), p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> minbar of the Mağâm Ibrâhîm: the pulpit located beside the structure opposite the northeast façade of the Ka'ba, which houses a stone that bears what appears to be the imprint of two human feet, believed by pious Muslims to be those of the prophet Abraham left at the time he built the Ka'ba. The Mağâm Ibrâhîm itself consisted until recently of a small, domed building. At the time of the reconstruction of the Great Mosque of Mecca in the mid-1950's, however, it was considerably reduced in size and now consists simply of a gilded, octagonal lantern about a meter in height. For descriptions and views, see Burton, *Narrative*, II, pp. 311-313; also J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), pp. 146-148; and C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1889), pls. I and II.

*muṭahhara*]<sup>3</sup> were fashioned, and according to what design those steel braces were made. And it describes also how many noble Friday mosques [*cāmi*’], and how many delightful small mosques [*mescid*], and how many medreses, and how many baths [*ḥammām*], and how many palaces [*sarāy*], and how many pavilions [*köşk*], and how many footways [*kaldırım*], and how many bridges [*köprü*], and how many fountains [*çeşme*], and altogether how many pious foundations the Ağa has built up to the present time.

How many noble Qur’ānic verses and glorious traditions have come into being about the power and grandeur and the glory and inviolability of the most Blessed Ka’ba and the most exalted building which is the kibla<sup>4</sup> of the auspicious community of the communities and place of orientation of the sons of Adam! The holy Ka’ba is described by ten noble names. The first is simply Beyt [the House], just as it is more common, by means of the general term, for the Pleiades to be called stars. The second is Beyt Allāh [the House of God], [*beyt*] compounded with the word Allāh. The third is Ka’ba [the cube]. The fourth is Ka’bet Allāh [the Ka’ba of God]. The fifth is Mescid-i Ḥarām [the Mosque of the Sanctuary]. The sixth is Beyt al-Ḥarām [the Sacred House]. The seventh is the Kibla. The eighth is Beyt-i ‘Aṭīk [the Ancient House]. [32v] The ninth is Beniyye [the building]. The tenth is al-Beyt al-Ma‘mūr [the Prosperous House]. And the city [in which the Ka’ba is located] also has three names. The first is Mecca, the second is Bekke<sup>5</sup> and the third is Mother of Cities.<sup>6</sup> And they call the wadi, that is the valley, beside it an *abīḥ* [wide bed of a wadi] and a *bathā*<sup>7</sup> [basin-shaped valley]. Their plurals are *abāḥ* and *biḥāh*. *Baḥīḥa* and *baḥīhā*<sup>8</sup> are also proper terms. And then they call its [Mecca’s] province the Hijaz,<sup>7</sup> and

they call the highland cities Najd.<sup>8</sup> And they call the lowland cities Iraq. And they call the city in which is located the Tomb of the Prophet, the most noble messenger and glory of the universe—may God, whose name be exalted, commend and salute him—Medina and Yathrib.<sup>9</sup> And they call the Tomb of the Prophet [*raḥza-i münevvere*] the Sanctuary [*ḥaram*] and the Mosque of the Prophet of God [*mescid-i Resül-Allāh*]. Sometimes they say the Two Blessed Sanctuaries [*ḥarameyn-i şerifeyn*] when referring to both the Tomb of the Prophet and the Blessed Ka’ba. The esteemed Ka’ba is an old and noble and holy place of worship. It is the earliest house built for the worship of mankind. Thus God—whose name be exalted—says in the Sura of the House of Imrān, *Inna awwala baytin wudi’a li-nnāsi alladhī bi-bakkata mubārakan wa hudan li al-‘ālamīn fihi āyātun bayyinātun maḳāmu Ibrāhīma wa man dakkhalahu kāna āminan wa li-‘llāhi ‘alā al-nāsi ḥajju al-bayti man istaṭā’a ilayhi sabīlan wa man kafara fa inna Allāha ghanīyyun ‘an al-‘ālamīn*.<sup>10</sup> This is its holy meaning, which God—whose name be exalted—knows best and His Messenger confirms. First a house was built that was a place of worship for mankind. It is this house which is in that city of Mecca. Mecca and Bekke are words. And both are correct, just as *nubayt* and *numayt*, *rātīb*, and *rātīm*, *muḡbaṭa* and *muḡmaṭa*, and *lāzīb* and *lāzīm* [33r] are proper. All of the above-mentioned are words in which the letter *bā* is used in place of the letter *mīm* and the letter *mīm* is used in place of the letter *bā*. And some people, preferring Bekke, explain that it conveys the essence and place of the Blessed Ka’ba. And in addition Bekke has several definitions. Bekke’s meaning is mercy. Mankind, crowding there, cried, “*Bekke!*” And another sense is this: *bekke* means pulverization and breaking up, that is to push and to cleave and to smash,

<sup>3</sup> *raḥza-i muṭahhara* (the Holy Garden): the Tomb of the Prophet Muhammad in the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina. Located in the southeast corner of the mosque, the tomb is often referred to as the *ḥujra* (“chamber”) and is supposed to occupy the site of ‘A’isha’s room in the house of the Prophet. The tomb is today surmounted by a green dome and consists of a double enclosure, the outer one some forty-five feet square bounded by a screen of ornamental iron work supported by square stone piers, the inner one a five-sided chamber containing the graves of Muhammad, Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. For details, see Burton, *Narrative*, I, pp. 314-330; also Eldon Rutter, *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, II (London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1928), pp. 234-235.

<sup>4</sup> kibla: the direction toward which Muslims face in prayer; see J. A. Wensinck, “Kibla,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, V, pp. 82-83; also David A. King, “Astronomical Alignments in Medieval Islamic Religious Architecture,” *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 385, 1982, pp. 303-312.

<sup>5</sup> Bekke: ancient name of Mecca found in Qur’ān, III:96.

<sup>6</sup> Mother of Cities (Umm al-Ḥurā): a name given to Mecca in the Qur’ān, (VI: 93 and XLII: 7).

<sup>7</sup> Hijaz: the northwestern part of the Arabian Peninsula, birthplace and spiritual center of Islam and scene of the revelations of the Prophet Muhammad. With Mecca and Medina located within its boundaries, it occupies a place as Holy Land for Muslims analogous to Palestine for Jews and Christians.

<sup>8</sup> Najd: the desert highlands of the central Arabian peninsula.

<sup>9</sup> Yathrib: the pre-Islamic name for Medina, the second holy city of Islam.

<sup>10</sup> Qur’ān, III: 96-97: “The first House appointed for the people was that at Bekke, a place holy and a guidance to all beings. Therein are clear signs—the station of Abraham, and whosoever enters it is in security. It is the duty of all men towards God to come to the House a pilgrim, if he is able to make his way there. As for the unbeliever, God is all-sufficient, nor needs any being.”

because it [the city of Bekke] cleaved the necks of the tyrants. That is, God—glory be to Him and His name be exalted—did not intend that a single tyrant enter the Blessed Ka'ba and He crushed their necks and annihilated them. And in the *Commentary of the Two Jalāls*<sup>11</sup> it is written that before Adam was created, the angels built the Blessed Ka'ba. And in the commentary entitled *Kashshāf*<sup>12</sup> it is written that two thousand years before the heavens and the earth were created by God—whose name be exalted—He created the Blessed Ka'ba on the water from the water's white foam, and after that the earth was placed under it. And moreover, it says that the first house built in the world by the Prophet Adam—peace be upon him—was the Blessed Ka'ba. And in addition it says that at the time the Prophet Adam—peace be upon him—came forth from heaven, the blessed angels said, “Perform the pilgrimage to this place. For two thousand years we have made the pilgrimage to it.” And after that, it says the Prophet Adam—peace be upon him—made the pilgrimage [to it]. And in addition, the house to which the blessed angels and the Prophet Adam—peace be upon him—made the pilgrimage was that *Žurāḥ*.<sup>13</sup> That which is called the *Žurāḥ* is the *Beyt-i Ma'mūr*. Later, they said in the time of the Prophet Noah—peace be upon him—[33v] when the Flood occurred, it [the *Žurāḥ*] was raised to the fourth heaven, so that now angels circumambulate it there. All of the statements we have made are from the holy commentaries. And it is possible to account for the above statements. And the purpose of these narrated

statements is to make known the nobility and holiness of the Blessed House [the Ka'ba]. Thus, God—glory be to Him and His name be exalted—said, “That Ka'ba is bountifully [*mubārakan*] blessed.” In the *Commentary of the Two Jalāls* the word *mubārakan* is defined as endowed with *baraka*. In other words, because that Blessed House is possessed of divine grace, whoever makes the hajj<sup>14</sup> and *umre*<sup>15</sup> goes into retreat before it and circumambulates its environs, acquires endless merit, and his sins are pardoned. And likewise, in the commentary entitled *Kashshāf* [it states] *wa hudan lil-‘ālamīna*, [that is] this Blessed House is a true way [to salvation] for the [two] worlds because it is the place of worship for mankind. That is, it is their [mankind's] sanctuary. And how many wonderful characteristics and divine marvels there are in this Blessed Ka'ba! Thus, God—whose name be exalted—says “Therein are clear signs.”<sup>16</sup> How many clear signs [of blessedness] there are possessed by that Blessed House, as, for example, when birds flying toward the Blessed Ka'ba approach it, at the moment they are upon it they swerve to one side, and wild animals do not hunt prey in the *Ḥaram-i Šerīf*,<sup>17</sup> and tyrants intending evil to it perish. These persons, because they intended harm to it, perished. And there is no end to wonders like these possessed by that Blessed Ka'ba. And this is one among these, that God—whose name be exalted—says, [whoever] goes to the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm*<sup>18</sup> in order to pray, that person attains the grace of Abraham. [34r] That is, there is an imprint at the spot where the two blessed feet of the Prophet Abraham, the Friend of God—peace be upon

<sup>11</sup> *Commentary of the Two Jalāls*, (Arabic, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*): a famous work of commentary on the *Qur'ān* begun by the fifteenth-century Cairene teacher of jurisprudence Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maḥallī (1389-1459) and completed by his student, the great encyclopedist, Jalāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī (1445-1505); see C. Brockelmann, “al-Suyūṭī,” *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, IV, pp. 573-575.

<sup>12</sup> *Kashshāf*: commentary on the *Qur'ān* entitled *al-Kashshāf‘an Ḥaḳā’iḳ al-Tanzīl*, written by the Persian-born Arabic scholar, theologian and philologist Abū al-Ḳāsim Maḥmūd al-Zamakhsharī [1075-1144]; see C. Brockelmann, “al-Zamakhsharī,” *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, IV, pp. 1205-1207; also idem, *Geschichte*, Supplement, I, pp. 507-509.

<sup>13</sup> *Žurāḥ*: name of one of the celestial Ka'bas which lie directly above the Ka'ba in Mecca and below the Throne of God in the seven stories of heaven. Later Islamic cosmology holds the universe to consist of seven heavens and seven earths. The Ka'ba is located at the very center of the earth and forms the central point of the entire universe. Its foundations lie in the seventh earth and form a kind of axis which runs through all the worlds. The stories of heaven resemble one another in plan, every one having a sanctuary in the center so that if the top sanctuary fell down, it would fall exactly on the lowest one in the seventh earth. The highest of these sanctuaries is the

Throne of God. Of those which lie between the Throne and the Ka'ba, two are mentioned by name in the *Qur'ān*, the *Beyt Ma'mūr* and the *Žurāḥ*. See “Ka'ba,” *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, II, p. 197; also A. J. Wensinck, “Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the Navel of the Earth,” *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, XVII, 1, 1917, pp. 1-65.

<sup>14</sup> Hajj: the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca, Arafat and Mina, also known as the “Great Pilgrimage,” the fifth of the five “pillars” of Islam. The hajj always takes place on the same dates in the Muslim lunar calendar, that is, during the first two weeks of Zilhicce, the twelfth month of the year.

<sup>15</sup> *Umre*: the so-called Lesser Pilgrimage, performed by Muslims as an expression of personal piety. If not performed at the time of the hajj, the preferred time for its performance is during the nights of the month of Ramaḳān.

<sup>16</sup> *Qur'ān*, III:97.

<sup>17</sup> *Ḥaram-i Šerīf* (the Blessed Sanctuary): see p. 17, note 1. Here, however, the term is used to refer to the sacred preserve surrounding Mecca which only Muslims are allowed to enter and in which the trace of God reigns. For details, see “Ka'ba,” *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, II, p. 197.

<sup>18</sup> *Maḳām Ibrāhīm*: see p. 47, note 2, above.

him—sank up to the heel in hard stone. And that Blessed House is a noble place. Whoever enters it is furnished with security. Thus, God—whose name be exalted—says, “. . . and whosoever entereth it is safe. . . .”<sup>19</sup> And that person who enters that Blessed House is a possessor of security. Even if a person is stained with the blood of murder and tyranny and the like, that person cannot be violated. Out of respect for that Blessed House, God—whose name be exalted—gave food to the tribe of the Quraysh,<sup>20</sup> who were in that city dignified by the Blessed House, and not letting them go hungry or thirsty, He freed from fear their winter caravans going to the Yemen and their summer caravans going to Noble Damascus. Now that Blessed House is such a blessed place and such a secure abode that the true lover must go there to worship that Divine Creator who at its holy site created us from nothing. Thus, God—whose name be exalted—says, “And pilgrimage to the House, for him who can find a way thither, is a duty unto God for mankind.”<sup>21</sup> And it is the duty of mankind to make the hajj to the Ka‘ba. The hajj is possible for that person who is able to travel, that is, who has adequate provisions and beasts of burden. And likewise as [is stated] in the Traditions, the hajj is possible with the yearner’s subduing and conquest of passion. And both [of these traditions] can be read. Now whoever has the strength to go, it is required of that person to go perform pilgrimage to the Beyt Allāh. And in those places approved for prayer and worship, it is necessary to perform prayer and to worship. If having the strength one does not journey to it, God—whose name be exalted—is not in need of the person’s worship. [34v] Thus, God—whose name be exalted—says, “As for the unbeliever, God is All-sufficient nor needs any being.”<sup>22</sup> And if one should repudiate the hajj which God—whose name be exalted—made a binding duty, God—glory be to Him and His name be exalted—has no need [of that person]. He has absolutely no need of the prayers of the world, that is, of mankind and the tribe of jinns and the angels. He is a sovereign, generous and compassionate and rewarding of the righteous and all-forgiving in the utmost degree, who rewards the prayers of His slaves if they worship

Him out of His own benevolent perfection. And as His reward He gives in exchange many times more [than His worshipers give Him]. Help now! So long as our strength suffices, not being heedless of that Blessed House, let us endeavor to journey to it. Because in it our prayers are truly answered just as the prayers of the Prophet Abraham and the Prophet Ishmael—peace be upon them—were accepted when that Blessed House was built. Thus, God—whose name be exalted—says, *wa idh yarfa‘u Ibrāhīmu al-ḳawā‘ida min al-bayti wa Ismā‘īlu rabbanā taḳḳabal minnā innaka anta al-samī‘u al-‘alīmu.*<sup>23</sup> This is the holy meaning of the verse in the Sura of the Cow, which God—whose name be exalted—knows best and His Messenger confirms. That which they, that is Abraham—peace be upon him—and Ishmael—peace be upon him—said at the time they erected the foundation walls of the Blessed House was, *rabbanā taḳḳabal minnā innaka anta al-samī‘u al-‘alīmu.* This is the meaning of this prayer, “O our God, accept from us with certainty [our witnessing] that You, O Lord, are the All-hearing and the All-knowing, that is, You are the Sovereign [who] hears our prayers and knows the intentions of our hearts.” In this connection, the author of the *Kashshāf* gave additional details from Traditions [*ḳavā‘id*] and other remarks from the noble commentaries. [35r] It is not possible to relate all of them in this summary. But let us relate at least some of them. *Ḳavā‘id* [customs, traditions] is the plural of *ḳā‘ida*. And *ḳā‘ida* [also] means ‘foundation.’ In Persian they say *bunyād*, in Turkish *temel*. And Tradition holds that first of all the Blessed Ka‘ba had a [designated] site. The Prophet Abraham—peace be upon him—went and raised a foundation upon it, that is, courses of masonry were raised from the foundations. *Sāffāt* is the plural of *sāfa* [course of masonry]. *Sāfa* and *arak* and *ṣaff-i wāhid*, the three of them, are Arabic. In Persian they say *vālād-i yak rasta*, in Turkish *ḳūr*, that is, one course of masonry in a wall. With the humble form of every course, attaining height, it [the wall] became an exalted base. And moreover, it is related that God—whose name be exalted—sent down one of the rubies of heaven as His Blessed House. There were two doors. One was on the east, and one was on the west. And God Almighty said

<sup>19</sup> Qur‘ān, III: 97.

<sup>20</sup> Quraysh: the Arab tribe that inhabited Mecca and to which the Prophet Muhammad belonged. In later times, when the Sunnī theory of the caliphate was formulated, it was generally held by the ulema that the caliph should be from the tribe of the Quraysh; see W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), pp. 4-16.

<sup>21</sup> Qur‘ān, III: 97.

<sup>22</sup> Qur‘ān, III: 97.

<sup>23</sup> Qur‘ān, II: 127. “And when Abraham, and Ishmael with him, raised up the foundations of the House, [Abraham prayed]: ‘Our Lord, receive this from us; Thou art the All-hearing, the All-knowing.’”

to Adam, “I sent it down for you. Let there be *ṭawāf*<sup>24</sup> done around that thing just like the *ṭawāf* is done around My throne.” Therefore the Prophet Adam—peace be upon him—turned and walked toward it from the land of India. And the blessed angels received him and said, “Your hajj was praiseworthy, O Adam, and truly for two thousand years we have made the pilgrimage to this Blessed House.” And the Prophet Adam—peace be upon him—made the hajj to the Blessed Ka‘ba forty times, coming on foot to Exalted Mecca from India. Now then, according to this account, this Blessed House was first a building of ruby. It remained until the coming of the days of the Flood. And at the time of the Flood, God—glory be to Him and His name be exalted—carried it up to the fourth sphere of heaven [35v] and that is the Beyt-i Ma‘mūr,<sup>25</sup> and they also call it the Żurāḥ. Then, after the time of the Flood, God—whose name be exalted—ordered the Prophet Abraham—peace be upon him—to build this present building. And Gabriel—peace be upon him—described the site of the Beyt-i Ma‘mūr to him. That is, he showed the place where the Beyt-i Ma‘mūr had been. Moreover God—whose name be exalted—delivered up a cloud that cast a shadow over the site. And it was commanded [of Abraham] that he build the Blessed Ka‘ba on the shadow of that cloud, making it neither more nor less [in size]. And it was said that at the time

the Prophet Abraham—peace be upon him—built it, he made it [of stone] from five mountains: from Mount Sinai, the Mount of Olives, Mount Lebanon, Mount Jūdi,<sup>26</sup> and Mount Hirā.<sup>27</sup> And they say that its foundation was made from Mount Hirā, and the Black Stone<sup>28</sup> was brought from heaven by Gabriel—peace be upon him. Moreover they say it came from Mount Abū al-Ḳubays.<sup>29</sup> At first it was a white jacinth that came from heaven. During the Flood, it was hidden in Mount Ḳubays. Then, in the Age of Ignorance,<sup>30</sup> menstruating women having laid hold of it, it turned black. As is explained, the Prophet Abraham—peace be upon him—built it [the Ka‘ba], and the Prophet Ishmael—peace be upon him—supplied the stones. Being thus built, after the passage of much time, it was demolished. The Arab tribe called Jurhum,<sup>31</sup> which is that of the father-in-law of Ishmael—peace be upon him—restored the Blessed Ka‘ba. After that, again having been demolished, they say the Ḳuraysh restored it. Those who are called ‘Amālika<sup>32</sup> and ‘Amālīk [36r] are a tribe of the descendants of ‘Amliḳ ibn Lāvaz ibn Iram ibn Sām ibn Nūh—peace be upon him. They were dispersed to [many] cities. And when they asked the Prophet—may God commend and salute him—“O Messenger of God, which was the first mosque built for mankind?” he said, “The Sacred Mosque [of the Ka‘ba in Mecca, al-Mescid al-Ḥarām] and the Temple

<sup>24</sup> *ṭawāf*: the ritual circumambulation of the Ka‘ba dating back to pre-Islamic times, but retained by Muhammad as part of the religion of Abraham; see Fr. Buhl, “Ṭawāf,” *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, IV, pp. 702-703; also Burton, *Narrative*, II, pp. 165-170, 286-288.

<sup>25</sup> Beyt-i Ma‘mūr: one of the heavenly prototypes of the Ka‘ba; see p. 49, note 13, above.

<sup>26</sup> Mount Jūdī (Jabal Jūdī): a high mountain mass in the district of Bohtān in eastern Turkey, about 25 miles north of Jazīrat ibn ‘Umar (Cizre) on the Iraqi frontier. Muslim and earlier Christian and Mesopotamian traditions identify it as the mountain upon which Noah’s ark came to rest after the flood; see M. Streck, “Djūdī,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, II, pp. 373-374.

<sup>27</sup> Mount Hira: a mountain northeast of Mecca to which Muhammad is said to have retired for religious devotions for one month each year. It is here that he was visited by an angel, this being identified with the beginning of his experience of revelation; see W. Montgomery Watt, “Hirā,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, III, p. 462.

<sup>28</sup> Black Stone (*ḥajar al-aswad*): a boulder, possibly of lava or basalt, built into the eastern corner of the Ka‘ba about five feet above ground level. It now consists of several small fragments bound together with a silver ring. It is believed by Muslims that God sent the stone, originally a white jacinth, from Paradise with the angel Gabriel to serve as a seat for Adam when, after he was cast out of Paradise, he

came to Mecca and laid the foundations of the Ka‘ba. Later, when God made his covenant with man, the document on which the latter acknowledged God’s suzerainty was swallowed by the Black Stone, which at the Last Day will be given a tongue to become witness against mankind. See “Ka‘ba,” *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, II, p. 196; for a view, Mohamed Amin, *Pilgrimage to Mecca* (London: MacDonald and Jane’s, 1978), pp. 88, 89.

<sup>29</sup> Mount Abū al-Ḳubays: a sacred hill on the eastern edge of Mecca, overlooking the Great Mosque; see G. Rentz, “Abū Ḳubays,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 136.

<sup>30</sup> Age of Ignorance: the pre-Islamic age in Arabia.

<sup>31</sup> Jurhum: an Arab tribe which, according to Arab tradition, had its origin in the Yemen, but later settled in Mecca and gained control of the Ka‘ba for a time during the Age of Ignorance. Muslim tradition holds that Ishmael and his mother were given protection by the Jurhum and that he married a woman of the tribe. See W. Montgomery Watt, “Djurhum,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, II, pp. 603-604.

<sup>32</sup> ‘Amālika (the Amalekites of the Bible): although they are not mentioned in the Ḳur‘ān, they do appear in later Muslim literature. They are identified as one of the first tribes in the mythical, pre-Islamic history of Arabia to speak the Arabic language; see G. Vajda, “‘Amālīk,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 429.

of Jerusalem [Beyt al-Maḳdis].”<sup>33</sup> Then they asked again, “How many years difference [in age] is there between them?” “Forty years,” he answered. “That is, the Temple of Jerusalem was built forty years after the Blessed Ka‘ba.” The reason why the commentators on the Qur‘ān give expression to the above-mentioned noble words of interpretation is because that Noble Abode and Joy-giving Place [the Ka‘ba] was surely and without doubt, since ancient times, a place of worship for angels and men, in which they went on retreat and performed the *ṭawāf*. And until the time of the Hegira, for thirteen years, the Prophet—may God commend and salute him—made it the kibla. Then, after making the Hegira, in accordance with Divine Wisdom, Jerusalem was fixed as the kibla. For sixteen months after the Hegira, Jerusalem was the kibla. Then the kibla was transferred [again] to the Blessed Ka‘ba.<sup>34</sup> Thus God—whose name be exalted—says, *ḳad narā tuḳ-ḳaluba wajhika fī al-samā‘i fa-la-nuwalliyannaka ḳiblatan tar-ḏāhā fawalli wajhaka shatra al-maṣjidi al-ḥarāmi wa ḥaythumā kuntum fawallū wujūhakum shaṭrahu*.<sup>35</sup> This is its holy meaning, which God—whose name be exalted—knows best and His Messenger confirms. “We have seen, O Muhammad, your face lifted toward the heavens. Now then, We shall surely turn you toward your kibla. That is, We shall cause you to turn toward the Blessed Ka‘ba, which shall please you. Now then, turn your face in the direction of the Blessed Ka‘ba, and wheresoever you be, [36v] turn your face from there toward it.” That is, the Prophet—may God, whose name be exalted, commend and salute him—requested that the kibla be changed and humbly praying, would lift his blessed face to the heavens. But out

of respect he would not say anything. At the appointed time, in accordance with his noble heart’s requests, this sacred verse was revealed, and as soon as it was revealed he ordered the turning toward the Blessed Ka‘ba. Sixteen months after the Hegira and two months before the Battle of Badr,<sup>36</sup> in the month of Receb, in the mosque of the Banū Salima, when he had thus performed two of the prostrations of his afternoon duty toward Jerusalem, he turned toward the Blessed Ka‘ba. The men and women [in the mosque] turning toward that place, standing in line, completed their duty, performing the last two prostrations of the four required prostrations in the direction of the Blessed Ka‘ba. And the holy kibla being changed in that pleasing mosque, they named it the Mosque of the Two Kiblas.<sup>37</sup> As for this matter, all of the circumstances we have related [concerning] the Revered Ka‘ba are explained in the blessed commentaries. Not a single word from another source has been added. And there are, moreover, many noble Qur‘ānic verses about [this matter]. A recounting [of all these] is not possible in this brief treatise. Let those who want to know [about them] in detail refer to the blessed commentaries. And if they have love for the Blessed House let them go and prostrate themselves before the Ka‘ba, and let them rejoice in its perfection. Because to see it and gaze upon it is a pure act of worship. Thus there is written a blessed tradition in a book of correct Traditions. [37r] And this is that blessed Tradition: *al-naẓaru ila bayti-Allāhi al-ḥarāmi ‘ibādatun*. That is, “To gaze upon the Revered Ka‘ba is an act of worship.”<sup>38</sup> Now if it is an act of worship to gaze upon it, how much more divine a reward must be obtained when a man prays in that Blessed

<sup>33</sup> Beyt al-Maḳdis (“The Temple,” from the Aramaic *bēth maḳdēshā*): a designation for Jerusalem in early Islamic sources such as Tabari (I, 2360, 1, 15) who refer to the city as *‘Ilīyā madīnat bayt al-maḳdis* (“Aelia, the city of the Temple”). Although at first the term was used for the Temple area alone, in time it came to be applied to the city as a whole, and the Temple area was referred to by the Arabic equivalent of Bayt al-Maḳdis, namely *al-ḥaram*. See D. S. Goitein, “al-Ḳuds,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, V, p. 399; also Guy LeStrange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1890), pp. 83-84.

<sup>34</sup> For sixteen or seventeen months after the Hegira, Muhammad observed Jerusalem as the kibla or direction toward which Muslims turn in prayer. But in the month of Receb or Ṣa‘bān in the year 2 (i.e., between December 623 and February 624) in part, perhaps, as a result of disappointment with the Jews of Medina, in part because of a desire to return to the old Arabian tradition and make the religion of Abraham more pronouncedly the basis of Muslim monotheism, Muhammad began to face toward the Ka‘ba in prayer. The change in orientation of the kibla is referred to in Qur‘ān II:136ff., and since that time the Ka‘ba has remained the Muslim kibla. See J. A. Wensinck, “Ḳibla,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, V, p. 82.

<sup>35</sup> Qur‘ān, II:144.

<sup>36</sup> Badr: a small town some 84 miles southwest of Medina at which in the month of Ramaẓān of the year 2 (March 624) three hundred Muslims led by Muhammad overcame a Meccan force of over a thousand. It was the Muslims’ first military victory, and it laid the foundation for Muhammad’s temporal power. See W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), pp. 10-16.

<sup>37</sup> Mosque of the Two Kiblas: the mosque of the Banū Salima in Medina. According to Muslim sources, Muhammad, facing Jerusalem, was leading public prayer in the mosque of the Salima clan when, after two *rak‘a*, he received a revelation commanding him to face the Ka‘ba rather than Jerusalem. He and the Muslims then completed the last two *rak‘a* of the noon prayer facing Mecca. As a result, the site was afterwards known as the Mosque of the Two Kiblas. It is today frequently visited by pilgrims.

<sup>38</sup> Literally, “Gazing upon the sacred House of God is [an act of] worship.”

Abode and performs the hajj in accordance with orthodox custom. In consequence of that, all mankind, Greek, Arab and Persian, treats that pleasing beloved and that matchless possessor of the heart with love, affection, reverence and respect. And all mankind, longing to see its perfection, turns [toward it] impatiently and without the strength to resist and sets out to behold it. They arrive from the provinces of Yemen and from India and Sind and Tashkent and Transoxania and Bukhara and Samarkand and Khujand, and from the greatest of cities, Protected Istanbul, and in addition from remote distances of many months' and many years' journey and from these numerous mentioned places. They contemplate its beloved aspect and examine its heart-possessing countenance. But that beautiful, longed-for beloved, covered with black brocade,<sup>39</sup> could not withstand the sound in that place of the *tekbir*<sup>40</sup> and the pronouncing during the *sa‘y*<sup>41</sup> and *ṭawāf* of the declaration *labbayka labbayka yā Allāh*<sup>42</sup> by the true lovers and longing friends who, coming into its noble presence, prostrated themselves in its noble dust. In particular, the chanting of the Glorious *Ḳur‘ān* and the reading of the Noble *Furkān*<sup>43</sup> from every side at the hours, degrees, and minutes and moment of prayer moves [the pilgrims] to such an extent and evokes such love of God that, in accordance with the blessed verse, “If we had sent down this *Ḳur‘ān* upon a mountain, thou wouldst have seen it humbled, split asunder out of the fear of God,”<sup>44</sup> [37v] from their abundance of yearning and excess of love, on the one hand, and their fear of God, on the other, it [the Ka‘ba] almost fell to pieces. [And] the world, which was embellished and decorated with its illustrious form, and those precious, costly jewels within, were almost torn asunder. In con-

sequence, when that most noble sultan of pure lineage, the late and deceased Sultan Murād<sup>45</sup>—may he rest in peace—was informed that the Beyt Allāh was in this condition, he said, “According to the Tradition in the commentary *Shir‘at al-Islām*,<sup>46</sup> *lā ba‘sa bi-tazyīni al-masjidi indanā limā ruwiya anna Dāwūda al-nabiyya ‘alayhi al-salām banā bayta al-maḳdis thumma atammahu Sulaymānu ‘alayhi al-salāmu fa-zayyanahu ḥattā naṣaba al-kibriāta al-aḥmara ‘ala ra‘si al-ḳubbata wa kāna dhālika a‘azza mā yūjadu fī dhālika al-waḳti wa kāna yudī‘u min milin wa fī al-jāmi‘i al-maḥbubiyi ḥattā kānati al-ghazzālātu yaghzulna fī daw‘iha bi-al-layālī min masīrati ihnāyyi ‘ashara milan,<sup>47</sup> when the Prophet Solomon<sup>48</sup>—peace be upon him—completed the Temple of Jerusalem, he adorned it, covering the top of its dome with pure gold. And now, in order to adorn that Beyt Allāh, let me also make and send a golden gutter of pure gold for its blessed roof. Let it illuminate the world, not like the philosopher’s stone but rather like the most luminous sun. And in order to preserve those blessed jewels [the stones from which the Ka‘ba was built], it is necessary to fashion gilt and silver-covered supports and braces of steel. And the elegant waist of the Blessed House must be totally contained within such a brace.” In this way the imperial decision was made known. When, in accordance with the requirements of the exalted edict, the Chief Architect [*mi‘mār başı*] of the time, the late, deceased Sinān Aga, known as the Great Architect [*ḳoca mi‘mār*], arrived at that meadow of holy land and that garden of noble abode to calculate the above-mentioned matter, [38r] saying, “Would that this fortunate work had been built by my hand!” he summoned up all the strength humanly possible. Looking, he saw that that blessed building appeared here and there*

<sup>39</sup> black brocade: this is a reference to the *kiswa* or curtain, the black cover embroidered with verses from the *Ḳur‘ān* in gold and silver, which encloses all four walls of the Ka‘ba and is replaced annually at the time of the hajj on the 10th day of Zilhicce. Although it was from the seventh/thirteenth century traditionally provided by Egypt, since 1962 it has been woven and embroidered in a Saudi Government workshop in Mecca. See “Ka‘ba,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, IV, p. 317; also Amin, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 94 and 132-145.

<sup>40</sup> *tekbir*: see p. 36, note 22, above.

<sup>41</sup> *sa‘y* (“the running,” or “the course”): ceremony performed after the *ṭawāf* as part of the hajj or *‘umre*, consisting of running seven times between Ṣafā and Marwa outside the Great Mosque of Mecca. See M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1923), pp. 225-234; also, Burton, *Narrative*, II, pp. 288-289.

<sup>42</sup> *labbayka labbayka yā Allāh*: the formula “At Thy service! At Thy service, O God!,” the repetition of which is one of the essential rites of the pilgrimage.

<sup>43</sup> *Furkān*: a term, probably from the Aramaic *ḥurkān* (“deliverance,” “salvation”), which is used as another name for the *Ḳur‘ān*. See R. Paret, “*Furkān*,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, II, pp. 949-950.

<sup>44</sup> *Ḳur‘ān*, LIX:21.

<sup>45</sup> Sultan Murād (Murād III); see p. 34, note 2, above.

<sup>46</sup> *Shir‘at al-Islām* (“The Way of Islam”): presumably the commentary of the 6th/12th century Ḥanafī jurist Rukn al-Islām Sadīd al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr al-Bukhārī Imām-zāda al-Sharḡhī; see Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, I, p. 464, and *Supplement*, I, pp. 642-643.

<sup>47</sup> Literally, “For us [Muslims] it is proper to adorn mosques. According to what has been said, the prophet David—peace be upon him—built the Temple of Jerusalem. Then Solomon—peace be upon him—completed it. Then he adorned it with pure gold on the dome. And that was the most precious thing one could find at that time. And it used to shine to a distance of [many] miles and in the beloved mosque [as well], to the degree that woman spinners used to spin in its light during the night to the distance of a stage of twelve miles.”

<sup>48</sup> Prophet Solomon: King Solomon of the Old Testament.

to lean and incline like the figure of an ascetic. And its four sides, the lower parts of the honored walls and towers of happy sign, had in some places spread a bit into the rose garden [the courtyard] of the Noble Sanctuary and were arranged and ordered like the stringing together of a pearl necklace. Some of those blocks of respect-worthy marble stood forward, having burst from their places, and were out of line with the others. And the pure gold of what they call the Golden Gutter, after the manner of [the metaphor] *jarā al-nahru wa sālla al-mizāb*,<sup>49</sup> had flowed away together with the rain torrents. [That is] the gold, wearing away with this water flow, had become very thin. Saying, “First of all it is necessary completely to enclose the delicate glorious waist and sublime place of that lofty form and fortunate height with a brace of gold and silver set with jewels; [then] after being fastened with such a brace its [the Ka‘ba’s] noble middle would be bound and firm and its blessed stones not be separated from one another.” The above-mentioned architect laid it [a brace] out in this manner and, in accordance with this, designed and set forth drawings [*rūsūm*] of it. After that, on his coming back to Istanbul, informing and making known its [the Ka‘ba’s] actual state to the prosperous sultan, the glorious sultan consulted with the great ulema of the age. Some of them, not judging [repairs] to be lawful, said, “That Blessed House is a manifestation of the perfection of the Creator—may He be honored and glorified. Divine love residing within it, it is of the party of lovers. And the noble meaning of the blessed Tradition, *aḥabbu al-bikā‘i ilā Allāhi al-masājidu wa afdālu mawdi‘in* [38v] *minhā al-ḵiblatu*,<sup>50</sup> is that the edifices, that is, the places most beloved of God—whose name be exalted—are mosques. And the most excellent place among them is the Kibla, that is the Blessed Ka‘ba. And in accordance with this beautiful truth, that Beyt Allāh must be among the objects of God’s love. Now when one reflects on the state of being a lover, no matter how weak and absent the lover, he endures with the strength of love [*asḵ*]. It is inconceivable that they

[lovers] are mortal and that they are near destruction. And the word *‘āṣiq* [عاشق] is proof of this. Do you not see that in its form and height, the *elif*, occurring between the letter ‘*ayn* and the letter *sin*, not being bent and crooked in the least degree, is perfectly upright? And when one reflects on the state of being a beloved, in order for the beloved to incline to kiss its lovers, one of its most noble qualities is to advance to meet [literally, ‘spread its skirts’] them. All humanity is its [the Ka‘ba’s] faithful lover. Let men and angels continuously come and kiss those low masonry skirts. And those shining jewels [stones from which it is built], being strung on the strong thread of prophecy in the days of the age of blessed end and time of glorious result of the illustrious forefather of the Prophets, Abraham—the Friend of God—are far from being overthrown and collapsing. From the time of Abraham, the Friend of God—peace be upon him—until the end of the year one thousand of the Hegira of the Prophet [1591-92], it is exactly four thousand twenty-three years. The four thousand twenty-fourth year will be the year one thousand one. That Blessed House has not often been violated. And those who have violated it have been rueful [of doing so]. In the sixty-fourth year of the Hegira of the Prophet, on the twenty-first day of the month of Receb [14 March, 684], when ‘Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr ibn ‘Awwām<sup>51</sup> was judge and governor of Exalted Mecca, the idea came to him to restore the Esteemed Ka‘ba. [39r] With that thought, laying hold of its blessed stones, he made two doors in it in the manner of the previously described ruby Beyt-i Ma‘mūr and covered it with a noble kiswa.<sup>52</sup> The earliest covering of the Revered Ka‘ba with a noble kiswa goes back to him. It is true that his intention was good. Yet the disturbing of those brightly colored precious stones was not propitious. In the end, on the thirteenth day of Cumādiyelülā of the seventy-third year of the Hegira of the Prophet [30 September, 692], he was hanged between Şafā and Marwa. After that, a person named Ḥajjāj,<sup>53</sup> bringing together learned peo-

<sup>49</sup> Literally, “The river flows and the gutter flows.”

<sup>50</sup> Literally, “The edifices most beloved to God are mosques, and the place [most beloved] among them is the kibla.”

<sup>51</sup> ‘Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr ibn ‘Awwām (2-73/624-692): a member of an Arab Muslim noble family of the Quraysh of Mecca who opposed the seizure of the caliphate by the Umayyad house. ‘Abd Allāh rose in revolt against the second Umayyad caliph Yazīd I in 60/680 and three years later, on the death of Yazīd, declared himself *amīr al-mu‘minīn* (Commander of the Faithful) or caliph. Subsequently he was besieged at Mecca for six months by the Umayyad-loyalist commander al-Ḥajjāj (72/692). Slain in battle, his body was placed on a gibbet on the spot where he had previously exposed the body of his

loyalist brother, ‘Amr. For details, see H. A. R. Gibb, “‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, I, pp. 54-55.

<sup>52</sup> Kiswa; see p. 53, note 39, above.

<sup>53</sup> Ḥajjāj (al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, 41-95/661-714): a member of a humble Arab family of Ṭā‘if, he led the seige force dispatched by the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik to subdue the rebellion of ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca in the year 73/692. Later, he was made governor of Iraq, in which capacity he remained until his death in 95/714. He is remembered for his harsh suppression of rebels, his strict administration, and his efforts to develop agriculture. For details, see A. Dietrich, “al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, III, pp. 39-43.

ple who knew its [the Ka‘ba’s] old arrangement, changed ‘Abd Allāh’s alterations and returned that noble building to its old form, putting back every blessed stone in its exact place. Now to violate the old form [of the Ka‘ba] is not a matter that will be approved. And the explanation of the expression, *jarā al-nahru wa sālla al-mizāb* [the river flows and the gutter flows] is thus: a saying of this sort [belongs to the rhetorical category known as] *zīkr-i maḥāl ve irāde-i ḥāl*.<sup>54</sup> In the sciences of rhetoric and rhetorical expression they call this a released metaphor [*mecāz-i mürsel*].<sup>55</sup> In reality, rivers and gutters do not flow, but rather it is the water that enters and penetrates them [that flows]. And this being the case, there is no need to change the gutter,” they said. But some ulema replied to the above opinions, saying, “There is obvious straightness in the *elif* of the word *‘āşık*. Because it is contiguous with and leans on the letter *‘ayn*, deriving strength from that *‘ayn*, it is stable on that side. The letter *‘ayn* is like an interior buttress. But outside, that is, in the direction of the letter *sīn*, it is not supported by anything. And especially, at the point adjoining the letter *‘ayn* there is a slight curvature. Although there is no need for a support from within, from the outside, that is, from the side of the letter *sīn*, there is need of a support and bond because, being separated from the place adjoining the letter *‘ayn*, [39v] it is possible for it to fall down. And when the work *sık* at its end is marked with a *fetha*, this sense is indicated.<sup>56</sup> And in order for the glory of the beloved to incline and kiss lovers, its base was allowed to spread. When kindness like this is shown by the above-mentioned beloved, there is no controversy about it. Well and good, and even more excellent. But the beloved is always reserved and decorous. As for reserve and politeness, they indicate its weak condition. And the *vāv* which is the long vowel in it [in *ma‘şūk/معشوق*] is the indicator of this. Not ignoring and abandoning the poor lovers, it is particularly necessary, in accordance with what was said, to exert oneself to repair the pole of the faithful, the Beyt Allāh. None but Almighty God knows the suffering of the wretched lovers.

<sup>54</sup> *zīkr-i maḥāl ve irāde-i ḥāl*: a form of metonymy where the abstract is used to mean the concrete or the particular the general, or where the thing contained is put for that which contains it; see Walter G. Andrews, Jr., *An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1976), p. 85; also, E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, I (London: Luzac, 1958), pp. 111-112.

<sup>55</sup> *mecāz-i mürsel*: specifically, a loose trope or synecdoche in that branch of rhetoric known as *‘ilm-i beyān* (“the art of exposition”). See Andrews, *Introduction*, p. 83; also, Gibb, *History*, I, pp. 111-112.

Couplet<sup>57</sup>

All the world is the pining slave of that beloved.  
But what do those who are not lovers know of the lovers’ state?

And when it became the beloved, however much the beloved was ornamented, to that degree it was honored and exalted, leading to still more beauty and elegance. The beloved’s glory is overwhelmed with silver and gold and ornament.

Verse<sup>58</sup>

Although there is a world in the face of the beloved,  
There is another world in the garment of the desired one.

Beauties are glorified by sumptuous and ornamented garments.

They wish to reveal themselves in a different mode.

And there is no reason for their saying that there is no need to change the gutter. Yes, *jarā al-nahru wa sālla al-mizāb* is a metaphor. Its meaning is, “The river and the gutter flowed.” But river and gutter do not flow. Rather, it is water that flows. And in truth, flowing is natural to water. But if water does not affect river and rain spout, if it does not break off bits from each of them, and if those broken-off fragments do not flow together with the water, [40r] how could flowing be ascribed to river and rain spout? Besides, the gutter still found there [at this time] was made in the age of the ‘Abbasid caliphs—God have mercy on them.<sup>59</sup> In the time of the caliphs there were not sufficient means for them to fashion and put in place a gutter worth many times a hundred thousand times a hundred thousand florins. And so at the time it was fashioned, that gutter was made very thin. But with the help of God—whose name be exalted—there is such abundance and sum and substance in the treasury of the House of ‘Osmān that it is possible to build a wall of pure gold in the form of a rampart around the gracious Sanctuary of that

<sup>56</sup> I.e., the *sık/ شق* at the end of *aşık/ عاشق* becomes *şık/ شق* (a splitting, cracking, fissuring) by changing the *kesre* to a *fetha*.

<sup>57</sup> Marginal note gives meter of verse, *mefā‘ilün mefā‘ilün mefā‘ilün mefā‘ilün*.

<sup>58</sup> Marginal note gives meter of verse, *fā‘ilātün fā‘ilātün fā‘ilātün fā‘ilāt*.

<sup>59</sup> ‘Abbasid caliphs: the caliphs of the ‘Abbasid house who ruled from 132/749-50 to 749/1258.

Blessed Abode. Is it surprising that the beloved of the world and one dearly loved by all, having been embellished like the Temple of Jerusalem, should be completely covered with gold and ornament?" They gave answers like this, and in short, there was so much dispute and discussion and such quarreling and confrontation between them [the members of the ulema] that they could not restrain themselves from backbiting and from strife and contention. And at this time, because the eastern and western and Hungarian campaigns<sup>60</sup> came to pass, [the restoration work] was postponed. And the life of the fortunate sultan, not sufficing [to carry out the restoration], a full twenty-five years passed and the above-mentioned matter was not begun. Finally, when making the hajj in the year one thousand nineteen [1610-11], the former *şeyh al-islâm*,<sup>61</sup> His Excellency the late and deceased Şun<sup>c</sup> Allâh, who has attained God's mercy—may he rest in peace—reached that joy-giving place and soul-revising abode [the Ka'ba] and saw and observed that the joy-giving walls of that blessed building inclined here and there to the utmost degree and that its base had spread. There was need of a brace [*kemer*] to bind up its base. Afterwards, returning and coming [to Istanbul], [40v] he reported on its actual condition to the sultan who occupies the throne of sovereignty at the present time and is the caliph of the world, the master of piety and religion, the possessor of the greatest trust, the heir of the greatest caliphate, lord of the two continents and the two seas, the Servitor of the Two Holy Cities [Mecca and Medina], lord of the lands of the Arabs and the Persians, master of the sword and the pen, the most glorious of deserving khakans, victorious with the help of God the Creator, the glory of the House of 'Osmân, the caliph of the caliphs of God, His Majesty the Sultan Aḥmed Khan<sup>62</sup>—may his sovereignty be everlasting and his state be eternal. Thus, he [the *şeyh al-islâm*] related that the glory of his [Sultan Aḥmed's]

forefathers and ancestors, the late Sultan Murâd, had intended to change the Golden Gutter of the Revered Ka'ba and caused a jeweled brace to be made for it to buttress its blessed middle. "But at that time, some powerful ulema—saying, 'To lay hands on the ancient, pure house is not approved and is a transgression'—declared it unlawful and, in addition, military campaigns beginning at that time and his noble life not sufficing, [restoration] has not begun up to this moment. But in this blessed year, if necessary preparations are not made and [restoration] is not begun, it is likely that its glorious walls and joyous towers will fall into the Noble Sanctuary and its bright, precious stones will be scattered. They said it would be an assault to lay hands on this blessed building. [But] how would it be an assault on that blessed building to fasten a brace to the pleasant waist of that noble place? It is essential not to ignore this matter and to make preparations as quickly as possible," he said. When he [the *şeyh al-islâm* thus] described the condition [of the Ka'ba], straightaway, His Majesty the Illustrious Sultan immediately began preparations. Commanding His Excellency the above-mentioned *mi'mâr ağa*, he withdrew from the Imperial Treasury many times a hundred thousand times a hundred thousand noble dinars of exact weight and of a true standard of purity resembling the Philosopher's Stone. And because [41r] he [the *mi'mâr ağa*] had up to that time sealed and protected the plans drawn for this matter of the braces in the noble times of every one of the padishahs from among the past sultans who wished to fix a joy-giving brace to the pleasant middle of that Blessed House, the aforementioned Ağa had only to refer to them to know its width and height and length. After that, he laid out the columns [*di'âm*] and the beams [*zih*] of the brace to be fashioned. Wherever necessary, he drew and put forth new designs for the various forms in order to give the dimensions for the columns and beams, the likes of which the engineers of

<sup>60</sup> The eastern and western and Hungarian campaigns: presumably reference is here made to the two wars begun in the last years of the reign of Murâd III, the Iranian War of 1578-1590 which resulted in Ottoman annexation of the Caucasus, Kurdistan and Azerbaijan from the Safavids, and the war with the Hapsburgs which began in 1593, dragged on through the reign of Mehmet II, into that of Aḥmed I and was concluded by the Treaty of Sitva Torok (11 November, 1606). For details and bibliography, see Shaw, *History*, I, pp. 180-188.

<sup>61</sup> *şeyh al-islâm*: title given to the Ḥanafî mufti or jurisconsult (as opposed to kadi or judge) of Istanbul, who from the early sixteenth century acquired undisputed authority over the ulema of the Ottoman Empire. Appointed by the sultan, only the grand vizier was

higher than the *şeyh al-islâm* in the Ottoman bureaucracy. As head of the hierarchy of the ulema, he recommended to the sultan the appointment of the upper grades of judges. His political functions included the issuing of *fetvâ* or statements on legal points which formed the basis for legal discussion relating to questions of public policy and discipline. As such the *şeyh al-islâm* played a central role in the definition of legal issues in the empire. See H. I. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmîye Teşkilatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1965), pp. 173-214; also Pakalan, *Deyimler*, III, pp. 347-351. For Şun<sup>c</sup> Allâh, see p. 38, note 4.

<sup>62</sup> Sultan Aḥmed Khan (Ahmed I): fourteenth sultan of the Ottoman dynasty, reigned 1012/1603 to 1026/1617.

the age and artists of the era had not seen or heard. Then several symmetrical and well-proportioned tie rods [*vet̄er*] and square piers [*sūt̄ūn*] were fashioned from pure steel in accord with the above-mentioned plan and the aforementioned form. After that, gold and silver leaf were applied to the said tie rods and the above-mentioned supports. After thus completing the brace’s beams and piers, the described golden rain spout and the most high minbar for the Maḳām of the Friend of God [the Prophet Abraham]—peace be upon him—and the three non-ferrous, golden locks [*kilid*] for the Tomb of the Prophet<sup>63</sup> were fashioned. After all these, having been completed, were prepared and ready, they were taken to the pleasant open country outside the Edirne Gate known as the Dāvūd Pasha Çiftliği so that His Majesty the fortunate Padishah, the shadow of God, refuge of the world, could see how excellently these fine, esteemed gifts and nobly made works were fashioned, and how charming and agreeable each one of them was. They [the braces] were set up on the four perpendiculars that had been fixed in the ground. Saying, “These were made for the two noble sanctuaries and they go to those two blessed places,” the great

viziers and illustrious ministers of state, and His Excellency the *ṣeyḥ al-islām*, and the great shaiḫs, and the *ḳādī-ṣ asker* [chief military judge] and other ulema and learned persons and professors and teachers [41v] and the foreign ambassadors, in all more than a hundred thousand persons, made ready to honor them. After the Padishah, the refuge of the world, and the *çāvūşān* [halberdiers of the sultan’s bodyguard] and Janissaries, and *sipāh* [army troops] and other people had admired them, the above-mentioned offering and aforementioned rarities were finally sent with respect and honor to the two noble sanctuaries. After that, with the divine aid of God the Helper, the Sovereign Lord, the arrival of all of them to their designated destinations was facilitated, and every one of them was put in its proper place.<sup>64</sup> God, whose name be exalted, having accepted them, the noble lives of His Majesty the Padishah, the refuge of the world, and of His Excellency the *mi‘mār aḡa* who fabricated them were made more abundant from day to day, and in return for them, they will promptly be favored with bountiful rewards in the next world. Amen, for the sake of the Lord of the Prophets.

<sup>63</sup> Minbar of the Maḳām Ibrāhīm and golden locks of the Tomb of the Prophet; see pp. 47-48, notes 2 and 3, above.

<sup>64</sup> A number of works more or less contemporary with the *Risāle-i Mi‘māriyye* give additional details relating to the restoration of the Ka‘ba and of the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina. Of particular interest in this regard is the *Zūbdet al-Ṭevārīḥ*, written by Muṣṭafā ibn Ibrāhīm, *imām-i sultānī* under Aḥmed I, who wrote under the pseudonym Şāfī; see Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 146-147. In Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan Kitapları, no. 1304, pp. 123a ff., he writes,

“The hajjis who returned in the middle of Cumādelūlā in the year 1001 [end of October, 1602], and in particular the retired *ṣeyḥ al-islām*, Mevlana Şun‘ Allāh Efendi, brought news of the need for repairs in Revered Mecca. They said that because the walls of the Ka‘ba had become completely dilapidated, its repair was not to be neglected. Upon this, the placement anew of two collar beams [*kuşak*] of strong iron on its walls was called for. These collar beams would enclose the Ka‘ba on its upper and lower parts. For this purpose, two sections were prepared for the sides contiguous to each corner [*rūkn*], for a total of sixteen pieces, and to support these pieces four iron posts [*direk*] were prepared for each corner. The lower of these two collar beams which we have mentioned was covered with skilled work and inscriptions [*levha*] of pure gold, done in the art of engraving [*kālemkār*], the upper [beams and] the remaining posts with pure silver. For the holy place where the corner supports are contiguous with the door, a blessed arch [*kemer*] of the same materials was made.

“In addition to this, it was commanded that the rotten boards on the roof of the Ka‘ba, which were on the point of collapsing, be torn down and new ones be put in their place. Once, in earlier times, the sovereign Mīr Aḥmed, who was one of the rulers of Egypt, renovated the rain gutter. But because this gutter was made of a metal other

than silver or gold, when sovereignty passed to the chosen of the Ottoman dynasty, the deceased Sultan Süleymān—may he rest in peace—with true resolve and high zeal, required that that gutter be replaced and upon that, making it of pure silver, he placed the [old] gutter, made by the above-mentioned sovereign in the state treasury, and today it is there.

“The Padishah [Sultan Aḥmed], taking charge of the renewing of the roof and the restoration of the walls, ordered the making anew of the rain gutter, and in addition to using pure gold as the material, he ordered the silver-framed inscriptions over the door to the Ka‘ba also to be made from pure gold. To escort these to their destination, Hasan Pasha, who was formerly the *defterdār* of Aleppo, but who in return for this was [later] given the office of *beglerbegi* of Aleppo, was appointed. In addition, although these things [the beams and supports] that are mentioned were things that the *mi‘mār başı* Mehmet Aḡa understood [how to make], it was expected that they be made precisely to the plan showing the Ka‘ba’s width and height, and that they conform exactly to their prescribed places. Along with this, paying special attention, a few people from the classes of carpenter, architect, jeweler and blacksmith were dispatched with him [Hasan Pasha]. They were sent to the Ḥijāz in the middle of the month of Recep of that year [end September, 1611], and it was ordered that the jobs that were to be executed and performed be carried out. The above-mentioned *mi‘mār aḡa* arrived at the Ḥaram with the mentioned things.

“From letters sent at that time from that place it is understood that on Sunday morning at the beginning of Muḥarrem, 1021 [4 March, 1612], as the sun rose, all ulema and faqihs and righteous persons met in Revered Mecca, gathering opposite the Ka‘ba. After prayers, scaffolding was set up under the rain gutter and, the Ka‘ba’s roof being opened, repairs began. While it was estimated that it would take ten

Verse<sup>65</sup>

By being obedient to God the Creator,  
 All your wishes in this world have been realized.  
 Creating those beautiful works in the Ka'ba and Tomb,  
 Your title became Architect of the Servitor of the Two Holy Cities.  
 Those pure acts will continue to bring you eternal prosperity.  
 Your pure faith in Him caused you to attain spiritual perfection.  
 Your endless pious deeds have captivated the world.  
 Your excellent good works have radiated brightness like the sun.  
 Both the Revered Ka'ba and the Sacred Tomb,  
 With the things associated with them became beloved of your heart.  
 Your works were the result of great knowledge.  
 Without conquering them, Mecca and Medina became your cities.  
 With your kindness you made the people, like Ca'fer, your slaves.  
 Both your sincere well-wishers and your admirers multiplied.

[42r] Actually the aim of the Chief Architect is to look after, restore, love and serve those Two Blessed Abodes [Mecca and Medina] with purity of heart. From the time [Abraham] the Friend of God—peace be upon him—built it [the Ka'ba], until that moment, apart from the old gutter and its noble kiswa, nothing fashioned by anyone's hand had been imposed on that Blessed Abode. Thanks be to God—whose name be exalted—now, a beautiful work having been created in this manner, it was placed around that joy-giving abode. [Thus], that jeweled brace for its [the Ka'ba's] blessed waist, covered entirely with gold and silver leaf, and that gold rain spout for its lofty roof worth many times a hundred thousand times a hundred thousand florins, and that elegant minbar for the Maḳām of [Abraham] the Friend of God—peace be upon him—and those three non-ferrous locks of pure gold, and many golden windows [*pencere*] figured with various forms were fashioned and dispatched. What does it

mean to invoke the name of the Blessed Ka'ba? According to a blessed verse in the Sura of the Cow,<sup>66</sup> *wa 'ahidnā ilā Ibrāhīma wa Ismā'īla an taḥhirā baytī li-al-ḫā'ifīna wa al-'ākifīna wa al-rukka'i al-sujūdi wa idh kāla Ibrāhīmu Rabbi ij'al hādha baladan āminan*. And God—whose name be exalted—knows best and His Messenger [confirms], the meaning is that We ordered Abraham and Ishmael—peace be upon them—to cleanse My house of idols. And at the time when Abraham, for the sake of those who circumambulate the Blessed House and meditate therein, said, “O God, make this region a place of sanctuary,” his God, manifesting [Himself], heard his prayer and made it inviolable. That is, He placed it under protection such that in it human blood is not spilled and no one is oppressed in any way and nothing is hunted in it. If a murderer takes refuge there, he is not seized, [42v] and pasture is not mowed. Lengthwise, the Revered Ka'ba is seventeen *zīrā'*, widthwise it is fourteen *zīrā'*, and in

days to set up the scaffold, it was [in fact] completed by the evening of that day, before the sun had set. Next morning the roof was opened. Examining [it], the architects and the foremen and Hasan Pasha saw that about twenty-seven of the boards were rotten and of these five were completely gone, [such that] when they were touched, disintegrating like flour, they scattered like dust. Of the twenty-seven planks we mentioned, three of them were found after inspection to be in a condition good enough for [re]use. But twenty-four were completely unsuitable. Therefore, completely new ones were put in their places. When the ones which had been on the roof were laid down on the roof as before, the new golden gutter was put in place on that fortunate day, and then the work on the roof was completed.

“The collar beams and the supporting posts prepared for the decaying corners [of the Ka'ba] were put in their places. The full repair and strengthening of the broken parts of the walls were also among the important tasks the doing of which was required in accord

with the Sultan's command. And the carrying out of this important task was worked at with zeal. The expert architects and skillful workers, estimating and measuring by spans [*karıf*], used their wit in considering how it should be done. Saying, “Does it fit? Does it not fit?” there was a controversy. Finally, in conformity with a dream that one of the architects had, the work was started after the evening prayer on the evening of that day. By morning, the gold and silver columns by which the arches were to be supported were completely erected, and aside from these reaching the roof, the collar beams for the bottom, made of gold [and consisting] of eight pieces, were put in place. The remainder were completely put in place the next night, again as desired. And in the same way, a golden inscription was put in place of the door's silver epigraph.”

<sup>65</sup> Marginal note gives meter of verse, *meḫ'ulū fā'īlātū meḫā'itū jā'ilūn*.

<sup>66</sup> *Qur'ān*, II: 125-126.

height it is twenty *zirā*<sup>c</sup>. And the Blessed Sanctuary [the mosque of the Ka‘ba] is one hundred seventeen *zirā*<sup>c</sup> lengthwise, and is also one hundred seventeen *zirā*<sup>c</sup> widthwise. And the holy ground beneath each of the Three Domes [*üç kat kubbeler*]<sup>67</sup> is each a total of twenty *zirā*<sup>c</sup>. In terms of surface area, that Blessed Abode and Joy-giving Sanctuary and those Domes, all of these holy places, are in sum one hundred twenty-seven thousand four hundred forty-nine square *zirā*<sup>c</sup> [sic]. And in addition to this, for six *mīl* to its [the Ka‘ba’s] east and likewise for six *mīl* to its west, that is as regards east-west orientation for a total of twelve *mīl*, and for three *mīl* to its north and for three *mīl* to its south, that is as regards north-south orientation for a total of six *mīl*, it is a sacred territory which is the Sanctuary of God (Ḥarām Allāh).<sup>68</sup> And this is respected as the sanctuary of the Beyt Allāh, and likewise, hunting and the mowing of meadowland and the tyrannizing and oppressing of one person by another are forbidden. Now it is imperative [that] people understand this and

understand how much the whole of this sacred territory is revered and esteemed, and how much grace and nobility it possesses. And previously, we briefly described how those noble presents and fine rarities dispatched to the Two Holy Cities were seen and inspected in Istanbul. But now, as with the beauty of that Blessed Abode, it is not possible to describe them [and their comeliness] here. For [although] there are many incomparable, rare, jeweled belts and diadems of gold and precious stones in the *bezzāz-sitān*,<sup>69</sup> [the things] there, with their perfection, are not themselves capable of giving off radiance. But if they were put on a beautiful beloved and an extraordinary beauty, that sumptuous attire [43r] would attain such a noble state that when a man looked at it, his eyes being dazzled, no other remedy would remain, save to offer praise and thanksgiving to God the Supreme Creator. What happiness, good luck and honor for the Āga that in this manner, [those] noble works having been fashioned by his hands, were placed in that Blessed Abode!

*Verse*<sup>70</sup>

He began at an auspicious time in the profession of the working of mother-of-pearl.  
Behold, the Āga mastered architecture!  
Until the Day of Judgment there will not be another such master craftsman.  
May their [his works’] existence give life to him [preserve his memory] in the world.

*In Praise of the Beyt al-Ḥarām—may God, the all-knowing Lord, honor it.*<sup>71</sup>

Now let us honor the Blessed House.  
That is, turning toward it, let us pray.  
It is necessary to stand with deep humility and veneration,  
As if the king of kings of the world were greeting us.  
But it is necessary to know how much it is beloved, that to which  
The lover must devote his complete attention.

<sup>67</sup> *üç kat kubbeler*: this presumably refers to the *kubbe* or dome over the Zamzam well and two further domed buildings at the edge of the *maṭāf* called *al-kubbatayn* (“the two domes”). All three are to be seen on Ali Bey’s plan of the Great Mosque of Mecca as represented in Burton’s *Narrative*, II, between pp. 294 and 295. They are further described in *ibid.*, pp. 309-316; also in Burckhardt, *Travels*, pp. 143-146. Today, however, all three have disappeared. Indeed, *al-kubbatayn*, which in their latest form were built in 947/1540-41 by Hoşgeldi, governor of Jidda, and housed the clocks, chronometers and manuscripts donated to the Great Mosque, were no longer standing when Hurgronje photographed the mosque in the 1880’s. The *kubbe* over the Zamzam well was torn down at the time of the rebuilding of the Great Mosque in the 1950’s. See also note 72 below.

<sup>68</sup> Ḥaram-Allāh: the consecrated area surrounding the Ka‘ba, marked by boundary stones and within which the truce of God

prevails. It is forbidden to carry arms in this sanctuary, and those who have committed unintentional manslaughter can find refuge here, for within the sanctuary it is forbidden to shed blood. The idea of sanctuary extends even to the flora and fauna: animals are not to be scared away or hunted, nor are trees and bushes to be cut down. See A. J. Wensinck, J. Jomier, “Ka‘ba,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, IV, p. 322. For the manner in which the Ka‘ba and its sanctuary area conform to the character of the traditional Semitic sanctuary, see W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites, The Fundamental Institutions* (London: A. and C. Black, 1972), pp. 140-164.

<sup>69</sup> *bezzāz-sitān*: *bedestān*, that is, the vaulted and fireproof part of the bazaar where valuable goods were kept.

<sup>70</sup> Marginal note gives meter of verse, *fā‘ilātūn fe‘ilātūn fe‘ilātūn fe‘ilāt* [*fe‘ilāt*].

<sup>71</sup> Marginal note gives meter of verse, *mef‘ülü fā‘ilātu mefā‘itü fā‘ilāt*.

In truth, the thing intended is the Creator of the Earth and Heaven.  
 That kibra which stands in front of one is only the imam  
 O, that House is an exalted, splendid abode.  
 From it an unfailing spiritual brilliance is witnessed.  
 In that noble place, prayer is accepted [by God],  
 Because that unspeaking one [the Ka‘ba] intercedes for you.  
 For you to pronounce the name of the Ka‘ba is to approach God.  
 Do not be found heedless! Be scrupulous in this!  
 [43v] If it is asked, how does one acquire nearness to Him,  
 [The answer is] do not endlessly ignore the gate of supplication.  
 Would that Lord of the House reject you?  
 Is it empty? What do you think that place is?  
 Let pilgrims come from the Two Holy Cities and the Hijaz.  
 Just let them bring us tidings from the beloved.  
 O! Will we see His delightful kibra?  
 Would that we too might each be made happy with a meeting!  
 This is the reason for my exertion: that I might go to that Pure Sanctuary.  
 That I might walk proudly in the pilgrim’s garb together with the lovers.  
 O God! Facilitate for us a visit to it!  
 Now Your slave’s preoccupation is the Mosque of the Sanctuary.  
 If our sins are not washed with Zamzam’s<sup>72</sup> water of divine mercy,  
 This is my fear, that everyone will condemn [me] on the Day of Judgment.  
 O Pardoner of Sins, we have taken refuge in You.  
 You are a merciful one! In You is lasting refuge.  
 With Your kindness pardon this slave of Yours, the sinner Ca‘fer!  
 O Creator of Mankind, for the sake of the Ka‘ba!

And the holy territory of Illuminated Medina became a sanctuary. Thus, there is a blessed Tradition written in the noble *Meṣābīḥ*<sup>73</sup> related by ‘Alī<sup>74</sup>—may God honor him. And this is that blessed Tradition. *Kāla al-Nabiyyu ‘alayhi al-salām al-Madīnatu ḥarāmun mā-bayna ‘Ayrin wa Thaurin fa-man aḥdatha fī-hā ḥadathan aw āwā muḥdithan fa-‘alayhi la‘anat-Allāhi wa al-malā’ikati wa al-nāsi ajma‘īna lā yukbalu ṣarfu wa lā ‘adlu dhimmatu al-muslimīna wāḥidatun* [44r] *yas‘ā bihā adnāhum fa-man*

*akhḍara musliman fa-‘alayhi lā‘natuhu Allāhi wa al-malā’ikati wa al-nāsi ajma‘īna.*<sup>75</sup> The Messenger of God was the speaker of truth and the Beloved of God was the speaker of truth! This is its blessed meaning, which God—whose name be exalted—knows best and His Messenger [confirms]. The territory of Blessed Medina, that is the territory between ‘Ayr and Thawr<sup>76</sup> is sanctuary. Both ‘Ayr and Thawr are the names of mountains. And Illuminated Medina is between these

<sup>72</sup> Zamzam: the sacred well in the Great Mosque of Mecca situated to the southeast of the Ka‘ba. Muslim tradition connects the well to the story of Abraham. It is said that it was opened by the angel Gabriel to serve Abraham’s wife Hagar and his son Ishmael, who were dying of thirst in the desert. Pilgrims drink its water as health-giving and use it for ablutions. For details see B. Carra de Vaux, “Zamzam,” *E.I.*, IV, pp. 1212-1213.

<sup>73</sup> *Meṣābīḥ*: Presumably al-Baghawī’s famous collection of *ḥadīth* entitled *Maṣābīḥ al-Sunna*, or perhaps Walī al-Dīn’s rearrangement of the same entitled *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*. See Ignaz Goldziher. “The Hadith Literature,” in *Muslim Studies*, II (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971), pp. 241, 247-248; also Walī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī. *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, I, trans. James Robson (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1975), pp. xii-xvi; and Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, I, p. 363, Supplement, I, p. 620.

<sup>74</sup> ‘Alī: ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad and fourth caliph, was one of Muhammad’s first adherents.

<sup>75</sup> Literally, “The Prophet—peace be upon him—said, ‘Medina is sanctuary between ‘Ayr and Thawr. He who does any innovation in it or who assists one who made an innovation, may the curses of God and the angels and of all mankind be upon him. No deviation or exception from that will be accepted. All Muslims share a common obligation. Those who would seek to do this [violate this obligation] are the least among them. The curses of God and of the angels and of all mankind will be upon him who brings a Muslim [to innovation].’”

<sup>76</sup> ‘Ayr and Thawr: the names of the two mountains that define the limits of the Sanctuary of Medina, lying respectively about three miles south and north of the city; see Burton, *Narrative*, I, p. 379.

two mountains. Therefore, if someone begets an innovation there, or if he does not himself beget an innovation but assists him who imposes the innovation, may the curse of God—whose name be exalted—and of the angels and of mankind be upon him. If the Muslims’ oath and safe conduct are one and the same, still that oath is an oath and safe conduct is safe conduct. It is incumbent on all Muslims, even the least of Muslims, to exert themselves not to violate them. That is, if one Muslim swears an oath and promises safe conduct, then it is incumbent on other Muslims to see that that oath is held to. Slaves and women are the least, that is, the most humble of the Muslims. Yet even they must exert themselves not to violate that oath in any way. Therefore, if someone breaks and abrogates a Muslim’s oath, that is, if he offends his oath and promise of safe conduct, let the curses of God—whose name be exalted—and of the angels and of mankind be upon him. For the deeds, the acts of worship and repentance and justice—that is, the posthumous offerings of the inventor of heresy, and the helper of the begetter of heresy, and the violator of the oath made by a Muslim—will not be accepted. If, for example, because of that [sinful behavior], after the death of that person, his near relatives give alms of supplication [for mercy for the deceased], and perform the hajj, and do other things, God—whose name be exalted—will not accept them. [44] But if he repents while alive, if he changes and becomes just, they are accepted. That which is to be understood from this is that the Prophet Muhammad—may God, whose name be exalted, commend and salute him—made the territory between Mount ‘Ayr and Mount Thawr a sanctuary. And those knowing it to be inviolable must all the more honor and respect it. And in the noble *Meṣābīḥ* there is written a blessed Tradition related by Sa‘d.<sup>77</sup> And this

<sup>77</sup> Sa‘d (Sa‘d ibn Abī Waḳḳās): Meccan Arab military commander of the early years of the Islamic conquest, he was one of the oldest of the Companions of the Prophet. He took part in the battle of Badr and Uḥud, as well as the campaigns that followed. Later he was the Muslim commander at al-Kādisiyya where the Sassanian armies were driven from Iraq. He was subsequently the founder and governor of Kūfa, and died in 50/670-71 or 55/675-76. See K.V. Zettersteen, “Sa‘d b. Abī Waḳḳās,” *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, IV, pp. 29-30.

<sup>78</sup> Literally, “The Messenger of God—may the prayers and greetings of God, whose name be exalted, be upon him—said, I am making sanctuary that which lies between those two places at Medina. Her [Medina’s] trees shall not be cut and her animals shall not be killed. No one would leave her voluntarily, but that God will substitute in here he who is much better than him. And he who will endure the affliction and the torment of Medina, for him I will be an intercessor and a witness on the Day of Judgment.”

is that blessed Tradition. *Ḳāla Rasūl Allāhi ṣallā Allāhu Ta‘ālā ‘alayhi wa sallam innī uḥarrimū mā-bayna lā batayy al-Madīnati an yuḳṭa‘a ghaḍāhumā aw yuḳṭala ṣayduhā lā-yada‘uhā aḥadun ragħbatan ‘anhā illā abdal-Allāhu Ta‘ālā fihā man huwa khayrun minhu wa lā-yathbutu aḥadun ‘alā lāwā‘ihā wa jahdihā illā kuntu laḥū shafi‘an aw shahīdan yawm al-ḳiyāmati.*<sup>78</sup> The Messenger of God was the speaker of truth and the Beloved of God was the speaker of truth! God—whose name be exalted—knows best and His Messenger confirms, this is its blessed meaning. I now make a sanctuary that [which lies] between Exalted Medina’s two rocky places. Her trees shall not be cut even if [they have] thorns and her game shall not be killed. If a person voluntarily abandons that Blessed Medina, without fail God, whose name be exalted, will produce a better substitute in place of him. And if a person abides not Blessed Medina’s affliction and torment, without fail I will be an intercessor and a witness for him on the Day of Judgment. In the noble *Meṣābīḥ* there is a blessed Tradition related by Abū Hurayra<sup>79</sup>—may God be well pleased with him. In Illuminated Medina the people used to see the first fruit [of the growing season]. Picking it, they would take it and go to the Prophet Muhammad—may God, whose name be exalted, commend and salute him. And the Prophet—may God, whose name be exalted, commend and salute him—taking it in his hand, would recite over it this prayer, which we call a blessed Tradition. [45r] This is the prayer. *Allāhumma bārik la-nā fī thamirinā wa bārik la-nā fī ṣā‘inā wa bārik la-nā fī muddinā Allāhumma inna Ībrāhīma ‘abdaka wa khalīlaka wa nabīyyaka wa innī ‘abdaka wa nabīyyaka wa innahū da‘āka li-Makkata wa anā ad‘ūka li al-Madīnati li-mithli mā da‘āka li-Makkata.*<sup>80</sup> God—whose name be exalted—knows best and His Messenger confirms, this is its blessed meaning. “O God, make blessed our fruits. And bless us our ṣā. And

<sup>79</sup> Abū Hurayra (Abū Hurayra al-Dawsī al-Yamānī, d. 58/678): Companion of the Prophet Muhammad, he accepted Islam at Medina in the year 7/629. He was later appointed governor of Baḥrayn by the Caliph ‘Umar, and it is said that Mu‘āwiya made him his deputy at Medina during the caliph’s absence. Although he became a Muslim only four years before the death of the Prophet, Abū Hurayra is one of the most prolific sources of traditions: an estimated 3,500 are attributed to him. See J. Robson, “Abū Hurayra,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 129.

<sup>80</sup> Literally, “O God, bless for us our fruits [crops] and bless us our ṣā and bless us our *mudd!* O God, Abraham is Your worshiper and beloved and prophet. And I am Your worshiper and prophet. And he [Abraham] called You to Mecca. And I [Muhammad] am calling You to Medina just as he called You to Mecca.”

bless us our *müdd*.” *Şā* and *müdd* are dry measures. Fruits are sold in these units. “O God, truly Abraham is Your worshiper and Your friend [*halīl*].” *Halīl* means friend [*dōst*]. “And he is Your prophet. I too am Your worshiper and Your prophet. He [Abraham] truly prayed to You for Mecca. And I pray to You for Medina as he prayed to You for Mecca.” And the Prophet Muhammad—may God, whose name be exalted, commend and salute him—prayed like this. A moment after that he summoned his little son and gave that fruit to him. And again there is a blessed tradition in the noble *Meşābīḥ* related by Ibn Sa‘id.<sup>81</sup> And this is that blessed Tradition. *Inna Ibrāhīma ḥarrama Makkata fajalāhā ḥaraman wa innī ḥarramtu al-Madīnata ḥaraman mabayna* [lacuna] *an yuhrāka fī-hā damun wa lā-yuḥmalu fī-hā silāhun li-kitālin wa lā-yukḥbaṭu fī-hā shajaratun illā li‘alafin*.<sup>82</sup> And this is its blessed meaning, that truly Abraham—peace be upon him—made Exalted Mecca a sanctuary. And I made Medina a sanctuary. Between its two boundaries let no arms be brought for the purpose of slaughter or to spill blood, and let no leaves be shaken down from the trees except to be given to cattle. In other words, do not strike a tree not wishing to feed cattle, [45v] lest leaves fall. And again, there is a blessed Tradition in the noble *Meşābīḥ* related by Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqqās.<sup>83</sup> And this is that blessed Tradition: *man akhadha aḥadan yuṣīdu fīhi falyasluḥū*.<sup>84</sup> This is its blessed meaning, that if in the noble Sanctuary of Illuminated Medina a person seize someone who is hunting, let that person who seized him strip that hunter; that is, let him take his garments. And the Companions of the Prophet in their time seized and stripped those who hunted there in accordance with this blessed Tradition. And

again, there is a blessed tradition written in the noble *Meşābīḥ*. And this is that blessed Tradition: *umirtu bi-ḥaryatin taḳulu al-ḥurā yaḳūlūna Yathribu wa hiya al-Madīnatu tanfī al-nāsa ka-mā tanfī al-kīru khabatha al-ḥadīdi wa ḳāla inna Allāha Ta‘ālā sammā al-Madīnata ṭābatan*.<sup>85</sup> This is its blessed meaning, that “I was commanded to journey to a village. It is such a village that it had to devour all [other] villages. In other words, I was commanded to journey to a city and that city destroys and annihilates all the world’s villages and cities.” They [commentators] have given this many meanings. And however many meanings are given to it, all of them are accepted. Now, in Turkish, to say such and such eats so and so is simply to say it overcomes. Thus, Illuminated Medina will be dominant over all countries until the Day of Judgment. From there, ‘Umar<sup>86</sup>—may God be well pleased with him—conquered all the world, from the West to the East. And still, along with the joy-marked nobility of the Prophet—may God, whose name be exalted, commend and salute him—it is victorious over the whole world. All men would give their lives to rub their faces in its dust. And again, the Prophet—may God, whose name be exalted, commend and salute him—says [46r] that village known as Yathrib is Medina—may God, whose name be exalted, glorify it—and it redeems the sins of mankind. Just as the true God—whose name be exalted—did away with the loathsome pagans and such like, He named Illuminated Medina Tābe.<sup>87</sup> That is, He gave it the name Tābe. And *tābet* means pure and clean and also to smell like a flower. And there is a blessed Tradition related by Ibn ‘Umar,<sup>88</sup> written in the blessed traditions collected by Imām Suyūṭī [entitled] *Jāmi‘ al-*

<sup>81</sup> Ibn Sa‘id (Khālid ibn Sa‘id): one of the earliest Companions of the Prophet, who died in the year 13/635 during the Syrian campaigns. See H. Loucel, “Khālid b. Sa‘id,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, IV, pp. 927-928.

<sup>82</sup> The tradition as given in the text appears to be lacunary. Its translation is as follows, “Abraham made Mecca Sanctuary and it became Sanctuary and I made Medina Sanctuary and it became Sanctuary. Between ... in her [Medina] that no blood would be shed and no weapons be carried for the purpose of fighting and no tree would be struck except to feed cattle.”

<sup>83</sup> Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqqās: see note 77 above.

<sup>84</sup> Literally, “He who captures someone hunting in her [i.e., Medina], he should strip him.”

<sup>85</sup> Literally, “I was commanded to go to a village and that village eats villages. And that village is Yathrib, and it is Medina. It gets rid of bad people just as molten iron gets rid of impurities. And he said that God—be He exalted—named the city Tābet.”

<sup>86</sup> ‘Umar (‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb): second caliph, founder of the

Arab empire, and one of the greatest figures of the early years of Islam. He was converted to Islam at the age of 26, four years before the Hegira, and was thus one of the earliest Companions and one of Muhammad’s closest intimates. He succeeded to the caliphate on the death of his friend Abū Bakr (d. 13/634) and was assassinated in Basra in the year 23/644. For details, see G. Levi Della Vida, “‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb,” *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, III, pp. 982-984.

<sup>87</sup> Tābe: a name for the city of Medina.

<sup>88</sup> Ibn ‘Umar (‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb): son of the second caliph, one of the most prominent of the early Muslims and most scrupulous and frequently quoted authorities for Tradition. Born before the Hegira, he accepted Islam before his father and subsequently participated in the campaigns against the pagan Meccans, the Byzantines and the Sassanians. He was over eighty years of age when he died in Mecca in 73/693. See L. Veccia Vaglieri, “‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, I, pp. 53-54.

*Ṣaghīr*.<sup>89</sup> And this is that blessed Tradition: *man zāra kabrī wajabat lahū shafā‘atī*.<sup>90</sup> This is its blessed meaning: “Whosoever visits my grave, to that person will my intercession be due.” And again, in the *Jami‘ al-Ṣaghīr* there is written a blessed Tradition related by Anas.<sup>91</sup> And this is that blessed Tradition: *man zāranī bi-al-Madīnati muhtasiban kuntu lahu shahīdan wa shafī‘an yawm*

*al-ḵiyāmati*.<sup>92</sup> This is its blessed meaning: “Whosoever visits me in Medina, I will be a witness and an intercessor for that person on the Day of Judgment.” And there are many blessed Traditions about that holy place. But in this summary it is not possible to mention all of them. Let those lovers and longers after those holy places investigate further!

*In Praise of Illuminated Medina—May God, Whose Name Be Exalted,  
Illuminate Her with He Who Illuminated Her*<sup>93</sup>

Yathrib also became like Baḥā,<sup>94</sup>

The quintessence of the lands of the East and West.

Its earth is ambergris, its dust musk.

Its holy, pure earth is undefiled.

[46v] Now, when [the tomb of] the Prophet is there,

How is a pilgrimage [to Medina] not a duty?

Because he is the Lord of the Community,

It is proper that that Lord see us.

An angel came to it from the seven heavens.

The Community of Sinners does not go there.

Is not the one who remains there that Messenger?

Does he not long for his Community?

Let us not neglect making the pilgrimage!

May our love of that place prevail!

Let us not be lovers only in name!

Let not the claims of love turn out to be false!

Let us thus express our affection of it!

May that love be an enticement to us!

Let us not lose a moment’s opportunity!

Before all else, let that place be our goal!

Who knows that you could not make a pilgrimage?

One day let us suddenly be absent!

Let us ourselves journey to the Prophet’s Tomb and to the Ka‘ba!

A proxy can not go to them in our place.

Let us obey the pure sunna!

Let us not go counter to the Prophet’s legacy.

Would that God in his generosity,

Not prevent us from possessing that place.

<sup>89</sup> Imām Suyūṭī, *Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaghīr*: a synopsis of a larger collection of traditions (*al-Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr*), in which al-Suyūṭī attempted to collect from *ḥadīth* literature all of the sayings of the Prophet. See C. Brockelmann, “al-Suyūṭī,” *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, IV, p. 574; also p. 49, note 11, above.

<sup>90</sup> Literally, “He who visits my tomb, my intercession will be due him.”

<sup>91</sup> Anas (Anas ibn Mālik): servant and early Companion of Muhammad and one of the most prolific Traditionalists, who died in

Basra in the early eighth century. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim record almost three hundred traditions attributed to him; see A. J. Wensinck, J. Robson, “Anas b. Mālik,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 482.

<sup>92</sup> Literally, “He who visits me in Medina, I would be a witness and supporter for him on the Day of Judgment.”

<sup>93</sup> Marginal note gives the meter of the verse, *fā‘ilātūn mefā‘ilūn fe‘lūn [fe‘ilūn]*.

<sup>94</sup> Baḥā: name of the lowest part of the valley of Mecca and hence of Mecca as a whole.

[47r] *In Praise of All the Holy Places*<sup>95</sup>

Joy-giving lands and places of pleasure,  
 Have Mecca and Jerusalem and Yathrib and Sinai become.  
 These are the places that we call holy.  
 The light from the heavens has descended upon them.  
 Here the Scriptures were revealed by God.  
 There the prophets all appeared.  
 The whole of the Pentateuch and the Holy *Ḳurʿān*,  
 The entire New Testament and all of the Psalms,  
 Were first handed down at these pure places.  
 After that they became renowned.  
 Let us strive to go there.  
 When one considers an ant on the road, one finds the way.  
 Our zeal is not always as the ant.  
 We do not expend all the strength possible.  
 Let us go on foot like an ant!  
 The humble creature is to us a companion.  
 Let us obey the will of God!  
 Are we not charged to make the hajj?  
 Today we pass [our lives] saying, "Tomorrow."  
 A handful of life makes us falsely proud.  
 Because death is certain in the end,  
 In truth we have become the people of the tomb.  
 Let us go and prostrate ourselves on that pure ground!  
 In this way the saintly life was passed.  
 [47v] In all ways that Garden [the Tomb of the Prophet] is like paradise.  
 Even the houris of heaven long to see it.  
 Why should we not go and gaze upon it,  
 In order that our sins may be forgiven?  
 We hope this of God,  
 That the Community of Muhammad be not estranged from it.

## [52r] SIXTH CHAPTER

Now, with the help of God—whose name be exalted—it describes in detail the character of the structure of the noble mosque of His Majesty the Padishah, the refuge of the universe, located on the At Maydanı in Divinely Protected Istanbul,<sup>1</sup> the imminent completion of which is being facilitated by God. And it describes how attentive the Ağa is—by the grace of God, whose name be exalted—to this noble building, and how he expends [upon it] as much zeal as is

humanly possible, and how great are his care and effort at this time.

The above-mentioned Ağa is at the present time preoccupied with the construction of the noble mosque of His Majesty the honorable and respect-worthy Padishah of the seven climes, that is, Sultan Aḥmed Khan, son of the deceased Sultan Meḥmed Khan, son of the deceased Sultan Murād Khan, son of the deceased Sultan Selīm Khan, son of the deceased Sultan Süleymān Khan, son of the deceased Sultan Selīm Khan, son of the deceased Sultan Bāyezid Khan, son of the deceased Sultan Ebū al-Feth Meḥmed Khan, son of

<sup>95</sup> Marginal note gives meter of the verse, *fāʿilātūn mefāʿilūn feʿlūn [feʿilūn]*.

<sup>1</sup> The Sultan Ahmed Camii; for description, plans, views and

literature, see Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, pp. 470-474; also Nayır, *Sultan Ahmet*, pp. 35-133.

the deceased Sultan Murād Khan, son of the deceased Sultan Meḥmed Khan, son of the deceased Sultan Yıldırım Bāyezid Khan, son of the deceased Sultan Ghazi Hudāvendigār Murād Khan, son of the deceased Sultan Orḡan Khan, son of the deceased Sultan ‘Oṣmān Khan<sup>2</sup>—may he live long and attain his desires—the foundation of which were begun in the year one thousand eighteen [1609-10] on an elevated location and exalted site in an excursion place overlooking the Sea of Marmara, known as the At Meydanı in Divinely Protected Constantinople. And with the help of God, whose name be exalted, this noble building has

risen to the height of its lofty dome. And only the noble dome remains [to be completed]. And may God—whose name be exalted—facilitate its completion in health and safety, amen, O God of the Worlds! Because this humble servant saw the designs drawn by the Aḡa for the plan of the previously described noble mosque, [52v] I composed this *Esāsiyye Kaṣīde*. When it was presented to the Sultan, the felicitous Padishah, refuge of the universe, being pleased and delighted in the utmost degree, bestowed many gifts and favors as reward. And that *kaṣīde* is this which is related.

*This Is the Esāsiyye Kaṣīde*<sup>3</sup>

Lightning struck the golden realm of the sun and the revolving sphere with gold.  
 And caused the vault of heaven again to manifest a halo of light.  
 The rainbow assumed the delightful form of the mihrab.  
 The world became like a mosque with its star candles.  
 The sun and the moon are two bright candles to the mosque of the world.  
 With their rising they give joy to the world day and night.  
 You might suppose that Mount Sinai became an artfully fashioned minbar,  
 In which illumination from God was made manifest.  
 The lofty mountains became here and there rare *mahfils*.<sup>4</sup>  
 The beautiful-voiced *hafiz* is the nightingale of the rose garden.  
 As the world showed itself with these beautiful forms,  
 The mosque of the Ruler of the World made known his image.  
 The shadow of the unique and eternal God, His Majesty Sultan Aḡmed,  
 Lord of reason and wisdom, sublime ruler,  
 Master of all grandeur, shah with the majesty of Farīdūn,<sup>5</sup>  
 Khusraw<sup>6</sup> who is a moon as bright as the sun and Jamshīd<sup>7</sup> of dignity.  
 Master of the sword and the pen, who raises standards and banners,  
 Lord of the armies and domestics, Chosroes like Bahrām the Hunter,<sup>8</sup>  
 [53r] Shelter of the mountain-peak of mercy, storehouse of time of the life of this world,  
 Chief of the king of kings, the Bahman<sup>9</sup> and Dārā-visaged.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>2</sup> This is the line of succession of the Ottoman house back to its founder, ‘Oṣmān.

<sup>3</sup> Marginal note gives meter of the verse, *fā‘ilātūn fe‘ilātūn fe‘ilātūn fe‘lat [fe‘ilāt]*.

<sup>4</sup> *mahfil*: private gallery or tribune for preaching in the mosque.

<sup>5</sup> Farīdūn: one of the early kings of Iran mentioned in the *Shāh Nāma* of Firdawsī; see H. Masse, “Farīdūn,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, II, p. 798.

<sup>6</sup> Khusraw (Kisrā): the name of two of the kings of the Sassanian dynasty, Anūshirwān (531-579) and Aparwīz (591-628), mentioned in the *Shāh Nāma* of Firdawsī. Because they dominate the later Sassanian period, they came to personify Sassanian royalty for the Muslims. See M. Morony, “Kisrā,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, IV, pp. 184-185.

<sup>7</sup> Jamshīd: name of one of the early kings of Iran mentioned in the *Shāh Nāma* of Firdawsī. Popular tradition and Persian poetry sometimes identify him with Solomon. See Cl. Huart, H. Masse, “Djamshīd,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, II, pp. 438-439.

<sup>8</sup> Chosroes like Bahrām the Hunter (*kisrā-ı Behrām şikār*):

Bahrām V, fourteenth ruler of the Sassanian Dynasty, who ruled from A.D. 420 to 438. Often referred to by the surname Gūr (“Onager”), he was renowned as a hunter. See Cl. Huart, H. Masse, “Bahrām,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, I, pp. 938-939. The name *kisrā* (“Chosroes,” Husrev Cyrus) is used here as a title analogous to caesar in the West, with the meaning emperor or ruler.

<sup>9</sup> Bahman: name of one of the early kings of Iran, identified with Artaxerxes Longomanus. In the *Shāh Nāma*, Firdawsī makes him the son of Isfandiyār, grandson of Vishtasp the patron of Zoroaster and the father of Sāsān, eponymous ancestor of the Sassanian Dynasty. See Theodor Nöldeke, *The Iranian National Epic or the Shāh Name* (Bombay: K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, 1930), pp. 21-22, 74-75.

<sup>10</sup> Dārā: Persian form of the name of the Achaemenid king, familiarly known under the Hellenized form Darius, mentioned in the *Shāh Nāma* of Firdawsī. See B. Carra de Vaux, H. Masse, “Dārā,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, II, pp. 132-133.

Hero of time and sultan of the sultans of the nations,  
 Rostam<sup>11</sup> of the world and Yūsuf-faced<sup>12</sup> Kaykhusraw.<sup>13</sup>  
 Modest shah of [the house of] ʿOṣmān, true with a sincere heart,  
 Who is a Fārūḳ<sup>14</sup> in his justice, a Karrār<sup>15</sup> in his munificence.  
 Desirous of charity and good works, he is a caesar [like] Alexander.  
 A ruler like the strong Ḥaydar,<sup>16</sup> a follower of the path of righteousness.  
 Observe the munificence and kindness of the Shah of the World!  
 How he roamed the world to perform acts of charity!  
 The benevolent Shah did not consent to the tearing down of districts.  
 He did not wish that abodes and dwellings be removed.  
 In the city of Istanbul there were many aged palaces.  
 There were none, either man or jinn, dwelling in those houses.  
 The buildings occupied one of the finest locations in the city.  
 They had become filled with the nests of owls.  
 God's inspiration came upon His Majesty the Shah of the World.  
 He built many monuments and good works on these vacant lands.  
 He began to build a high and lofty mosque.  
 The eyes are dazzled by the pleasing aspect of its form,  
 As though Mānī had painted it in the style of the Erjenk,<sup>17</sup>  
 As though Bihzād<sup>18</sup> held a compass to its design.  
 This abode became pleasant and airy like paradise.  
 From time to time the gentle morning breezes visit it.  
 [53v] Its kibla is the sea, its front the At Meydanı.  
 In addition, on every side is the prosperity of the city and the bazaar.  
 And beside the mosque there remain many more [fine] places [in the city]  
 Where quarters like that might be built and great cities might be.  
 Architect and *emīn*,<sup>19</sup> working on it day and night,

<sup>11</sup> Rostam: the son of Zāl and greatest hero of the *Shāh Nāma*. Of superhuman strength and courage, he apparently belongs to the folkloric traditions of Sistān and Zābul. For details, see Nöldeke, *Epic*, pp. 16-20, 68-73, 83-87.

<sup>12</sup> Yūsuf: Joseph of the Old Testament, a favorite subject of Muslim legend. The Qurʾān (XII: 31) describes Yūsuf as of angelic beauty. See Bernard Heller, "Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb," *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, IV, pp. 1175-1179.

<sup>13</sup> Kaykhusraw: the third mythical ruler of the Iranian dynasty of the Kayānids, corresponding to Kavi Haosrovah of the religious tradition. Victorious over Tūrān, he brought peace to Iran according to the *Shāh Nāma*. See Cl. Huart, "Kay Khusraw," *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, IV, pp. 815-816.

<sup>14</sup> Fārūḳ: literally "one who discriminates between right and wrong"; it was a title given to the Caliph ʿUmar. For ʿUmar, see p. 62, note 86, above.

<sup>15</sup> Karrār: literally "impetuous;" one of the nicknames given to ʿAlī because of his courage and daring. For ʿAlī, see p. 60, note 74, above.

<sup>16</sup> Ḥaydar: literally, "lion, brave, valiant"; one of the nicknames given to ʿAlī.

<sup>17</sup> Mānī ... of the Erjenk: the third-century A.D. Iranian prophet and religious teacher who attempted to synthesize the best of Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Christianity into the new faith of Manichaeism. He is recorded as having been skilled in music and

painting and to have illustrated his writings with didactic paintings. In later Islamic tradition Mānī is remembered, not as the founder of a new faith or as a great religious personality, but preeminently as an artist, and is usually referred to as Mānī the Painter. His great lost work, the *ʿArdahang/Erjenk* was, according to Muslim accounts, illustrated with numerous paintings brought back by Mānī from heaven as a prophetic miracle. See George Widengren, *Mānī and Manichaeism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965), p. 109.

<sup>18</sup> Bihzād: Kamāl al-Dīn Bihzād, the most famous of Persian miniature painters, active in Herat and Tabriz under the late Timurids and early Safavids. He was born sometime in the decade 1450-60 and is recorded as having died in 942/1536-37. See Richard Ettinghausen, "Bihzād," *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, I, pp. 1211-1214.

<sup>19</sup> *emīn*: presumably a reference to the *şehir emīni*, one of four high ranking officials with the title *emīn* attached to the outer service (*bīrūn*) of the imperial palace. The post was originally created in the mid-fifteenth century by Sultan Meḥmet II, and its holder was charged with building and maintaining the imperial palaces, the supervision of construction and repair of public buildings in the capital and the maintenance of waterworks and the water system of Istanbul. He was assisted by two subordinates, a *mi'mār başı*, or chief architect, and a *su nāzırı*, or water inspector. For details, see Uzunçarşılı, *Saray Teşkilatı*, pp. 375-378; also Shaw, *History*, I, pp. 117, 160; and Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, 2, pp. 84-85, 356-357.

That noble building came into being upon mighty foundations.  
 It is as Solomon [did with] the Temple in Jerusalem.  
 In its construction carpenters are as numerous as ants.  
 There was so much effort to hasten its construction,  
 With the zeal of the Shah stones showered like rain.  
 Its foundations rose without halt to ground level,  
 The foot of the wall wishing in haste to step on the ground.  
 Occurring with such great speed and effort,  
 Suddenly, with the help of the All-Compelling [God] it came to completion.  
 All mankind busied itself with pious prayer [for your well-being].  
 And the rebels went to hell because they did not pray.  
 Your entire country, cleansed with their blood, became pure.  
 Therefore, they gave you the name Bloody Sovereign in honor of this.  
 When, along with your majesty, they saw your success and faith and sword,  
 Bans<sup>20</sup> and kings and unbelievers prostrated themselves before you.  
 And if the heretic shah<sup>21</sup> accepts not the True Religion [Sunni Islam],  
 If he asks not forgiveness for his crime and mutiny,  
 Our hope is that with the help of God, severing his head  
 With the blow of a sword, the Commander [Sultan Aḥmed] causes him  
 to prostrate himself in worship.  
 [54r] Now with your sword you have made all the world Muslim,  
 And it is appropriate that numerous places of worship be built.  
 In describing you my mind has become bewildered.  
 Which of your favors shall we count and enumerate?  
 O Shah of Benevolence, your good works are so numerous!  
 Where are all of these thoughts and ideas grasped,  
 Worthy of eulogy [by one] with the abilities of the *humā*,<sup>22</sup> which cannot be had  
 By Ca‘fer, even if he were to fly over the world with wings?  
 May this praiseworthy charity of yours be accepted in the presence of God!  
 May your [Aḥmed’s] dynasty and empire also extend to the Day of Judgment!  
 In the near future may its [the mosque’s] completion be facilitated for you by God!  
 And may all the people of the world be obedient to your command!  
 May the crown of the state like the disk of the sun radiate on your head  
 So long as the sphere of heaven revolves!

This building is a high, noble structure, and from the time of Adam, the Pure—many God’s blessings and peace be upon him—until this moment, no other such high and solid building has been erected. The noble mosque and pleasant sanctuary are an excursion spot such that there is no other place of comparable vastness in the world. It has six minarets. And those six minarets have [a total of] fourteen balconies [*şürefe*]. And by chance, those fourteen balconies are identical in number to the [number of Ottoman] padishahs who

have reigned until the present time, including the felicitous padishah [Aḥmed Khan] and his glorious forefathers and noble ancestors. And because this building is such an enormous edifice, we have devoted to it a separate chapter. Because it is not possible to relate how vast a building this noble mosque is, how solidly its foundations and structure were made, [54v] we have not described these. In truth, one who wishes to understand these matters should first become greatly skilled and well versed in the science of geometry. After

<sup>20</sup> Ban: a title given by the Hapsburgs to the governors of certain military districts in Hungary and Croatia.

<sup>21</sup> heretic shah (*rāfi‘ī šāhi*): the Shi‘ite Safavid shah of Iran.

<sup>22</sup> *humā*: the bearded vulture (*Gypaetus barbatus*), largest bird of prey

of the Old World, considered a good omen and precursor of kingship; hence the epithet *humāyūn*. See Cl. Huart, H. Masse, “Humā,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, III, p. 572.

that, it is necessary to study and ponder it [the mosque] for many days and months and years and for much time in order to comprehend in what manner and in what ways its various designs and interlocking decorations were put together. And let those who want to become truly aware of the qualities of this noble mosque also read and reflect on my *kaşîde* of seventy couplets which I wrote and composed with the title *Bahâriyye*,<sup>23</sup> describing its figured designs and patterns, its noble structure and pleasing form! Let them see what sorts of wonderful forms and what variety of curious attributes with which that joy-giving place and mirth-increasing abode is endowed! And when God favored this book of deeds to come to this point, I thought, “Let me go see His Excellency the Āğa and observe what he is at present working on. Perhaps something concerning this noble mosque will come to light. And should something come to light, let me write it down in this book of deeds.” With this thought, when I arrived and paid a visit to him I saw that his small carpet was spread before the fountain of the mentioned noble new mosque. But he was not sitting on the carpet. He considered his carpet only a tool. From modesty and humility he sat on a dry spot beside it. In his right hand he held a rosary and in his left hand a measuring stick. Turning his rosary unceasingly with his right hand, with every bead he turned over, he would repeat, “I witness [55r] that there is no god but God and I witness that Muhammad is His Worshiper and Messenger. Praise be to God! And thanks be to God! And there is no god but God! And God is most great!”<sup>24</sup> Now and then, looking around, he would shout to negligent craftsmen, “Work!,” and would point with the measuring stick in his left hand. And this humble servant, observing his being thus occupied, said to himself, “Let him complete his noble devotions. Then let me go and have the honor of interviewing [him],” and was silent. And sitting in a deserted spot there, I observed that an esteemed person skilled in the science of music, examining the noble building, suddenly appeared opposite [me]. While examining some parts of the building, he came and sat by my side in order to rest. He also, observing His Excellency the Āğa’s careful attention, marveled at his being on the one hand so scrupulous with his devotions and on the other at his perseverance and his efforts with the crafts-

men. And in this connection, your humble servant [Ca‘fer Efendi] related that when His Excellency the Āğa was an *‘acemi oğlan*, he took a fancy to the science of music which he practiced on the *sâz*, that he later saw a dream, that upon seeing that dream he renounced music, and that with the blessing of a saintly shaiikh he took up the arts of architecture and the working of mother-of-pearl. The above-mentioned esteemed person, immediately raising his head, said, “Thanks be to God, whose name be exalted! What good fortune His Excellency the Āğa has today attained! Now he bears witness to the science of music with prayers and devotions. Do you not see how under the pickaxe the marble makes the noble sound *hüve*, which is the exalted name and third person pronoun for God—whose name be exalted, may His glory be praised and His power be universal? [55v] Like the sound made by sufis and dervishes when attaining a state of rapture and ecstasy with the *semâ‘*,<sup>25</sup> such sounds also come from the marble which is being dressed. And the Āğa is here like a shaiikh, for he both orders the craftsmen incessantly, saying, “Work!” and moreover, taking his rosary in his hand, is busy with devotions and prayers. This is a fortunate circumstance for His Majesty the felicitous Padishah, that he should have such a devout master architect, and that such a devout āğa should build his noble mosque accompanied by prayers and devotions. You related that previously the Āğa took a fancy to the science of music. Now we have seen the science of music in its entirety in the building of this noble mosque. When looking at this noble building I saw twelve types of marble. From each marble a different sound or type of melodic mode is produced. From the types of sounds of the twelve marbles I observed in the same manner twelve modes. And some of the craftsmen wield their picks very gently. Their pitch is like *Yegâh*. And some wield them harder than this. Their pitch is like *Dügâh*. And some wield them harder than this. Their pitch is like *Segâh*. And some wield their picks very forcefully. Their pitch is like *Çârgâh*.<sup>26</sup> And I have observed in this the four derivative modes [*su‘be*]. And when looking at the noble mosque I encountered seven foremen [*mu‘temed*]. And they would ceaselessly walk around the building and enjoin the craftsmen, saying, each in a different sort of voice, “Work you!” And I observed in

<sup>23</sup> See below, pp. 73-76.

<sup>24</sup> The *shahâda*, or Muslim profession of the faith.

<sup>25</sup> *semâ‘*: the music, recitations and whirling dances performed by

various Sufi orders to produce religious emotion and ecstasy.

<sup>26</sup> *Yegâh*, *Dügâh*, *Segâh*, *Çârgâh*: the pitches D, A, B and C, respectively; see Signell, *Makam*, pp. 177-184, and p. 27 above.

their voices the seven secondary modes [āvāze]. And these [56r] twelve types of marble must first be identified. Then they must be polished. [Inherent] in each of them there is a different sort of sound and tone. And I observed the twenty-four derivative modes [terkīb] in them. Do not all these elements which I have described pertain to the science of music?” Examining the above-mentioned matter in this manner, the aforementioned esteemed person then, saluting, started off and went. After he went, this humble servant remained there in order to meet with the Ağa. And at this time, the craftsmen kissed the wage they had earned that day, that is, taking their day’s earnings, they touched them to their heads, and all of them set off and went. Thus your humble servant remained alone with His Excellency the Ağa. When in a friendly manner we began to talk and speak and converse and exchange ideas, I saw that there was a certain uneasiness and dejection in his noble spirit. When I asked the reason for it, His Excellency the Ağa said, “O, Ca‘fer Efendi, why should our nature not be much downcast and weary? Observe how the heavy burden of a noble building like this bears down upon me! If it were only this, persisting with my devotions and prayers, distress would not be suffered. But in addition to this noble building, there are other buildings scattered in many places. It is necessary to pay attention to each one. They cannot be neglected. Now this is the reason for the uneasiness and dejection which you have observed in our spirit. [For] I am also anxious about those other scattered buildings,” he answered. And in fact, this humble servant, considering and counting [56v] the scattered buildings with which he was busy and preoccupied, felt pity [for the Ağa]. In the course of this friendly conversation, seeing a holy book in my hand, he took it, kissed [it, and] read his fortune. Returning it, he said, “Interpret for me the noble meaning of my fortune chanced upon in that holy book.” And your humble servant, looking at the passage, saw that his fortune was a blessed Tradition. And this is that blessed Tradition. *Yuḡtā bi-rajulin yawm al-ḵiyāmati ‘ind al-mīzāni fa-yukhrajū lahu tis‘un wa tis‘ūna sijillan kullu sijillan maadd al-baṣari fihā khaṭāyāhu wa dhunūbuhu fa-yūḡa‘u fī kaffati al-mīzāni thumma yukhrajū ḵirtāsun mithlu al-anmulati fī-hā shahādatu an lā ilāha ill-*

*Allāhu wa anna Muḡammadan ‘abduhu wa Rasūluhū fa-yūḡa‘u fī kaffatin ukhrā fa-yarjahu ‘alā khaṭāyāhu.*<sup>27</sup> The Messenger of God was the speaker of truth and the Beloved of God was the speaker of truth. God—whose name be exalted—knows best and His messenger confirms, this is its blessed meaning. “On the Day of Judgment, a man, that is a person, will be brought before the scale. Then, the ninety-nine registers of sins, extending as far as the eye can see, will be brought out. In those registers that person’s sins have been written. Then these registers will be put on the scale of justice. After that, a paper as small as a finger tip will be brought out. On it has been written, ‘I witness that there is no god but God and I witness that Muhammad is His Worshiper and Messenger.’ And this paper on which are found the blessed words of the *shahāda* will be put on one side of the scale. Now this blessed paper as small as a finger tip with the words of the *shahāda* on it, will prevail over all the registers of sins and will be heavier than them.” When the beautiful meaning of this blessed Tradition [57r] was related in this manner to His Excellency the Ağa, because the fortune conformed to his desire, because it was agreeable to his circumstances, he was so pleased and delighted that one cannot describe it. Then, clasping in pleasure the hand of this humble servant, he took him and went to his private room in the noble building. When we arrived and went inside, he made a gift to this humble servant of all the money in his pocket and his small desk. And that evening he also sent a ram to me to roast in my humble house. Honoring and favoring him with so many spoils, he sent off your humble servant. In short, in the above-mentioned way I became the object of his benevolence, and arriving at my house I began to complete the *Risāle*. And because the above-mentioned esteemed person said in the manner explained, “I observed twelve types of marble in the noble mosque’s structure,” it became necessary that I also study the marbles. I will describe the types of marble and the color of each type and will set this down in writing in my treatise. Now we have come to the detailed description of the marbles. That which is called marble [*mermer*] is a middle-quality type of stone, and they call stone of the best quality, that is the finest and rarest, jewels [*cevher*],

<sup>27</sup> Literally, “A man will be brought on the Day of Judgment before the scale and the ninety-nine registers will be brought before him. In each register his sins and transgressions will be inscribed for as far as the eye can see. And then they [the registers] will be placed

on one of the sides of the scale. Then a paper as small as a finger tip with the *shahāda*—“There is no god but God and Muhammad is His Worshiper and Messenger”—on it will be put on the other side of the scale. This piece of paper will be heavier than the sins.”

and stone of the most ordinary quality, that is of base quality, common stone [*kara-taş*, *kara-ħacer*]. And the well-known jewels are of twelve types. And the well-known marbles are of twelve types. And the well-known common stones are also of twelve types. And there are also many subdivisions of each of these. They [the subtypes] are rare. What is the use of describing those rare things? It would be too prolonged. [57v] And the reason for these three extant types of stones which we have described, whether pure jewels or plain and jewel-like marble or common stone, being of twelve types, is this, that their essences are different one from another. Some are hard and some are soft. And some of them are regarded by mankind as precious and are prized and highly esteemed. And some of them, not being of value, are worthless. And as their essences are different one from another, so too their colors are varied and different one from another. And their essences aside, most of these are admired for their color. Now since one of their admired qualities is their color, it is necessary, first of all, to describe the colors. This being the case, all colors will be investigated. Only seven well-known colors exist, and they have names designating them in Arabic and Persian and Turkish. This is the detailed account of them in the said three languages. *Lawn* and *alwān* are Arabic [for color]. In Persian they say *rang*, in Turkish *řon*. *Bayād*, *abyađ*, *bayđā*<sup>28</sup> and *bīđ* are Arabic [for white].<sup>28</sup> In Persian they say *safīd* and *sapīd*, and in Turkish *ađ*. *Aswad*, *sawđā*<sup>2</sup> and *sūd* are Arabic [for black]. In Persian they say *siyāh* and *siyah*, in Turkish *řara*. *Azrađ* and *zarka*<sup>2</sup> and *zurđ* and *akhab* and *kahbā*<sup>2</sup> are Arabic [for blue]. In Persian they say *kabūd* and *āsmānī*, in Turkish *gök* and *mā*<sup>2</sup>. And the mentioned *mā*<sup>2</sup> is a corruption of *āsmānī*. *Ađđar*, *ħađrā* and *ħađr* are Arabic [for green]. In Persian they say *sabz*, in Turkish *yeřil*. *Ađmar*, *ħamrā*<sup>2</sup> and *ħumr* are Arabic [for red]. In Persian they say *surh* and *sūrī*, in Turkish *kızıl* and *kırmızı*. *Ařfar*, *řařrā*<sup>2</sup> and *řufr* are Arabic [for yellow]. In Persian they say *zard*, in Turkish *řaru*. [58r] *Ablađ*, *bulkā*<sup>2</sup> and *bulđ* are Arabic [for variegated]. In Persian they say *rang-āmīz*, in Turkish *alaca*. Following this description, the total number of colors is, in truth, seven. There is a name for each of these in Arabic, and Persian, and Turkish. There are no [special] names for colors other than those in these three languages, for they [the other colors] are but

taken from these colors. Purple [*mor*] is compounded from blue and red. The color purple is similar to the color of the violet [*benefře*]. In the Arabic language they say *banafřhaj*. And *neřtī* [dark greenish-brown] is compounded from dark blue and green. And as to other colors, because they are similar to the light and dark colors of flowers, they are compared to whichever flower they are like. For example, within the color red there are several [shades of] red. They call that red which resembles the judas tree [*erđuwān*] *erđuwānī*. And they call that red which resembles the color of the rose [*gūl*] *gūlgūnī*. And the others are [designated] in accordance with this. When a color resembles something, that color is compared to that thing. Similarly, there are several varieties of green within the color green. They call some light green [*ađđk yeřil*], some dark green [*çemenī*, from *çemen*, meadow] and so on and so forth. In the opinion of persons learned in semantics and rhetoric, white and black are opposite one another, just as cold is the opposite of hot. Although blue and green, and red and yellow, are logically opposite one another, this is an illusion. They are not [really] opposites. Because of the illusion, they seem to resemble [true opposites]. That is they [and true opposites] are similar to one another. And there are other aspects and considerations as regards the above-mentioned colors. If [a term for] an exaggeration of the intensity of color is wanted, other words may be added to them [the names of the colors]. Thus, for example, if [a term for] an intense white [58v] is sought, they say *abyađu yakikun*, and *yaka*<sup>2</sup>*un* and *nāřī*<sup>2</sup>*un* in Arabic, *saht-sapīd* in Persian, *ađ-řađ* in Turkish. And if one wants to say something is very black, he says *aswadu ĥirbūun* and *yađmūmun*, and *ħālikun* in the Arabic language, *sakht-siyāh* in Persian, *řap-řara* in Turkish. And if one wishes to say very yellow, he says *ařfaru řađī*<sup>2</sup>*un* in the Arabic language, *sakht-zard* in Persian, *řap-sarı* in Turkish. And if one wishes to say very red, he says *ađmaru řanı*<sup>2</sup>*un* in Arabic, *sakht-surkh* in Persian, *kıp-kızıl* in Turkish. And if one wishes to say very green, he says *akħđaru nāđirun* in Arabic, *sakht-sabz* in Persian, *yem-yeřil* in Turkish. And if one wishes to say very blue, he says *akħabu lāmi*<sup>2</sup>*un* in Arabic, *sakht-kabūd* in Persian, *göm-gök* in Turkish. Now we have come to the description of the twelve types of jewels. There are two types of jewels white in color. The first is diamond [*sāmūr*]. And *sāmūr* and *almās* and

<sup>28</sup> Ca'fer Efendi gives a variety of forms for each of the Arabic terms. Thus, for *lawn* (color), he gives both the singular and the plural forms. For *bayād* (white) he gives the singular, the masculine

learned singular, the feminine learned singular, the learned plural, and so on.

*mās* are [all] words [for diamond]. And all of them are Arabic. And in Persian and Turkish they say *elmās*. The second is *billawr*, with a *kesre* under the *bā* [ب] and a *fetha* over the *lām* [ل]. It is Arabic. In Persian and Turkish they say *billūr*, with a *kesre* under the *bā* [ب], and a *zamme* over the *lām* [ل]. There are no black jewels because God—whose name be exalted—created jewels to adorn mankind. As for black, it does not adorn unless that black is, in point of fact, part of the noble body of the adorned person, as with black hair, and black eyes, and a black complexion. And there are two types of jewels blue in color. The first is turquoise [*fīrūza*]. In Persian and Turkish they say *pīrūze*. And the Arabic [*fīrūza*] is arabicized from *pīrūze*. The second is sapphire [*yāķūt-i azrak*]. In Persian they say *yāķūt-i kabūd*, in Turkish [59r] *gök-yāķūt*. And there are also two types of jewels green in color. The first is emerald, *zumurrud* in Arabic. In Persian and Turkish they also say *zümürūd*. The second is beryl. In Arabic and Persian and Turkish they say *zerberced*. And there are also

four types of jewels red in color. The first is garnet. In Arabic and Persian and Turkish they say *la<sup>l</sup>*. The second is ruby [*yāķūt-i aħmar*]. In Persian they say *yāķūt-i surkh*, in Turkish *kızıl yāķūt*. The third is carnelian. The fourth is coral. And in Arabic and Persian and Turkish they say *aķiķ* and *mercān*. And there are two types of jewels yellow in color. The first is topaz [*yāķūt-i asfar*]. In Persian they say *yāķūt-i zard*, in Turkish *şarı yāķūt*. The second is amber. *Kahrubā* is Persian. They say *ķahrubān* in the Arab language. *ķahrubān* is arabicized from Persian. In Turkish they say *ķehrübār*, which is corrupted from *kahrubā* and *ķahrubān*. This *kahrubā* in Persian is compounded from the word *kāh* and the word *rubā*. *Kāh* means straw, and *rubā* means doorkeeper. When they are compounded, they have the meaning, “straw doorkeeper.” And it is proper to prolong [the phonetic value of] the *kah* [ك] and not to prolong [the phonetic value of] the *kah* [ك], like *māh* and *mah*. They say *kāh-rubā* and *kah-rubā*, and *māh-i naw* and *mah-i naw*.

Verse<sup>29</sup>

Ruby, sapphire and topaz,  
Turquoise, diamond, rock crystal [*billūr*] with doubled consonant.  
The seventh is carnelian, and then amber,  
Garnet and emerald, coral, beryl.

These are the basic kinds [of jewels]. Others are derivative of these. Now, for example, that which they call carbuncle [*seylān*] is purple in color. Concerning purple, as was noted above, it is compounded of blue and red. And there are certain materials, the colors of which resemble the colors of particular stones. The colors of such materials are compared to similar stones. They say diamond white [*elmāsi*], and emerald green [*zümürūdīn*], and carnelian red [*‘aķiķi*]. And in circumstances where they say bright yellow [*sap-sarı*], [59v] they could say *ķehrūba*. And lapis lazuli [*lājiverd*] is the name of a blue stone. Thus, they call some blue things *lājiverdī*. *Lājiverd* and *lāziverd* and *lāciverd* are [all proper] terms. And in Arabic they say *lāziwardiyyun*. Reaching this point, the twelve types of jewels having been done with, it is necessary that we describe in detail the twelve types of marble. Some of the twelve types of jewels which we described are found in the East, some

in the West, and they are brought to this country [from those regions]. But there are marble quarries in Istanbul as well as its nearby environs in the lands of the Ottoman dynasty—may God, whose name be exalted, cause it to prosper until the Day of Resurrection and Judgment. If the quarried marbles are compared with the jewels which were described, perhaps they would be found more precious than jewels, and among the people they would be of greater value than jewels. Royal marble [*mermer-i mālīkī*] and Marmara Island marble [*cezīre-i Marmara mermeri*] are [white] like diamond. The marble called jade [*yeşem*] is [green] like beryl. And the blue veins seen here and there in Zile marble are like turquoise. And the marble called porphyry [*somāķi*] is [red] like ruby and carnelian. And the others are as the above. Each one resembles a jewel.

The description of white marbles: There are two types of marble pure white in color. The first is royal

<sup>29</sup> Marginal note gives meter of the verse, *müstef‘ilātūn müstef‘ilātūn*.

Here Ca‘fer has composed a verse out of the names of the twelve jewels discussed above.

marble [*mālikī mermeri*]. The second is Marmara marble [*Marmara mermeri*].<sup>30</sup> They also call it Kapu Dağı marble.

The description of black marbles: There are also two types of marble black in color. The first is Damascus marble [*Şām mermeri*]. And they also call this *mermer-i Şām*. The second is Üsküdar marble [*Üsküdar mermeri*]. They also call this *mermer-i Üsküdar*.<sup>31</sup>

The description of green marbles. And there are two types of marble green in color. The first is Dahnā marble [*Dahnā mermeri*].<sup>32</sup> The second [60r] is jade [*Yeşem mermeri*]. And there are two types of marble red in color. The first is porphyry [*somākī mermeri*]. The second is sparrow's eye marble [*serçe-gözi mermeri*],<sup>33</sup> that is to say, it has the color of that sparrow's eye which is pure red like porphyry. And there are four types of marble variegated in color. The first is Zile or Amasya marble [*Zile ve Amāsiyye mermeri*].<sup>34</sup> It has blue veins in white. The second is privet marble [*kurd-bağrı mermeri*]. It has red veins in red. The third is variegated sparrow's eye marble [*alaca serçe-gözi mermeri*]. The fourth is Gegibüze and Miḥāliç and Cebel-i Tekfür marble [*Gegibüze ve Miḥāliç ve Cebel-i Tekfür mermeri*].<sup>35</sup> These are stained with various colors. And the twelve types of marble are completed. In addition to these there are also many odd marbles [*hurdevāt mermer*]. Because they rarely occur, they have not been described. Our aim is to describe the well-known marbles being used in buildings. *Marwa* and *rukhām* are Arabic [for marble]. In Persian they say *marmar* and *sang-i sapīd*, and in Turkish they also say *mermer*. And *marw* is the plural of *marwa*. God—whose name be exalted—and His Prophet know the [word] *mermer*, which they say in Turkish and Persian is a corruption of the Arabic *marwa* or its plural *marw*. And between them there is this much difference: *marwa* in Arabic is used only for white stone. But in Turkish the

name *mermer* is used for [this] stone in general, whatever color it may be. And *yashm* and *yashb* and *yaşb* and *yaşak*, the four of them, are Arabic [for jade]. They have one meaning. In Persian they say *sang-i sabz* and *sang-i yashm*, in Turkish *yeşil mermer* and *yeşem mermeri*. In Arabic and Persian and Turkish they say *somākī* for the well-known pure red marble [porphyry]. And these are what are called the twelve types of common stones [*kara hacet*]: *şahra* [rock], *şald* [hard stone], *celmüd* [large rock], *kaddāha* [? flint], *şafvān* [slate], *neşefe* [pumice], *şafiha* [flag stone], *kaḥkhara* [? flint], *cendele* [small stone, boulder], *haşbā*<sup>3</sup> [gravel], *haşrem* [limestone], *şafā* [slate, schist]. And details having to do with these will be given—God, whose name be exalted, willing—in the twelfth chapter.<sup>36</sup> [60v] When the cold days of winter of this year one thousand twenty-three of the Hegira of the Prophet—the best of good wishes be upon him—passed, when with joy and prosperity the spring arrived, when in the springtime it became possible to enjoy the flowers of the garden and meadow, numberless grassy plots and water margins and thousands upon thousands of great gardens were examined. But not one of the places examined was found to accord with [our] wish and desire. Some of them lacked good water and air, and some of them lacked a view of the seashore. And because wherever the eye ranged there was the utmost lack of satisfaction and difficulty in taking joy from [what was] examined, the bud of pleasure did not open in any place or space. When walking and wandering about the world like a traveler, in astonishment our path unexpectedly led to the beautiful place of worship and the noble mosque of His Majesty, the shadow of God, the felicitous Padishah, refuge of the universe, which is now, with the help of God—the Master whose aid is implored—near perfection and completion.

<sup>30</sup> *Mermere mermeri* (Marmara marble): marble from Marmara Island in the southern part of the Sea of Marmara. This is the famous Proconnesus marble of antiquity. See Nuşin Asgarı, "Roman and Early Byzantine Marble Quarries of Proconnesus," *The Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Ankara-Izmir, 23-30/IX/1973*, ed. Ekrem Akurgal (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1978), pp. 467-480. Kapu Dağı is the name of the peninsula extending north from the Anatolian mainland to the southeast of Marmara Island.

<sup>31</sup> *Üsküdar mermeri*: marble from Üsküdar on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus.

<sup>32</sup> *Dahnā mermeri*: presumably a marble from al-Dahnā in eastern Najd.

<sup>33</sup> *serçe-gözi mermeri*: possibly speckled, pink Aswan granite; see Ömer Lüfti Barkan, *Süleymaniye Camii ve İmaret-i İnşaatı*, I (Ankara:

Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972), p. 336, for a *hüküm* dated to the end of Şa'bān 957/September 1550 ordering the dispatch of columns of *kızıl serçe-gözü* from Alexandria in Egypt; also J. Michael Rogers, "The State of the Arts in Ottoman Turkey, Part I. The Stones of Süleymaniye," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, XIV, 1982, p. 75.

<sup>34</sup> *Zile ve Amāsiyye mermeri*: presumably marble from Zile and Amasya in Central Anatolia.

<sup>35</sup> *Gegibüze ve Miḥāliç ve Cebel-i Tekfür mermeri*: marble from the modern Gebze on the Gulf of İzmit, from Karacabey near Lake Apolyont to the west of Bursa, and from Tekirdağ (Tekfür Dağı) on the Sea of Marmara. Regarding the Miḥāliç quarries, see Barkan, *Süleymaniye*, I, pp. 353-354.

<sup>36</sup> See below, pp. 92-93.

When entering within and looking here and there in order to see the noble building, because pleasures such as could not be beheld even in parks and rose gardens were all obtained in that noble place and beautiful

abode, with that joy and delight, this *Bahāriyye Kaṣīde* which is given [below], was recited and composed and written and inscribed.<sup>37</sup>

The prayer house of the rose garden became filled with ascetic worshipers.  
 The flowers attained the rank of master of seekers.  
 The open rose set foot on the rung of revelation.  
 [Muhammad] the revealer of mysteries guided the world.  
 The disciple rosebud attained a state of ecstasy.  
 It was as though speaking in [this] state, he asked for God's forgiveness.  
 Dew drops rained down upon the world like gems.  
 The spring leaves became like a thousand crystal rosaries.  
 It was as though the breeze caused the cypress to bend in prayer.  
 All the while the streams intoned hymns in beautiful voices.  
 Each of the bright roses wore a turban on its head.  
 White turbans encircled the garden of the world.  
 Everywhere the nightingale sounded the call to prayer.  
 The congregation of trees turned toward the kibra in rows.  
 Bowing and prostration again filled the garden of the world.  
 The gentle zephyr caused the sapling to perform its prayers.  
 The expanse of the rose garden became a place of worship.  
 The thousands of birds, in rapture and ecstasy, joined in the *tevḥīd*.  
 Pleasing hymns rendered hearts joyful.  
 A desire to glorify God totally seized the world.  
 So all the world became impassioned for worship.  
 And so with great ardor it came to prayer.  
 It had not been known what its inner meaning and secrets were,  
 The mind had conceived so many thoughts!  
 All the while it was the noble mosque of the shah of kindness [Sultan Aḥmed Khan],  
 Giving pleasure to the soul and speech to the tongue of the nightingale.  
 Since there was not another blessed place resembling it,  
 And this golden dome is also without equal,  
 The world set out on a pilgrimage to it as they do to the Ka'ba.  
 The pilgrims strove to circumambulate it.  
 It is like the garden of heaven to the community of worshipers.  
 Its every joy-filled corner gives pleasure to the heart.  
 The sacred excursion spot is a charming rose garden.  
 Oh God, the flowers in the marble are the image of the beloved!  
 Within are the flames of the lamps not tulips?  
 Is not the lamp a bush of Iram,<sup>38</sup> are not the lights the leaf of the jasmine?  
 The spouted fountain is a caged nightingale,  
 For, like the nightingale, it continually produces a pleasing sound.  
 Its columns in their stature are the cypress or the fir.  
 The throne of the high *mahfil* is the spreading branch of the plane tree.  
 Each of its columns is a tall palm trunk.

<sup>37</sup> Marginal note gives meter of the verse, *mefā'ilūn fe'ilātūn mefā'ilūn fe'lāt [fe'ilāt]*.

<sup>38</sup> Iram: a mythical garden said to have been devised by Shaddād

ibn 'Ād in imitation of the Garden of Paradise. See W. Montgomery Watt, "Iram," *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, III, p. 1270.

And the appearance of its clusters of lamps is like fruits.  
 How can I not call this place of worship the rose garden of paradise?  
 When seeing its form, the forlorn heart blossomed open like a rose.  
 [61r] O God, what a charming excursion spot is this pure place!  
 Surrounding it is the promenade of the face of the sea.<sup>39</sup>  
 Its marble surface is like a polished mirror.  
 When one looks into it, his countenance is reflected.  
 How elegantly the geometers have drawn its shape!  
 What a beautiful location the architect has placed it in!  
 What intricate art! What fine decorations!  
 What unique bejeweled marbles!  
 There is no defect in the symbolism of the building,  
 When one assays it on the scale of reason.  
 The minarets are to it [like] an original *müseddes*,<sup>40</sup>  
 Which proclaims its [the mosque's] praises with six lines of poetry.  
 And the meaning of the lines of the couplets is that the mansion of heaven  
 Became fixed upon those six lofty columns.  
 Each of those minarets is by itself a pivot to the wheel of fortune,  
 An axis to the noble place, to the blessed center.  
 Indeed, each of these shafts became a tree,  
 Which made manifest the line of the shah of the world.  
 The balconies of the minarets are equal in number to the generations of the Ottoman dynasty,  
 Which all resemble the litanies of the righteous.  
 The fourteen sultans became the shahs of the world.  
 And this is the reason for the balconies being ten and four.  
 The entire artifice is naught but a symbol.  
 In it are many of these unique sorts of creations.  
 That holy place proclaims all of the sultans.  
 Is it any wonder that it is the commander of the army of mosques?  
 The feet of its structure struck talons into the earth.  
 One who sees its firm heights thinks of it as a high mountain.  
 Within, every stone is locked with steel.  
 The walls are [as] a single piece of Damascus steel.  
 Although many mosques have been built of stone and brick,  
 No building so pleasantly wrought has [ever before] been raised.  
 Whoever comes seeking a fault in that building,  
 May thousands of nails pierce his eye at that moment!  
 That golden finial [of the dome] rises to the heavens like the moon.  
 Let it give light to the world in all directions like the sun!  
 That great dome is the eye of fortune in the world.  
 The bits of blue [the tiles] on its sides are eyes to it.  
 O that great dome became a mountain on the sea coast.  
 The small domes are the foam on the ocean of pleasure.  
 No one [else] could build a mosque like this,  
 For there is no other dignified ruler of the people like this,  
 The victorious shah and sovereign sultan, Ahmed Khan!

<sup>39</sup> The Sultan Ahmed Mosque overlooks the Sea of Marmara.

<sup>40</sup> *müseddes*: a poem in six-line stanzas. The metaphor is made here

with the minarets of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque because they, like the lines of a *müseddes*, are six in number.

What works he created in that most exalted Ka'ba!  
 What acts of charity are that golden gutter and those silver braces!  
 Until this time has another padishah built their equal?  
 When the most exalted Ka'ba is clothed with the elegant kiswa,  
 The waist of its wall finds luster with a silver belt.  
 When that Blessed House belted itself up to serve [the world],  
 It became the servant of the Lord God.  
 [61v] Indeed, for the stone to gird itself at the waist was orthodox custom.  
 Just as Aḥmed Muḥtār [Muhammad] girded himself with discipline,  
 Disciplining its waist, the Ka'ba was enclosed in a golden belt.  
 And some who see it [the brace] think it to be a *zūnnār*<sup>41</sup>  
 From the roof top of the pure sanctuary, that Golden Gutter  
 Carried down the rain like the clouds of the heavens.  
 Let them [mankind] drink Zamzam<sup>42</sup> water from that Golden Gutter,  
 Since so many thousands of dinars flowed [into it] for the sake of God.  
 Since the silver brace and Golden Gutter came to the Ka'ba,  
 The stones were fixed in place and the rain water flowed.  
 That shah's efforts are always toward the good and the pious.  
 Is there count or number to his pious deeds like these?  
 Like them, the interior of that mosque is a rose garden.  
 The blossoms are thousands upon thousands of turban flowers.  
 Now those who see this pure verse [the mosque] would think it to be a garden plot.  
 Purple violets became letters and the lily a scroll.  
 This is not a garden plot but the Suspended Seven Odes.<sup>43</sup>  
 The kingly pearls take the form of a necklace to the world.  
 The spaces between these white letters are like jasmine petals which  
 The breeze scattered forth from that rose-garden mosque.  
 None [but the Aga] can give such splendor to the flowers of the rose garden.  
 He who seized the pen drew the border as though a compass were in hand.  
 Let none write a single letter in addition to this description!  
 Such rubbish would simply become a fetter to the rose garden.  
 The pure building has become so intoxicating,  
 Are poems capable of such perfect description?  
 This much commentary on the topic of springtime is enough for Ca'fer.  
 Thus, let not the King of the World consider his words excessive.  
 And let us pray for that distinguished padishah [Aḥmed Khan]!  
 Let young and old, with purity of heart, say amen!  
 O God, bless him with long life like the Prophet Ḥīzīr!<sup>44</sup>  
 Make the all-knowing saint the companion of that Sultan!  
 Overwhelm his enemies with torment and subjugation!  
 O Irresistible One, give not importance to his enemies!  
 Let the Shah of the Heretics<sup>45</sup> be perpetually powerless before him!

<sup>41</sup> *zūnnār*: a rope belt worn by some Christians and pagans as a religious emblem.

<sup>42</sup> Zamzam: the well in the Great Mosque of Mecca; see p. 60, note 72, above.

<sup>43</sup> Suspended Seven Odes (*sab'a-i mu'allaka*): a group of seven long pre-Islamic Arabic poems, also known as the "Suspended Poems," said by legend to have been chosen by judges at the fair of 'Ukáz for their distinction, transcribed in letters of gold upon Egyptian linen and hung from the door of the Ka'ba. For a discussion, see Reynold

A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1956), pp. 100-121.

<sup>44</sup> Prophet Ḥīzīr (Ḥīzr-i Nebī): a Turkish popular saint whose festival is celebrated on May 5-6, and whose coming symbolizes the renewal of vegetation in the spring. He and his counterpart Ilyās are held to be immortal, having drunk from the "Water of Life." See P. N. Boratov, "Ḥīzīr-Ilyās," *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, V, p. 5.

<sup>45</sup> Shah of the Heretics; see p. 67, note 21, above.

Let the infidels groan under the blows of his [Aḥmed Khan’s] sword!  
 Let him be triumphant and victorious, and a vanquisher and a taker of spoils!  
 O the Helper and the All-Compelling, be to him a support!  
 Cause all his goals and wishes to be fulfilled!  
 Make that Sultan prosperous in the two worlds!  
 As long as this world exists let him be blessed in it.  
 These are our prayers day and night.  
 May his heart blossom like an open bud,  
 So long as the sun traverses the garden of this world.  
 As spring laughs with fresh and dewy roses,  
 So may the whole world become, from end to end, a rose garden.

## [62r] SEVENTH CHAPTER

It describes how many *barmaḳ* [finger, inch] the *bennā’*<sup>1</sup> *zīrā’*<sup>c</sup> [architect’s cubit] and the ‘*āmmē zīrā’*<sup>c</sup> [common cubit] each are, and the length at which the *barmaḳ* is fixed, and the cause of the *bennā’ zīrā’*<sup>c</sup> being fixed at twenty-four *barmaḳ*, and the reason for the ‘*āmmē zīrā’*<sup>c</sup> being fixed at one hundred *barmaḳ*, that is, at thirty-two *gīriḥ*. *Dhīrā’*<sup>c1</sup> [cubit] is Arabic. In Persian they say *andāza*<sup>2</sup> and *gaz*,<sup>3</sup> in Turkish *arşun*.<sup>4</sup> *Isba’*<sup>c5</sup> [finger width] is Arabic. In Persian they say *angusht*,<sup>6</sup> in Turkish *barmaḳ*.<sup>7</sup> *Ibhām* [thumb] is Arabic. In Persian they say *angusht-i buzurg*, in Turkish *büyük barmaḳ*. *Anmala* [fingertip] is Arabic. In Persian they say *sar-i angusht*, in Turkish *barmaḳ ucu*. *Burjuma* [knuckle, finger joint] is Arabic. In Persian they say *band-i angusht*, in Turkish *boğun*. Now we have come to the description of the *arşun* [ell, yard, *zīrā’*<sup>c</sup>]. There are two types of *arşun*. One type is the *bennā’ arşun*<sup>8</sup> [architect’s cubit, *bennā’ zīrā’*<sup>c</sup>]. The second is the ‘*āmmē arşun*<sup>9</sup> [common cubit, ‘*āmmē zīrā’*<sup>c</sup>], that is the *zīrā’*<sup>c</sup> of the common people, as distinct from [that of] the architect. The *bennā’ zīrā’*<sup>c</sup> is twenty-four *boğun* [joint, inch]. They call it *burjumatu anmalati al-ibhām* in Arabic, *band-i sar-i angusht-i buzurg* in Per-

sian, *büyük barmağın baş boğunu* [the main joint of the thumb] in Turkish. And each *boğun* is two and a half *barmaḳ*. If you place this *barmaḳ*, by which we mean the index finger, on a thing, whatever the width of the finger at the point where the nail is, they call that amount a *barmaḳ* in the science of arithmetic. And each *barmaḳ* is ten *iplik* [thread] when ten *iplik* are spread out side by side and each of those *iplik* is equivalent to a thread spun from one hundred spider webs. With this reckoning of a *barmaḳ*, the *bennā’ zīrā’*<sup>c</sup> is exactly sixty *barmaḳ*. But with respect to the *boğun*, it is twenty-four *boğun*. And each *boğun* is two and a half *barmaḳ*. But architects do not employ the *boğun*. They use [only] the *barmaḳ*. [62v] It is a sort of metaphor. They [architects] mention the whole, and they mean part of the whole. Because *barmaḳ* is the whole, *boğun* is part of it. As each *boğun* consists of two and a half *barmaḳ*, twenty *boğun* make fifty *barmaḳ*. And the remaining four *boğun* make ten *barmaḳ*. The total comes to sixty *barmaḳ*. And the reason this *zīrā’*<sup>c</sup> is of two types is that the ‘*āmmē zīrā’*<sup>c</sup> [common cubit] derives from commercial calculations. And this ‘*āmmē zīrā’*<sup>c</sup> is one hundred *barmaḳ*. And each *barmaḳ* is ten *iplik*. And each *iplik* is equal to one hundred spun spider webs. And they divided this *zīrā’*<sup>c</sup> of a hundred *barmaḳ* into thirty-two parts. And they called each of these parts a *gīriḥ* [knot].<sup>10</sup> *Gīriḥ* is Persian, with

<sup>1</sup> *dhīrā’* (Turk. *zīrā’*<sup>c</sup>): cubit, ell; the general term for any one of a number of units of linear measurement. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 55 (*dhīrā’*<sup>c</sup>), who gives the so-called ‘Abbasid black *dhīrā’*<sup>c</sup> as 54.04 cm.

<sup>2</sup> *andāza*: cubit, ell; unit of linear measurement in Iran.

<sup>3</sup> *gaz*: cubit, ell; general term for a number of units of linear measurement in Iran. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 62 (*gāz*).

<sup>4</sup> *arşun*: cubit, ell; general term in Turkish for a number of units of linear measurement.

<sup>5</sup> *işba’*<sup>c</sup>: finger width; a measure of length which varies in relation to the size of the *zīrā’*<sup>c</sup> in question. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 54 (*aşba’*).

<sup>6</sup> *angusht*: finger width; a measure of length of varying size used in Iran. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 54 (*angost*).

<sup>7</sup> *barmaḳ*: finger width; a measure of length of varying size used in the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>8</sup> *bennā’ arşun* (*bennā’ zīrā’*<sup>c</sup>): architect’s cubit, the same as the Arabic *al-dhīrā’ al-mi‘māriyya*. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 59.

<sup>9</sup> ‘*āmmē arşun* (‘*āmmē zīrā’*<sup>c</sup>): common or vulgar cubit, the same as the Arabic *al-dhīrā’ al-‘amma*. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 55.

<sup>10</sup> *gīriḥ*: literally “knot”; a Persian unit of linear measurement. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 62 (*gereḥ*).

a Persian *kāf* and a *kesre* under the *rā*. [۰۶۷]. In Arabic they say *ʿuḳḳā*, in Turkish *düğüm*. But they [also] use the term *giriḥ*. And it appears that originally there was no *giriḥ* mark in the *zīrāʿ* as there is now. Perhaps a secure knot was tied in a cord at the point of every *giriḥ*. Thus, they made the *giriḥ* mark. And, therefore, as a result, they still refer to the mark at the point of the *giriḥ* as a knot. And each *giriḥ* is precisely three and one eighth *barmaḳ*. And [concerning] those thirty-two *giriḥ* [of the *ʿamme zīrāʿi*], just as previously each of the four *aḳçe*<sup>11</sup> which were coined from the *dirhem*<sup>12</sup> was equal to thirty-two *manḳır*<sup>13</sup> so they had fixed the *giriḥ* in accord with those thirty-two *manḳır*. But now, because the *aḳçe* is reckoned in a different manner, the science of arithmetic and the calculation of the *zīrāʿ* are obsolete and void and completely in disarray. For many thousands of years, until the years nine hundred ninety-four and five [1585-87],<sup>14</sup> that [earlier] reckoning of the *zīrāʿ* was valid. But from that date until the beginning of this year, one thousand twenty-three [1614], [that is] for exactly twenty-seven years, [63r] it has been abandoned. And now the *ʿamme zīrāʿi* used by the common people is not that complete *zīrāʿ*. It is half the complete *zīrāʿ*, that is, sixteen *giriḥ*. And the complete *zīrāʿ* is still the *zīrāʿ* called the *bez arṣunı*<sup>15</sup> [cloth cubit] among the common people. It is exactly thirty-two *giriḥ*. And the *bennāʾ zīrāʿi* is fixed in accordance with canon law because those matters of canon law which require surveying [*mesāḥa*] [in which the *bennāʾ zīrāʿi* is used] include the science of the division of estates [*ʿilm-i ferāyiz*].<sup>16</sup> To survey means to measure a place in cubits or simply to know its size. And matters relating to the science of the division of estates are for the most part governed either by sixths or twelfths or twenty-fourths. If the basic principle [used in the division of an estate is] sixths, one fourth of the *bennāʾ zīrāʿi*—that is, six *barmaḳ* [sic, *boğun*]<sup>17</sup>—is used [as the unit for surveying]. If the basic principle is twelfths, one-half of the *bennāʾ zīrāʿi*—that is, twelve *barmaḳ* [sic, *boğun*]<sup>18</sup>—is used. And if the basic principle is twenty-fourths, exactly one *zīrāʿ*

using the *bennāʾ zīrāʿi*—that is, twenty-four *barmaḳ* [sic, *boğun*]<sup>19</sup>—is used. Thus, this *bennāʾ zīrāʿi* is defined with an eye to the division among heirs of real estate [*mülk*] and of landed properties [*yir*] and of rental property [*ʿakār*] in accordance with the science of the division of estates. For that reason, this *bennāʾ zīrāʿi* does not match the *zīrāʿ* of the common people but is of another sort. If a sixth is subtracted from a *bennāʾ zīrāʿi*, that is, one sixth is subtracted, it is necessary to subtract four units [*sehm*]. If a quarter, that is one-fourth is subtracted, six [units] must be. If a half, that is one-half, is subtracted, twelve [units] out of twenty-four must be. When a third, that is one-third, is subtracted, eight [units] must be. And when two-thirds are subtracted, sixteen [units] must be. When an eighth, that is one-eighth, is subtracted, three [units] must be. And if three-quarters are subtracted—that is, when three times one-fourth are subtracted—eighteen [units] [63v] must be. And if four-quarters are subtracted—that is, when four times one-fourth are subtracted—twenty-four [units] must be. And the rest [of the matter] conforms to this. All this calculation is based on the *bennāʾ zīrāʿi*. And there is no *zīrāʿ* truer than the *bennāʾ zīrāʿi*, because this has been calculated in terms of the finger joint [*bür-cüme*]. There is between a tall and a short man a great difference, for example, in the [size of the] wrist [*bilek*], in the span [*karıṣ*], in the foot [*ayaḳ*], in the pace [*adım*], and in the arm span [*kulaṣ*]. But the *boğun* is the *bür-cüme* [finger joint], which is the width of the tip of the thumb. There is no difference in this [between people]. However many men's fingers are compared, they are equal. But the *ʿamme zīrāʿi* has become very corrupt. Some people make it short, some make it long. However, the truth is that in terms of the *boğun* of the *bennāʾ zīrāʿi*, forty *boğun* are exactly one [*ammā*] *zīrāʿi*, and twenty *boğun* are half a *zīrāʿ*. Now [the unit of linear measurement] called the *arṣun*, used by tailors and others, is also half a *zīrāʿ*. And the *bez arṣunu* [cloth cubit] used at the present time is, as was stated, exactly one *zīrāʿ*, which is exactly forty *boğun*. *Sudus* [sixth] is Arabic. In Persian they

<sup>11</sup> *aḳçe*: see p. 28, note 16, above; also Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, VIII (London: Longmans, 1883), p. xvii; Nuri Pere, *Osmanlılarda Madeni Paralar* (Istanbul: Doğan Kardeş, 1968), p. 12.

<sup>12</sup> *dirhem*: silver coin of varying weight and metal content. See Pere, *Paralar*, p. 12.

<sup>13</sup> *manḳır*: Ottoman copper coin of varying weight and metal content. See Pere, *Paralar*, p. 14; also Lane-Poole, *Catalogue*, p. xvii.

<sup>14</sup> The date of the devaluation of Ottoman coinage by Murat III. On the devaluation of Ottoman coinage at the end of the sixteenth century, see Mustafa Akdağ, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Kuruluş

ve İnkişafı Devrinde Türkiye İktisadi Vaziyeti," *Bellelen*, XIII, 1949, pp. 497-568.

<sup>15</sup> *bez arṣunı*: the cloth cubit, presumably the same as the Arabic *al-dhirāʿ al-Istanbuliyya*. See Hinz, *Masse*, pp. 58-59.

<sup>16</sup> *ʿilm-i ferāyiz* (science of obligatory or appointed portions): the technical term for that branch of Islamic law having to do with the fixing of the shares of estates. The practice has its basis in the *Qurʾān* (IV: 11-12, 176); the shares are calculated in terms of certain fixed fractions (1/2, 1/4, 1/3, 1/8, 2/3, 1/16). See Th. W. Juynboll, "Farāʾid," *E.I.*, II, p. 783; also Joseph Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 169-174.

say *shash-yak*, in Turkish *altıda bir. Rub<sup>c</sup>* [fourth, quarter] is Arabic. In Persian they say *châr-yak*, in Turkish *dörtde bir*. But some people, corrupting *rub<sup>c</sup>*, say *urub*, and some people, corrupting *châr-yak*, say *çeyrek*. There is no end to the barbarisms of the common people! And the former and the latter are [among] these. *Nisf* [half] is Arabic. In Persian they say *nîm*, in Turkish *yarım*. *Thuluth* [third] is Arabic. In Persian they say *sa-yak*, in Turkish *üçde bir. Thuluthân* [two-thirds] is Arabic. In Persian they express it *du say-yak*, in Turkish *iki üçde bir. İki üçde bir* [two one-thirds] means *üçde iki* [two-thirds]. *Thumun* [eighth] is Arabic. In Persian they say *hasht-yak*, in Turkish *sekizde bir*. And let those who wish to know more than this about these [matters] study the [science of the ] division of estates.

#### [64r] EIGHTH CHAPTER

It describes what *ayağ* [foot], and *adım* [pace], and *oğ-atımı* [bow shot, furlong], and *mîl* [mile], and *fersenk* [parasang], and *berîd* [stage], and *karış* [span], and *dirsek* [cubit, same as *zirâ<sup>c</sup>*], and *kulaç* [fathom], and *mesâfe* [stage, a day's march], and *merhale* [stage, a day's march], and *menzîl* [stage], and *rab<sup>c</sup>* [stage], and the matters related to these are, and how much each one is, and what the name of each of them is in the Turkish and Arabic and Persian languages. *Qadam* and *rijl* [foot] are Arabic. In Persian they say *pây*, in Turkish *ayağ*. *Khutwa* [pace] is Arabic. In Persian they say *gâm*, in Turkish *adım*. *Ghalwa* [bow shot, distance of about an eighth of a mile] is Arabic. In Persian they say *nishân-i tîr* and *nishân* and *yag-i tîr partâv*, in Turkish *oğ-atımı* and *oğ-nişânı*. All of these are four hundred *zirâ<sup>c</sup>*. *Mîl<sup>1</sup>* [mile] is Arabic. In Persian and Turkish they also say *mîl*. Calculated in terms of paces [*adım*] it is four thousand paces. And in terms of *ayağ* [feet], every *adım* [pace] is three *ayağ*. And three *ayağ* are also equal to one *zirâ<sup>c</sup>*. *Farsakh<sup>2</sup>* [parasang] is Arabic. In Persian and Turkish they say *fersenk*. And the Arabic *farsakh* is arabicized from the Persian *fersenk*. In terms of *mîl*, each *farsakh* is [equal to] three *mîl*. And in terms of the mentioned

*adım*, it is twelve thousand *adım*. And in terms of *ayağ*, it would be thirty-six thousand *ayağ*. And some people regard the *mîl* as equal to about the distance the eye can see. And the distance the eye can see is at most four thousand *adım* [paces]. Those who consider [the *mîl*] as four thousand *adım* measure it in terms of *zirâ<sup>c</sup>* and *ayağ*. And they say every three *ayağ* is [equal to] a *zirâ<sup>c</sup>*. But those who say [the *mîl*] is the distance the eye can see do not measure it, [but] simply calculate [it] by estimation. However, they do not agree with regard [to its length], because some persons' eyes see further and some see less far than that. And the distance the eye can see is defined in the *Mukhtâr-i Şihâh*. This is the definition: it specifies, *al-mîlu min al-arđi muntahâ madd al-başari wa al-farsakhu thalâthatu amyâlin*.<sup>3</sup> [64v] This is the meaning [of the Arabic], that the valid terrestrial *mîl* is the limit the eye can see. And the *farsakh* is three *mîl*, that is, three times the distance the eye can see. *Barîd<sup>4</sup>* [stage] is Arabic. In Persian they say *duwâzdah mîl* [twelve miles], and in Turkish *oniki mîl*. In terms of *farsakh*, it is four *farsakh*. In terms of *adım*, one *berîd* is forty-eight thousand *adım*. And in terms of *ayağ*, one *barîd* is one hundred forty-four thousand *ayağ*. *Shibr* [span] is Arabic. In Persian they say *bidist*, in Turkish *karış*. *Dhirâ<sup>5</sup>* [cubit] is Arabic. In Persian they say *vârin* and *arish<sup>6</sup>*, in Turkish *dirsek* and *kol*. Previously, when the *zirâ<sup>c</sup>* did not exist, they used to measure with the forearm [*bilek*], from the elbow to the tip of the fingers. And [in Arabic] they used to call that forearm a *dhirâ<sup>c</sup>*. And they used to call its unit of measure a *dhar<sup>c</sup>*.<sup>7</sup> And later, when these *bennâ<sup>7</sup>* and *‘âmme zirâ<sup>c</sup>* were fixed, they also called these *dhirâ<sup>c</sup>*. And to this day, in the Arabic language they call these units of measure [i.e., the *bennâ<sup>7</sup>* *zirâ<sup>c</sup>* and the *‘âmme zirâ<sup>c</sup>*] *dhar<sup>c</sup>*. Now, from this it is clear that the *zirâ<sup>c</sup>* they call *bennâ<sup>7</sup>* and *‘âmme zirâ<sup>c</sup>* are taken from *dhirâ<sup>c</sup>*, which means forearm [*dirsek*, *kol*] in Arabic. And *arşun* is a corruption of *arishîn*. In Persian, *arish*, with a *fethe* over the *elif* and a *kesre* under the *râ* [ارش] means “forearm” [*kol*, *dirsek*], and [the suffix] *în* means “this.” In the place in which they would say *bilek budur* [this is an arm] in Turkish, they say *arish-în* in Persian. And although *arşun* is of the form of *zeytûn* [ending as it does in *ûn*], it is, perhaps,

<sup>1</sup> *mîl*: mile; unit of linear measurement of c. 2 km. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> *farsakh* (Turk. *fersah*): parasang; Persian unit of linear measurement equal to three *mîl*, that is c. 6 km. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> “The terrestrial *mîl* is the limit to which the eye can see and the *farsakh* is three miles.” For the *Mukhtâr-i Şihâh*, see p. 30, note 29, above.

<sup>4</sup> *barîd*: stage; unit of linear measurement equal to 4 *farsakh* or c. 24 km. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> *dhirâ<sup>c</sup>* (Turk. *zirâ<sup>c</sup>*): a unit of linear measurement varying in size but in general comparable to an ell. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 64.

<sup>6</sup> *arish*: a Persian designation for the ell. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 54.

<sup>7</sup> *dhar<sup>c</sup>*: a designation for the Persian ell (also known as the *gaz* and more rarely as the *dhirâ<sup>c</sup>*), of varying length. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 64.

more correct to say *arşin* in the manner of *āmīn* [ending with an *īn*], as it originally was [in Persian]. Let those who prefer the widespread corrupt form say *arşun* [with a long *ū*] in the manner of *emrūd* and *zeytūn*. Thus *zirā*<sup>c</sup> [cubit] was derived from the Arabic *dhirā*<sup>c</sup>, meaning forearm, and the Turkish *arsun* was derived from *arish-īn* in Persian, meaning “forearm” and “this.” [65r] But the Persian *andāza* and *gaz* were not derived from anything. The names were established for *zirā*<sup>c</sup> just as they are. Thus, they are fully described in the previous chapter. *Bā*<sup>c8</sup> [fathom, the distance of the two arms extended] is Arabic. In Persian they say *bāz*, in Turkish *ķulaç*. *Masāfa* [stage, a day’s march] is Arabic. In Persian they say *dūri-i miyān-i du manzil*, in Turkish *iki ķonak arasında*. In the *Mukhtār-i Şihāh* it says, *al-masāfatu al-bu‘du*.<sup>9</sup> That is, the *Mukhtār-i Şihāh* took as the definition both the distance between two stages [*menzil*], and the distance between several stages. *Marķala* and *manzil* and *rab*<sup>c</sup> [stage, inn, halting place] are Arabic. In Persian they say *manzil-gāh*, in Turkish *menzil yeri*. But the original Turkish is *ķonak*.

## NINTH CHAPTER

It describes what they say in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages for *dönüm*, and for *evlek* [a quarter *dönüm*], and for *ķubuk* [one one-hundredth of a *dönüm*], and for *nişan* [one-tenth of a *dönüm*], and for *ķafiz* [one-tenth of a *dönüm*] and what their dictionary meanings are. *Jarīb* [a measure of land area] is Arabic. In Persian they say *garīb*<sup>1</sup> and *garī*, in Turkish *dönüm*. And in some books it is stated that *jarīb* is arabicized from the Persian *garīb*. There has occurred a great deal of discussion about this *dönüm*. To begin with, it is said in the *Mukhtār-i Şihāh* that *al-jarību min al-ta‘āmi wa al-arđi miķdārūn ma‘lūmun wa jam‘uhu ajribatu wa jurbānu ķultu al-*

*jarību mikyālun wa huwa arba‘atu akfizatīn wa jarībun min al-arđ mabdhīru al-jarībī al-ladhī huwa al-mikyālu*.<sup>2</sup> This is its meaning: that which we call a *jarīb*, be it food [*ta‘ām*] or be it land [*yir*], is a designation of a [specific] dimension. That which they call a *jarīb* is a measure [for grain] of four *ķīla*.<sup>3</sup> This is what they call a *ta‘ām cerībī* [in Turkish].<sup>4</sup> And each field which [in sowing] takes one *jarīb* of grain, that quantity of land is also called a *jarīb*. This is what they call a *yir cerībī* [in Turkish]. And in the dictionary of Ni‘met-Allāh<sup>5</sup> it says a *garī* [that is] a *dönüm*, is forty *adım* [paces] [square]. And further, among farmers they define a *dönüm* as the quantity of land of equal width and length which a pair of oxen can plow in one day. [65v] That which they call a *faddān*<sup>6</sup> in Arabic also has this meaning, because *faddān* means a yoke of oxen. However much land they can plow in a day is called a *faddān*. In Persian they define *faddān* as *yak chift-i gāv*. The *Mukhtār-i Şihāh* states, *al-faddānu hiya al-baķaru al-latī tahruthu wa al-jam‘u al-fadādīn*,<sup>7</sup> that is, a *faddān* is that which an ox plows [in a day]. But in the science of geometry and the science of arithmetic, this *dönüm* is defined by measuring. And that measured *dönüm* is of three types. The first type, in square *bennā*<sup>3</sup> *zirā*<sup>c4</sup>, is one thousand two hundred twenty-five square *zirā*<sup>c</sup>. The second type is two thousand twenty-five square *zirā*<sup>c</sup>. And the third type is three thousand six hundred square *zirā*<sup>c</sup>. Details of these are described in the tenth chapter. *Dabara* and *mashāra* [subdivisions of a *jarīb*] are Arabic. In Persian they again say *mashāra* and *takhta-i zamīn*, in Turkish *evlek* [furrow] and *ķarķ* [furrow]. And again, in some places in Arabia and Iran *maraj* has this meaning. When a farmer sows seed, the amount of land which the seed in his hand reaches is one furrow [*ķizi*]. Then, dividing the field into furrows in accord with that furrow, he begins to sow seed broadcast. Now they call each such portion [of the field] an *evlek*. The Persians designate each of those parts a *takhta*. In Turkish, also, some people call it a *tahta*. *Khashaba* [rod, a measure of length of c. 14 feet] is

<sup>8</sup> *bā*<sup>c</sup>: fathom, span; a unit of linear measurement of 4 canonical ell or c. 2 m. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 54.

<sup>9</sup> “A stage is a distance.”

<sup>1</sup> *garīb*: a term for a number of units of measurement of land surface area. See Hinz, *Masse*, pp. 65-66.

<sup>2</sup> “A *jarīb* of food and of land is a known amount, and the plurals are *ajribat* and *jurbān*. I said the *jarīb* is a unit of measure, and it is four *ķafiz*. And a *jarīb* of land is the area you can sow broadcast with a *jarīb* [of seed]. This is the measure.” For the *Mukhtār-i Şihāh*, see p. 30, note 29, above.

<sup>3</sup> *ķīla*: a term for a variety of units of volumetric, dry measurement. See Hinz, *Masse*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>4</sup> *ta‘ām cerībī*: a term for a variety of units of volumetric, dry measurement. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 38, who describes these under the heading *garīb*.

<sup>5</sup> For Ni‘met-Allāh and his dictionary, see p. 30, note 28, above.

<sup>6</sup> *faddān*: a unit of measurement of land surface area. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 65.

<sup>7</sup> “The *faddān* is the land an ox can plow [in a day], and the plural is *fadādīn*.”

Arabic. In Persian they say *chüb*, in Turkish *çubuk*. *Āyat* and *alāmat* [mark, notch] are Arabic. In Persian they say *nishan*, in Turkish *çende*. Now, if a thing is indefinite, that is, if it is unmarked, and if it is decided that a [dimensional] mark be put on a thing, they say *sunı çendeliyiver* [notch that]. [66r] *Ḳafiz*<sup>8</sup> [dry measure of c. 250 lbs.], *ḳufzān* and *akfiza* are Arabic. In Persian they say *paymāna*, in Turkish *ölçek*. A *ḳafiz* is one *ölçek*. *Ḳufzān* and *akfiza* are the plurals of *ḳafiz*. They mean *ölçekler* [in Turkish]. And a *ḳafiz* itself is eight *mikyāl* [a dry measure for grain]. It is thus in the *Mukhtār al-Şihāh*. *Kıla* and *kayl* and *mikyāl* are Arabic. In Persian they say *paymāna*, in Turkish *ölçek*. In the *Mukhtār-i Şihāh* it says, *wa al-ismu al-kīlatu bi-al-ḳasr yuḳālu innahu la-ḥasanu al-kīlati ka-al-jīlsati wa al-rikbati*.<sup>9</sup> It means *kīle* with a *kesre* under the *kāf* [ك] is [pronounced] like *jīlsa* and *rikba*. The purpose of discussing the *ḳafiz* here is that in the science of geometry this *ḳafiz* means *nişān*.

*Sha'ira* and *sha'ir* and *sha'ayir* and *sha'irāt*: *Sha'ira* [a barley corn] is Arabic. In Persian they say *yak jav*, in Turkish *bir arpa*. *Sha'ir* [barley collectively] is Arabic. In Persian it is rendered by *jav*, in Turkish by *arpa*. *Sha'ayir* and *sha'irāt* are also Arabic. They are plurals. They are rendered by *javhā* in Persian, by *arpalar* in Turkish. And the reason for mentioning this *sha'ir* here is this, that in the science of geometry this *sha'ir* means [the same as] *çubuk* [rod]. In Arabic books on the science of geometry *jarīb* is used in place of *dönüm*, and *ḳafiz* is used in place of *nişān*, and *sha'ira* is used in place of *çubuk*. And in connection with *ḳafiz*, *kıla* was also mentioned. [This is] the end of the ninth chapter.

## TENTH CHAPTER

It describes details having to do with the *dönüm* and the *çubuk* and the *nişān* as defined in accordance with the science of geometry. And it describes the three ways in which the *dönüm* is defined and what the reason is for its being defined in three ways, and how many *zirā'* each type is in *bennā' zirā'*. We have now come to the properties of the *dönüm*. The *dönüm* is of three types. The first type is as follows: you fold a cord which in *bennā' zirā'* is thirty-five *zirā'* [66v] in length into tenths so that in *bennā' zirā'* each segment is three and a half

*zirā'*. They call that three-and-a-half-*zirā'* segment a *çubuk*. With that *çubuk* you measure ten *çubuk* lengthwise and ten *çubuk* widthwise, and you multiply the one with the other. In terms of square *çubuk*, one hundred *çubuk* are obtained from that multiplication. And you call each ten [square] *çubuk* of that one hundred [square] *çubuk* a *nişān*. Therefore, in terms of this definition, a *dönüm* of land amounts in square *çubuk* to one hundred *çubuk*. And in terms of square *bennā' zirā'*, it amounts to one thousand two hundred twenty-five *zirā'*. This *dönüm* of one thousand two hundred twenty-five *zirā'* is used in places where land is valuable. This type of *dönüm* is used in Istanbul and in places in the neighborhood of Istanbul. And in terms of square *bennā' zirā'* each *çubuk* of the hundred *çubuk* in this *dönüm* amounts to twelve and a quarter *zirā'*. A quarter *zirā'* means one part of the four equal parts of a *zirā'*, that is, half of a half of a *bennā' zirā'*. In other words, it is obtained by multiplying twelve *barmaḳ* by twelve *barmaḳ*, because an exact *bennā' zirā'* contains twenty-four *barmaḳ*. When twenty-four *barmaḳ* are multiplied by twenty-four *barmaḳ*, in square *barmaḳ* it amounts to five hundred seventy-six *barmaḳ*, that is to say, twenty-four less than six hundred *barmaḳ*. When these five hundred seventy-six *barmaḳ* are divided into four equal parts, each part amounts to one hundred forty-four *barmaḳ*. And this is the form for multiplying half a *zirā'* by a half, that is twelve *barmaḳ* by twelve *barmaḳ*:

$$\begin{array}{r} 12 \quad \text{half a } \text{zirā}' \\ \text{[x]} \quad 12 \quad \text{half a } \text{zirā}' \\ \hline 24 \\ 12 \\ \hline 144 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{is the number of square} \\ \text{barmaḳ.} \end{array}$$

When one calculates by means of addition one hundred forty-four, four times, it comes to [67r] five hundred seventy-six. This is the form that is described:

$$\begin{array}{r} 144 \quad \text{quarter } \text{zirā}' \\ 144 \quad \text{quarter } \text{zirā}' \\ 144 \quad \text{quarter } \text{zirā}' \\ 144 \quad \text{quarter } \text{zirā}' \\ \hline 576 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{is the [number of] square} \\ \text{barmaḳ in one} \\ \text{[square] } \text{zirā}' \end{array}$$

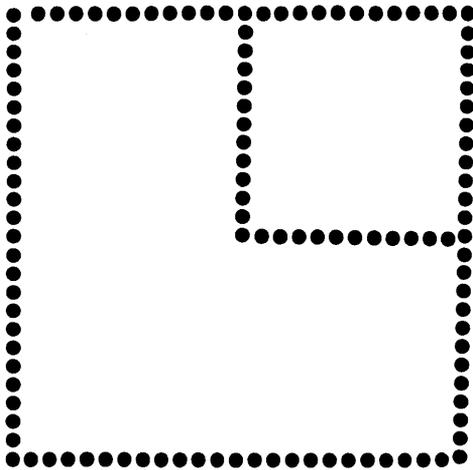
<sup>8</sup> *ḳafiz*: a term for a variety of units of volumetric, dry measurement. See Hinz, *Masse*, pp. 48-50.

<sup>9</sup> "And the noun *kīla* is [written] with the *kasra*. It is said that he

is as good in *kīla* as in *jīlsa* and *rikba* [?]." Ca'fer Efendi's Turkish rendering is at variance with the Arabic.

It is an area which is one  $zîrâ^c$  in length and also one  $zîrâ^c$  in width. Now that area, in terms of the number of *barmağ* of a  $bennâ^3 zîrâ^c$ , amounts to twenty-four *barmağ* lengthwise, and also twenty-four *barmağ* widthwise. Therefore, if you were to wish to know the size of that one- $zîrâ^c$  surface in terms of square *barmağ*, you multiply twenty-four *barmağ* by twenty-four. It is six hundred *barmağ* less twenty-four *barmağ*, that is, it totals five hundred seventy-six *barmağ*. Now when it is necessary to subtract a quarter from this complete  $zîrâ^c$ , that is one part of its four equal parts, a surface is subtracted which is half a  $zîrâ^c$  in length and half a  $zîrâ^c$  in width, that is, it must be twelve *barmağ* in length and twelve *barmağ* in width. This is the form that is described:

Widthwise, these points  
are the twelve *barmağ*  
which we mentioned



Lengthwise, these points  
are the twelve *barmağ*  
which we mentioned

Each of these red points stands for one *barmağ*, and [the area] twelve points in length and twelve points in width is one fourth of a square each side of which is one  $zîrâ^c$ . Thus it was represented in this square. And [67v] in terms of square  $bennâ^3 zîrâ^c$ , each of the ten *nişân* in this *dönüm* amounts to one hundred twenty-two and a half  $zîrâ^c$ . Half means two parts of the four equal parts of a one-[square]- $zîrâ^c$  area. In Turkish they say *iki dört-de bir* [two fourths], in Arabic *rub^c ayn*. And in square *barmağ* of the  $bennâ^3 zîrâ^c$ , [a half  $zîrâ^c$ ] amounts to two hundred eighty-eight *barmağ*. You multiply a complete  $zîrâ^c$  by half a  $zîrâ^c$ , that is, twenty-four *barmağ* by twelve *barmağ*. Now then, you get two hundred eighty-eight *barmağ* from that multiplication. And half a  $bennâ^3 zîrâ^c$  is exactly this much, because a complete  $zîrâ^c$  is five hundred seventy-six [square] *barmağ*. And this is

the form for the multiplication of twenty-four *barmağ* by twelve *barmağ*, which is described:

$$\begin{array}{r} 24 \text{ twenty-four } \textit{barmağ} \\ [x] \ 12 \text{ twelve } \textit{barmağ} \\ \hline 48 \\ 24 \\ \hline 288 \end{array}$$

The product of the  
multiplication.

And when this number two hundred eighty-eight, obtained from the multiplication, is doubled, it becomes five hundred seventy-six *barmağ*. This is the form described:

$$\begin{array}{r} 288 \\ \hline 002 \text{ method of doubling} \\ 576 \text{ is the [number of] square} \\ \textit{barmağ} \text{ in a } \textit{zîrâ^c}. \end{array}$$

And there are other ways and approaches and manners of obtaining the [number of] square *barmağ* found in a half  $zîrâ^c$ . They are described in a handbook on geometry. Let those who wish to know them refer to one. And this is the second type of *dönüm*: you fold into tenths a cord which in terms of  $bennâ^3 zîrâ^c$  is forty-five  $zîrâ^c$  long, so that each segment, in  $bennâ^3 zîrâ^c$ , is four and a half  $zîrâ^c$ . As before, you call a segment a *çibik*. You measure with that *çibik* of four and a half  $zîrâ^c$  [an area] ten *çibik* in length and ten *çibik* in width. Then you again multiply that ten [68r] *çibik* by ten *çibik*. In terms of square *çibik* it results in one hundred *çibik*. And you call each ten of these *çibik* a *nişân*. And these ten *nişân* are exactly one *dönüm*. And in this way, the [number of] square *çibik* is, as we said, one hundred. But in terms of square  $bennâ^3 zîrâ^c$ , [this second type of *dönüm*] is two thousand twenty-five  $zîrâ^c$ . And this *dönüm* of two thousand twenty-five  $zîrâ^c$  is used in various places at some distance from Istanbul, such as southern Rûm-ili and the Islands [*cezîreler*].<sup>1</sup> And in terms of the square  $bennâ^3 zîrâ^c$ , each of the *çibik* of the *dönüm* of this second type amounts to twenty and a quarter  $zîrâ^c$ , as was described with regard to the first type. And in terms of square  $bennâ^3 zîrâ^c$ , each *nişân* of the ten *nişân* in this [second type] amounts to two hundred two and a half  $zîrâ^c$ . And this is the third type of *dönüm*: as previously, you fold into tenths a cord which in terms of  $bennâ^3 zîrâ^c$  is sixty  $zîrâ^c$  long, so that each segment, in  $bennâ^3 zîrâ^c$ , is six  $zîrâ^c$ . Again, you call each segment a *çibik*. And with that six- $zîrâ^c$ -segment *çibik*, you measure an area ten

<sup>1</sup> *cezîreler* (also *adalar*): the Islands, i.e., the islands of the Aegean Sea.

*çibık* in length and ten *çibık* in width. Then you multiply ten *çibık* by ten *çibık*. In terms of square *çibık*, the result is one hundred *çibık*. And you call each ten of these *çibık* a *nişân*. And ten *nişân* are exactly one *dönüm*. And one *dönüm*, in terms of square *çibık* of this third type, is one hundred *çibık*. But in terms of square *bennâ<sup>3</sup> zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*, it amounts to three thousand [68v] six hundred *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*. And because they write about this third type of *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>* in books and dictionaries, the *dönüm* defined in this third way is used in the provinces of Egypt and Baghdad and Basra and Kufa and Samarkand and Bukhara. And it was measured in this manner in the time of the noble Companions of the Prophet. And in terms of square *bennâ<sup>3</sup> zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*, each of the *çibık* of the *dönüm* of this size is thirty-six *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*. And in terms of square *bennâ<sup>3</sup> zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*, each *nişân* is three hundred sixty *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*. It is explained thus in many books. And in the dictionary of Aḥterî,<sup>2</sup> it defines *jarîb* as, “*Dönüm*: its length and width are sixty *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*.” And the *dönüm* that was described is this *dönüm*. But in the *Mukhtâr-i Şihâh* [the number of] its [this *dönüm*’s] *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>* was not mentioned. Rather, this is the definition of that which they call a *jarîb*: “That which they call a *jarîb* is a quantity of four *kîla*. Thus, they call every field which [in sowing] takes four *kîla* of grain a *jarîb*.” But the *dönüm* described in the *Mukhtâr-i Şihâh* conforms to this third type of *dönüm* mentioned as being sixty *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>* in length and sixty *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>* in width. And it is the original *dönüm*. Ultimately they divided that *dönüm* into three approximate orders of magnitude, large, middle and small in size. The largest order of magnitude, in terms of square *bennâ<sup>3</sup> zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*, is three thousand six hundred *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*. And the middle order of magnitude is two thousand twenty-five *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*. And the smallest order of magnitude is one thousand two hundred twenty-five *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*. And when this *dönüm* of three thousand six hundred *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>* was [first] divided into three orders of magnitude, with large, medium and small dimensions, it must actually have been thus: the largest order of magnitude was three thousand six hundred *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*; and the middle order of magnitude was two thousand four hundred *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*; and the smallest order of magnitude was one thousand two hundred *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*. But they are not [now] thus. [69r] Because they [the three types of *dönüm*] are the way they were described [previously], they are called approximate [in order of magnitude]. That is, the [three *dönüm* with] large and middle and small [size] are not proportional as they are

supposed to be. But in largeness and intermediateness and smallness [of size] they are nearly exact. And the reason for the large and the medium and the small [*dönüm*] not being defined proportionally has to do with the calculation of roots [*cezz*] in the science of geometry, since a [perfect] root cannot be extracted from every number. But a perfect root can be extracted from the number three thousand six hundred, and from the number two thousand twenty-five, and from the number one thousand two hundred twenty-five. Let those who want to learn more about the calculation of roots have reference to the science of arithmetic and the science of geometry. *Precept*: Now in order to measure various places in Rûm-ili and the Islands [*adalar*], a knotted *dönüm* cord [*ip*] of the mentioned intermediate type is issued by the imperial treasury. And in accordance with an issued imperial decree it is noted that “that cord is, in *bennâ<sup>3</sup> zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*, forty-five *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>* [long]. If people doubt and do not trust it, let them measure it with a tailor’s measuring stick [*derzi arşunu*]. If that cord comes to fifty-five *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>* with a tailor’s measuring stick, let them trust its accuracy.” In point of fact, forty-five *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>* with the architect’s *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>* and fifty-five *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>* with the tailor’s measuring stick are approximately equal. There is [only] a small disparity [between them]. In terms of the calculation of the *bennâ<sup>3</sup> zîrâ<sup>c</sup>* in *barmağ*, a cord which, in *bennâ<sup>3</sup> zîrâ<sup>c</sup>* is forty-five *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>* long, amounts to one thousand eighty *barmağ*. And a cord which, in terms of the *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>* used by tailors is fifty-five *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>* in length, amounts to one thousand one hundred *barmağ*. The cord in the tailor’s *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>* has only twenty more *barmağ* [than that in *bennâ<sup>3</sup> zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*]. And in terms of the tailor’s *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>* [this twenty *barmağ*] amounts to exactly one *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*, since the tailor’s *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*, calculated in terms of the *barmağ* of the *bennâ<sup>3</sup> zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*, [69v] is exactly twenty *barmağ*. But if people measure that cord with a tailor’s *arşun*, it does not appear to be excessive, because at the time it [the cord] was issued by the imperial treasury, including those extra twenty *barmağ*, they issued the cord in that way. Thus, in terms of *barmağ*, that cord is exactly one thousand one hundred *barmağ*. Briefly, our aim and purpose in going into so full an explanation is that we may know the dimension of the valid *dönüm* and *nişân* and *çibık* in Istanbul and its surroundings. Now, its [Istanbul’s] *dönüm*, in terms of square *bennâ<sup>3</sup> zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*, is one thousand two hundred twenty-five *zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*, and each *nişân* in terms of square *bennâ<sup>3</sup> zîrâ<sup>c</sup>*, is

<sup>2</sup> dictionary of Aḥterî: the great Arabic-Turkish dictionary compiled by Muştafâ ibn Şems al-Dîn-i Karamî in 952/1545.

one hundred twenty-two and a half *zirâ*<sup>c</sup>, and each *çibik* in terms of square *bennâ*<sup>3</sup> *zirâ*<sup>c</sup>, is twelve and a quarter *zirâ*<sup>c</sup>. This was explained above several times in detail. However, because it is in essence the actual object of all of this, it was briefly mentioned again in order to make it clear. *Precept*: Certain *câbî* [collectors of wakf revenues] and *mütevellîs* [wakf administrators] write *nîm nişân* [half *nişân*] in their official memoranda, and in some of them they write *rub*<sup>c</sup> *nişân* [quarter *nişân*]. If *nîm nişân* is what is written, it means half a *nişân*, which in terms of area, is sixty-one and a quarter square *zirâ*<sup>c</sup>. And if what is written is *rub*<sup>c</sup> *nişân*, in terms of area, it is thirty and a half plus one-eighth [*thumun*] square *zirâ*<sup>c</sup>. *Thumun* means one of the eight [equal] parts of a *zirâ*<sup>c</sup>. It is given thus, and that completes the matter. *Precept*: This rule describes things having to do with surveying [*misâha*]. And *misâha* and *dhar*<sup>c</sup> and *vazn* are, all three of them, Arabic. But there are differences between them. To convey the meaning of *misâha* [the measuring or surveying of land] they say *paymûdan-i zamîn* in Persian and *yer ölçmek* in Turkish. And [70r] to convey the meaning of *dhar*<sup>c</sup> [the extent or measure of a thing] they say *gaz-kardan câma-râ* in Persian, *geysi ölçmege* in Turkish. And the equivalent of *vazn* [a weighing] is *sanjidan* in Persian, *tartmak* in Turkish. *Tûl* [length] is Arabic. In Persian they say *dirâzî*, in Turkish *uzunluk*. *Arz* [width] is Arabic. In Persian they say *pahnâyî*, in Turkish *enlik*. *Tûlânî* [longitudinal, in length] is Arabic. In Persian they say [word omitted], in Turkish *uzadı*. *Tavîl* [long, tall] is Arabic. In Persian they say *dirâz*, in Turkish *uzun*. *Arîd* [wide, broad] is Arabic. In Persian they say *pahnâ*, in Turkish *enlü*. And *Tûlan* [in length, lengthwise] is Arabic. In Persian they say *bar-dirâzî*, in Turkish *uzunluğuna*. And *Arđan* [in width, widthwise] is Arabic. In Persian they say *bar-pahnâyî*, in Turkish *enine*. *Hîşşa* [share, part], and *sahm* [share, portion], and *naşîb* [share, portion], and *hazz* [share, portion], and *khalâk* [share, portion] are all Arabic. In Persian they say *bahra*, in Turkish *pay*. The plural of *hîşşa* is *hîşşaş*; and of *sahm*, *sihâm* and *asham* and *suhmân*; and of *naşîb*, *anşîbâ*<sup>3</sup>; and of *khalâk*, *khalâkât*; and of *hazz*, *huzûz*. In Persian they say *bahrahâ* for these, in Turkish *hîşşeler* and *paylar*. *Shikş* [part] [and] *ashkaş* [pl. of *shikş*, parts]; *kiş* [part] [and] *aksâ*<sup>3</sup> [pl. of *kiş*, parts]; *cuz*<sup>3</sup> [part, section] [and] *aczâ*<sup>3</sup> [pl. of *cuz*<sup>3</sup>, parts]; *kism*

[part, section, division] [and] *aksâm* [pl. of *kism*, parts] are all Arabic. And they have a single meaning. In Persian they say *pâra*, in Turkish *paracık*. And *paracık* is a corruption of *pâra*. And each one of these means “part” [*hîşşa*]. And the late Kemâl Paşa-zâde—God have mercy on him—made this clear in the dictionary compiled by him called *Muhtâ al-Lughât*.<sup>3</sup> *Ba’d* [part, portion] is Arabic. In Persian they say *barkh*, in Turkish *biraz*. Now some people say, *şundan biraz vîr* [Give a portion of that], that is *şunuñ ba’zını ve bir mikdârını vîr* [Give a part and a portion of that]. *Nîşf* [half] is Arabic. In Persian they say *nîm*, in Turkish *yarım*. *Shikş* [small part, half] and *shaṭr* [half, part] are Arabic. They also have the meaning “half.” In Persian they say *nîme*, in Turkish *yarım*.<sup>4</sup> [70v] *Precept*: and this precept describes that which is accounted the inhabited quarter of the earth’s surface in the book named *Nuzhat al-’Ukûl*.<sup>5</sup> And with regard to the surveying of this world, in the place in which it [the inhabited quarter of the earth’s surface] is described, it writes that the breadth of this region is thus: that it is sixty-six degrees from the equator to the Isle of Thule.<sup>6</sup> And each degree is twenty-two *farsakh*. And each *farsakh* is three *mîl*. And each *mîl* is four thousand *zirâ*<sup>c</sup>. And each *zirâ*<sup>c</sup> is eight *kaḃḃa* [hand]. [The Arabic] *kaḃḃa* means *tûtâm* [in Turkish]. And a *tûtâm* is defined in terms of the breadth of the hand of an average man. And each *tûtâm* is four *barmaḃ*. And it makes clear that each *barmaḃ* is six *arḃa*. Therefore, according to this definition, one *bennâ*<sup>3</sup> *zirâ*<sup>c</sup> must contain thirty-two *barmaḃ*. And with regard to the palm of a man’s hand, a hand is wide and flat. When a man is excessively fat, a *bennâ*<sup>3</sup> *zirâ*<sup>c</sup> is less than eight *kaḃḃa*. And when a man is short of stature, a *zirâ*<sup>c</sup> is more than eight *kaḃḃa*. Now a man must be of medium and average stature if eight of his *kaḃḃa* are to equal a *zirâ*<sup>c</sup>. And one *zirâ*<sup>c</sup> of the dimension of this architect’s *zirâ*<sup>c</sup> must total one hundred ninety-two *sha’ir* [barley grains]. And when it is necessary to define the *arḃa* [barley grain] in terms of the calculation of the *bürçüme*, that is the *boğun*, each *boğun* must contain eight *arḃa*. According to what was written by the author of the *Nuzhat al-’Ukûl*, this is the “high calculation.” And one must not ignore this calculation, because who knows but that some time it may be necessary for the reckoning of fractions of *barmaḃ* to be calculated very precisely. Then it

<sup>3</sup> *Muhtâ al-Lughât*: famous Arabic-Persian dictionary compiled by the Ottoman scholar and *şeyh al-islâm* Kemâl Paşa-zade in 926/1520.

<sup>4</sup> Marginal note reads, “This precept describes the dimensions of the inhabited portions of the earth’s surface.”

<sup>5</sup> *Nuzhat al-’Ukûl*: the fourteenth-century geography of ‘Alî ibn Aḃmad ibn ‘Alî al-Jundi.

<sup>6</sup> The Isle of Thule (Tûlî Cezîresi): the northernmost part of the inhabitable world according to the geographers of antiquity.

is necessary to calculate fractions with *sha‘îr* [barley grains]. For the purpose of fractions, note how the *‘âmme zirâ‘î* [71r] is calculated! Now, for example, arithmeticians lay down the rule that the *‘âmme zirâ‘î* is such that a proper *zirâ‘* is one hundred *barmağ*, and each *barmağ* is one hundred *iplik*, and each *iplik* is one hundred *târ-ı ‘ankebût*. *Târ-ı ‘ankebût* means spider web. But if in truth this is inquired into, is it possible [to confirm it]? It is not possible, because in an *‘âmme zirâ‘î* it would be necessary for a full hundred thousand spider webs to be smoothed out and arranged in rows. However, it is not possible to fit this many spider webs into an *‘âmme zirâ‘î*. And [the prescribed number of] *iplik* would not fit, because when there are a hundred *iplik* in each *barmağ*, ten thousand *iplik* would have to be contained in one *zirâ‘*, and this is impossible. Now, while each of these is thus impossible, they are thus defined and reckoned because of fractions in the science of mathematics. Hence, from this it is clear that for purposes of fractions of the *bennâ‘ zirâ‘î*, calculations in *sha‘îr* [barley, corn] are essential. This reckoning is particularly important for fractions of *farsakh* and *mîl* and *berîd*. A *bennâ‘ zirâ‘î* is three *ayağ*, and each *ayağ* is sixty-four *sha‘îr*. [Thus,] two *ayağ* are one hundred twenty-eight *sha‘îr*, three *ayağ* are one hundred ninety-two *sha‘îr*. And this amounts to one *bennâ‘ zirâ‘î*.<sup>7</sup> And in connection with the measurement of the inhabited quarter of the earth’s surface, it was necessary that we describe that [the above] somewhat. The inhabited quarter of the earth’s surface constitutes one of the four parts of this world. And some of its [the inhabited quarter’s] parts are wastelands and some parts are inhabited. And there are seven distinct nations dwelling in this inhabited quarter of the earth.<sup>8</sup> The first of these [71v] is the Greek. The second is the Turkish. The third is the Chinese. The fourth is the Hindu. The fifth is the Arab. The sixth is the Abyssinian. The seventh is the Persian. And in addition to these there are many other nations, but each of them is subject to one of these [above listed nations]. And in addition to the world’s inhabited quarter, three [of its] parts consist of limpid sea. And the important seas are

seven [in number].<sup>9</sup> The first of these is the Ocean. They call this the Surrounding Sea because it encompasses the entire world. The second is the Indian Ocean (*Deryâ-yı Aḥḍar*). *Aḥḍar* means green. The third is the China Sea. The fourth is the Persian Gulf. The fifth is the Red Sea. The sixth is the Caspian Sea. The seventh is the Mediterranean Sea. [All of this is] in accordance with the noble Qur’ānic verse, “We have honored the Children of Adam. We carry them on the land and the sea.”<sup>10</sup> There were five persons [who were great surveyors of the earth’s inhabited quarter].<sup>11</sup> The first of these is Efridun al-Saḫī.<sup>12</sup> The second is Tubba‘ of the Himyarites.<sup>13</sup> The third is the prophet Solomon, son of David—may peace be upon them. The fourth is Alexander the Great. The fifth is Erd-şîr ibn Bâbil al-Fârisî.<sup>14</sup> These, along with many geometricians and sages and learned men, journeying across the world, surveyed it insofar as they were able. They found the length along the equator from one direction, that is, from the east to [the point] where it again attains the Ocean on the west to be one hundred eighty degrees. And they found the width from the southern region through the middle of the equator to Thule lying at its northern point to amount to sixty-six degrees. How many *berîd*, and how many *farsakh*, and how many *mîl*, and how many *zirâ‘* and *adım*, and how many *barmağ*, and how many *ayağ*, and how many *sha‘îr* the world, whether land or sea, measures, all of this the author of the *Nuzhat al-‘Uḫûl*—may God have mercy on him—set down. But who can comprehend that many calculations? God’s earth is so vast! And it is not necessary for us to understand [all of] these.

## [72r] ELEVENTH CHAPTER

It describes the terms *câmi‘-i şerîf*, and *mescid-i laṭîf*, and *ḥaram*, and *menâre*, and *şerefe*, and *minber*, and *mîhrâb*, and *maḥfil*, and *ḫubbe*, and *‘alem*, and *kürsî*, and *muşallâ*, and *medrese*, and *zâviye*, and *şavma‘a*, and *sarây*,

<sup>7</sup> Marginal note reads, “The matter of how the inhabited quarter of the earth is divided.”

<sup>8</sup> Marginal note reads, “The matter of the seven nations that dwell in the inhabited quarter of the earth.”

<sup>9</sup> Marginal note reads, “The matter of the seven important seas.”

<sup>10</sup> Qur’ân, XVII:70.

<sup>11</sup> Marginal note reads, “The matter of the surveyors of the inhabited quarter of the earth, and they are five [in number].”

<sup>12</sup> Efridun al-Saḫī: the Faridun of the *Shâh Nâma* who, with the help of the blacksmith Kâvah, overthrew and imprisoned the evil Zahhâk and divided his empire between his three sons. He was renowned in

popular legend for his universal knowledge, and in particular for his mastery of astronomy; see H. Masse, “Faridun,” *E.I.*, II, p. 798.

<sup>13</sup> *Tubba‘*: the royal title of the pre-Islamic Himyarite kings of south Arabia whose skill as engineers and builders was preserved and elaborated upon in later Islamic literature; see N. A. Faris, *The Antiquities of South Arabia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938), pp. 16 ff. Here Ca’fer uses the title as if it were the name of an individual.

<sup>14</sup> Erd-şîr ibn Bâbil al-Fârisî. Ardashir I, king of Fars and founder of the Sassanian dynasty, who reigned A.D. 224-241.

and *dâr al-sa‘âde*, and *bâb-i dâr al-sa‘âde*, and *‘atabe*, and *cenâb*, and *südde*, and *eyvân*, and *dîvân*, and *köşk*, and *tahta-püş*, and *fevkanî köşk*, and *havlı*, and *iç-havlı*, and *taşra havlı*, and *oda*, and *hücre*, and *selâmlık*, and *hazine*, and *mağzen*, and *kiler*, and *dölâb*, and *sirdâb*, and *zîr-i zemîn*, and *üstü açık oda*, and *bacasız oda*, and *şundurma*, and *iki kapula oda*, and *yer-evi*, and *çâr-ıtağ oda*, and *mağ-bağ*, and *ocağ*, and *furun*, and *tennür*, and *yaz odası*, and *kiş odası*, and *şavanlı oda*, and *örgüclü oda*, and *kubbelü oda*, and *kurşunlu kubbe*, and *hıyât*, and *dehliz*, and *bacâ*, and  *pencere*, and *nazar-gâh*, and *medd-i başâr*, and *müşebbek pencere*, and *kafeş*, and *dölâb pencere*, and *raff*, and *muşan-dara*, and *şoffa*, and *tahta-şoffa*, and *tarbüzün*, and *kireved*, and *muraşşâ‘ taht*, and *muḥlaḥ taht*, and *meclis*, and *erler cem‘ olduğu yer*, and *‘avretler cem‘ olduğu yer*, and *perde*, and *serâ-perde*, and *menzil*, and *mesken*, and *buḳ‘a*, and *çâder*, and *oba*, and *otâk*, and *hammâm*, and *câme-kân*, and *halvet*, and *ķurna*, and *lüle*, and *külhan*, and *düheng*, and *kenîf*, and *âbdest-hâne*, and *gusül-hâne*, and *câme-şuyluk idecek yer*, and *çiftlik*, and *‘akâr*, and *anbâr*, and *âhûr*, and *şamanlık*, and *mezra‘a*, and *evlek*, and *dönüm*, and *bağ*, and *hân*, and *reste*, and *taht al-ķal‘a*, and *çar-sü örtüsü*, and *ķal‘a*, and *şehir bârûsı*, and *hendek*, and *degirmen*, and *at degirmeni*, and *şu degirmeni*, and *ma‘mûr yer*, and *vîrân yer*, and *niķz*, (*nuķz*) and *naķz*, and *‘imâret*, and *meremmet*, and *vîrâne ev*, and *ancağ temeli ķalmış vîrâne ev*, and *ev yeri ve yurdu*, and *büyük şehir*, and *muḥlaḥa şehir*, and *ķaşaba*, and *köy*, and *maḥalle*, and *soķāk*, and *çâr-sü*, and *bâzâr*, and things connected with these, in the Arabic language and the Persian language and the Turkish language. And it also briefly describes and discusses which language each term is from, and which [of the terms] are distorted and corrupted by the common people.

*Jâmi‘* [congregational mosque] is Arabic. In Persian they say *mazgüt-i âzîna* [Friday mosque], in Turkish *câmi‘-i şerîf* [blessed congregational mosque]. Again, it is Arabic. Actually, in Turkish the meaning of *mazgüt-i âzîna* is rendered by *ine mezgiti*.

*Masjîd* [mosque] is Arabic. In Persian they say *sajda-gâh* [place of prayer] and *mazgüt* [mosque], in Turkish, as in Arabic, *mesjid* [mosque, quarter mosque]. But originally in Turkish they said *mezgüt* as in Persian.

[72v] *Harîm* [courtyard, environs, border] is Arabic. It is rendered by *pîrâman* [environs, circumference] in Persian, by *çevre* [surroundings, environs, circumference] in Turkish. But as in Arabic, they also say *havlı* [court, courtyard].

*Haram* [and] *harâm* [sanctuary, the sanctuary of Mecca] are Arabic. They are rendered by *haram-i*

*Ka‘ba-i mukarrama* [the sanctuary of the blessed Ka‘ba] and *jây-i pâs* [sanctuary] in Persian, by *Ka‘ba yöresi* [neighborhood of the Ka‘ba] and *ķori yeri* [protected place, sanctuary] in Turkish.

*Manâra* [minaret] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jây-i bâng-i namâz* [place of the call to prayer] in Persian, by *ezân okunacak yer* [place of the call to prayer] in Turkish.

*Şurafa* [battlement, gallery of a minaret] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kungura* [parapet]. In Turkish, the common people, corrupting the *zamme* [the short u of *şurafa*], say *şerefe* [battlement, gallery of a minaret] as if it were the Arabic with a *fetha* [شرفه].

*Minbar* [pulpit of the mosque] is Arabic. In Persian and Turkish they again use the Arabic *minber*. It is a shared term.

*Mihrâb* [prayer niche] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jây-i imâm* [place of the *imâm*] in Persian, by *imâm yeri* [place of the *imâm*] in Turkish. But now, as in Arabic, they say *mihrâb*.

*Maḥfil* [place of assembly, pulpit, private gallery in a mosque] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jây-i anjuman-i hâfîzân* [place of assembly of *ķur‘ân* memorizers] in Persian, by *hâfîzlarıñ derneği yeri* [place of assembly in the *ķur‘ân* memorizers] in Turkish.

*Kubba* [dome] is Arabic. In Persian they say *gunbad* [dome], in Turkish, as in Arabic, *ķubbe*. It has become a shared term.

*‘Alam* [flag, banner, standard, apex of a minaret] is Arabic. In Persian they say *sanjağ* [flag, banner, standard], in Turkish, as in Arabic, *‘alem*. It is a shared term.

*Kursî* [throne, seat from which *khutbah* is said] is Arabic. It is rendered by *takht* [throne] in Persian. But *takht* not being used, they say *ķürsî* in both Persian and Turkish.

*Muḥallâ* [public place for prayer] is Arabic. It is rendered by *namâz-gâh* [place of public prayer] in Persian, by *namâz ķılacak yer* [place of public prayer] in Turkish. [And in Turkish the Arabic term is used in compounds] like *bayrâm muḥallâsı* [place for public prayer for holidays] and *çesme muḥallâsı* [place for public prayer at a fountain].

*Madrasa* [theological school] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jây-i dars ğustan* [place where lessons are given] in Persian, by *ders diyecek yer* [place where lessons are given] in Turkish.

*Zâwiya* [dervish lodge] is Arabic. In Persian they say *khânakâh* [dervish lodge]; in Turkish as in Arabic they say *zâviye* and *tekye* [dervish lodge].

*Şawma‘a* [monastery, hermitage] is Arabic. It is

rendered by *jāy-i pārsāyān* [place for ascetics] in Persian, by *zāhid ve ʿābidler yeri* [place for ascetics and worshipers] in Turkish.

*Dār* [house] is Arabic. It is *sarāy* [house] and *sarā* [house] in Persian, *ev* [house] in Turkish. But they also say *sarāy* as in Persian.

*Dār al-saʿāda* [royal palace] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sarāy-i arj* [a house of a high ranking person, royal palace] in Persian, by *alkış evi* [house of a high-ranking person] in Turkish. The word *ercümend* [worthy, estimable] derives from this [arj].

*Bābu dār al-saʿāda* [gate of the royal palace] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dar-i sarāy-i arj* [gate of the palace of a high-ranking person, gate of the royal palace] in Persian, by *alkış evi kapısı* [gate of the house of a high-ranking person] in Turkish.

*ʿAtaba* [threshold] is Arabic. It is rendered by *āsītān* [threshold] and *āstāna* [threshold] in Persian, by *eşik* [threshold] in Turkish, which must be the threshold of a door [*kapu eşiği*].

*Fāʿiz* [lintel] is Arabic. It is rendered by *āsītān-i zivarīn* [lintel] in Persian, by *kapuniñ üst eşiği* [lintel] in Turkish.

*Ukuffa* [threshold, door sill] is Arabic. It is rendered by *āsītān-i zirīn* [door sill] in Persian, by *kapuniñ alt eşiği* [door sill] in Turkish.

*Kunna* [projecting roof, eaves] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kābül-i dar va divār* [projecting roof over a door and wall] in Persian, by *kapu şundurması* [projecting eaves over a door] and *divār şundurması* [projecting eaves over a wall] in Turkish.

*Janāb* [side] is Arabic. It is rendered by *girdāgird-i sarāy* [side of a house] in Persian, by *evñ tülāyi yanı* [side of a house] in Turkish.

*Sudda* [gate, gateway] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dargāh* [gateway] in Persian, by *kapu yeri* [gateway] in Turkish. But it is also used with the meaning of *kapu* [gate, door].<sup>1</sup>

*Iywān* [sofa, portico, open gallery, verandah] is an arabicization. It is rendered by *sāya-bān* [porch, canopy, trellis] and *tashīr* [a shady place to rest in] and *chār-ṭaḥ* [an open-fronted room supported by four pillars] in Persian, *sāye-bān* [porch, trellis] and *şoffa* [porch] and *çār-daḥ* [light structure consisting of posts and a roof of branches, trellis, bower] in Turkish.

*Diwān* [law court, chancellery] is an arabicization. It is rendered by *jāy-i yargū* [law court] and *nīk-nāma*

[chancellery] in Persian, by *daʿvā yeri* [law court] and *eyü beti yeri* [chancellery] in Turkish.

*Şarḥ* [lofty pavilion, high palace, high castle] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kākh* [palace, pavilion] and *kushki-i buland* [lofty palace, lofty pavilion] in Persian, by *yüce köşk* [monumental pavilion] and *binā-yı ʿālī* [high building] in Turkish.

[73r] *Ḳaşr* [palace, fort, summer house, pavilion] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kushk* [palace, castle, summer house, pavilion, villa] and *chār-ṭaḥ* [pavilion, summer house]. In Turkish, the common people, corrupting it, say *çār-daḥ* [pavilion, summer house]. It also is rendered by a masonry room [*oṭa*] built of stone.

*Tārīma* [kiosk, booth, cabin, stall] is an arabicization. It is rendered by *khāna-i chūpīn va kunbadīn* [domed wooden house] in Persian, by *çatma kubbelü ev* [domed wooden house] in Turkish.

*Rawāk, riwāk, ruwāk* [loggia, porch, verandah, portico] are arabicizations. They say *chār-ṭaḥ-i kābūlī* [open-fronted portico with overhanging eaves] in Persian, *şundurmalu öni açık çār-ṭaḥ* [roofed, open-fronted portico with overhanging eaves] in Turkish.

*Tāk* [arch, vault] is an arabicization. It is rendered by *kamar-i chār-ṭaḥ va juz-i-ü* [arch of a portico, etc.] in Persian, by *çār-daḥ kemeri* [arch of a portico] and simply *kemer* [arch, vault] in Turkish.

*Zullā* [canopy, sheltered place, porch] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sāya-bān* [porch, canopy, trellis] and *şuffa* [porch] and *takhta-pūsh* [wood covered shelter] in Persian, by *gölgelik* [shady spot, arbor, bower] and *tahta örtülü şofa* [wood-covered porch] in Turkish.

*Ghurfa ʿulliyya* [upper room, upstairs room, belvedere] is Arabic. It is rendered by *varvāra-i zivarīn* [open upper room, gallery, balcony on a house top] in Persian, by *fevkānī çār-ṭaḥ* [upper pavilion] in Turkish. It is like a *şāh-nişīn* [open gallery on a house top].

*Muḥawwaṭa* [courtyard] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jāy-i divārīn* [walled place] in Persian, by *divārlu yer* [walled place] and *ḥavlt* [courtyard, court] in Turkish.

*Muḥawwaṭa-i dākhiliyya* [inner court] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jāy-i divārīn-i andarūnī* [inner court] in Persian, by *iç ḥavlt* [inner court] in Turkish.

*Muḥawwaṭa-i khārijīyya* [outer court] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jāy-i divārīn-i bīrūnī* [outer court] in Persian, by *taşra ḥavlt* [outer court] in Turkish.

*Bayt* [house, room] is Arabic. It is rendered by *khāna*

<sup>1</sup> Marginal note reads, "And *sudda* with the *zamme* [short u] means, 'door of a house,' and [it is found with this meaning] in the

valid tradition, "The doors [*sudad*] will not be open to the people.'"

[house, room] in Persian, by *oda* [room, chamber] in Turkish.

*Hujra* [small room, cell] is Arabic. It is rendered by *khâna-i khurd* [small room] in Persian, by *küçük oda* [small room] in Turkish.

*Kaytün* [? guest room] is Arabic. In Persian they say *mihmân-khâna* [guest room], in Turkish *konuk odası* [guest room] and also *misâfir-hâne* [guest room] and *selâmlık* [guest room].

*Khazîna* and *khizâna* [treasury] are Arabic. In Persian they say *ganjîna* [treasury]. In Turkish the common people, corrupting it, say *hazne* [treasury].

*Makhzan* [storeroom] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jây-i mâl u matâ‘* [place for money and effects, storeroom] in Persian, by *mâl ve metâ‘ yeri ve odası* [place and room for money and effects, storeroom] in Turkish.

*Killa* [mosquito net] is Arabic. It is rendered by *pashsha-khâna* [mosquito net] in Persian. It is a curtained room called a *cibinlik* [mosquito net] in Turkish, set up to [keep out] mosquitoes.

*Kılal* [mosquito nets] is Arabic. It is rendered by *pashsha-khânahâ* [mosquito nets] in Persian, by *peşşe-hâneler* [mosquito nets] in Turkish. Common people, corrupting it, say *kiler*.

*Makhba‘a* [store room, hiding place, refuge, cellar, shelter] is Arabic. In Persian they say *nihân-khâna* [hiding place, refuge, storeroom], in Turkish *gizli oda* [secret room] and *kiler* [storeroom].

*Mikhda‘* [small room, cabinet, chamber] is Arabic. In Persian and Turkish they say *dölâb* [cupboard, cabinet]. And *dölâb* is Persian and is shared with Turkish.

*Sirdâb* [cool storage room, cellar] is an arabicization. It has been arabicized from the Persian *sardâb* [cool storage room, cellar; from *sard*, cool, and *âb*, water]. It is rendered by *şu şoudacağ oda* [water-cooling room] in Turkish.

*Sarab* [underground chamber, tunnel] is Arabic. In Persian they say *zîr-i zamîn* [underground room, basement], in Turkish *izbe* [underground room, basement] and also, as in Persian, by *zîr-i zemîn*.

*Mashrûba* [balcony, roof terrace] is Arabic. It is rendered by *bâm sutûn* [terrace, roof terrace, balcony] in Persian, by *direk odası* [balcony, roof terrace] in Turkish, that is, an open-roofed room.

*Kûkh* [a small, windowless hut or house of reeds] is arabicized from *kâkh* [palace, villa, summer dwelling, apartment at the top of a house with an open front]. It is rendered by *khâna-i bî-ravzan* [room without windows or aperture to let smoke escape] in Persian, by *bacası yok oda* [chimneyless room] in Turkish.

*Tanaf* [molding, eaves over a door, projecting ledge] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kâbûl* [eaves] and *kâbür* [eaves] in Persian, by *kapu üzerinde olan şundurma ve şaçak* [roof and eaves over a door] in Turkish.

*Nafağ* [tunnel, a chamber with two entrances] is Arabic. It is rendered by *khâna-i dû-darîn* [chamber with two entrances] in Persian, by *iki kapulu ev* [chamber with two entrances] in Turkish.

*Bayt-i fawkânî wa ‘ilwiyy* [upper-story room] is Arabic. It is rendered by *khâna-i zivarîn* [upper room] in Persian, by *üst oda* [upper room] in Turkish.

[73v] *Bayt-i tahtânî ve siflî* [lower-story room] is Arabic. It is rendered by *khâna-i zîrîn* [lower room] in Persian, by *alt oda* [lower room] in Turkish.

*Mağbakh* [kitchen] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jây-i ash pukhtan* [place for cooking food] and *ash-khâna* [kitchen] in Persian, by *çorba pişüreceğ yer* [place for preparing soup] and *aş odası* [kitchen] in Turkish.

*Kânûn* [fireplace, stove, oven] is Arabic. It is rendered by *âlashdân* [fireplace, stove, oven] in Persian, by *ocağ* [fireplace, stove, oven] in Turkish.

*Furun* [oven, outdoor baking oven] is Arabic. In Persian they say *dâsh* [outdoor oven], in Turkish, as in Arabic, again *furun*. It is a shared term.

*Watîs* [oven] is Arabic. In Persian they say *tannûr* [oven], in Turkish, as in Persian, *tennûr* [oven].

*Sâ‘ûr* [pit oven] is Arabic. It is rendered by *tannûr dar zamîn* [pit oven] in Persian, by *yer tennûri* [pit oven] and *ocağ*, and *furun* in Turkish.

*Bayt-i şayafî* [summer room] is Arabic. It is rendered by *khâna-i tâbistânî* [summer room] in Persian, by *yaz odası* [summer room] in Turkish.

*Bayt-i shitawî* [winter room] is Arabic. It is rendered by *khâna-i zimistanî* [winter room] in Persian, by *kış odası* [winter room] in Turkish.

*Bayt-i musaṭṭah* [flat-roofed room] is Arabic. It is rendered by *khâna-i bâmîn* [flat-roofed room] in Persian, by *tavanlu oda* [flat-roofed room] in Turkish.

*Bayt-i musannam* [vaulted room] is Arabic. It is rendered by *khâna-i kühânî* [vaulted room] in Persian, by *örgüçlü oda* [vaulted room] in Turkish.

*Bayt-i muḳabbab* [domed room] is Arabic. It is rendered by *khâna-i kunbadîn* [domed room] in Persian, by *ḳubbelü oda* [domed room] in Turkish.

*Ḳubba-i usrubîyya* [lead-covered dome] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kunbad-i surub-pushida* [lead-covered dome] in Persian, by *ḳurşunlu ḳubbe* [lead-covered dome] in Turkish.

*Dârun ḳawrâ‘u* [spacious house] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sarây-i farâkh* [spacious house, large house]

in Persian, by *bol ve geniş ev* [large and spacious house] in Turkish.

*Dârun Ma'mûniyya* [?, lit. the House of Ma'mun] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sarây-i dû pushish* [house with two roofs] in Persian, by *iki kât sakflu oda* [room with two roofs] in Turkish.

*Dâru al-darb* [mint] is Arabic. In Persian they say *sarây-i diram-zan* [mint], in Turkish *altun ve akçe kesen yer* [place where gold and silver coins are struck] and now *darbhâne* [mint].

*Dâru al-maraz* [hospital] is Arabic. It is rendered by *bîmâr-khâna* [hospital] and *mâristân* [hospital] in Persian, by *hastalar odası* [hospital] in Turkish.

*Dâr al-shifâ'* [hospital, lunatic asylum] is Arabic. In Persian they say *timar-khâna* [lunatic asylum], in Turkish, as in Persian, *timar-hâne* [lunatic asylum]. It is [also] rendered by *ilâc odası* [establishment for curing, hence, hospital].

*Dâru al-ʿamal* [workshop] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kâr-khâna* [workshop] in Persian, by *iş evi* [workshop] in Turkish. Now, [in Turkish] as in Persian, they say *kâr-hâne*.

*Hiyâta* [court or vestibule of a house] is Arabic. In Persian they say *bâlân* [court or vestibule of a house]. In Turkish, as in Arabic, they say *hiyât*. It is rendered by [a place] in front of a door and under the eaves.

*Dihlîz* [entrance hall, vestibule] is an arabicization. In Persian they say *bâlân-i andarûnî* [inner entrance hall, inner court], in Turkish *iç kapu önü* [area before the inner gate] and also, as in Arabic, *iç hiyât* [inner court].

*Sakîfa* [porch, outer entry hall] is Arabic. It is rendered by *bâlân-i bîrûnî* [outer entry hall, outer court] in Persian, by *taşra hiyâtı* [outer court] in Turkish.

*Kuwa* [chimney, smoke hole] is Arabic. It is rendered by *ravzan* [smoke hole, chimney] in Persian, by *baca* [chimney, smoke hole] in Turkish.

*Rawzana* [small smoke hole] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian *ravzan*. In Turkish this also is rendered by *baca*.

*Rawshan* [window, skylight; lighted, illuminated] is an arabicization. It is again rendered by *ravshan* [lighted, illuminated] and by *panjara* [lattice window] and *chüb-i panjara* [window lattice] in Persian, by *ışıklık* [skylight, light well, window] and *pencere ağacı* [window lattice] in Turkish.

*Manzara* [lookout, watchtower] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dâda-gâh* [lookout] and *nazar-gâh* [lookout] in Persian, by *bakacak yer* [lookout] like a window, etc., in Turkish.

[74r] *Madd-i başar* [range of vision] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dirâzî-i bînî-i dâda* [range of vision of the looker] in Persian, by *göz irimi kadar açık yer* [range of vision, open space ranging as far as the eye can see] in Turkish.

*Shabbaka* [lattice, grillwork, screen] is Arabic. It is rendered by *ravshan yak badîgar shuda* [? lattice] in Persian, by *pencere barmagı birbirine girmiş* [interlaced window grill, lattice, screen] in Turkish.

*Kafaş* [screened enclosure] is Arabic. In Persian and Turkish they also say *kafeş*, as in Arabic. But they also say *kafeş* with a *sîn* [i.e., written قفس instead of قفس].

*Mushabbak* [latticed, screened] is Arabic. It is rendered by *yak dar dîgar girih shuda* [interwoven, latticed] in Persian, by *birbirine girmiş ve girih olmuş* [interwoven, latticed] in Turkish.

*Mishkât* [niche for a lamp, lamp] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dûlâb-i dîvâr* [wall niche, wall cabinet] and *charâğpâ* [lamp, portable lamp, candlestick] in Persian, by *dîvâr penceresi ki öbir tarafa geçmiye* [wall opening that does not open through to the other side, i.e., a niche] in Turkish.

*Raff* [shelf, rack] is Arabic. In Persian they say *parvâza-i khâna* [shelf] and *sutûn* [? column], in Turkish *sergen* [shelf] and also *raf* [shelf] as in Arabic.

*Ifrîz* [projecting, sheltering roof] is Arabic. It is rendered by *parvaz-i tâk* [projecting, sheltering roof] in Persian, by *muşandara* [projecting, sheltering roof] in Turkish. It means eaves and roof built to protect a door and wall from rain.

*Suffa* [ledge, hall, stone bench] is Arabic. In Persian they say *tashîr* [a shady place to rest on], in Turkish *seki gibi yüksekce neşimene* [a high seat like a stone bench or porch].

*Najîra* [wooden bench] is Arabic. It is rendered by *suffa-i chûpîn* [wooden bench or porch] in Persian, by *üstü örtülü tahta soffâ* [covered wooden bench or porch] in Turkish.

*Tafârîj* [intervals, interstices in a lattice or screen] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dârbazîn* [a screen or lattice in front of a door] in Persian, by *tarbûzûn barmaklıklarının arahlıkları* [interstices in a lattice or screen] in Turkish.

*ʿArîsha* [vine arbor, thrones, pl. of ʿarsh] is Arabic. In Persian they say *jafta* [vine arbor], in Turkish *aşma kirevid* [hanging arbor for a vine], like a span.

*ʿArsh* [throne] and *sarîr* [throne] are Arabic. In Persian they say *takht* [throne], in Turkish *serîr* [throne] as in Arabic and *taht* [throne] as in Persian.

*Arika* [throne] is Arabic. In Persian they say *takht-i*

*ārâsta* [ornamented, embellished throne], in Turkish, with the Arabic word *muraşşa*<sup>c</sup> [ornamented], they say *muraşşa*<sup>c</sup> *taht* [ornamented, embellished throne], [that is] an exalted and embellished throne.

*Majlis* [meeting room, assembly room] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jây-i anjuman* [meeting place] in Persian, by *dernek yeri* [meeting place], and *oturacak yer* [sitting place] in Turkish.

*Mahfil* [men's meeting place] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jây-i anjuman-i mardân* [men's meeting place] in Persian, by *erler dernegi yeri* [men's meeting place] in Turkish.

*Ma'tam* [women's meeting place] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jây-i anjuman-i zanân* [women's meeting place] in Persian, by *avretler dernegi* [women's meeting place] in Turkish.

*Sitâra* [curtain, screen] is Arabic. It is rendered by *parda-i dar* [door curtain] in Persian, by *kapu perdesi* [door curtain] in Turkish.

*Surâdîk* [royal tent, an enclosure of canvas] is an arabicization. It has been arabicized from the Persian *sarâ-parda* [royal tent, an enclosure of canvas]. It is rendered by *ev perdesi* [an enclosure of canvas] in Turkish.

*Manzil* [stopping place, inn, caravanserai] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jây-i furuamadan* [alighting place, stopping place] in Persian, by *inecek yer* [alighting place, stopping place] in Turkish.

*Maskan* [dwelling, abode, house, residence] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jây-i istâdan* [stopping place, halting place, dwelling] in Persian, by *turacak yer* [stopping place, dwelling, residence] in Turkish.

*Buķ'a* [a place] is Arabic. It is rendered by *yik pâra-i jây* [a place] and *jây-gâh* [a specific place] in Persian, by *bir pâre yer* [a place] and *olacak yer* [a specific place] in Turkish.

*Khayma* [tent] is Arabic. In Persian they say *chatr* [tent] and *châdar* [tent]. In Turkish, as in Persian, by they say *çâder* [tent].

*Fuşâî* [large tent] is Arabic. It is rendered by *chadar-i buzurg* [large tent] in Persian, by *büyük çâder* in Turkish.

*Ķubba* [domed structure, circular domed tent] is Arabic. In Persian they say *khirkâh* [large tent, state tent, pavilion, movable Turkoman tent formed by flexible poles and covered with felt], in Turkish *künbed* [circular domed tent] and the vulgar term *oba* [large nomad tent] which is a corruption of *ķubba*.

*Kharkâha* [large tent, state tent] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian *khirkâh* [large tent, state tent, pavilion]. In Turkish they say *otâķ* [large and luxurious tent, state tent, pavilion].

[74v] *Ķammâm* [bath, bath house] is Arabic. In Persian they say *karmâba* [hot bath, bath house], in Turkish, as in Arabic, *ķammâm*. *Karmâba* is rendered by warm water.

*Maslakh* [changing room] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jây-i jâma kandan* [changing room] in Persian, by *geysi ķıkaracak yer* [changing room] in Turkish. Now they say *câmekân* [changing room of a Turkish bath].

*Mustahamm* [private chamber in a bath house] is Arabic. In Persian they say *khalvat-i kermâba* [single room or private chamber in a bath house]. In Turkish they now use the Arabic word *ķalvet* [private chamber in a bath house].

*Şahrj* [tank, basin] is Arabic. In Persian they say *akhdur* [? basin], in Turkish *ķurna* [basin of a bath or fountain]. *Şahrîc* is also a word [used for this in Turkish].

*Mibzal* [spigot, tap, cock, faucet] is Arabic. In Persian they say *lula* [pipe, spout] and *nâyija* [spout, faucet], in Turkish, as in Persian, *lüle* [spout, pipe]. It is a shared term.

*Attûn* [kiln, furnace for heating a bath] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kulkhan* [furnace for heating a bath] and *kulkhân* [furnace for heating a bath], in Turkish *külķan* [furnace for heating a bath]. It is a shared term.

*Dâkhina* [chimney] is Arabic. In Persian they say *dûd-âhang* [chimney for a kitchen or a bath]. In Turkish, the vulgar corrupting it, they say *düheng* [chimney for a kitchen or a bath] for the chimney of a bath furnace [*külķan*] and an oven [*ocak*].

*Kanîf* [toilet] and *khalâ* [toilet] and *bayt al-farâĶ* [toilet, privy] and *mustarâķ* [lavatory, privy] are Arabic. In Persian and Turkish they say *ķadem-gâh* [privy] and *âbķâne* [water closet, privy] and *memşâ* [privy].

*Kiryâs* [privy on the roof of a house] is an arabicization. It is rendered by *âbķhâna bar bâm* [privy on a roof top] in Persian, by *üst ķatda olan memşâ* [roof privy, top-floor privy] and *ķar-daķ ķalâ* [penthouse privy] in Turkish.

*Mutawazza*<sup>3</sup> [place for performing ablutions, water closet] is Arabic. It is rendered by *âbdast-ķhâna* [place of ablution, water closet] in Persian, by *âbdest alacak yer* [place for doing ablutions, water closet] in Turkish.

*Maghsal* [place where canonical uncleanness after menstruation or childbirth is bathed away, place where corpses are canonically washed, place of ablution] is Arabic. It is rendered by *ghusl-ķhâna* [place where uncleanness is bathed away, a place of ablution] in Persian, by *Ķusl idecek yer* [place where canonical uncleanness is bathed away, a place of ablution] in Turkish.

*Bâlû'a* [drain] and *billû'a* [drain] are Arabic. They

are rendered by *jāy-i ābrīz* [drain] in Persian, by *şu dökecek yer* [drain] in Turkish.

*Day'a* [farm, field, plot of land, real estate] is Arabic. It is rendered by *zamīn-i kisht* [cultivated land] in Persian, by *tarla* [arable field, garden], *çiftlik makulesi* [agricultural estate, farm], *mülk* [real estate] and *akār* [real estate, landed property] in Turkish.

*Akār* [real estate, landed property] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sarāy u zamīn u dirakht* [house and land and tree] in Persian, by *ev ve yer ve bağçe ve çiftlik ve tarla* [house and land and garden and farm and arable field, i.e., landed property] in Turkish.

*Anbār* [storehouse, storeroom, granary] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jāy-i gālla* [granary] in Persian, by *şārbūn* [silo] in Turkish. Also, they say *anbār* [storehouse, granary] as in Arabic.

*Iştbl* [stable] is Arabic. In Persian they say *ākḥūr* [stable], in Turkish, as in Persian, by *āḥūr* [stable].

*Matban* [place for storing straw, hay loft] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kāhdān* [place for storing straw, hay loft], in Turkish *şamanlık* [place for storing straw, hay loft].

*Mazra'a* [field, arable field] is Arabic. In Persian they say *tarkaz* [arable field]; in Turkish, *tarkaz* having been corrupted by the vulgar, they say *tarla* [arable field].

*Mashāra* [subdivision of a field, quarter of a *dönüm*] is Arabic. In Persian they say *yak pāra khivayd* [a part of a sown field] and *yak takhta az zamīn* [a part of a sown field], in Turkish, among farmers, *evlek* [a furrow, a quarter of a *dönüm*] and *kārk* [furrow].

*Jarīb* [a unit of land measurement] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian *garīb* [a unit of land measurement]. In Turkish they say *dönüm* [a unit of land measurement].

*Karm* [vineyard, garden, orchard] is Arabic. In Persian they say *bağ* [vineyard, garden, orchard] and *raz* [garden, vineyard], in Turkish, as in Persian, *bağ* [vineyard, garden, orchard].

*Khān* [caravanserai, inn, khan] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian *khāna* [house, room]. They also say *hān* [caravanserai, inn] in Persian and Turkish.

*Ribāf* [inn] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kārbān-sarāy* [inn, caravanserai]. In Turkish, the vulgar corrupt it and say *kervansarāy* [inn, caravanserai]. It is a building used for travelers.

*Hānūt* [shop] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kār-gāh* [workshop, place of business, shop], in Turkish, as in Persian, *dükkan* [shop]. *Dükkan* is arabicized from Persian.

*Razdağ* [a row, a line of shops] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian *rasta* [a row of houses or shops, a market with a regular range of shops]. In Turkish, the vulgar corrupt it and say *ārāste* [a row of shops with the same trade].

[75r] *Maştaba* and *miştaba* [out-of-doors bench of stone or wood] are Arabic. In Persian they say *jāy-i ġarībān* [stranger's place, guest place, hence a bench where strangers rest]. In Turkish, using Arabic terms, they say *taht al-ka'la* [? lit. beneath the fortress]. It is rendered by the seats [*neşimene*] which are called *seki* [stone seat] and *sed* [? barrier, rampart, fence]. They are found in places like coffee houses [*kahve-hāne*] and between some large gateways.

*Sābāt* [marketplace covering] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian *sāya-bān* [covering, canopy]. It is rendered *çār-sū örtüsü* [marketplace covering] in Turkish.

*Kal'a* [fortress] and *hişār* [fortress] are Arabic. In Persian they say *diz* [fortress], in Turkish, as in Arabic, *hişār*. It is a shared term.

*Darb* [gate or door of a quarter, street or town] is an arabicization. It is rendered by *darvāza* [door, gate], *dar-i diz* [fortress gate] and *dar-i kūy* [gate of a quarter or ward] in Persian, by *büyük şokağ ve hişār ve mahalle kapısı* [gate of a large street, a fortress and a quarter or ward] in Turkish.

*Burj* [tower, bastion] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kusha-i bārū-yi diz* [tower corner of a fortress, bastion of a fortress] in Persian, by *hişār dīvārī bedeni* [bastion of a fortress wall] in Turkish.

*Sūr* [city wall] is Arabic. It is rendered by *bārū-yi shahr* [city wall] in Persian, by *şehir dīvārī ve bārūsı* [city wall and rampart] in Turkish.

*Faşıl* [entrenchment, wall, rampart, space between ramparts, intervallum] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dīvār darpīsh-i khandaq-i diz* [wall before the moat of a fortress] in Persian, by *şehir dīvārını önünde olan hendek dīvārı* [moat wall before a city wall] in Turkish. Concerning such wall-enclosed places, they say that they are lower and smaller than the rampart of a fortress or the wall of a city.

*Khandaq* [moat] is Arabic. In Persian they say *jāy-i kanda* [moat]. In Turkish, some of the vulgar corrupt it and say *hendek*.

*Rahā* [mill stone, mill] is Arabic. It is rendered by *ās* [mill stone, mill] in Persian, by *degirmen* [mill stone, mill] in Turkish.

*Marhā* [mill] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jāy-i ās* [mill] in Persian, by *degirmen yeri* [mill] in Turkish.

*Tâhûna* [mill, water mill] is Arabic. It is rendered by *âsiyâb* [water mill] and *âsiyâ* [mill] in Persian, by *şu degirmeni* [water mill] in Turkish. It means *degirmen* [mill].

*Tîhâna* [? donkey mill, miller] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kharâs* [donkey mill], in Turkish *at degirmeni* [horse mill]. It [also] is rendered by the miller's trade [*degirmencilik*].

*Âmir* [inhabited, prosperous, cultivated] is Arabic. It is rendered by *âbâdân* [prosperous, ordered, cultivated] in Persian, by *şen* [inhabited, prosperous, cultivated] in Turkish. They also say *ma'mûr* [flourishing, prosperous, cultivated, inhabited] as in Arabic.

*Umrân* [built up, flourishing] is Arabic. In Persian they say *âbâdânî* [built up, flourishing], in Turkish *şenlik* [built up, flourishing].

*Ghâmîr* [uninhabited, desolate, empty land] is Arabic. In Persian they say *vîrân* [desolate, devastated, abandoned place], in Turkish *harâb* [desolate, uninhabited, abandoned place] and *vîrân*. It is a term shared with Persian.

*Ghamr* [to inundate, to cover, to bury] is Arabic. It is rendered by *vîrân kardan* [to lay waste, to destroy] in Persian, by *vîrân eylemek* [to destroy, to lay waste] in Turkish.

*Kharâb* [to be destroyed] is Arabic. It is rendered by *vîrân shudan* [to be destroyed] in Persian, by *vîrân olmak* [to be destroyed] in Turkish.

*Kharîb* [wrecked, ruined, dilapidated] and *kharîba* [site of ruins] are Arabic. They are rendered by *vîrân* [ruined, devastated, laid waste] in Persian. In Turkish, as also for *ghâmîr*, these are rendered by *vîrân* [ruined, devastated, desolate, laid waste, in ruins].

*Nuqđ* and *niqđ* [broken, ruined, part of a demolished building] are Arabic. In Persian they say *shikasta* [broken, ruined], in Turkish *şınık* [broken] and *bozuk* [broken] and *yıkık yer* [dilapidated building, ruined place].

*Imârat* [to make prosperous, to make flourishing] is Arabic. It is rendered by *âbâdân kardan* [to build, to cultivate, to make prosperous] in Persian, by *şen itmek* and *ma'mûr itmek* [to make flourishing, to make prosperous] in Turkish.

*Marammat* [to repair, to mend] is Arabic. In Persian it is rendered by *işlâh kardan* [to repair, to mend], in Turkish *halel bulmuş nesneyi işlâh itmek ve onarmak* [to repair and mend a broken thing].

*Kharâb* [broken] is Arabic. It is rendered by *vîrân suda* [broken] in Persian, by *vîrân olmuş* [broken] in Turkish.

*Talal* [ruins or traces of a building] is Arabic. It is rendered by *nishân-i sarây* [trace of a building] in Persian, by *harâb veyâ muhterik olan ev eşeri* [trace of a ruined or burned house] in Turkish.

*Rasm* [trace] is Arabic. It is rendered by *nishân-i bunyâd-i sarây* [trace of the foundation of a house] in Persian, by *ev temeli eşeri* [trace of the foundation of a house] in Turkish, that is the mark and trace of a thing.

*Dimna* [traces of a building, ruins] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jây-i sarây* [site of a house] in Persian, by *ev yeri âşârî ve nişânî* [traces and remains of a house] and *yurd yeri* [site of a house] in Turkish.

[75v] *Fustât* [Cairo] is Arabic. In Persian they say *Mişr-ı kâhira* [Cairo, Egypt] and *shahr-i buzurg* [a large city]. In Turkish they say *Mişr şehri* [the city of Egypt, a term for Cairo sometimes used in literature and colloquially] and *büyük şehir* [a large city].<sup>2</sup>

*Mişr* [Egypt, Cairo] is Arabic. This is also rendered in Persian and Turkish by *Mişr-ı Kâhire* [Cairo, Egypt] and *shahr-i buzurg* [a large city], that is a *büyük şehir* [a large city].

*Madîna* [Medina] is Arabic. It designates in Persian the *shahr-i Rasûl-Allâh* [the city of the Messenger of God]—may God, whose name be exalted, commend and salute him—and *shahr-i buzurg* [a large city]. In Turkish [it is] the *ravza-i muṭahhara* [the Tomb of the Prophet] and *büyük şehir* [a large city].

*Balad* [city, town, village] is Arabic. In Persian they say *shahr* [city, town], in Turkish *şehir*. *Şehir* is a term shared with Persian.

*Kûra* [district, rural district, small town, village] is Arabic. It is rendered by *khavza* [district] and *shahr* [town] in Persian. In Turkish it is rendered by *il* [region] and *vilâyet* [province] and *sancağ* [subdivision of a province]. This also, as *balad*, means *şehir* [city].

*Kaşaba* [small town, district of a city] is Arabic. It is rendered by *shahr-i küchak* [small city, small town] and *miyân-i shahr* [district of a city] in Persian, by *küçük şehir* [small city, small town] and *şehir ortası* [district of a city] in Turkish.

*Karya* [village] is Arabic. In Persian they say *rustây* [village], in Turkish, *köy* [village] from Persian.

*Maḥalla* [street, quarter, district] is Arabic. In Persian they say *küy* [alley, lane, quarter], in Turkish, as in Arabic, *maḥalle*. It is a shared term.

*Za'igha* [lane] is Arabic. In Persian they say *küy* [lane, alley]. In Turkish, this is also *maḥalle* [street] as in Arabic.

<sup>2</sup> Marginal note reads, "It [Fustât] refers to a meeting place of the people of a city and a district in a specific location."

*Zukāk* [street in a town] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kucha-i tang* [narrow street, lane]. In Turkish they pronounce the Arabic term *soḳāk* [road, street, alley] with a *ṣīn* (س).

*Murrabbaʿa* [square, crossroad] is Arabic. It is rendered by *chār-sū* [square, crossroad] in Persian, by *dört ağızlu yol* [crossroad] in Turkish.

*Tūḳ* [market place, market] is Arabic. It is rendered by *pāzār* [market] in Persian, by *ordı* [camp, and hence market] in Turkish. Now they say *pāzār* [in Turkish] as in Persian.

*Tarīḳ* [road] is Arabic. It is rendered by *rāh* [road] in Persian, by *yol* [road] in Turkish, whatever type of road it is.

*Shāriʿ* [highway] is Arabic. It is rendered by *shāh-rāh* [king's road, highway] in Persian, by *büyük yol* [large road] in Turkish. It means the king's road.

## TWELFTH CHAPTER

It describes and discusses the terms *bināʾ yeri*, and *temel konacak yer*, and *temel döşemesi*, and *temel taşları*, and *kinedleri*, and *zuvāna*, and *temel ʿarakaṣı*, and *taşın envāʿı*, and *kezzîç*, and *moloz*, and *dīvār*, and *dīvār gedigi*, and *balçık*, and *sıva balçığı*, and *kirec*, and *alçı*, and *dīvār kenarı*, and *dīvār bucağı*, and *mermer*, and *direk*, and *dayak*, and *yaşdik*, and *bâtil*, and *mertek*, and *kuşak*, and *kerner*, and *pelvâje mertekleri* and *tâbân*, and *kiriş*, and *ev okı*, and *demren*, and *çelik*, and *oñurğa*, and the *māzu* called *māhiye*, and *maḳaş*, and *maḳaṣın yanları*, and *maḳaş ayağı*, and *maḳaş ayağının gezi* and *çatı mertekleri*, and *çatının kendüsi ve örtüsü*, and *ekseri* and *tahtası*, and *tuğla*, and *keremid*, and *oluk*, and *taş döşeme oda*, and *düz ve sık döşeme taş ve tuğla*, and *nerdübân*, and *nerdübân ayağı*, and *yukarı çıkacak başamak*, and *aşağı inecek başamak*, and *köprü*, and *büyük köprü*, and *kapu*, and *kapu çerçevesi*, [76r] and *büyük kapu*, and *büyük kapunun içinde oyma küçük kapu*, and *muḥlak küçük kapu*, and *kapu kanadı*, and *kapunun üst ve alt eşiği*, and *kapu binisi*, and *kapu ökçesi*, and *ökçe delüğü*, and *zuvanası*, and *kullâbî reze*, and *bendkeşe*, and *kapu aralığı*, and *reze*, and *üst reze*, and *alt reze*, *çifte reze*, and *kapu halkası*, and *çiñrağustı*, and *kapu zenciri*, and *kapu sövesi* and *mitres*, and *demür kilid*, and *mandal*, and *miftāh*, and all things related to house-building materials in the Arabic language and the Persian language and the Turkish language.

*Arsa* [building site] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jāy-i sarāy* [building site] and *miyān-i sarāy* [building site] in

Persian, by *ev yeri* [building site] and *ev ortası* [building site] in Turkish.

*Khiṭṭa* [plan, layout of a building site] is Arabic. And it is rendered by *nishān-i jāy-i sarāy* [layout of a building site] in Persian, by *ev yeri çizisi* [layout of a building site] in Turkish.

*Hıfṭa* [ditch, trench, moat] is Arabic. It is rendered by *jāy-i kanda* [ditch, trench, moat] in Persian, by *kazılmış yer* [ditch, trench], and *çukur* [pit], and *hendek* [moat] in Turkish.

*Watid* [a wooden stake] is Arabic. It is rendered by *mikh-i shakh-i mardāna* [? marking stake] in Persian, by *fermüde kazık* [? marking stake] in Turkish.

*Miʿtada* [mallet] is Arabic. It is rendered by *mikh-i küp* [mallet for driving stakes] in Persian, by *tokmak* [mallet] in Turkish.

*Bisâṭ* [bed for a wall, footer] is Arabic. It is rendered by *piştar-i bunyāz* [foundation bed, footer] in Persian, by *temel döşemesi* [foundation bed] and *döşeme* [footer] in Turkish.

*Asās* [foundation] is Arabic. It is rendered by *bunyāz* [foundation] in Persian, by *temel* [foundation] in Turkish.

*Ḳāʿida* [base, foundation] is Arabic. It is rendered by *bunyāz-i binā ve juz-i ü* [foundation of a building and the like] in Persian, by *yapunun ve gayrının temeli* [foundation of a building and other things] in Turkish.

*Hajar* [stone] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sang* [stone] in Persian, by *taş* [stone] in Turkish.

*Kinad* [clamp that binds a joint together] is Arabic. In Persian it is *band-i miyān-i dū shāna* [clamp that binds a joint together]. In Turkish, the vulgar corrupt it and say *kined* [metal clamp for binding a joint].

*Lisān al-ḥajarayn* [latch bolt] is Arabic. In Persian it is *zuvāna* [latch bolt] and *zubāna*, and *zufāna*. In Turkish, as in Persian, it is *zuvāna* [latch bolt].

*Muṣṭā al-lawḥayn* [?, lit. comb of two planks/plates] is Arabic. It is rendered by *shāna-i dū takhta* [?, lit. comb of two planks/plates] in Persian, by *tahta tarağı* [?, lit. plank/plate comb] in Turkish.

*Sāfa* [course of masonry] is Arabic. It is rendered by *yak rasta* [one course] in Persian, by *bir kūr* [one course] in Turkish. That is, it is rendered by one course of masonry.

*ʿAraka* [a course of bricks in a wall] is Arabic. It is rendered by *vālād-i yak rasta* [one course of masonry] in Persian, by *bir sıra kur* [one course of masonry] in Turkish.

*Şakhra* [rock, boulder] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sang-i sakht u buzurg* [large and hard stone] in Persian,

by *büyük ve pek taş* [large and hard stone] in Turkish.

*Şald* [hard stone] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sang-i khāra* [hard stone] and *sang-i sakht* [hard stone] in Persian, by *pek taş* [hard stone] in Turkish.

*Jalmud* [large rock, boulder] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sang-i buzurg* [large rock] in Persian, by *büyük taş* [large rock] in Turkish.

*Kaddāha* [flint] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sang-i ātash-zana* [flint] in Persian, by *çağmak taşı* [flint] in Turkish.

[76v] *Ḳahkarra* [? flint] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sang-i ātash* [flint] in Persian, by *od taşı* [flint] in Turkish.

*Safwān* [slate] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sang-i lağzān* [? slate] in Persian, by *kayāgan taşı* [slate] in Turkish.

*Nashafa* [pumice] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sang-i pāshīna* [pumice] in Persian, by *kūfeke taşı* [pumice] in Turkish.

*Safīha* [flag stone] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sang-i pahn* [flat stone] in Persian, by *yaşşı taş* [flat stone] in Turkish.

*Jandal* [mill stone, large rock, boulder] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sang-i kird* [millstone] in Persian, by *degirmī taş* [millstone] in Turkish.

*Ḥaşbā*<sup>2</sup> [gravel] is Arabic. It is *sang-i rīza* [gravel] in Persian, *uwak taş* [gravel] and *çaşıl taşı* [gravel] in Turkish.

*Khashram* [limestone] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sang-i gaj* [limestone] in Persian, by *kireç taşı* [limestone] in Turkish.

*Safā* [large, flat, white stones; slate, schist] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sang-i safīd va pahn* [flat, white stone] in Persian, by *yaşşı beyaz taş* [flat, white stone] in Turkish.

*Khashaba* [a piece of wood] is Arabic. It is rendered by *chūb* [wood, timber] in Persian, by *ağac* [wood, timber] in Turkish. Now, they also say *kerāste* [timber, lumber].

*Libna* and *lubna* [sun-dried brick, adobe] are Arabic. In Persian they say *khisht-i khām* [sun-dried brick, adobe], in Turkish *kerpiç* [sun-dried brick, adobe].

*Malāt* and *milāt* [mortar] are Arabic. In Persian they say *ājand* [plaster, mortar, cement]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt *malāt* and say *moloz* [?, lit. rubble].

*Jidār* [wall] is Arabic. In Persian it is *dīvār* [wall], in Turkish, as in Persian, *dīvār* [wall]. It is a shared term.

*Hā*<sup>2</sup>*ī* [wall, partition] is Arabic. In Persian it is *dīvār* [wall] and *pās kunanda* [partition], and in Turkish *dīvār* [wall] and *şaklayıcı* [partition].

*Sadd* and *sadda* [wall, rampart, dam; to wall, to fortify] are Arabic. They are rendered by *dīvār* [wall] and *ustuwār kardan* [to fortify] in Persian, by *dīvār* [wall] in Turkish. And they also have the meaning *pekirmek* [to fortify].

*Thulma* [breach in a wall] is Arabic. It is rendered by *rakhma-i dīvār u juz-i ū* [breach in a wall and such things] in Persian, by *dīvār gedūgi* [breach in a wall] and simply *geduk* [breach] in Turkish.

*Tīn* [clay] is Arabic. It is rendered by *gil* [clay] in Persian, by *balçık* [wet clay] of whatever sort in Turkish.

*Siyā*<sup>c</sup> [clay mixed with straw for plastering] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kāhkil* [clay mixed with straw for plastering] in Persian, by *şamanlu şıva balçığı* [clay mixed with straw for plastering] in Turkish.

*Jaşş* [gypsum, lime plaster], and *faşş* [lime wash], and *şīd* [lime wash] are Arabic. In Persian they are *gec* [lime plaster], in Turkish *kirec* [lime].

*Kawkab al-arḍ* [talç] and *kils* [lime plaster] are Arabic. In Persian they are *āhak* [lime plaster], in Turkish *alçı* [lime plaster].

*Sārūj* [lime plaster, quicklime] is Arabic. It is rendered by *āhak* [lime plaster] and *gil-i āhak* [quicklime] in Persian, by *alçı* [lime plaster] and *[alçı] hamiri* [quicklime] in Turkish.

*Rukn* [corner] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kūsha* [corner] in Persian, by *bucağ* [corner] in Turkish. They also say *kūşe* [corner] as in Persian.

*Zāwiya* [angle] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kunj* [angle] and *paygūla* [angle]. And in Turkish this is *bucağ* [angle]. It means the interior of an angle.

*Rukhām* [marble] is Arabic. In Persian they say *mar-mar* [marble]. In Turkish, as in Persian, they say *mermer* [marble]. It is persianized from the Arabic *marw* [? pebble, flint].

*Imād* [pillar, pole, column, support, buttress], *ʿamūd* [pole, column, pillar, post], *riʿāma* [pillar, post, buttress, support], *sāriya* [column], *ustuwāne* [column], *siṭā*<sup>c</sup> [tent pole, column], *kiwām* [support], *āsiya* [column], and *şakb* [tent pole], *şakab* [tent pole] are all Arabic. They are rendered by *sutün* [pillar, column, support] in Persian, by *direk* [pillar, column, post] in Turkish.

[77r] *Sanad* [support] and *masnad* [support] are Arabic. They are rendered by *pushtibān* [buttress, support] in Persian, by *dayak* [buttress, support] in Turkish.

*Wisāda* [cushion, column capital] is Arabic. It is rendered by *bālīn* [cushion, column capital] in Persian, by *yaşdıç* [cushion, column capital] in Turkish.

*Sāja* [beam, joist] is Arabic. It is rendered by *hizan* [beam, joist] in Persian, by *hatul* [beam, joist] in Turkish.

*Minṭaka* [brace] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kamar* [brace] and *miyân-band* [brace] in Persian, by *kemer* [brace] and *orta kuşak* [middle brace] in Turkish.

*Niṭāk* [brace, ring] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kamar* [brace], in Turkish *kuşak* [ring, brace] and *kemer* [brace], as in Persian.

*Tāk* [arch, vault] is arabicized from the Arabic *niṭāk* after it has been lightened and persianized. It is rendered by *binā kemeri* [vault or arch of a building] in Turkish.

*Ārida* [joist] is Arabic. It is rendered by *palvāza* [? joist] in Persian, by *dīvārdan taşra çıkan kiriş ve mertekler* [rafters and beams projecting beyond a wall] in Turkish.

*Jāyiza* [floor, base] is Arabic. In Persian they say *tābān* [wall plate, base, floor], in Turkish *tābān* [wall plate, base, floor], as in Persian.

*Watar* [rafter] is Arabic. It is rendered by *zih-i khāna* [rafter of a house] in Persian, by *ev kirişi* in Turkish, with the meaning rafter of a house.

*Sahm* [beam of the roof of a house] is Arabic. It is rendered by *tūr-i khāna* [beam of the roof of a house] in Persian, by *ev oksi* in Turkish, with the meaning beam of a house.

*Miḥbala* [peak of a roof] is Arabic. It is rendered by *paykān-i khāna* [peak of the roof of a house] in Persian, by *ev demreni* in Turkish, with the meaning peak of a house.

*Fülāz* [steel] is an arabicization of the Persian *pūlād* [steel]. It is rendered by *çelik* [steel] in Turkish.

*Maḳaş* [roof truss] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kāz-i khāna* [truss of a house] in Persian, by *çatı maḳaşı* [roof truss] in Turkish. *Maḳaş* is a term shared with Arabic.

*Rākida* [pillar, main beam, post] is Arabic. It is rendered by *farsab* [main beam] in Persian, by *mertek* [beam, pier] in Turkish, whatever type of beam it might be.

*Farḍ* [notch] is Arabic. It is rendered by *rakhna-i zih* [notch in a rafter] in Persian, by *kiriş gedügi* [notch in a rafter] in Turkish. It is the place which is the foot of a truss.

*Fuwḳ* [notch, hole] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sūfār* [notch, hole] in Persian, by *gez* [notch] in Turkish. They call a small notch a *gez*.

*Jidh<sup>c</sup>* [small beam in a roof] is Arabic. It is rendered by *farvāz-i āsumāna* [small beam in a roof] in Persian, by *çatı mertegi* [roof balk, roof beam] in Turkish.

*Fikra*, *faḳāra* [peak timber of the roof] are Arabic.

They are rendered by *muhra-i khāna* [peak timber of the roof of a house] in Persian, by *oñurgā* [peak timber of a roof] in Turkish, that is the peak timber of a roof.

*Sulb* [ridge pole, ridge beam] is Arabic. In Persian they say *māzū* [ridge pole, ridge beam]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt *māzū* to *māhiye* [ridge pole, ridge beam].

*Dil<sup>c</sup>* [side, rib] is Arabic. It is rendered by *pahlū* [side] in Persian, by *eyekū* [side, rib] and *yān* [side] in Turkish. And it means the side timbers of a truss.

*Masaṭṭah* [flat-roofed] is Arabic. It is rendered by *bām* [flat roof] in Persian, by *tām* [flat roof] in Turkish. Now, *tām* being little used, they usually say *ṭavan* [flat roof].

*Sakf* [roof, ceiling] is Arabic. It is rendered by *āsumāna* [roof] in Persian, by *çatı* [roof] in Turkish. If it is flat they say *ṭavan*, and if it is peaked they say *sakf*.

*Ghimā<sup>2</sup>* and *ghamā* [wood and clay or earth roof of a house] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kazūnī* [? clay roof of a house], in Turkish *pārdū* [? clay roof of a house]. It is a term shared with Persian.

*Watid* and *wadd* [wooden peg, pin,] are Arabic. They are rendered by *mikh-i chūpīn* [wooden pin] in Persian, by *kaçık* [wooden peg, pin] in Turkish.

*Sakk* and *sakkī* [iron nail, iron pin] are Arabic. They are rendered by *mikh-i āhanīn-i buzurg va dirāz* [big and long iron nail/pin] in Persian, by *büyük uzun ekseri* [big, long nail] in Turkish.

[77v] *Mismār* [nail, peg] is Arabic. It is rendered by *mikh* [nail, peg] in Persian, by *ekseri* [nail, spike] in Turkish, whatever sort of nail it be.

*Lawḥ* [board, plank] is Arabic. In Persian they say *takhta* [board, plank], in Turkish, as in Persian, *tahta* [board, plank]. It is a shared term.

*Alwāḥ* [boards, planks] is Arabic. It is rendered by *takhtahā* [boards, planks] in Persian, by *tahtalar* [boards, planks] in Turkish, because *alwāḥ* is the plural of *lawḥ*.

*Ājurr* [fired brick] and *tūb* [fired brick] are Arabic. They are rendered by *khisht-i yukhta* [fired brick] in Persian, by *tuğla* [fired brick] in Turkish.

*Kirmid* [roof tile] is arabicized from a Greek word. In Persian it is rendered by *ājur* [roof tile, fired brick, sun-dried brick] from the Arabic, in Turkish by *keremid* [roof tile].

*Mizāb* [gutter] is an arabicization. It is again rendered by *mizāb* [gutter] and *nāvdān* [gutter] in Persian, by *oluḳ* [gutter] in Turkish.

*Mith<sup>c</sup>ab* [gutter] is Arabic. It is rendered by *nāvdān* [gutter] in Persian, by *oluḳ* [gutter] in Turkish. But in Turkish, as in Persian, by they also say *mizāb* [gutter].

*Balâṭ* [floor pavement, floor tile] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kustardanî-i sang-i khâne* [stone pavement of a house] in Persian, by *evüñ taş döşemesi* [stone pavement of a house] in Turkish.

*Raşaf* [pavement] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kustardanî-i ustuvâr va hamvâr* [firm and level pavement] in Persian, by *düz ve pek döşeme* [firm and flat pavement] in Turkish.

*Sullam* [ladder, flight of stairs] and *mi‘râj* [ladder] are Arabic. In Persian they say *nardubân* [ladder, flight of stairs]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt the Persian and say *merdiven* [ladder, flight of stairs].

*Rutba* [step of a ladder, stair] and *martaba* [step, stair] are Arabic. They are rendered by *pāya* [step, stair] in Persian, by *başamak* [step, stair] and *nerdübân ayağı* [step, stair] in Turkish.

*Mirkât* [step, stair] is Arabic. It is rendered by *pāya-i khisht u sang* [stone or brick step] in Persian, by *taş başamak* [stone step] in Turkish.

*Daraja* [ascending step] is Arabic. It is rendered by *pāya ba-bālâ* [ascending step] in Persian, by *yukaruya gidecek başamak* [ascending step] in Turkish.

*Daraka* [descending step] is Arabic. It is rendered by *pāya ba-zîr* [descending step] in Persian, by *aşağa incek başamak* [descending step] in Turkish.

*Jisr* [bridge] is Arabic. It is rendered by *pul* and *pül* [bridge] in Persian, by *köprü* [bridge] in Turkish.

*Kanîṭara* [arched bridge] is Arabic. It is rendered by *pül-i buzurg* [large bridge] in Persian, by *büyük köprü* [large bridge] in Turkish.

*Bâb* [door, gate] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dar* [door, gate] in Persian, by *kapu* [door, gate] in Turkish.

*Milḳam* [door frame] is Arabic. In Persian they say *châr-chûpa-i dar* [door frame]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt this and say *çer-i çûh* [door frame].

*Ritâj* [gate, gateway] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dar-i buzurg* [large gate] in Persian, by *büyük kapu* [large gate] in Turkish.

*‘Itâj* [large iron door] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dar-i âhanîn* [iron door] in Persian, by *demürlü kapu* [iron door] in Turkish.

*Khawḳha* [small opening in a window, wall or door, peep hole] is Arabic. It is rendered by *darîcha-i dar-i buzurg va dar-i kuchek* [peep hole of a large door or a small door] in Persian, by *taraca ve oyma küçük kapu* [peep hole and small cut-out door] in Turkish.

*Mişrâc* [leaf of a double door] is Arabic. It is rendered by *lat-i dar* [leaf of a double door] in Persian, by *kapu kanadı* [leaf of a double door] in Turkish.

*Fâ‘iz* [lintel] is Arabic. It is rendered by *âsitân-i zivarîn* [lintel of a door frame] in Persian, by *üst eşik* [upper lintel] in Turkish.

*Uškuffa* [threshold, doorsill] is Arabic. It is rendered by *âsitân-i zîrîn* [doorsill] in Persian, by *alt eşik* [doorsill] in Turkish.

*‘Ataba* [threshold] is Arabic. It is rendered by *âsitân* [threshold] and *âsitâna* [threshold] in Persian, by simply *eşik* [threshold] in Turkish. Some have called it *üst eşik*.

[78r] *Zâfira* [lath overlapping the edge of a door leaf] is Arabic. In Persian they say *bînî-i dar* [lath overlapping the edge of a door leaf], in Turkish as in Persian, *bîni* [lath overlapping the edge of a door leaf]. It is rendered by *burunluk* [lath overlapping the edge of a door leaf].

*Najrân* [the pivot of a door on which it turns] is Arabic. It is rendered by *chûb-i zuwâna* [pivot post] in Persian, by *zuvâne ağacı* [pivot post] in Turkish. *Zuwâna* [pivot] is Persian. It is rendered by *söve* [pivot post].

*Rijl al-bâb* [pivot hinge] is Arabic. It is rendered by *pâycha-i dar* [pivot hinge] and *pâshina-i dar* [pivot hinge] in Persian, by *kapu ayağı ve ökçesi* [pivot hinge] in Turkish.

*Jârûra* [socket of pivot hinge] is Arabic. It is rendered by *surâkh-i pâshina-i dar* [socket of pivot hinge] in Persian, by *kapu ökçesi delügi* [socket of pivot hinge] in Turkish.

*Ḳullâb* [hinge pin of a door] is Arabic. They say *raza-i chankâl* [hinge pin of a door] in Persian. In Turkish they say *ḳullâb* [hinge pin of a door] as in Arabic, and *çengel reze* [hinge pin] as in Persian.

*Râbiṭa* [tie, bond, stanchion] is Arabic. In Persian they say *band-kushay* [bond, stanchion]. In Turkish the common people corrupt it and say *bendkeşe* [bond, stanchion].

*Şîr al-bâb* [crack of the door, space between the door and the door frame] is Arabic. It is rendered by *shikâf-i dar* [crack of the door, space between the door and door frame] in Persian, by *kapu yaruğı ve aralığı* [crack and space around a door] in Turkish.

*Razza* [staple] is Arabic. Again, in Persian and Turkish they say *reze* [staple] as in Arabic. It is a shared term.

*Zirfîn* [hasp] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian *raza-i zivar* [hasp]. It is rendered by *üst reze* [hasp] in Turkish.

*Lawlab* [hinge] is Arabic. It is rendered by *raza-i nar u mârâ* [brace and pintle of a hinge] in Persian, by *dişi ve erkek reze* [brace and pintle of a hinge] in Turkish.

*Halka* [ring] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kalğanj* [the ring of the gate], in Turkish, as in Arabic, *halka*. [In Turkish] it is [also] rendered by *toğa* [buckle].

*Maṭınma* [knocker] is Arabic. It is rendered by *zang-i dar* [door bell] in Persian, by *kapu çinreğüsü ve ötdüreceği* [door bell and knocker] in Turkish.

*Silsila* [chain] is Arabic. It is rendered by *zanjir-i dar* [door chain] in Persian, by *kapu zenciri* [door chain] in Turkish.

*İdāda* [door post] is Arabic. It is rendered by *bāzū-yi dar* [door post] in Persian, by *kapu sövesi* [door post] in Turkish.

*Mitrās* [door latch, bolt, bar of a door] is an arabicization. It has been arabicized from the Persian *matars* [large sliding bar of a door]. In Turkish, the common people having corrupted it, they say *mitres*.

*Ghalağ* [lock, bolt of a door, latch] is Arabic. It is rendered by *fadrang* [bolt of a door] in Persian, by *mandal* [latch, bolt of a door] in Turkish.

*Mighlāk* [latch, bolt] is Arabic. It is rendered by *pashkulla* [latch] in Persian, by *anahtar ile açılan mandal* [a bolt or latch which opens with a key] in Turkish.

*Mi'lak* [catch, hook latch, door hook] is Arabic. It is rendered by *chankāl-i dar* [door hook] in Persian, by *çengel mandal* [hook latch] in Turkish. It is nailed to the lintel.

*Mizlāj* [sliding bolt on a door] is Arabic. It is rendered by *samarkand* [sliding bolt] in Persian, by *el ile açılır sürme mandal* [a sliding bolt opened by hand] in Turkish.

*Kufl* [lock] is Arabic. In Persian they again say *kufl* from the Arabic. In Turkish, it is *kilid* [lock] from Persian.

*İklid* [key], *miklid* [key], *miklad* [key] *miklād* [key], *mif-tāh* [key] are Arabic. They are rendered by *kilid* [key] in Persian, by *anahtar* [key] in Turkish.

### THIRTEENTH CHAPTER

It describes and discusses the terms *mi'mār*, and *mühendiz*, and *mühendis*, and *tahmîn* and *şanı*<sup>c</sup>, and *muhterif*, and *şinā'at*, and *hırfet*, and *üstād*, and *māhir*, and *hāzık*, and *ölçüm*, and *şakird*, and *bennā*<sup>?</sup>, and *ālet*, and *edāt*, and *ālāt*, and *edevāt*, and *haccār*, and *neccār*, and *nec-cārlar tezgāhi*, and *kerāsteci*, [78v] and *çıkırıkçı*, and *kireççi*, and *mühre divār yapıcı*, and *kerpiççi*, and *şıvacı*, and *badanacı*, and *keser*, and *balta*, and *iki yüzli balta*, and *keskin ālet*, and *çünke ālet*, and *şāb*, and *şāb delüğü*, and *taş kesecek külünk*, and *hāş külünk*, and *destere*, and *bıçkı*, and

*bıçkıcı*, and *mengene*, and *cendere*, and *mişkab* which they corrupt as *matkab*, and *mişkab demüri*, and *burkı* and *iy demüri*, and *rende*, and *yekdeste*, and the *rende demüri* which they call *tığ*, and *mağlûb*, and *dorpi*, and *iyge*, and *gönye*, and *endāze*, and *arşun ile ölçmek*, and *terāzû*, and *mağara*, and *yapu nişanı*, and *rūzen ipi*, and *şākûl*, and *pergel*, and *cedvel*, and *mancılık*, and *ip*, and *urgān*, and *toğmak*, and *çeküc*, and the large *çeküc* called *verye*, and *kışac*, and *şaykal*, and *perdāh idecek ālet*, and *düz olmak*, and *yumrı olmak*, and *māla*, and *kerpiç kalıbı*, and *kazma*, and *çapa*, and *lağm*, and *şu yolu*, and *şuyuñ ehl-i vukûfi*, and *şu muflaka*, and *şu ağıduğı yer*, and *çeşme*, and *şu kıyusu* and *çıkırığı*, that is *dolabı*, and *künk*, and *kamış*, and *havz*, and *şāz-revān*, and *muşlık*, and *lüle*, and *havzūñ ve şāz-revānūñ lüleleri*, and *lökün*, and *kurşun*, and *tüc*, and *birinc*, and *bakır*, and *kalay*, and *lehim*, and *demür*, and *ğara demür*, and *çelik*, and *cevher-dār demürler*, and *gümüş*, and *altun*, and things connected with these in the Arabic language and the Persian language and the Turkish language.

*Mi'mār* [architect] is Arabic. It is rendered by *ābādān kunanda* [builder] in Persian, by *ma'mūr idici* [builder] in Turkish.

*Muhandiz* [engineer, geometrician, architect, surveyor] is an arabicization. It has been arabicized from the Persian *andāza* [measure]. It is rendered by *gaz-kunanda* [measurer, surveyor] in Persian, by *arşunla ölçücü* [one who measures in *arşun*, surveyor] in Turkish.

*Muhandis* [engineer, geometrician, architect, surveyor] is an arabicization. The original of this was *muhandiz*. The letter *zā* was changed to *sīn*. Both have the same meaning.

*Tahmîn* [an estimating] is Arabic. In Persian they say *bagumān u hosh-guştan* [estimating and guessing with reason], in Turkish *şakl ile söylemege* [to explain with reason]. It is rendered by *oranlamak* [to measure, estimate].

*Şāni*<sup>c</sup> [craftsman] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kār-i nık kunanda* [one who does good work, craftsman] in Persian, by *eyü iş idici* [one who does good work, craftsman] in Turkish.

*Muhtarif* [skilled artisan] is Arabic. In Persian they say *pīshvar* [artisan]. In Turkish, the common people have corrupted *pīshvār* and say *peşeker* [artisan].

*Şinā'at* [craft, art] is Arabic. In Persian they say *pīsha* [craft, art]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt it and say *peşe* [craft, art].

*Hırfat* [art, craft] is Arabic. In Persian they say *pīsha* [craft, art], in Turkish *pīşe* [craft, profession] and *şan'at* [art, craft]. As to *pīşe*, it is Persian, and *şan'at* is Arabic.

*Şan'at* [art, craft] is Arabic. In Persian they say *dastkārī* [art, craft]. In Turkish, again as in Arabic, they say *şan'at*.

[79r] *Ustādh* [master, expert] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian *ustād* [master, expert]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt it and say *usta* [master, expert].

*Māhir* [expert, skillful] is Arabic. It is rendered by *ustād dar kār-i khīsh* [one skilled in his own work] in Persian, by *işinde pehlūvan* [one expert in his profession] in Turkish.

*Hāzīk* [highly skilled, an expert, talented] is Arabic. It is rendered by *ustād-i zayrak* [highly skilled master] in Persian, by *anlayışlu usta* [knowledgeable master] in Turkish.

*Mutahadhlik* [one who feigns or pretends skills] is Arabic. It is rendered by *bādfara* [bluffer, boaster] and *nā-sāz* [unskilled, untalented] in Persian, by *ölçüm* [a person who overestimates himself, is vain] in Turkish.

*Tilmīdh* [apprentice] is Arabic. In Persian they say *shāgird* [apprentice], and in Turkish, the common people corrupt it and say *şakird* [apprentice].

*Bannā*<sup>2</sup> [builder] and *hājiriyy* [stone worker, builder in stone] are Arabic. They are rendered by *bināgar* [builder] in Persian, by *yapıcı* [builder] in Turkish.

*Ālat* [tool, implement] is Arabic. In Persian they say *dast-afzār* [hand tool, implement], in Turkish, the common people corrupt *ālat* and say *halat* [tool, implement].

*Adāt* [tool, implement] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dast-afzār* [hand tool, implement] in Persian. In Turkish, again, it is rendered by *ālet* [tool, implement], that is, an implement that can be held.

*Ālāt* [tools, implements] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dast-afzārḥā* [tools, implements] in Persian, by *āletler* [tools, implements] in Turkish, because it is the plural of *ālet*.

*Adawāt* [tools, implements] is Arabic. In Persian they say *dast-afzārḥā* [tools, implements]. In Turkish, the common people corrupting *ālāt* and *adawāt*, they say *āvādānlık* [an artisan's set of tools].

*Hājār* [stone cutter] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sang-tirāsh* [stone cutter, mason] in Persian, by *taş yünücü* [stone cutter, dresser] and *taşçı* [stone mason, quarryman] in Turkish.

*Najjār* [carpenter] and *fatiḳ* [carpenter] are Arabic. They say *durūrgar* [carpenter] and *durugar* [carpenter] in Persian. In Turkish, the common people corrupting them, they say *dülger* [carpenter].

*Farzūm* [carpenter's workshop, carpenter's workbench] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dastgāh-i*

*durūrgar* [carpenter's workshop] in Persian, by *dülger tezgāhı* [carpenter's workshop, carpenter's workbench] in Turkish.

*Khashshāb* [lumber merchant] is Arabic. It is rendered by *chūb-furūsh* [wood seller, lumber merchant] in Persian, by *āğaççı* [wood seller, lumber merchant] in Turkish. They also say *kerāsteci* [wood seller, lumber merchant].

*Kharrāf* [turner] is Arabic. In Persian they say *hoḳka-gar* [a turner of cups and balls] and *çarḫı* [lathe operator], in Turkish *çırkrıkçı* [turner].

*Jaşşās* [plasterer, lime burner] is Arabic. They say *gajpaz* [lime burner] and *gajgar* [plasterer] in Persian, *kireççi* [plasterer, lime burner] in Turkish.

*Raşşās* [tinner, tin smith] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dāzrān* [plasterer] in Persian, by *mühre dīvār yapıcı* [builder of rough walls] in Turkish.

*Muallī* [one who covers something with a substance, hence plasterer] and *tayyān* [a plasterer with clay or mud] are Arabic. They are rendered by *andūn-gar* [plasterer] in Persian, by *şıvayıcı* [plasterer] in Turkish.

*Mulabbīn* [brickmaker] and *labbān* [brickmaker] are Arabic. They are rendered by *khisht-zan* [maker of sundried bricks] in Persian, by *kerpiççi* [a maker of sundried bricks] and *kerpiç kesici* [brick cutter] in Turkish.

*Mubaddīn* [whitewasher] and *baddān* [whitewasher] are Arabic. They are rendered by *badāna kashanda* [whitewasher] in Persian, by *badānacı* [whitewasher] in Turkish.

*Ḳadūm* [adze, hatchet] is Arabic. It is rendered by *tīsha* [adze] in Persian, by *keser* [adze] in Turkish.

*Fa's* [ax, pick ax] is Arabic. It is rendered by *tabar* [ax] in Persian, by *balta* [ax] in Turkish.

*Ḥadā'at* [two-sided ax] is Arabic. It is rendered by *tabar-i dū sarī* [two-edged or two-sided ax] in Persian, by *iki yüzli balta* [two-sided ax] and *nacaḳ* [a large ax with a hammer at the back] in Turkish.

*Ḥadīd* [sharp] is Arabic. It is rendered by *tīz* [sharp] in Persian, by *keskin* [sharp] in Turkish, that is *kesici* [sharp].

*Kalīl* [dull, blunt] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kund* [dull, blunt] in Persian, by *çöngö* [dull, blunt] in Turkish, that is *kesmez* [dull].

[79v] *Khurt* [hole] is Arabic. In Persian it is rendered by *surākh-i tabar va tīsha* [hole (for the handle) of an ax and adze], in Turkish by *şab delügi* [handle hole].

*Yad al-fa's* [ax handle] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dasta* [handle] in Persian, by *şab* [handle] in Turkish. And they also say *balta şabı* [ax handle].

*Nişāb* [handle] is Arabic. In Persian they say *dasta*

[handle]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt *nişâb* and say *şab* [handle].

*Mikbaða* [handle, haft] is Arabic. In Persian and Turkish they again use the Arabic *ķabza* [handle].

*Juzâʔat* [knife handle] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dasta-i ķard* [knife handle] in Persian, by *bıçak şapı* [knife handle] in Turkish.

*İtrat* [handle, big lever] is Arabic. In Persian they say *dasta* [handle] and *bâzû* [lever], in Turkish *ķol* [handle, lever]. It means a large handle [*büyük şab*].

*Miʕwal* [large pick ax, mattock] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kulunk* [pick ax, mattock], in Turkish, as in Persian, *külünk* [pick ax, mattock]. It is a shared term.

*Minķar* [small pick] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kulunk* [pick, pick ax]. It is also has the meaning of *miʕwal* [pick]. In Turkish it is rendered by *külünk* [pick ax].

*Şakûr* [mason's hammer, stone pick] is Arabic. It is rendered by *mîtin* [stone pick, mason's chisel] in Persian, by *büyük külünk* [large pick] in Turkish. They [also] say *hâş külünk* [large pick].

*Miʕshâr* [saw] is Arabic. They say *dastarra* [saw, hand-saw] in Persian. In Turkish, again as in Persian, they say *destere* [saw].

*Minshâr* [saw] is Arabic. They say *dastarra* [saw, handsaw] in Persian. In Turkish they also call this *destere* [saw] as in Persian.

*Mikṭal* [large saw, buck saw] is Arabic. It is rendered by *arra-i buzurg* [large saw, bucksaw] in Persian, by *büyük bıçkı* [large, two-handled saw, bucksaw] in Turkish.

*Hazzâz* [a sawyer] and *hazzâz* [? sharpener] and *jazzâz* [? wool shearer] are Arabic. They are rendered by *arrakash* [a sawyer] in Persian, by *biçici* [sawyer] in Turkish.

*Milzam* [vise, press] is Arabic. It is rendered by *takhta-jâma* [a large press, vise] and *anbur-i arra* [saw press, vise] in Persian, by *tahta kısdıracağı* [wood press] in Turkish.

*Muṭarrâ* [press] is Arabic. They say *jandara* [press] in Persian. In Turkish they say *çendere* [press] as in Persian.

*Mithķab* [drill, gimlet, auger] is Arabic. They say *mâha* [auger, drill, gimlet] in Persian. In Turkish, the common people corrupting it, they say *matķab* [drill, gimlet, auger] with a *tâ*.

*Minķab* [punch, perforator] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dast-afzâr-i sūrakh-kardan* [hand tool to make a hole] in Persian, by *delecek âlet* [piercing tool, hole-making tool] in Turkish.

*Miʔtâda* [drill bit] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sar-i mâha* [drill point, auger point] in Persian, by *mişķab ucı ve demüri* [drill point and bit] in Turkish.

*Milwâ* [peg of a stringed musical instrument, gimlet] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kardnây* [the peg of a stringed musical instrument] in Persian, by *burķı* [gimlet, peg of a stringed instrument] in Turkish.

*Minķâr* [pick, chisel] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sakna* [auger, gimlet] in Persian, by *iy* [pick, point] in Turkish. It means *delecek demür* [auger, gimlet, point].

*Ātala* [wrecking bar, crowbar] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sakna-i buzurg* [wrecking bar, large pick] in Persian, by *büyük iy* [wrecking bar, large pick] in Turkish.

*Bayram* [small pick, small auger, small crowbar] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sakna-i kûchak* [small pick, small crowbar, small auger] in Persian, by *küçük iy* [small pick, small crowbar, small auger] in Turkish.

*Minḫât* [plane], *minḫât* [plane] are Arabic. They say *randa* [plane] in Persian. In Turkish, as in Persian, they say *rende* [plane].

*Mibrât* [file, rasp] is Arabic. They say *yak-dasta* [rasp] in Persian. In Turkish, as in Persian, they again say *yekdeste* [rasp].

*Naşl* [blade] is Arabic. They say *tigh* [blade] in Persian. In Turkish as in Persian, they also say *tig* [blade].

[80r] *Naşl-i maķlûb* [? lit. inverted blade] is Arabic. In Persian they say *tigh-i bâz-kardîda* [? lit. inverted blade], in Turkish, *maķlûb* [? lit. inverted] as in Arabic.

*Safan* [adze, file, rasp] is Arabic. It is rendered by *chûp-sây* [rasp] and *tîsha* [adze] in Persian, by *dörpi* [rasp] and *keser* [adze] in Turkish.

*Misfan* [large file, large rasp] is Arabic. It is rendered by *chûp-sây-i buzurg* [large rasp] in Persian, by *büyük dörpi* [large rasp] in Turkish.

*Mibrad* [file, rasp] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sühân* [file, rasp] in Persian, by *iyne* [file, rasp] in Turkish. Originally it was *iyge*. But now they say *ege*. And it is thus in dictionaries.

*Mişal* [rasp, file] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sühân-i durusht* [course file, rasp] in Persian, by *iri ege* [coarse file, rasp] in Turkish.

*Zâwiya* [carpenter's angle, set square] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kunja* [set square]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt *kunja* and say *gönye* [set square].

*Zâwiya-i ķâʔima* [right-angle set square] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kunja-i ķâr-sû* [right angle set square] in Persian, by *ķâr-sû bucağı* [right angle set square] in Turkish.

*Zāwiya-i hādā* [acute-angle set square] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kunja-i tiz* [acute-angle set square] in Persian, by *keskin bucağ* [acute-angle set square] in Turkish.

*Zāwiya-i munfarija* [obtuse-angle set square] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kunja-i kushāda* [obtuse-angle set square] in Persian, by *açık bucağ* [obtuse-angle set square] in Turkish.

*Hindāz* [measure] is an arabicization. It has been arabicized from the Persian *hindāza* [measure]. It is rendered by *ölçmek* [to measure] and *oranlamak* [to measure] in Turkish.

*Dhirāc* [cubit, ell] is Arabic. It is rendered by *arish* [cubit, ell] and *andāza* [cubit, ell] and *gaz* [cubit, ell] in Persian, by *bilek* [cubit, ell] and *arşun* [cubit, ell] in Turkish.

*Zar<sup>c</sup>* [to measure] is Arabic. It is rendered by *gaz-kardan* [to measure in *gaz* or cubits] in Persian, by *arşun ile ölçmek* [to measure in *arşun* or cubits] in Turkish.

*Mizān* [balance, pair of scales] is Arabic. In Persian they say *tarāzū* [balance, pair of scales]. In Turkish, the common people corrupting the Persian, they say *terezi* [balance, pair of scales].

*Bakara* [pulley, block] is Arabic. It is rendered by *charkh-i hanjār* [pulley, block] in Persian, by *mağara* [pulley, block] in Turkish. Previously they said *bağara* [pulley, block]. Now, for the most part, they say *mağara*.

*İmām* [plumb-line stake] is Arabic. It is rendered by *chüb-i hanjār* [plumb-line stake] in Persian, by *düzen ibi çıbığı* [plumb-line stake] in Turkish, and the guideline [*ib*] is tied to it.

*Mitmarr* [plumb line], *turr* [plumb line], *zij* [leveling line used by masons] are Arabic. They are rendered by *hanjār* [plumb line] in Persian, by *düzen ipi* [plumb line] itself in Turkish.

*Shākūl* [plumb line] is Arabic. In Persian they say *shāhūl* [a bricklayer's plumb line]. In Turkish, the common people corrupting it, some say *şāhil* [a plumb line], some say *şāvil*.

*Farjār* [compass, dividers] is an arabicization. It has been arabicized from the Persian *pargār* [compass]. In Turkish, the common people corrupting it, they say *pergel* [compass].

*Dawwāra* [compass] is Arabic. In Persian they say *pargār* [compass] and *pargāl* [compass]. In Turkish, the common people corrupting them, they say *pergel* [compass].

*Jadwal* [ruler, line, mark] is Arabic. In Persian and Turkish it is the same as Arabic. It has the meaning of *khatt* [line] in Arabic, *nishān* [mark] in Persian, *çizi* [line, mark] in Turkish.

*Manjanik* [block and tackle] is an arabicization. It is rendered by *barāh-i dastkār-bardāshtan* [to move something artificially] in Persian, by *şan'at tariki ile kaldırmak* [to move something artificially] in Turkish.

*Habl* [robe, cable] is Arabic. It is rendered by *rasan-i tāfta* [twisted rope] in Persian, by *bükülmüş ip* [twisted rope] in Turkish.

*Şaştan* [rope] is Arabic. In Persian it is rendered by *rasan-i dirāz* [stout rope], in Turkish, by *urgān* [stout rope].

*Sabab* [string, cord] is Arabic. In Persian they say *rasan-i khurd* [thin rope, string, cord], in Turkish *sicim* [string, cord].

*Tunub* [tent rope] is Arabic. In Persian they say *rasan-i chādar* [tent rope]. In Turkish, common people corrupting it, they say *tenef* [tent rope].

[80v] *Rumma* [a piece of worn-out rope] is Arabic. It is rendered by *rasan-i pāra-i kuhna* [a piece of old, worn-out rope] in Persian, by *eski ib pāresi* [a piece of old rope] in Turkish.

*Mi<sup>2</sup>tada* [mallet for driving stakes] is Arabic. It is rendered by *mikh-ı kûb* [mallet for driving pegs] in Persian, by *āğaç tokmak* [wooden mallet] in Turkish.

*Mi<sup>1</sup>traka* [iron or wooden mallet or hammer] is Arabic. It is rendered by *guzīna* [iron or wooden mallet or hammer] and *khāyisk* [smith's hammer] in Persian, by *tokmak* [mallet] and *çekiç* [hammer] in Turkish.

*Mika'a* [hammer] is Arabic. It is rendered by *khāyisk* [smith's hammer] in Persian, by *çeküç* [hammer] in Turkish.

*Fittis* [large smith's hammer, sledge hammer] is Arabic. In Persian they say *pitk* [large smith's hammer] and *varya* [large iron hammer], in Turkish *büyük çeküç* [large hammer] and *verye* [large iron hammer] as in Persian.

*Kalibatān* [smith's pincers or forceps for holding hot iron or pulling nails] is Arabic. It is rendered by *anbur* [forceps, pincers] in Persian, by *kışac* [pincers, pliers] in Turkish. They also say the Arabic *kelibetan*.

*Şaykal* [? polisher, smoother], *şakt* [? polishing, burnishing], *şikāl* [? one who polishes, one who smooths] are Arabic. They are rendered by *zudūdan* [to polish, to furbish] and *pardakhtan* [to polish, to finish] in Persian, by *açmak* [to polish] and *perdāh itmek* [to polish] in Turkish.

*Şakil* [a polisher] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kushāyanda* [an opener, hence polisher] and *zudāyanda* [one who cleans, a polisher] in Persian, by *açıcı* [polisher] and *perdāh idici* [polisher] in Turkish.

*Şaykala* [polishing tool] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dast-afzār-i pardāzī* [polishing tool] in Persian, by *perdāh idecek ālet* [polishing tool] in Turkish.

*Mişkala* [polishing tool] is Arabic. It is rendered by *ân chîz ki be-û zudûdand* [that thing with which one has polished] in Persian, by *ol nesne ki âniñla perdâh olunur* [that thing with which polishing is done] in Turkish.

*Meşkül* [polished] is Arabic. It is rendered by *zudûda* [polished] and *pardākhta* [polished] in Persian, by *perdâhte olmuş* [polished] in Turkish.

*Khushuna* [roughness, coarseness] is Arabic. It is rendered by *durushtî* [roughness] in Persian, by *iri olmak* [to be rough], that is, *yamrı yumrı* [gnarled, uneven, lumpy] in Turkish.

*Malâsa* [smoothness] is Arabic. It is rendered by *nar-mî* [smoothness] and *laghzânî* [smoothness] in Persian, by *yumşak* [smoothness] and *sîrgân* [smoothness], that is, *düz* [smoothness] and *perdâhte olmuş* [polished] in Turkish.

*Milât* and *malât* [mortar] are Arabic. They are rendered by *âjand* [mortar] in Persian, by *helik* [mortar] in Turkish. *Helik* is the wet mortar used in walls.

*Milvâî* [plasterer's trowel] is Arabic. It is rendered by *mâla-i âjand* [plasterer's trowel] in Persian, by *helik mâlası* [plasterer's trowel] in Turkish. Now they call it *mişrî* [plasterer's trowel].

*Misya'a* [plasterer's trowel] is Arabic. It is rendered by *mâla-i andûn* [plaster trowel, cement, trowel] in Persian, by *şıva mâlası* [plaster trowel] in Turkish.

*Milban* [brick mold] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kâlibaz-i khisht* [brick mold] in Persian, by *kerpiç kalıbı* [brick mold] in Turkish.

*Marr* [mattock, shovel] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kuland* [mattock, shovel] in Persian, by *kazma* [mattock, shovel] in Turkish. They dig wet clay with it.

*Mihfâr* [shovel, borer] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kuland* [mattock, shovel] and *kaland* [mattock, shovel] in Persian, by *kazma* [mattock, shovel] and *çapa* [hoe] in Turkish.

*Laghm* [a mine boring or bored hole, often used in a military sense as to mine fortifications] is Arabic. It is rendered by *kâr kardan ki dîgar-râ yakîn nabâshad* [a working that others are not certain of (because it is underground)] in Persian, by *bir iş işlemek ki gayrisi anı hakîkatle bilmeye* [to perform work which others do not really know about (because it is underground)] in Turkish.<sup>1</sup>

*Qanâ*<sup>2</sup> [digger, miner, sapper], *muqannî* [conduit maker] are Arabic. They are rendered by *laghm-kan* [miner, trench digger, sapper] in Persian, by *lagm kazı-*

*cı* and *lagımcı* [miner, tunnel digger, subterranean water-conduit digger, sapper] in Turkish.

*Qanât* [water conduit, canal] is Arabic. It is rendered by *râh-i âb bar zamîn va dar zamîn* [above-ground and underground water conduit] in Persian, by *yer üstünde ve altında olan şu yolu* [above- and underground water conduit] in Turkish.

*Qınkin* [water diviner] is Arabic. It is rendered by *âb-shinâs* [water diviner] in Persian, by *şu olduğu yeri bilici* [one who knows where water is] in Turkish.

*Mâ*<sup>3</sup> [water] is Arabic. It is rendered by *âb* [water] in Persian, by *şu* [water] in Turkish.

*Majrâ al-mâ*<sup>3</sup> [water conduit, canal] is Arabic. It is rendered by *ravân-gâh-i âb* [place where water flows] in Persian, by *şu akacak yer* [place where water flows] in Turkish.

[81r] *‘Ayn* [spring, fountain] is Arabic. In Persian they say *chashma* [fountain, spring], in Turkish *binâr* [spring, fountain]. But now they say *çeşme* as in Persian.

*Bi'r* [well] is Arabic. It is rendered by *châh-i âb* [water well] in Persian, by *şu kuyusu* [water well] in Turkish.

*Büriyâ* [pipe] is Arabic. In Persian it is *nâyija* [pipe] and *gung* [earthenware waterpipe], in Turkish *lüle* [pipe] and *künk* [earthenware waterpipe].

*Bakara* [pulley] is Arabic. It is rendered by *charkh-i châh-i âb* [well wheel] in Persian, by *şu kuyusu makarası ve dölâbi* [well pulley and waterwheel] in Turkish.

*Dâliya* [any machine for raising water, large waterwheel] is Arabic. In Persian they say *dölâb* [large waterwheel]. In Turkish, as in Persian, they again say *dölâb* [large waterwheel].

*Majâla* [waterwheel] is Arabic. It is rendered by *charkh-i dölâb-i buzurg* [large waterwheel] in Persian, by *büyük dölâb çarhı* [large waterwheel] in Turkish.

*Hawđ* [water basin, tank, cistern, reservoir, pool] is Arabic. In Persian they say *âbdân* [water basin, tank, cistern, reservoir, pool]. In Turkish, as in Arabic, they say *havz* [cistern, pool, reservoir].

*Maşnū'a* [cistern, watertank] is Arabic. It is rendered by *âbdân* [water cistern, tank, reservoir] and *shâz-ravân* [a fountain, a reservoir with faucets at the sides for ablutions, usually appended to a mosque] in Persian, by *havz* [cistern, reservoir] and *şâz-revân* [fountain, reservoir for ablutions] in Turkish.

*Sikâya* [a thing by which water is distributed] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sabîl-khâna* [a building where water is distributed] in Persian, by *muşluk* [tap, spigot

<sup>1</sup> Presumably the implication of the Persian and Turkish phrases

is that workers are performing work which other people do not know about because it is being done underground.

and hence a thing by which water is distributed] in Turkish.

*Rākūd* [a large earthenware jug, earthenware pipe] is Arabic. It is rendered by *khum* [a large jar, pithos] and *mūrī* [earthenware pipe] in Persian, by *kub* [large earthenware jar] and *künk* [earthenware pipe] in Turkish.

*Şārūj* [plaster] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian *sārūj* with a *sīn*. It is rendered by *lökün* [putty made of lime and linseed oil] and *alçı* [plaster of Paris] in Turkish.

*Mibzal* [spigot, faucet, tap] is Arabic. In Persian they say *lula* [spout, tap] and *nāyije* [spout]. In Turkish, as in Persian, they say *lüle* [spout]. It is a shared term.

*Şunbūr* [faucet, tap] is Arabic. It is rendered by *lula-i ābdān va şāz-ravān* [tap of a cistern and a fountain] in Persian, by *havz ve şāz-revān lülesi* [tap of a cistern and fountain] in Turkish.

*Ursub* [lead], *usruf* [lead] are arabicizations. They are arabicized from the Persian *usrub* [lead]. They are rendered by *kurşun* [lead] in Turkish.

*Ānuk* [lead] is Arabic. In Persian they say *usrub* [lead], in Turkish *kurşun* [lead]. *Şirf* [lead] is Arabic.

*Şufr* [bronze] is Arabic. It is rendered by *rüy* [bronze] in Persian, by *tüc* [bronze] in Turkish.

*Shibah* [brass] and *shabah* [brass] are Arabic. In Persian they say *birinj* [brass]. In Turkish, as in Persian, they say *birinc*.

*Nuhās* [copper] is Arabic. It is rendered by *mis* [copper] in Persian, by *bakır* [copper] in Turkish. The mineral [is found] in the province of Khorasan.

*Ullāb* [tin (plural)] and *raşās* [tin] and *kala<sup>4</sup>iyy* [tin] are Arabic. In Persian they say *arziz* [tin]. In Turkish, the common people corrupting *kala<sup>4</sup>iyy*, they say *kalay* [tin].

*Lihām* [solder] and *lahām* [solder] are Arabic. In Persian they say *kafshiz* [solder], in Turkish *lehim* [solder].

*Ĥadid* [iron] is Arabic. It is rendered by *āhan* [iron] in Persian, by *demür* [iron] in Turkish.

*Anīth* [soft iron, wrought iron] is Arabic. It is rendered by *āhan-i narm* [soft iron, wrought iron] in Persian, by *yumşak demür* [soft iron, wrought iron] in Turkish. It is also called *ķara demür* [wrought iron].

*Fülādh* [steel] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian *pülād* [steel]. It is rendered by *çelik* [steel] in Turkish.

*Dhakar* [steel] is Arabic. It is rendered by *pülāz* [steel] in Persian, by *çelik* [steel] in Turkish. [And] they also say *pülād* [steel] as in Persian.

*Hinduvānī* is a related term. *Hinduvān* is the name of

one of the gates of the fortress of Balkh. They called the iron worked at that gate *hinduvānī*. Now, the common people corrupting it, they call *hinduvānī* iron *hindī*. But the correct form is *hinduvānī*.

[81v] *Mashrafiyy* [steel from the villages of upper Syria] is a related [Arabic] term. They attribute the steel worked in the villages of Noble Damascus to the Mashārif [those towns and villages of upper Syria that border on the great desert].

*Dimashķī* and *Damashķī* [Damascus steel] are related terms. They attribute the steel worked in Noble Damascus itself to Damascus.

*Ifranĵī* [European steel] is a related term. In Persian and Turkish it is *frenĵī*. But among the Arabs they call Frankish steel *ifranĵī*.

*Kirmāniyy* [Kirman steel] is a related term. It is the steel worked in the place called Kirmān. And in Persian and Turkish they say *Kirmānī*.

*Firind* [the grain or veining of Damascus steel] is Arabic. In Persian they say *javhar* [the grain or veining of Damascus steel], in Turkish, as in Persian, *cevher*.

*Firindiyy* [damaskeened steel] is Arabic. It is rendered by *āhan-i javhar-dār* [steel marked with veins of damaskeening] in Persian, by *cevherlü demür* [steel marked with veins of damaskeening] in Turkish.

*Fiĥda* [silver] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sīm* [silver] in Persian, by *gümiş* [silver] in Turkish.

*Lujayn* [silver] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sīm* [silver] in Persian. And in Turkish, this, like *fiĥda*, is rendered by *gümiş* [silver].

*Nukra* [small piece of uncoined gold or silver] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sīm-i bī-sikka* [uncoined silver] in Persian, by *sikkesi yok gümiş pāresi* [a piece of uncoined silver] in Turkish.

*Sabaka* [to smelt] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sīm-i khāmra gudzānīdan* [to smelt unrefined silver] in Persian, by *gümiş eritmek* [to smelt silver] in Turkish.

*Sabika* [ingot of metal] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sīm-i kudākhta* [smelted silver] in Persian, by *eridilmüş gümiş* [smelted silver] in Turkish.

*Dhahab* [gold] is Arabic. It is rendered by *zar* [gold] in Persian, by *altun* [gold] in Turkish.

*Naĥr* [gold] is Arabic. It is rendered by *zar* [gold] in Persian. And in Turkish, this, like *dhahab*, is rendered by *altun* [gold].

*Niĥār* and *nuĥār* [pure gold] are Arabic. They are rendered by *zar-i pāk* [pure gold] in Persian. In Turkish they are rendered by *arı altun* [pure gold], that is *hālīş altun* [pure gold].

‘*Ayn* [gold coin, bullion] is Arabic. It is rendered by *dīnār* [Arabic gold coin] in Persian, by *filori* [florin]<sup>2</sup> in Turkish. *Dīnār* is a shared term in Arabic and Persian.

‘*Asjad* [gold] is Arabic. It is rendered by *zar* [gold] in Persian. And in Turkish, this, like *dhahab*, is rendered by *altun* [gold].

*Zukhruf* [decoration, ornament, gold] is Arabic. It is rendered by *zar* [gold] and *zar-i ḡilā*<sup>3</sup> [pure gold, ductile gold for gilding] and *ārāyish* [decoration] in Persian, by *altun* [gold] and *yaldız altunı* [gilding gold, pure gold] in Turkish.

‘*Ikyān* [purified gold, native pure gold] is Arabic. It is rendered by *zar-i rusta* [native pure gold] in Persian, by *kendüden biter altun* [native pure gold] in Turkish.

*Tibr* [gold dust, gold nuggets] is Arabic. It is rendered by *zar-i sāv* [gold dust] and *zar-i khurda* [gold nugget, gold dust] in Persian, by *añadan ve ma‘dinden çıkan altun uvağı* [small fragment of gold from a mine or a file] in Turkish.

*Shadhra* [particle, particle of gold] is Arabic. It is rendered by *pāra-i zar* [fragment of gold, particle of gold] in Persian, by *altun pāresi* [gold fragment] in Turkish.

*Ja‘fariyy* [the finest kind of gold, prepared by the celebrated alchemist Ja‘far]<sup>3</sup> is Arabic. It is rendered by *zar-i mansüb ba-vādī-i Ja‘far-ābād* [gold from the stream of Ja‘far-ābād] and *zar-i khaliş* [fine gold, pure gold] in Persian, by *Ca‘feri altunı* [finest gold prepared by the alchemist Ca‘fer] in Turkish.

*Dahdiyy* [pure, unalloyed gold] is Arabic. It is rendered by *zar-i dahdi chün zar-i Ja‘fari* [pure, unalloyed gold like Ja‘fari gold] in Persian, by *dehdi altunı* [pure, unalloyed gold] in Turkish.

*Mufaḏḏad* [ornamented with silver, ornamented] is Arabic. It is rendered by *sīmīn* [silverized, encrusted with silver] in Persian, by *gümüşlü* [with silver] in Turkish.

*Mudhahhab* [ornamented with gold] is Arabic. It is rendered by *zarrīn* [ornamented with gold] in Persian, by *altunlu* [with gold] in Turkish.

*Kibrū-i aḥmar* [red sulfur, the Philosopher’s Stone] is Arabic. It is rendered by *zar-i kīmyā* [gold of the Philosopher’s Stone, alchemical gold] in Persian, by *kīmyā altunı* [gold of the Philosopher’s Stone, alchemical gold] in Turkish.

<sup>2</sup> *filori*: see p. 25, note 9, above.

<sup>3</sup> Ja‘far: presumably Ja‘far al-Şādiq Abū ‘Abd Allāh (c. 80-148/699-765), a transmitter of traditions and the last of the imams recognized by both the Twelver and the Ismā‘īlī Shī‘ites. Both Sunnis and Shī‘ites ascribe to him numerous books dealing with divination, magic and alchemy, probably none of them authentic. See M. G. S. Hodgson, “Dja‘far al-Şādiq,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, II, pp. 374-375.

## [82r] FOURTEENTH CHAPTER

This narrative began with a discussion of the science of music. Now, considering that this was the subject of the introductory discourse, the appropriate thing to do is for it [this narrative] to be concluded with a description of some details having to do with the science of music. Moreover, it is necessary that it include some religious parables and warnings. The purpose of those warnings and parables is to cause the wicked self, having given up some forbidden things, to repent and ask God’s forgiveness. And recalling some forms and patterns from the science of geometry, each pleasing structural form makes a powerful impression to the mind. And this is what is described [in this chapter]. *Şūr* [trumpet] and *ḡarn* [trumpet] and *nāḡūr* [trumpet], these three words are Arabic. And the three have a single meaning. Isrāfīl<sup>1</sup>—peace be upon him—will sound [his trumpet] on the Day of Judgment! None will hear its first sounding, but they will incline toward him. After that, Almighty God—may His glory be praised and His power be universal—will send down a gentle rain. Then the corpses of the masses, that is their bodies, will grow with the rain like beans. After that, Isrāfīl—peace be upon him—will again sound [his trumpet]. That is, he will play his trumpet and horn which they call *şūr*. Then, this second time, all mankind will rise to its feet. After that, listen! *Yā ayyuhā al-nāsu irji‘ū ilā Rabbikum!* That is, “O People, return to your Lord!” It is required that you be queried and report, that you be questioned and answer, as is stated in the holy traditions in the book [entitled] *al-Maṣābīḥ*.<sup>2</sup> And the Persian and Turkish meanings of these three words [for trumpet] are thus: in Persian they say *bori* [trumpet] and *naḡūr* [brazen trumpet] and *surū* [horn of an animal], and in Turkish *boynuz* [horn]. And in Turkish they also say *şūr* [trumpet] as in Arabic, and *bori* [trumpet] and *neḡūr* [brazen trumpet] as in Persian. God, the most glorious and illustrious—whose name be exalted—and His most noble Messenger—may the prayers and peace of God, whose name be exalted, be upon him—know best!

[82v] *Mizmār* [flute, pipe] is Arabic. In Persian they say *nāy* [flute, pipe] and *nay* [flute, pipe]. In Turkish, as in Persian, they again say *nāy* and *ney*.

<sup>1</sup> Isrāfīl: the name of the Archangel, the Angel of Death and Lord of the Trumpet, who will rouse the dead on the Day of Judgment by sounding his trumpet. See A. J. Sincock, “Isrāfīl,” *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, IV, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> *Al-Maṣābīḥ*: see p. 60, note 73, above.

*Kuşşāba* [flute, recorder] is Arabic. In Persian this also is rendered by *nāy* [flute, pipe] and *nay* [flute, pipe]. And in Turkish they say *nāy* and *kamış* [reed, flute].

*Zammār* [flute player] and *kaşşāb* [flute player] are Arabic. In Persian they say *nay-zan* [flute player]. In Turkish also, as in Persian, they say *ney-zen*.

*Mizhar* [a leather-faced short-necked lute] and *ʿūd* [generic name for various types of lutes] are Arabic. In Persian they say *barbuṭ* [lute, harp], in Turkish *çopuz* [lute].

*Muṭrib* [musician] is Arabic. In Persian they say *sāzanda* [musician]. In Turkish also, as in Persian, they say *sāzende* [musician].

*ʿAwwād* [one who performs on the lute, lutist] is Arabic. It is rendered by *barbuṭ-zan* [lutist] in Persian, by *çopuz çalıcı* [lutist] in Turkish.

*Nākir* [harp, psaltery] is Arabic. In Persian they say *chang* [harp]. In Turkish also, as in Persian, they say *çeng* [harp].

*Tunbūr* [a fretted, long-necked, stringed instrument] is an arabicization. It was arabicized from the Persian *tanbūr*, with a *fetha* over the *tā*.

*Jilāza* [fret on the neck of a stringed instrument, note] is Arabic. In Persian they say *parda-i sāz* [fret on the neck of a stringed instrument, note]. In Turkish also, as in Persian, they say *perde* [fret, note].

*Rabāba* [a three-stringed violin] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kamāncha* [three-stringed violin]. In Turkish they also say *kemānçe* as in Persian and *rebāb* as in Arabic.

*Watar* [string of an instrument, bowstring] is Arabic. In Persian they say *rūza* [the string of an instrument] and *zih* [bowstring] and *tār* [string of a musical instrument]. In Turkish they say *kiriş* [bowstring, string of a musical instrument] and *kıl* [string of a musical instrument].

*Zīr* [treble string of an *ʿūd*] is Arabic. It is rendered by *rūd-i bārīk* [thin string] in Persian, by *ince kırış* [thin string] in Turkish.

*Bamm* [the bass string of an *ʿūd*] is Arabic. In Persian they say *rūd-i sibbar* [bass string], in Turkish *bam kılı* [bass string].

*Milwā* [tuning peg of a chordophone] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kard-nāy* [tuning peg], in Turkish *burktı* [tuning peg].

*Zāmīla* [bridge of a chordophone] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kharak* [bridge of a chordophone]. In Turkish also, as in Persian, they again say *hārek* [bridge of a chordophone].

*Mūsīkār* [panpipes] is an arabicization of a Greek word. In Persian and Turkish they also say *mūsīkār*.

*Mūsīkal* [panpipes] with a *lām* is also a word [with a meaning] like *mūsīkār*. Corrupting it, the common people say *miskāl* [panpipes].

*Sanj* [cymbal] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian *zinj* [cymbal]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt it and say *zīc* (cymbal).

*Şaghāna* [small cymbals attached to a tambourine] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian *chaghāna* [small cymbals attached to a tambourine]. *Çe-gāne* is a term shared with Turkish.

*Kānūn* [a zither-like chordophone, often with seventy-two strings] is a Greek word. In Persian they say *kānūn*. In Turkish, as in Arabic, they again say *kānūn*.

*Naķara* [kettle drum, small drum] is Arabic. In Persian they say *ṭablak* [small drum]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt it and say *nakara* [kettle drum] and *deblek* [small drum].

*Juljul* [bells, sometimes attached to a tambourine] is Arabic. It is rendered by *zang-i daf* [tambourine bell] in Persian, by *def pulu* [tambourine bell] in Turkish.

*İtār* [rim, hoop] is Arabic. In Persian they say *chanbar* [rim, hoop]. In Turkish also, as in Persian, they say *çenber*.

*Ṭabl* [generic term for many kinds of drums] is Arabic. In Persian they say *duhl* [drum] and *tabīra* [drum, kettle drum] and *kūs* [a large drum used in *mehter* music]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt it and say *ṭavil* [drum].

*Bīkān* [generic term for horns and trumpets] is Arabic. In Persian they say *bōrī-hā* [trumpets]. In Turkish, as in Persian, they say *bori* [horn, trumpet]. *Bīkān* means *borilar* [trumpets].

[83r] *Mīdrāb* [plectrum] is Arabic. In Persian they say *zakhma* [plectrum] and *tāziyāna* [plectrum]. In Turkish they say *tāziyāne* [plectrum] as in Persian.

*Mīkraʿa* [drumstick] is Arabic. In Persian they say *chavgān-i duhl* [hooked drumstick], in Turkish *çevgān* [hooked drumstick] as in Persian.

The science of geometry is a fine science because all musician's instruments and implements are conceived of in conformity with geometric shapes. And all their forms are produced and created in accordance with geometric forms. However, they do not exhibit that large a number of forms and shapes. They conceive of their *çenber* [hoop drum] and *def* [tambourine] in accord with the single line circumference of a circle. And the

bowls [?] of the various types of *ʿūd*s are likened to the double line forms of arcs. They are made in three types. One of their types is fashioned in the form of an arc of half a circumference. And a second of their types is fashioned in the form of a small arc of less than half a circumference. And the third of their types is fashioned in the form of a large arc of more than half a circumference. And they conceive of their panpipes [*mūsīkār*]

in the form of the acute angle of a triangle with an obtuse angle. And again, they conceive of their *çeng* [harp] and *kānūn* [zither-like chordophone] in the form of the four diverse triangles of the second type [the triangle with three acute angles?]. And it is necessary for the other [musical instruments] to be compared to these.

*Verse*

*Fāʿilātūn fāʿilātūn fāʿilātūn fāʿilāt.*

Because your song and music lighten not the gloom, minstrel,

At least afflict us not with discordant sound!

The blast of the trumpeter of the Day of Resurrection resounds in my ear.

From the sound of your song and music my hearing becomes deafened.

If you are fully aware of the essentials of song,

The base string constantly gives you notice of annihilation.

[83v] Since there is no permanency in the world, what does song or *sāz* do for you?

Its enduring cry is, "This is nothingness! This is nothingness!"

If you take warning, take it from a sounding of the *ney*'s base note.

O! What is this excessive chatter, talk and empty discourse?

Do not, like wine, pass through the world from party to party.

If you are wise, set not foot in banquets of carousal and drink.

Had he not perceived the impermanence of the temporal world, O Caʿfer,

Jamshīd would not have renounced the cup of good cheer.<sup>3</sup>

## FIFTEENTH CHAPTER

This is the benediction which was [previously] mentioned. Before beginning to write this *Risāle* there occurred between this transitory world and this humble servant a certain dispute and conflict. And this humble servant, turning away and withdrawing, this trouble-filled world had designs against us and attacked us. And some noble beloved friends and illustrious sincere companions who were expected to be loyal showed as one to our eye the heaven-mirroring sword of contention from the tower of the wall of hostility. Thus, all

people are to us strangers and perhaps even our own eyelashes are thorns to our own eyes. I saw that there did not remain in the slightest degree a vestige of commitment and loyalty in people or the appearance of joy and pleasure in the wheel of fortune. And this came to my mind, that I must turn my countenance from the face of this faithless world. For a few days at least, in order not to see its old visage, let me enter a hermit's cell and let me hide and dwell in it, I said. And therefore, in accord with this oath, I set out on the road I had decided upon. Arriving, I selected like a nightingale a corner of a cage-like house. While concealed therein the blessed ʿĪd<sup>1</sup> occurred. His Excellency the Ağa arrived

<sup>3</sup> Jamshīd's cup of good cheer: the mythical cup renowned in poetry, in which Jamshīd was able to see the universe. See Cl. Huart/H. Masse, "Djamshīd," *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, II, pp. 438-439.

<sup>1</sup> ʿĪd: literally, Festival, here referring to the ʿĪd al-Fitr (Festival of Breaking the Fast) celebrated at the end of the hardship of the

month of Ramazān, the month of fasting. It begins on the first day of the month of Şevvāl, as marked by the first appearance of the crescent of the new moon, and continues for several days. In Turkey it is usually referred to as the Küçük Bayram (the Lesser Festival, a translation of the Arabic al-ʿĪd al-Şahīr) or as Şeker Bayramı (the Festival of Sweets).

on that blessed day, [but as] it was not possible to greet and meet and converse with [him], a written apology was sent with the title *Ādiyye*. [84r] And first of all let us repeat it here. After that, let us describe in our own words the above-mentioned noble prayers for His

Excellency the generous Āğa which are being constantly repeated at the five appointed times of prayer and perhaps [even] at every hour and every minute. And this is the written apology which we call *Ādiyye* that was mentioned.

*This Ādiyye Kaşide Is by Way of an Apology<sup>2</sup>*

The One who actualizes what is wished [i.e., God] cheering his servants with glad tidings,  
Wrote the *ayn*<sup>3</sup> of Ād upon the night sky with a golden pen.  
And this letter *ayn* signaled the Ād,  
Though some thought it to be a [piece of] hot steel.  
Behold the kindness and benevolence of God the Creator!  
He proclaimed His blessed Ād with His *ayn*.  
Yes, the shape of the new moon formed the source [*ayn*] of drinking and carousing.  
That Most Glorious One [thus] expressed the meaning of the word *iftār*.<sup>4</sup>  
The ship of the crescent is a golden vessel,  
Which the White Sea [Marmara] tossed to the western shores.  
Because it was the Ād, the heavens put on a curved dagger.<sup>5</sup>  
And to those of correct understanding this is not farfetched.  
In the copybook of the heavens the crescent abides as a *rā*,<sup>6</sup>  
By which the turning sphere lifted from mankind the obligation of fasting.  
With autumn<sup>7</sup> the leaves became yellow like gold,  
And the west wind made the willow leaf a gift to heaven.<sup>8</sup>  
That moon is a golden door ring on the horizon.  
That is, the door of hope was opened to the people of the world.  
The lock of pleasure was opened in the house of time.  
With that passion the key was thrown into the fire of the dawn.  
[84v] Now, great confusion befalls the new moon [i.e., dawn broke].  
One would think the threat would not have [such] an effect on one.  
The sun bestowed light upon the earth's face.  
Let all the world put on the dawn of new garments.  
Let God—whose aid is implored—in honor of this Ād  
Confer endless joy upon mankind.  
And may His Excellency our honorable architect Āğa's  
Ād be blessed and his life increase.  
And may [that] honored, agreeable lord  
Be fortunate like the rising star and bright heart.  
So long as the world endures may you live in honor and prosperity,  
Bright like the sun and rightly guided like the spheres.

<sup>2</sup> Marginal note gives meter of the verse, *mef'ulū fā'ilātū mefā'ilū fā'ilāt*.

<sup>3</sup> *ayn*: twenty-first letter of the Ottoman alphabet, it is a crescent-shaped letter in its initial form (ا), and is likened here to the crescent moon which appears on the first of the month of Şevvāl and ushers in the Ād. It is also the first letter of the word Ād (آمد).

<sup>4</sup> *iftār*: the breaking of one's fast, either at sundown during Ramazān or at the beginning of Ād.

<sup>5</sup> The curved dagger is here likened to the crescent moon which appears at the beginning of Ād.

<sup>6</sup> *rā*: the crescent-shaped twelfth letter of the Ottoman alphabet (ر), here likened to the crescent of the new moon.

<sup>7</sup> In 1023/1614 the month of Ramazān began on Sunday, October 10, and ended on Monday, November 3. Ād thus began on Tuesday, November 4 (1 Şevvāl, 1023).

<sup>8</sup> The willow leaf which turns gold and is carried aloft by the wind in the autumn is here likened to the crescent of the new moon.

And your humble servant Ca'fer offers a prayer:  
 Sincere blessings and salutations without number.  
 As the 'Īd occurs and as the new moon becomes visible in the heavens,  
 May you be fortunate like the stars, unique like the sun.  
 Evermore, may your heart be glad and full of joy.  
 So be it, for the sake of that eternal Creator of mankind.

*Ḳit'a of supplication to God, the Divine Lord of the Worlds—  
 May His Name Be Exalted and His Being Glorified<sup>9</sup>*

O, God, supreme and unique and peerless and eternal,  
 There is no number or limit to Your multitudinous gifts.  
 Yours are munificence and goodness. Yours are benevolence and kindness.  
 Ours are rebellion and error, sin and crime without end.

And this is the holy prayer which was recited. And previously, the Mi'mār Ağa, out of love for God, performed many good deeds for the religion of Islam. And these have been briefly described.

[85r] After this, come now and let us sincerely pray, first for the unity of God Almighty, the Lord of Kindness—may His glory be exalted and His gifts be universal—Who from nothingness created us and all mankind and, in addition to mankind, created the eighteen thousand worlds. Secondly, for the divine-gift-filled soul of the Master, the Most Noble Apostle, Lord of the Two Worlds<sup>10</sup>—may God, be He exalted, commend and salute him—and also for the noble souls of all the pure prophets and pious saints. Thirdly, for praise of the souls of all the family and companions of the Prophet, especially the distinguished, beloved four<sup>11</sup>—may the approbation of God, whose name be exalted, be upon them. And after that, for the noble souls of all the great ulema and generous shaikhs and the righteous and pious jurists and authors of past and present, from among this group, whoever they be, who died before now. And for the souls of the faithful, past and present, from among the people of the Community and the People of the Law, from among the entire community of Muhammad. And may Almighty God—whose name be exalted—from His perfect munificence and from His blessings and kindness and favor, also provide health and well-being to the masses of the believers in the world and beyond in this universe, and to all Muslims, and may He provide long life for each

one [of them]. And especially to His Majesty, the sultan of the sultans of the world and the king of kings of the khans of the age, the shadow of God, the Padishah who is refuge of the universe—long may he live and may he attain his desires—whom God exclusively appointed and charged and set over the defense of the people of Islam from those impious and ill-famed unbelievers and evil-living and evil-dying sinners who are in the sight of God the enemies of religion. May Almighty God—whose name be exalted—assuring him strength and power and victory and energy and succor by means of His own omnipotent perfection and grace, also bless with long life his heirs, who are happy young saplings. [85v] He is the sultan of sultans and master of the face of the earth. May he crush and annihilate his enemies in whatever direction with the divinely just, finally victorious army of Islam. O God of the Worlds, make him victorious and triumphant with the army of Islam! From day to day increase for the king his success and happiness and his power and bliss and glory and his justice and mercy, kindness and favor! And may his conquering troops and triumphant army, on land and sea, in city and villages, since they had exceeded his expectations, be victorious over base unbelievers and wicked and impious foes. Moreover, when again they return to their homes, O Lord, may You bring each one of them in safety and laden with booty to his abode and native country. And in addition, each one of the Prophets of the Way of the Muslims, and each of the inhabitants

<sup>9</sup> Marginal note gives the meter of the verse, *fā'ilātūn fe'ilātūn fe'ilātūn fe'lūn [fe'ilūn]*.

<sup>10</sup> The Master, the Most Noble Apostle, Lord of the Two Worlds: Muḥammad.

<sup>11</sup> Beloved four: the four orthodox caliphs (*al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn*); see p. 22, note 17, above.

and residents in the abode of the greatest imperial throne,<sup>12</sup> and generally everyone of the Community of Muhammad, being protected from fault and danger, may God grant health and well-being to them. And may the Prophets of the Way cause those [travelers] on the highways to attain their countries and abodes in health and safety, and in company with those who remain behind, may God grant all of them prosperity and long life. And may God—the exalted and transcendent—also facilitate in His perfect kindness the easy and stealthy rescue of each of the Muslim prisoners in the hands of the base infidels. And may God—whose name be exalted—also facilitate the auspicious desires of the whole of the Community of Muhammad. And may that supreme, sovereign God, exempt from companion and end, increase from day to day the happiness and glory and prosperity and pleasure and gladness and eminence and health and safety and well-being of our Ağa the architect. O God! [86r] Just as His Excellency the generous Ağa exerted himself restoring and repairing the Revered Ka‘ba which is the Beyt Allāh and the Exalted Abode which is the mosque of the Apostle of God, and [erecting] the buildings of new places of worship in the world, [just] as he repaired and restored the Two Holy Sanctuaries and built and constructed in addition to these many new places of worship, O Lord, so as his reward, You too, granting him an abode in the lofty Garden of Paradise, build exalted mansions for him in Heaven! O God of the Worlds, out of Your perfect kindness, make him prosperous in this world and the next. And cause his honored son to be long-lived. Whatsoever auspicious desires he may have, O God, facilitate his wishes. And the previous Chief Architect, who spent and used on God’s behalf the greater part of the substance of his life extending over more than one hundred years on *gazās* and jihads and on buildings and edifices for God’s sake, the late warrior Koca Mi‘mār Sinān Ağa, who was a Janissary for exactly twenty-six years, served during the above-mentioned time in the conquest of fortresses like Rhodes and Belgrade and in the rout of the Hungarian king in the battle of the field

of Mohács and in the German and Baghdad campaigns and in the conquest of Moldavia, and in addition to these, in many great military expeditions, each of which was a great *gazā*. Because of the high regard in which he was held when he was a Janissary in the Janissary Corps, he was made an *atlu sekbān*<sup>13</sup> at the conquest of the fortress of Rhodes in the year nine hundred twenty-nine [December, 1522]. Later, as reward for his courage in the war which was fought with the evil king [of the Hungarians?], he became a *yaya başı*.<sup>14</sup> And subsequent to that as reward for his courage in many campaigns, he became, in terms of rank, a *zenberekçi başı*,<sup>15</sup> and subsequent to that a *hāşeki*.<sup>16</sup> And after that, he was honored with the rank of *mi‘mār başı*. And after that, he was *mi‘mār başı* for fifty-two years. In the above-mentioned time, [86v] the remainder of his life was used and spent on pious foundations. In the aforementioned time he built eighty-three noble Friday mosques [*cāmi‘*], and fifty-one fine small mosques [*mescid*], and fifty-seven medreses, and seven *dār-i kurrā*, and seventeen exalted, noble *‘imārets*, and three *dār al-şifā*<sup>2</sup>, and five enormous arched stone and brick aqueducts [*su yolu kemeri*], and an underground stone-and-brick-vaulted aqueduct one stage in length, and eight stone-and-brick-arched bridges [*köprü*], and nineteen enormous caravanserais [*kārbān-sarāy*], and thirty-three baths [*hammām*], and tombs [*türbe*] and cisterns [*maḥzen*] and marketplaces [*kabbān*] and state palaces [*mīrī sarāy*] and storerooms [*kilār*] and kitchens [*mutbah*] and *hāns* and market halls [*bezzāzistān*] in proportion to these. For the love of God he expended seventy-nine years of his life, stretching from the time of his childhood and youth to his maturity and old age, on military campaigns and charitable buildings. He lavished without regret his great effort and strength on each of them. May God—whose name be exalted—making joyful his soul, in reward for these, build for him, as is the custom, lofty pavilions and exalted palaces in the highest heaven.<sup>17</sup> And may God, whose name be exalted, give rest to [and] augment His compassion for the soul of the late Dāvūd Ağa who, as Chief Architect after that, passed from this world to the other

<sup>12</sup> Inhabitants and residents of the abode of the greatest imperial throne: the inhabitants of the Ottoman state.

<sup>13</sup> *atlu sekbān*: mounted keeper of the imperial hunting dogs. Originally members of the staff of the imperial household, they later came to be integrated into the Janissary corps, where they formed one of the corps’ three main divisions; see Pakalan, *Deyimler*, III, pp. 145-147.

<sup>14</sup> *yaya başı*: commander of the infantry battalion in the Janissary corps known as *Yaya*; see Pakalan, *Deyimler*, III, p. 611.

<sup>15</sup> *zenberekçi başı*: commander of the eighty-second battalion of the Janissary corps; see Pakalan, *Deyimler*, III, p. 652.

<sup>16</sup> *hāşeki*: sergeant-at-arms of the imperial bodyguard; see Pakalan, *Deyimler*, I, pp. 753-754.

<sup>17</sup> Expanded versions of this account of Sinān’s life are found in the *Tezkiret al-Ebniye* and the *Tuhfet al-Mi‘mārīn*; see p. 23, note 19, above.

world.<sup>18</sup> And may God—whose name be exalted— assembling [together] with the souls of the martyrs the soul of the late Dâlgîc Aḥmed Ağa, who after having been Chief Architect drank the sherbet of martyrdom from the fountain of the field of valor, place his sword in the highest heaven [i.e., admit Dâlgîc Aḥmed to the highest heaven].<sup>19</sup> And out of respect for the souls of the aḡas who built in the lands of Islam countless and numberless Friday mosques and small mosques and places of worship and dervish cloisters, may God grant happiness to our generous Ağa, who exerted himself for the love of God even more truly and sincerely than the [above] mentioned [architect] aḡas, for as long as they rest in peace [i.e., until the Day of Judgment]. May he be blessed with long life and enrolled with the entry of [eternal] life on the page of the heavens. And [87r] may God, granting long lives to his noble children, cause them to reach old age. Amen, O God of the Two Worlds. And also, O God of the Two Worlds, as You call forth blessings upon the souls of our masters who were believers and Muslims and who with sincerity of heart built before our time places of worship for the love of God and [subsequently] departed to the other world—upon Adam the Pure of God—peace be upon him—who laid the foundation for the building of the first temple of God [and] who from among the great apostles and prophets of the entire party of prophets— may the prayers of God, whose name be exalted, be upon them—is to us a saint and leader, and the Prophet Seth—may peace be upon him—and Noah the Secret Friend—may peace be upon him—who, first taking the adze to his hand, practiced carpentry, and the illustrious forefather of the glorious prophets, Abraham, the Friend of the All-Compassionate, who constructed and completed the structure and building of the present

kibla of the world, the Revered Ka'ba—God, whose name be exalted, ennoble it—which is called the Beyt-i 'Aṭîk, and upon his line, may You, O Creator of the Earth and the Heavens, also bestow blessings in that manner upon our sayyid, the Pure Messenger, Muhammad al-Muṣṭafâ, and upon his line and his Companions. You are the Praiseworthy and Most Glorious and Munificent and Merciful Sovereign. O God, when in accord with Your sacred decree it is required at the last breath for each of us to journey to the Other World, giving now to our hearts provisions of piety. May You at the last instant make faith and the Ḳur'ân, along with divine guidance, companions to us which will be our supplies and stores and fellow travelers. And now there is in each of our hearts a wish. God—whose name be exalted—grant all of our good wishes out of Your favor and kindness: for a good end; for the souls of the Muslims who have claims over us; for the souls of those in need of prayer; for the souls of all deceased men and women believers and Muslim men and women; [87v] for the security of the living; for the prosperity of the entire Community of Muhammad; for the sacred approval of God, whose name be exalted. *Fātiḥa*.<sup>20</sup>

*Prayers upon the pure souls of the Prophets*

O God, confer Your prayers upon Muhammad and the people of Muhammad as You conferred Your Prayers upon Abraham and the people of Abraham, and bless Muhammad and the people of Muhammad as you blessed Abraham and the people of Abraham. And be merciful to Muhammad as you were merciful to Abraham and the people of Abraham. You are the Praiseworthy and Most Glorious.

*Verse*<sup>21</sup>

Being taken from more than a hundred books, this book  
Put new garments on the geometric forms.<sup>22</sup>  
And the pure meanings are totally original.<sup>23</sup>  
Its words and writing are as a veil to them.  
This [book] was betrothed to His Excellency the Ağa.

<sup>18</sup> For Dāvūd Ağa, see p. 37, note 25, above.

<sup>19</sup> For Dâlgîc Aḥmed Ağa, see p. 37, note 26, above. He is described here as a martyr as he fell in battle in the struggle against the Kalenderoḡlu rebels in 1604.

<sup>20</sup> *Fātiḥa* ("The Opening"): the first sura of the Ḳur'ân. The reference to its name is frequently, as here, intended to stand for the entire sura.

<sup>21</sup> Marginal note gives meter of the verse, *fā'ilātün fe'ilātün fe'ilātün fe'lāt [fe'ilāt]*.

<sup>22</sup> That is, the geometric forms are presented in a new way.

<sup>23</sup> The term used here is *bikr* which has the meaning of both "unprecedented, novel, new" and "virgin." This second meaning introduces an image which is exploited in the next line as well as in the following two *beyts*.

Given that this [book] was [like] a youthful maiden,  
 Let us guard it from the eye of the stranger,  
 Least this pure gem fall into improper hands.  
 It is completely filled with pearls like mother-of-pearl.  
 Where is there another such chest of rare pearls?  
 When these pearls had been gathered up one by one from the sea of books,  
 Eyes like bubbles swam in the ocean of the text.  
 In substance all these pearls are new.  
 God the Giver of Gifts has now bestowed this on us.  
 This is a gift to us from God the Transcendent.  
 Let the pen of fire record this [gift] in gold on the tablet of the heavens.  
 Because this [book] is like an excursion spot to mankind,  
 How many gates were suddenly opened [by it] into the Garden of Wisdom!  
 [88r] From its auspicious advice, let us take good counsel in the world.  
 If [we do] not, the panels of the gates [of Paradise] will be coal-black with admonition.  
 Inscriptions are many on the gates of palaces.  
 The black specks [inscriptions] on them defile that gold for no reason.  
 How much we [try] to cultivate this world!  
 Is this transitory, ruined abode everlasting for anyone?  
 Come, let us draw back the hand from this transitory, superficial restoration.  
 Suddenly, in an instant, the dust and planks will collapse.  
 We have much harassed the listener with advice.  
 We have been copious [and] the ropes of the tent of sermonizing are sufficient.  
 Let us now conclude this *ṣafā'-nāme*,  
 And let its conclusion be the names of the God of the repentant sinners.

Thanks be to God, this *Mi'māriyye* is completed.<sup>24</sup>

The year

1023 [1614]

Add up the line of poetry of grateful praise.

The date of the book will appear.

<sup>24</sup> As indicated in the last line of the text, this line is a chronogram, the total value of the letters of which comes to 1023, the date given in the colophon.



# APPENDIX

## UNITS AND EQUIVALENCIES OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES IN THE *RİSÂLE-İ MİCÂRİYYE*

	Seventh Chapter	(stage)	<i>barîd/duvazdah mîl/oniki mîl</i> 1 <i>berîd</i> = 4 <i>fersenk</i> = 12 <i>mîl</i> = 48,000 <i>adım</i> 144,000 <i>ayağ</i>
(cubit/ell)	<i>zirâc/andâzal/gaz/arşun</i> types of <i>zirâc/arşun</i> : 1 <i>âmmе zirâc</i> = 50 <i>barmağ</i> = 20 <i>boğun</i> = 16 <i>giriğ</i> (after 1585-87/994-95) 1 <i>âmmе arşun/zirâc</i> = 100 <i>barmağ</i> = 40 <i>boğun</i> = 32 <i>giriğ</i> (before 1585-87/994-95) 1 <i>bennâ<sup>3</sup> arşun/zirâc</i> = 24 <i>boğun</i> = 60 <i>barmağ</i> 1 <i>bez arşun</i> = 100 <i>barmağ</i> = 40 <i>boğun</i> = 40 <i>giriğ</i>	(span)	<i>shibr/bidist/kaşığ</i>
		(forearm, ell, cubit)	<i>dhirâc/vârin/arış/dırsek/koll/bilek/dhar<sup>c</sup></i> 1 <i>dhira<sup>c</sup></i> = 3 <i>ayağ</i>
		(fathom)	<i>bâc/bâz/kulaç</i> 1 <i>bâc</i> = 2 arms extended
			Ninth Chapter
(finger breadth)	<i>işba<sup>c</sup>/angusht/barmağ</i> 2/5 <i>boğun</i> = 1 <i>barmağ</i> = 10 <i>iplik</i> = 100 spider webs	( <i>cerîb</i> )	<i>jarîb/garîb/garî/dönüm cerîb</i> 1 <i>ta<sup>c</sup>am cerîbi</i> = 4 <i>kîla</i> 1 <i>yir cerîbi</i> = land necessary to produce 1 <i>ta<sup>c</sup>am cerîbi</i> 1 <i>yir cerîbi/garî/dönüm</i> = 40 <i>adım square</i> 1 <i>dönüm</i> = amount of land a pair of oxen can plow in a day = 1 <i>faddân</i>
(thumb)	<i>ibhâm/angusht-i buzurg/büyük barmağ</i>		types of measured <i>dönüm</i> : 1 <i>dönüm</i> = 1225 <sup>2</sup> <i>bennâ<sup>3</sup> zirâc</i> (i.e., 35 × 35 <i>bennâ<sup>3</sup> zirâc</i> ) 1 <i>dönüm</i> = 2025 <sup>2</sup> <i>bennâ<sup>3</sup> zirâc</i> (i.e., 45 × 45 <i>bennâ<sup>3</sup> zirâc</i> ) 1 <i>dönüm</i> = 3600 <sup>2</sup> <i>bennâ<sup>3</sup> zirâc</i> (i.e., 60 × 60 <i>bennâ<sup>3</sup> zirâc</i> )
(finger tip)	<i>anmala/sar-i angusht/ barmağ ucu</i>		
(knuckle, finger joint)	<i>burjuma/band-i angusht/boğun</i> 1 <i>boğun</i> = 2-1/2 <i>barmağ</i>		
(knot)	<i>giriğ/ukdal/düğüm</i> 1 <i>giriğ</i> = 3-1/8 <i>barmağ</i>		
( <i>dirhem</i> )	<i>dirhem</i> 1 <i>dirhem</i> = 4 <i>ağçe</i> = 128 <i>mançır</i> (before 1585-87/994-95)	(furrow)	<i>dabara/mashara/takhta-i zamîn/evlek/kaşık/maraj</i> (subdivision of <i>jarîb</i> )
(wrist)	<i>bilek</i> (see Eighth Chapter)	(rod, c. 14 feet)	<i>khashaba/chüb/çıbık/sha<sup>c</sup>ira</i>
(span)	<i>kaşığ</i> (see Eighth Chapter)	(notch, mark)	<i>âyat/alâmat/nishân/çendel/kaşız</i>
(foot)	<i>ayağ</i> (see Eighth Chapter)	( <i>kaşız</i> , dry measure of c. 250 lbs.)	<i>kaşız/paymânal/ölçek</i> 1 <i>kaşız</i> = 1 <i>ölçek</i> = 8 <i>mikyâl</i>
(pace)	<i>adım</i> (see Eighth Chapter)	(bushel)	<i>kîla/kayl/mikyâl</i> 1 <i>mikyâl</i> = 1/8 <i>kaşız</i>
(span)	<i>kulaç</i> (see Eighth Chapter)		Tenth Chapter
	Eighth Chapter	( <i>dönüm</i> )	Three type of <i>dönüm</i> : 1) Istanbul 1 <i>dönüm</i> = 35 <i>bennâ<sup>3</sup> zirâc</i> × 35 <i>bennâ<sup>3</sup> zirâc</i> = 1225 square <i>bennâ<sup>3</sup> zirâc</i> 1 <i>dönüm</i> = 10 <i>çıbık</i> × 100 <i>çıbık</i> = 100 square <i>çıbık</i> (where 1 <i>çıbık</i> = 3.5 <i>bennâ<sup>3</sup> zirâc</i> ) 1 <i>dönüm</i> = 10 <i>nişân</i> (1 <i>nişân</i> = 10 square <i>çıbık</i> = 122.5 square <i>bennâ<sup>3</sup> zirâc</i> )
(foot)	<i>kadam/ricl/pây/ayağ</i> 1 <i>ayağ</i> = 1/3 <i>zirâc</i> (canonical/black ell; see Hinz, <i>Masse</i> , p. 55)		
(pace)	<i>khuşwa/gâm/adım</i> 1 <i>adım</i> = 3 <i>ayağ</i>		
(bow knot)	<i>Ghalwa/nishân-i tîr/nishan/yag-i tîr partâv/ok atımı/ok nişânı</i> 1 <i>ok atımı</i> = 400 <i>zirâc</i>		
(mile)	<i>mîl</i> 1 <i>mîl</i> = 4,000 <i>adım</i>		
(parasang)	<i>farsakhl/fersenk</i> 1 <i>fersenk</i> = 3 <i>mîl</i> = 12,000 <i>adım</i> = 36,000 <i>ayağ</i>		

## 2) Rüm-ili, The Islands

$$1 \text{ dönüm} = 45 \text{ bennā}^3 \text{ zirā}^4 \times 45 \text{ bennā}^3 \text{ zirā}^4 \\ = 2025 \text{ square bennā}^3 \text{ zirā}^4$$

$$1 \text{ dönüm} = 10 \text{ çibık} \times 10 \text{ çibık} = 100 \text{ square} \\ \text{çibık (where 1 çibık} = 4.5 \text{ bennā}^3 \text{ zirā}^4)$$

$$1 \text{ dönüm} = 10 \text{ nişān} (1 \text{ nişān} = 10 \text{ square} \\ \text{çibık} = 202.5 \text{ square bennā}^3 \text{ zirā}^4)$$

## 3) Egypt, Baghdad, Basra, Kufa, Samarkand, Bukhara (canonical dönüm/jarīb)

$$1 \text{ dönüm} = 60 \text{ bennā}^3 \text{ zirā}^4 \times 60 \text{ bennā}^3 \text{ zirā}^4 \\ = 360 \text{ square bennā}^3 \text{ zirā}^4$$

$$1 \text{ dönüm} = 10 \text{ çibık} \times 10 \text{ çibık} = 100 \text{ square} \\ \text{çibık (where 1 çibık} = 6 \text{ bennā}^3 \text{ zirā}^4)$$

$$1 \text{ dönüm} = 10 \text{ nişān} (1 \text{ nişān} = 10 \text{ square} \\ \text{çibık} = 360 \text{ square bennā}^3 \text{ zirā}^4)$$

$$1 \text{ dönüm} = \text{the area which in sowing takes} \\ 4 \text{ kila of grain}$$

(architect's  $\text{bennā}^3 \text{ zirā}^4$ 

ell)

$$1 \text{ bennā}^3 \text{ zirā}^4 = 24 \text{ barmağ}$$

$$1 \text{ square bennā}^3 \text{ zirā}^4 = 576 \text{ square barmağ}$$

(tailor's ell)

 $\text{derzi arşunu/derzi zirā}^4$ 

$$1 \text{ derzi arşunu} = 20 \text{ barmağ}$$

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<sup>1</sup> Descriptive phrases and definitions in Persian and Turkish of specific Arabic technical terms in the text are omitted. Transcriptions are arranged in strict alphabetical order; diacriticals and the signs for the *hamza* and *‘ain* do not affect alphabetical order. The abbreviations [A], [P] and [T] indicate the words they follow are respectively Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

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فر

في بيان القصائد الواقعة في هذا الكتاب  
بوكاتبك بعون بريري نثره وبعون بريري نظمها واقع اوراق  
واقع اوراق منظوماتها دجى كليبى آيات مفرقة ذره وكليبى  
قطعه ذره وكليبى غزل ذره وكليبى قصيدة ذره جاجبا  
واقع اوراق قصايدى دجى جملته سى اوزن قطعه قصيدة ذره  
٢ اول قصيدة الف ليلة لايته در صبح الهوى قصيدة در تعالى شاهه  
٣ ايلتجى باينه در صبح الهوى قصيدة در صبح الهوى  
٤ ايلتجى الف ليلة لايته در العظام كجابه ارامان و قصيدة در صبح الهوى  
٢٢ در صبح الهوى قصيدة در كعبه مكرمه كذا دجى و قصيدة در صبح الهوى  
٢٥ ايلتجى باينه در صبح الهوى قصيدة در صبح الهوى  
٢٦ ايلتجى باينه در صبح الهوى قصيدة در صبح الهوى  
٥١ ايلتجى باينه در صبح الهوى قصيدة در صبح الهوى  
٥٩ ايلتجى باينه در صبح الهوى قصيدة در صبح الهوى  
٨٣ ايلتجى باينه در صبح الهوى قصيدة در صبح الهوى  
٨٦ ايلتجى باينه در صبح الهوى قصيدة در صبح الهوى

في بيان الغزليات الواقعة في هذا الكتاب  
بوكاتبك بعون بريري نثره وبعون بريري نظمها واقع اوراق  
واقع اوراق منظوماتها دجى كليبى آيات مفرقة ذره وكليبى  
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واقع اوراق قصايدى دجى جملته سى اوزن قطعه قصيدة ذره  
٢١ اول قصيدة الف ليلة لايته در صبح الهوى قصيدة در تعالى شاهه  
٢٣ ايلتجى باينه در صبح الهوى قصيدة در صبح الهوى  
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٥١ ايلتجى باينه در صبح الهوى قصيدة در صبح الهوى  
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٨٦ ايلتجى باينه در صبح الهوى قصيدة در صبح الهوى

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

محمد بن حده و وثنا لا یعد اول یزدان خالق العباده  
 که باب سزای حکمتی کشاد و خوب قول کن فیکون  
 از منی اراده بزله آیت کریمه و ما خلقت الجن  
 و الانس الا لیسعدون بن جن و انسی بر نام آدم  
 الا انکر تکابعدت ای بکل چون دید معنای سزای معنی  
 طایفه از نور شینه بر طبقه سی عباد و نگاه و هر کس  
 نکیه و خاتمه اول و مینچون است بوی قات  
 ختانی و دیدی قات فوقانی طبقاتی حاوی و مستل  
 و ضویر عبرت فالاری الواح ضایره متمثل اولان  
 کارخانه منظم و عباد نگاه طائفه و بنی آدم  
 عرصه وجود و مصنوع و مسلم اولوب قبل خلق الارض  
 و السماء بولوب عالم نشو و نما بولوب تمام عددن  
 دیار وجوده کلوز اولدوق بیت الهیه دن موقدرت  
 ناشایسته دن مبرشت اصل عالم اولان دریا محوس  
 و خوروشه کلوب موج نما اولدوق اول بحر متوجده  
 و دریای متنج دن برزخا و چقوب اوج هواده قرار  
 ایبیک حکمت یزدانی و قدرت سبحانی فخر اسجیه  
 دریا منجمده و بخار یا خوب الاده منقده اولوب  
 زنده و محمد دن زمین و بخار اذن نامکون بولوب  
 خاب پناکی معلقه هو انستین اولدوق هر کس  
 دیدی قات اولوب هر قاتی دخی بر زمین بر نور  
 یلایق مساده آریوب زمین پیدی طبقه و آسمان دخی

پیدی طبقه اولوب طبقات سفید یک اولکی زمین  
 و مکار زمین ثانیه طلعه زمین ثالثی عرفه زمین رابعی  
 جزایر زمین خامسی مثلث زمین سادسی حقیق زمین سابعی  
 عجایب عجایب دخی معلق قلوب طبقات سفیدت سینه  
 بو کوه اوزره بر بریک آتشف بقعه بقعه اولوب  
 سفوف طبقات فوقانی موقبات طبقات علوی و فوقانی  
 اول ستون و بی سطاع من جزو الخوا و الار تفاع منج  
 خیم عظام کی بر بریک اوزره قیام بولوب  
 اول آسمان ربع زبرجد و صخره و بیکری فلک ثمره ربعا  
 ثانیه فلک عطار و بیکری قیوم یاوت اصف و الشاکل  
 زمره اولان ماغور یاوت اختر اربعه فلک شمس و بیکری  
 اول قلوب سیم سفید قاسا فلک منج و بیکری ارتفاعی  
 زراخر سنا و فلک شمس و بیکری ربعی قوه و بیکری  
 سابعه فلک فصل و بیکری غریبای صافی نور واقع اول  
 بعثت جرح دوازده ترتیب دوزخ دخی بر قرار اولدوق  
 حکمت عجیه و قدرت مبریه منقضا سزای بحسب اراده  
 بولاره تمخید قواعد و توسید و ساید اولان ملکین  
 عرض معتاد دن برنگ مقبول اجر الهی المیزان اولدوق  
 بو سطوح سینه مصنوعه و ممت شرفه فوئده کن  
 جمله سنی برنگوش کس بالائی دوسنه اولوب کندوسی  
 بو کله رفات مثل اولوب یا قاری دخی معلق قلوب  
 ایکی قات اسلمه دخی یا قوت اخضر فوئدی اولدوق  
 قاتنه یونان و بیکری فوئدی دخی درجه سطح عظیمه  
 بشیخه فوئدی و بیکری حوت السجیه یا میدجی هوا  
 هوا دخی ظلمه اشکاء اولوب استواریه عظیمه قسطنطنیه

بقرتیب آورده بدینا فاش اسانه واقع اولوب بوند  
 انشاغ اولان رزم معلوم بشود و لمبوب جمله سکت علمی  
 حقیق ایل اول علام الغیوب . و ستار الذنوب .  
 باری کما حقیر کرمک حضور عزیزه و نهوانده تعالی  
 عالم بحقیقت . و قادر علی غلبه ما یرید خلقه من خلقته .  
 و نهوانده الذی خلق السموات و الارضین و قبا کرمک  
 الله احسن الخالقین . و الحمد لله رب العالمین .  
 فی وصف الضعف الالهی  
 نذر و نوح بالاول کونه تمیل  
 نذر و نوحه علی و زینت قندیل  
 نذر و نوزون روشن نذر و نوح شهر  
 نذر و نوحه عجیب و نذر و نوحه جمیل  
 نذر و نوحه کما و نذر و نوحه طبع زین  
 نذر و نوظان بلند و نذر و نوحه جلیله  
 نذر و نوحه اوله نضوج بویل بر نیاد  
 بلار نوم و بلا مندسه بلا تمشیل  
 بو صنیع پاک بچو و صفایه بولور انشا  
 صخری صفاه اوراقه باشند اول  
 الهی قدرت عظمی و حکمت جو قدر  
 بختینه وارظر کدسه نوز یک بیل  
 وجود و وحدتکی انجی المیزان اذراک  
 که بوند مرکه غایتله واضح اولدی  
 وجود دانکه شاهد نذر و نوحه عالم  
 نبوت و وحدت لازم و کل کواه و دلسل

این کتاب در بیان احوال و صفات اولاد است  
 که در این کتاب مذکور است  
 و در این کتاب مذکور است  
 و در این کتاب مذکور است

مبارک

مبارک اسم شریف بکلمه واحد  
 بچو فلور دینی و خدای غیری قال ایل قیل  
 دیریز که اشخدان لا اله الا الله  
 که بوشا و نذر و نوحه اوله تحصیل  
 بود کرمک او لحن جمله یقینت  
 بود کلام صفا بخش و نخل ظل ظلیل  
 که که بوظله نخلی از سایه اولا  
 امید نذر بود اول قلمیه دلیل ز سبیل  
 بود خلاص اید یک خلقی زور خنده  
 اولوز سه بوندن اولوز جاره و نواب جز بل  
 مدد نولفظ شریفه ندا و نوحه ایل  
 که هر طرفدن اید طوریمن اجل تحصیل  
 نواخته اولنا جن کنا تمز جو قدر  
 بچو اولوز ارا و کرمه عفوه با تعلیم  
 که جمله جرم و جنایت جعفر سید  
 طوری قیامتی بشدن بیشه سحر طویل  
 نواخته اولوز سوس الهم سن فور  
 که بوقدر نذر بچو سندن اید و نوحه کفیل  
 اموری سکه تفویض اید بندر جعفر  
 که جمله عالمه سنهن بند و بی و و کیش  
 فی اقصای علی نبینا علیه السلام  
 و صلوة و سلام دینی اول سنیلانم و اسرفانیا و عظام  
 اولان حبیب ضایه اولسونکه حدیث شریف لولا ک  
 لولا ان لما خلقنا لانا ک سن اولمیدن سن  
 اولمیدن یا حجه کو طوی بن لا تا دم دیو معنوم لطیف

مقتضای سنج سنوات اینک سوز عالی عرقینه

خلوقات اولیاده

نه صاحب شعله گوهره او گوهره

گفتش کیی ایله دهنری سوزده

اولوبه علت غایبه اول نور

اوشوقیله یزادندس ملکه

قدم کیم وضع آیدنده بوجمانه

نکله سکر الیسون سکر الیسون

بشون کون سایه ایله اکر برابره

که دیر سوز مهر نور عالمه فریه

گفتش ایله اپدی اول ایسی برده

که نورن طومنون نور سیمبره

بچون دیر سوز سکر گوهره

که سراج دو عالمه او سروره

عجبی خاتم اولسه انبیایه

اعالی سکره وارز صدره اکثره

حبیب حق رسول الله سنسن

سنگ ملک در آب جویس کوزده

براقیله سرافلا که جغدک

سکا اولدی او خوش بخت

مکانکده مقام قات تو سنین

او پردن جین سیریل کلک در بره

نیایونه قر بیت در کیم

مقابک روضه اولمایه غلیظه

ایمانک

ایمانک نظر غیره عنبره

غبار بر کندارک مشک از فیه

مدر بو حکت عظمی که عالم

اولوبه حالک پند معطره

آچلدی روی خدا بکله از ناز

مبارک دردن او کس و در افک

سزایا حضرت ذات شریفک

اولوبه نوردن روح مصوره

وضو کوزدن پره اتمه در ناه

اودر روی زمین اولس مظهره

او مرقله جحان سندن سفاک

شکلا سنسن شمع روز خشره

گرم فل فامسون امت ایغنه

قعی جویس اولسون اجسادین

یوی باری تعالی دن رجا قبل

عبادین رختینه ایله مخلصه

گرم فل جعفرک چوقده کناهی

شما عشره اولور حال مکره

فی مدح الصحابه و الال رضوان الله علیهم اجمعین

دفع صلوة و سلام اول سواد کائنات و مظهر موجودات

حزرت یحیی ال و هابنه اولسونک وجود سیر بغاری

بحرم سماکی عالمه زینت اولوب دین اسلامی

نور علم و فضلله روشن قلیدله نظم

اولسون او جبار یار کزیده دفعی سلام

که کتله بولدی بلب اسلام خشانم

معمول فاعلات سما جبار  
مخبر صانع آدم نادیه

صدر بقله عمر ذفي عثمان بن علي  
 برأت من محمد بن محمد زرا بانام  
 احكام ايجده ذره قد قائله  
 شرح شريفه انته كوستر ويدر قائم  
 واز سلام اولاد ذفي سار صحابه  
 كيم دين باكه المديري و افرا حيرت  
 اخيار دين ايجون قدرا پيدار عزا  
 مزينه و كلو المديري اقدام و اتمام  
 اعزاء دينه شوليه قلعخ قويد پرايدي  
 اجساد و كازيدي شيوه بهان نيانم  
 يا خود غلويي قرينه جغتيدري او كسوف  
 پس قرينه اولدي نيانم انزه خرام  
 كلو صحابه نوره سني رعد طين ايدو  
 هر دونه سر كوزن آيد يتر خوف دن ملام  
 انتخاب دن ذفي او مزر لطف و رحمت  
 كيم انزه مرا جعت ايلر قوا انام  
 مختاره جمع ايجو اولور كه حانز  
 رزم ايلر نه كز بره بوز تره كرام

اما بعد اشبه عشر شريفه و زمان لطيفه معني  
 بحجة نبوتية عليه افضل الصلوات و سلم  
 سنة ١٠١٢ اقاليم سبغه سلطنتي ايله مشرف اولان  
 تا پشته اعظم و ذوقان اكرم جامع محاسن اللطف  
 و الشيم حليته الله في العالم ما يبلوا اهل الايمان  
 ما ي اهل الكفر و اللطفين بازي اجمع والمدارس

قال الشيخ والكن بين ناكلت انبه جبل الوريد في  
 عضة الله من تريب و بعيد سلف التبرين و السحرين  
 حالي ارضين الشرفية بيده ممالك الروم و الغزوات  
 و العجول ان الظهير الارض كانت الامم ذفي ابا الدين  
 الازمير مخرج آيات الشرح المظلم هو السلطان الرابع عشر من  
 آل صاحب الفتوح و المغازي السلطان احمد خان الغازي  
 اعز الله تعالى سر بركه بوجوده و وافاض على الامم آثار  
 عدله و جوده و حضرتك سلطنت دولت دناره  
 و شوكت جنت شعار دناره خاصه معازان  
 آغاز اولان صاحب الفؤاد التكميل حجة اغاير عبد المعبود  
 حضرتي ذانا جوامع شريفه و مشاهد شيفه بهنا سنده  
 اولو اندي غيري ذفي نيجه ندره و نيجه كوري و بوزون  
 مجاوز حينه كيمي غيري كسه را مابله و بعضي ذفي كندو  
 مابله بنا و احداث تيمش اولو بود اعليته ذفي كل نظر  
 شريفدي اولوب كندورينه منسوب اولدو غز  
 حسيله بوانه كلنجه نيجه بيلدن بروالتر مابله اولو  
 علم هندسه به متعلق بعض خصوص مذاكره  
 اولدو نيجه بود عاجبدي جمله سني اخذ و ضبط ايدوب  
 انك موجدني علم هندسه به متعلق برد ساله تحير  
 و تصنيف ايلك ذفاق اولدي كيمي بونون اقدام  
 بعض مهار آغار بزر مناقبانه تحير و تصنيف  
 اولمش اولوب ناره مناقبانه تحير اولدو ذفي كيمي  
 اول علم هندسه به سنده غيري ذفي بزم خرد و تلو  
 آغا حضرتيه بر مناقبانه تحير ايلك ذفره بجزه لازم  
 كل كيمي حقي تعاقب اولدو علم و عزم نواله حضرتك عينا بيله

سلطان احمد

معارف  
محمد بن عبدالمجيد

تحتوی است و واقع اولدی جمله اولی فصل اولدیر  
اولوب مرفعی افغان حضرتینه متعلق اولد  
در ساله معاریه دیوشیمیه اولدی

معاریه  
فهرس

اولکی فصل  
افغان حضرتی روم المیزن دوشیمیه بحر اولغان اولوب  
کلور خاتری باغچه بربوب و بعضی صنعتیه موسس ایرد  
و اول موسس ایردک صنعتیه حقیقه بر واقع کوروب  
و اول واقعیه بی برهنه تعبیر ایرد روم اول اعزیزدی  
اغالی اول موسس ایردک صنعتیه واقع ایرد روم  
بعده افغان حضرتی صکرینه صد نکالوق و معاریت  
صنعتیه بی او کرمک براد ابلکین اول اعزیزک اجازتی  
و خیره عابله صد نکالوق و معاریت صنعتیه  
نیجه وارستد و آندن غیری دئی کادگیر دید کلر پی  
کاشینا اول بیت اللهی ان اول کیم بنا المیدی و جازارک  
و جازارک پیرلر کیمر آنک بیانده در

ایکینجی فصل  
افغان حضرتی صد نکالوق و معاریت صنعتیه اول کرمک  
صنعتیه قدر باهر و فاذا اول مستدر و استلد و ک  
اشری مقابله سنه پاک تا هارک و وزیر ارک  
نیجه لطفیه منظره دوشیمیه و مرحوم و معقوله  
سلطان اراد خان حضرتی افغان حضرتیه استلد و ک  
تحف استری مقابله سنه نیجه درگاه کما قبیل غنی  
عنایت پورستدر و خطها بون سعادت مقرون  
دور استانبول قلمینه نیجه حضرتی اول مستدر  
آنک تفصیل بیانده در

او چنچر فصل  
افغان حضرتی عقیده علییه و صنایع طبری و معاریت  
عربستانه و آناطولییه و روم و قروم و لایتنده  
نه قدر برک ز مستدر و بعضی ایاالتده وزیر مشی  
اولوب اول و لایتنده نیجه عدالت الیه حکومت  
ایتنده و حجاب کتک بولرینی قطع ایله نیجه بیک  
غامی علی قلیل عسکر ایله نیجه قریب کعبه مکرمه کتک  
قافله بولرینی نیجه پاک و بی بک ایتمده آنک بیانده در

دور در فصل  
آغای مشا الهنگ لطف و گرمی و حسن و نعم بیانده در  
سینچ فصل  
کعبه مکرمه وضع اولنان سزا با التون و کتس  
بندر ایله قاپو بولاد قوشقاری و آلتون اولغینه  
و خلیل الرحمن علی التلام مقامنک منبر سینچ  
و روضه منظره صافی آلتون کلید ری نیجه آنک  
و بوانه کلنج قاج جامع شریف و قاج مسجد لطیف  
و قاج مدرسه و قاج حمام و قاج سزای و قاج کونک  
و قاج کونبری و قاج چشمه و با جمله نه قدر خیرت  
بنا ایتمده آنک بیانده در

التینجی فصل  
حالا بعون الله تعالی انما می عن قریب میسر اولوب  
تحیه استانبول آت میدانزه پادشاه عالیشان  
حضرتیک جامع شریفنگ بناسی نه وجه اوزره در  
و افغان حضرتی بنی استک بونشاه شریفیه  
مقیدر و مقدر و بشر اولان همقن نیجه حضرتیتمده

حضرتی  
اولوب

وخلادقن قدر اقدام و اهتمام دارد آنک بیانند  
پدری فصل

بنه ذراع و عاذه ذراع هر بری قاج بر من در بر من  
نیچ اعتبار او لشدر و بنه ذراعی بزم خود  
بر من اوزره وضع اولند و غنه باعث ندر  
وعاذه ذراعی یوزر بر من اولوب اوتوز ایکی کوزه  
اوزرینه وضع اولند و غنه سب ندر آنک بیانند

سکرینی فصل  
این و آدم و اوق آبی و پیل و فرسنگ  
و برید و فارس و ذرنگ و قولنج ندر و بولان  
متعلق اولان اشیانک هر بریسی نه مقدار در  
جله نیک اوج لغت اوزره یعنی غل و فارس  
و ترکی ایله اساسی بیانند

طقوزی فصل  
عن و فارسی و ترکی ندر ایله دو نم و او لکت  
و جیب و نشان ندر آنک احوال بیانند

اونیچ فصل  
علم هندسه تقصیحه وضع اولن دو نمک  
و چنگ و نشانک تفصیل بیانند در دو نم  
دنی نیچ اوج وجه اوزرینه اعتبار اولمشدر  
د اوج وجه اوزرینه اعتبار اولند و غنه باعث ندر  
و هر و غنی بنه ذراع ایله قاج ذراع آنک بیانند

اون بریخی فصل  
سرای و اذ و حج و صفت و دبلیز و سطح و سقف  
و نکی و خانقاه و کاربان سراجی و بولند متعلق اولان

هتاند

اشیانک لقا غل ایله و لسان فارسی ایله و لقا  
ترکی ایله آدری ندر و قتی اسم عسیدر

و تقصی فارسیدر و تقصی ترکیدر آنک بیانند  
اون الیخ فصل

اوج دیل ایله یعنی غل و فارسی و ترکی ایله جمله  
بنایه کیرن کر نسه دیکلری کار آراسته نکت  
اساسی بیانند

اون او چیخ فصل  
حجارت و تجارت آلات و اذ و آنک لکت  
اوج دیل اوزره اساسی بیانند

اون ذر و بیخ فصل  
جمله اهل حرفت آلات و اذ و اتی حتی مظهر لکت  
آلان دق علم هندسه اوزرینه و بعضی حجاب  
و تجارت آلات کوره تقلید نیچ وضع اینمشدر

آنک بیانند  
اون بیخ فصل  
خبر دعا درک جمله دن خیر و نفع اولدر

اولکی فصل  
آغا حضرتی روم ایلندن دو شیره عجر او غل اولان  
کلب خاص باچی کوروب و بعضی صنعتی هوس  
ایروب و اذ و هوس ایروکی صنعتی حقند بر  
واقع کوروب و اول واقعتی بر عزیزه تغییر  
ایروب اول عزیز دق آغالی اول بندوس  
ایروکی صنعتی فریخ ایروب بعد  
آغا حضرتی نه صد فکار و معار و

اولکی فصل

صنعتی او کنگ در ادایمکن اول عزیز کنگ اجاتی  
 و خیر دعاسی ایله صد فکار و معار و صنعتی  
 نجه وار مستدر و آنند غیر دخی کار نیر  
 دیکری طاسن ما ایله اکن اول بیت الله کیم  
 یا نیشدر و عمار طایفه سبله عمار طایفه سنک  
 بیرلر کیم در آنک بیاسند در آغاسی ماریه  
 حضرتی مرحوم سلطان سلیمان خان علیه السلام  
 حضرت ننگ او افرینده طغوز و نوز و تمش سنه  
 روم ایلدن استانبول دو شهره عجم او غلال کلوب  
 بش میل مقدار معلوفه سز و زوب بعده التمزیل  
 معلوفه بیا زلدن نکر مرحوم زور سلطان سلیمان خان  
 طاب شراه حضرت ننگ تریه شریفه سنه بر سنه  
 یا عجم کچیسسی اولوب بر سنه دن صکره خاص یا عجم  
 کروب و اروپا ایچر و سنه داخل اولدقه کورسه که  
 بر مقام عجم او غلانری طایفه سنه کروه کروه  
 جمع اولوب آره بر سنه نه طایفه مزبور و در شخص دکن  
 او کنگه بر قاجار دوزلوسان دیزوب بران اظهار موفت  
 و کمال بر بزر آنه آلب انلاری استعمال قلوب  
 انواع مختلفه ایله نعمات و اوصاف ترقات ایله سیات  
 کوسروب بلبل کئی الشریه بیروانه کئی سوز شکر  
 قلدی طایفه مزبور و کروه مذکور و سون  
 هر مری به آرمین به آرمین بوند او زک صفقا  
 و سلطان و بو صنعتدن زیاده کامالتی و اولم  
 احتمالی بو قدر دیو سازنده مزبوره انواع و جوه ایل  
 تحسین و اوصاف طرفی ایله هزار آفرینله دیوب

آغای

آغای حوتی ایله بو حال متا به ایدیک بونی جمله  
 ایلدیک ظاهر عرب و روم و عجم و قوم پادشاهی اول  
 ظلال آنه سفا و تلو پادشاه علمینا طال بغه نیک  
 حضرت ننگ بونک بونک باغچ سید بو شخص سازنده  
 صنعت و کاری دخی جمله اعمال و صنایع سرداری  
 اولم و نقر در اگر جمله صنایع بوسنت اولی  
 و کاری سرکار در اعلی اولمسه بود مخلو کروه  
 کروه جمع اولان جماعت بو حله ساز استماع جمع  
 اولوب سازنده صنایع سلطنته رشک ایتوب آنک  
 دخی صنعتک مقبولتته اتناق ایلد شهادت ایچر کرد  
 ایدی تمدن صکره لایق اولاب بود که بونی بجا آرمین  
 بوناره جان و دلدن بونق قلوب اله کنور سنک

قا عمارت قلوبش قلوبش نعمان

کر که  
 ظاهر اگر چه بر صیبت و صدا ذرا نجه  
 دل نجه آره ولی او زک صفاد ایتوب  
 آه اول استادن بر طریق ایلد شفا دو شوزوب  
 آنه ایاغنه دوشه بسم بونیکه اول صنعت خوب  
 و کار خوب ایلد بئی بهره مند و بهره ور ایدیدی  
 دیوتنها اولمسیچون دعایه مستغول اولوب  
 حاصل کلام فی الحلال دعاسی قبول اولوب اول  
 جمعیتده اولان عجم او غلانری هر مری کارنه کیوب  
 سازنده اول مخلد همان یا کوز قلوب آغای  
 موی ایلد دخی سکروب اول سازنده ننگ آنه  
 و ایاغنه دوشوب بی  
 نظر قل آنکه ای شاد کابلده بو صنعتی بئی سن و کلت قلوب

نما عین سفا عین قلوبش

بوخلیج عرض نفع و نیاز و اظهار سوز این گذار <sup>بسیار</sup> ساز  
 دخی کوردیکه بوضعت رغبتی غالب بلکه روی  
 زمین ده دخی بویل بر طالب وجود و ظهوره کل  
 لائق اولان بود که بودر سده بدانی مقدوری  
 بذل صرف ایروب صنعت علمدن بر حرف کتم ایتم  
 ایروی ای طالب و رغب و بوضعت عازت کرده که  
 اولاً الکی حکم صالما غدا ان ایروب آندضره کل  
 ساز جلما غده ایله بس دیو چاروب او مان  
 ایچون یه بر تازینه ویروب آغای حشار ایله دخی  
 تازینه بی بیله آوب دست بوش قلوب یا ننه ما  
 کلکی اولاسکنر طلق فلوری بی قوتیندن چقا  
 بوسازنده یه مویوب مرنه دورو ساز واریسه  
 بگا انوعندن ایویر فلوریدن دخی نه که فضل  
 قاکور استدل حق دیو سکا خجلی اولسون  
 دین لمان اییچ دخی ساز حاز دورسون  
 دیوب سازنده دخی بوفلوریدی آوب بر مقدار ایله  
 سازک مرنوعندن بر پینی ایویروب آغای ایله  
 تسلیم ایروب فاما آخضر نری اول عکدن کدی و کی بزل  
 او دینه واروب قیاس سازنده ویر و کی تازینه  
 این آوب لیل و بخار آرام بیروب صبح و شام  
 اینی صالوب بر مرتبه ده سوار ایتمشک اینی صالوقی  
 زمانه اینک جنالی بیل کورغز او لب حوج تعاضه تیری  
 حکمت کور که نکورنگه ضد فکار و معار و صنعت  
 کرم صالما غدا انی لازم اولسه که کدر نه کیم  
 این الله تعالی فضل تاینده بیان اولنور

باجله

باجله آغای حوج اییچ کیم و نیچ ایام کندیه اویتوی  
 حرام ایروب اینی لمان اییچ کیم سهل که سنم  
 عارض اولما غده واقع سنده کورسه که طائفه جنگ  
 صورتنه بر آلی سازندگان ظهور و عیان  
 ایروب کیمشک ایله دخی کیمشک جنگ و قانونه  
 کیمشک زیاب و کیمشک شفقانه کیمشک از غنونا کیمشک  
 موسیغال کیمشک طنبور کیمشک چاروبه کیمشک مانتور  
 باجمله آدی زاد و عواد ما بیننده نه قدر که ساز  
 واردر جمله سنی احضار ایروب مجموعی پدایند  
 اولان سازه بر او غورده آغاز اییچ ساز و کور  
 صدایند عالم ذلوله یه تازینه و آسمان زلزله کیمشک  
 آغای مشار ایله دخی سن بر صنعتیه میل ایروب  
 او کیمشک اییچ برین بر خور اول دیو انواع و جمله  
 که تعظیم و دور دورو طری ایله تکرم قلوب علم غنه  
 تعقیق نامی ایله بوئی اسکدره کوروب اسکدره یار خور  
 یوقارو کیدر ایکن آخضر نری دخی مانه اولنور  
 او یا نکلوب وادی فکره واروب استعاذه ایله  
 ذکر بکدی یا ایله العالمین یا خیر الناصیر یه بونه  
 کونه واقع درونه کونه خیال و بوال فرعون دن  
 نه مان اولکه صباح اولدق اول استاد اتحاد  
 ایروم سازنده به واروب بو واقع می آکاسویلیین  
 کوزین اول نه جواب ویرر بلکه آکا دخی سلو کنک  
 اینر سنده بویله خیالات عارضه اولمشدر جواب  
 ویرر اوله دیو بوئی رای ایروب صباح اولدق نیله  
 سازنده واروب کور و کی رو پستی عملی و قوتیه

منه



علم دوار و علم موسیقی دیزل موسیقی بریند موسیقی  
 و موسیقار دینی و یک جائز در نون مینب لغتند  
 لسان یونانید موس و یک نغمه و یکد و تی و قار  
 موزون و یکد. بو علم تصنیف ایده حضرت سلیمان  
 علیه السلام شاکر در نده حکیم فیثاغورث در  
 بالاتفاق افضل اولان حکما. سبعة نیک متنازید  
 دریا موسیقی ضربند یعنی صنع بر کرده و نژاد  
 طلاسند که بیاض دیوار زکی دریا یوز نژاد  
 بری برینک آردی کلوب طسره کتاره اوره سند  
 اضولر بولوب تألیف و تصنیف ایشدر بو علم  
 علم در عمی حضرت رسول اکرم صلی الله علیه و سلم  
 بجزندن طقوزیلا زشم بدینی سنه در علم موسیقی تصنیف  
 اولند و شی زانندن بو تاریخ کلخه ایک نیک التیور  
 قوق افیغ بیلدر و فیثاغورث قدر مقالاتی بن  
 اجزایه فاذا ایم سنی زیاده طالب کور نیکله  
 مجلسی سخا سلمیه ضد اجشم اولیا که بدن  
 غیری دخی بر شاهه ترا جفت ایده سن سنی مغوی ایدر  
 بر ذانی حاصل اقدون فالور سین دیو بو مجلس علم  
 موسیقیدن تحقیقات و تدقیقات کور سرب بن  
 آغا حضرت نیک اینک طابانه دخی نظر اید که کور  
 الگ جیالی بیلد کور نژاد کند و انندن نزار طبقه زیاده  
 سوار اولد و سن کور یک دیدیک سنک الگده که بونبله  
 سرعت و ایدر فیثاغورث بو علم تألیف و تصنیف  
 ایدلن بر بونله کلخه سنک الگده اولان سرعت کسنه دخی  
 مالک و علم سر دشت و باز که قوت بر خور دار اول

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آنج اول

اول آنچه اوله شد فکر همان ساز و مقامه و موز  
 و نغمه. ابتداء ایله دیو دوزده مقام بقلند  
 اقدام و ابرام ایروب. لکن آغا حضرت نیک اینک  
 بر بهانه ایله یه اقان خانه جانبته روانه اولوب  
 واروب ایچر کسنه داخل اولد و یه نواذکاره  
 طالب باجمله سازنده نیک نغمه سنه و بند کلام سنه  
 نایمت بولوب. کمال مرتبه ده منازت متایله بیکله  
 کند و کوریه خطا ایروب دیدیکه ای در دیند بیچاره  
 اول صنعت کور و کلک برله همان منوکی اقا میل  
 و جریان. ایله اول صنعت عزت ایدر لکن قیامت  
 مقبول و مغرب و معتبر و خوب اولدیر و اتمه  
 کور و کلم اول جماعت مقبولان و کوره مقبولان  
 صنعت مزبور اوزرینه دو تمییب سبطان علی علیه  
 قالد مدینه ابا ایدر کل کبی ابا ایدر ردی  
 اولی و واجب و اعلی و انبب بود که سازنده نیک  
 کلال ایله عمل ایتیب عکاء صاطیر و مشایخ نجیب  
 رینه واروب بر دیوایی تعبیر ایدر و انکاره بورد  
 احشر نیلاری وزره اولو ک کیمین سازنده نیک سلطان  
 و عزت کلم انلی. بالکلیه آنک و لستو بکلانم کل  
 دیو بولم اظم ایل طسره جیعوب بر عمل او غلامنه  
 راست کلوب دیدیکه بر دیوایم وارد راتی بر شعبه  
 تعمیر ایدر کمراد مد مشایخ کرامت و اعزّه بکلان  
 کسن بیلور سنک بنی حضور بر بفرینه الوب کنت  
 خادک سکا اجرت قدم دیره بن دیو چقاروب  
 آگه بر آوچ اچ و یروب مزبور عمل او غلامی دخی

بدنه یا بسوس و پخته چنانچه افزای قوتش نه دید کلوی  
خیز مکرر که حضورش غیره آوب کیوب دست بوس  
واقع اولده نفسکه آفا حضرتی و جسمش و اوزده  
کوردوکی واقع سینی سوزنه نیک پند و مقالاتی  
و کند و نیک رای و خیالاتی عزیز موی ایله بر بر و تو  
تصویر و عیان و تقریر و بیان ایله یک عزیزت ایله  
باشنی خرافه دن فالدر و ب جواب باصواب بودریکه  
اوغل اول صنعتن فارغ اولم کرک سیرا اول صنعت  
ایو صنعت اولسه ابار و اخیار باینلر نه مستعمل  
اولوب آنک کسی اذل ناس اولاقوم و مواس  
اللاینه دو سوزدی چونکه اول صنعت اول اول  
بودر که برقی کون توقفایدی طبیعتک دخی  
بر صنعت میل ایدرسینه زنده مشاوزه ایله  
اگردنیا و آفته بر نعی اولد و مشاوه اولد  
بزدانی سکا اجازت و بر و خیر دعایله لم اندن  
اجازت ایله و خیر دعایله اول صنعت واره  
آدم واقعه سنه چکانه کور مکر همان قوم جن و جانا  
کور مکر و چکان دیک چنلر دیکدره نه برای  
چکانه اولان لفظ کانه جمع ایچون کلک دراصل  
جنه ایدی زنه کبی فارسی لفظ اذره عجم قلدره  
چکان اولور زنگان کبی جمع نول خفیف و کز ایوه  
چکان دیلر لفظ عینی ایله بو جنه ده اولان جن در  
لسان عربیه جن دخی اسم جن در بویای طایفه کبریه  
اطلاق اولور انواع قصد اولما غله جمع قلند  
دبویای نو عک بر سینی کورینور بر سینی کورینور

بجمله

باجمله بوسخت در رجوع و استغفار و کمال برده  
توبه و استغفار اینک کک سبب دبو بیور ما غله  
آغای مشاوه عزیز موی ایله یک نصیحتی ایله علم اولوق  
حضورش غیره اول سازنه ضل و مضل و بر دوکی  
پند باینلر سینی ترک و سازنه دخی کنورس خوانترک  
ایروکی همنوز حقیقی ایله معلومی اولوب اول صنعت  
رجوع و استغفار و توبه نضوح ایله توبه و استغفار  
ایروب حاصل کلام اول کلر کلام و عمل مذموم بینه  
بفاح کون تصبیح اونی و مقبل ساقا ایند که نادم اولد  
اول ندامت ایله عزیز موی ایله یک دست شریفی و استانه  
منفردی بوس قلوب ایله خاص باغی طرفه روانه  
اولوب لثمان خانه یا نانه واردقه سوله توبه ایتمدر  
ایچو کرکلن استر زاید که جایز در که بر سگله ایچو ده  
پرواز ایروب مانند صدای ساز قولاغنه بر اولان  
ایریشه بوندامت غطر ایله باغی ایچنه بر اعل کاه  
اولانانه و گاه بویانه کزوب کبر ایچو کور دیکر صدق کایلر  
کاخانه سنه بر شتاب و شتاب بر کتاب طوق باده قور  
فصل فصل اول قدیمه دنوب اناره نقل و تمهیم ایور  
مکراول اوقوردی کتاب علم هندسه به متعلق امیس  
صدفکاری اولان استاده خط ایروب ایند که  
علم هندسه که در بر بوعصره معار و علما مابینده  
علم هندسه بونماکه اولسه مری اوست  
ایسیدرز فاما اصلنده علم هندسه ایروکی و ندرن  
بخت ایسدوکی مسوعر اولما مازدیو جواب ایلر  
اییدی بوکب شریف بجم اول علم لطیف بیانده

بر آدم مادامکه بودیم مستظلاً و بوفتن کمیناست  
 بله کمال تیره ده صد فکر لغه فکاره و معماران صنعتش  
 خاذق و ماهر اولماز گلدار ایدی نوکار کیر و دیواری  
 طاش بناده و مساجد سربزه و جوامع لطیفه بنانه  
 اولان هشتاد رک اولای سیر کیمه آنی بیان اوله لایق  
 پیرای حضرت آدم صغی اللکم ادغلی بیت نبی علیها  
 السلام که بهت الله و عطاء الله دخی در بیت المعوی  
 جنت دن چقوبت حالاً کعبه مکره اولان برده قران  
 قلمتیدی بینه اول جنت کندر نصر بیت نبی علیها السلام  
 اول بیت عمورک عرصه مطهره سینه کل و رخام ایله  
 کعبه مکره ملی بنیاد بیوردیر حضرت سیت نبی  
 علیه السلام و فاتندن بزوجه نبویه تک هبوط طور  
 یتیم بدیخی سینه کلخه ابره عابین رضی الله تعالی  
 عنهما ادواتی موحیجی بش بیکر التیوز تمش طغوز  
 بیل موزا تیش اولور زیر حضرت آدم صلوات الله  
 تعالی علیه جنت دن دنیا یه چقدوغی زمانه بجه نجر عالم  
 صلی الله علیه و سلم زمانه کلخه بش بیکر بد بیوز  
 الی بیلدر استبوج ک طغوز نوز تمش بدیخی سینه  
 کلخه جمعا آتی بیکر بد بیوز بکری آتی بیل در بیکر  
 بیل حضرت آدم علیه السلام عمر شریف نلندن کجوب  
 حضرت سیت نبی علیه السلام حضرت آدم صکر قران  
 بری بیل دخی عرسوردی حضرت آدم علیه السلام جنت دن  
 چقد نصره یوز او تون بشغی یلنده حضرت سیت نبی  
 علیه السلام وجوده کلوب عمر شریفی بکل طغوز یوز  
 اوله ایکی بیل اولمشدر و بعض توار تخده

استاد و کاتب

دن

دخی بیت عمور حضرت نوح نبی علیه السلام مک  
 طرفاننه کلخه طوب طوفان واقع اولاجن نوح  
 دفع اولوب بعده نوح نبی علیه السلام طوفانندن صکر  
 حیدر کوار بیغیران حضرت ابراهیم خلیل الرحمن  
 مجددا بنیاد بیوردیلر دیویاز مشدر فاما مقدا  
 سیت نبی علیه السلام بنیاد وضع ایندکری توار تخک  
 مقبوللندن بهجه التوابع نخده مطور در  
 نهایت در خلیل الرحمن علیه السلام طوفانندن صکر  
 باقی قلان بنیاد کن بقضای زرینه اساسی وضع  
 انک اول زرینه بنا بیورد حضرت ابراهیم خلیل الرحمن  
 وفاتندن استبوج ک طغوز نوز تمش بدیخی  
 سینه کلخه اوج بیکر او جیوز سکس آتی  
 بیلدر و بخار ک کبیر لر دن نوح نبی علیه السلام حضرت  
 حضرت نوح نبی علیه السلام وفاتندن توار تخ  
 کلخه دوت بیکر بیتوز کیری آتی بیلدر این  
 و بعضی توار تخده کعبه مکر تک بنیاد نبی ال اول  
 حضرت آدم صلوات الله تعالی علیه و سلام وضع  
 ایتدر دیویاز مشدر اییدی بخار رک  
 پیرای حضرت سیت نبی و حضرت ابراهیم نبی در  
 علیها السلام فاما بخار رک پیرای نوح نبی  
 علیه السلام در نظر  
 پیرای بک در سکر بود زر سا کا طوبی  
 و بی سیه کیم پوز مزر بانای بیت عتیب  
 فولک ابراهیم و سیت و آذنه شابل اولوره  
 جمله انا سلام آیت حکم ای مرد صدیق

عبارت کبیر

فاجلان با علات فاجلان فاجلان

بوجله این انبیاء اصغیاء در سوره بینه  
 هندسه علمیه ایدیا اولیکور خرمی  
 علم هندسه تک تعریفی بود که اهندسه  
 علم معرفت قدرات الاشیاء و الاشکال  
 حساب مایه تقصیه علم حساب و جذبه  
 یعنی هندسه بر علم که اول هندسه علم ایله  
 بیلونه اشیا تک ذاتک مقدار و اشکالک فی  
 مقداری علم حساب و جذر علم حساب  
 اقتضای اجدد کی طریقی اوزره آدم صنع الله  
 صلوات الله علیه و سلاه حضرت تندر نسکه  
 اک اول یازی یازوب علم حساب و علم نجومی  
 تصنیف و تالیف ابدن حضرت ادریس بنی علی السلام  
 که اسم سر بندنه اختیج و نه شش دنی دیر اولان  
 حضرت ادریس بنی علی السلام علوم دین در شش  
 دیوب کئی علوم کتابی یاز یازوب همان قبوله و فنون  
 حفظ زنده طوبی اشکال علم ایدیا ایدی صکره  
 قیاس خورش حکیم بو علم هندسی بو علم حساب  
 هر دینی مذکور کتاب ایدی حضرت اودنی حضرت  
 سلیمان بنی علیها السلام زمانه بیت المقدس بنا اولور  
 مذکور اولدی حضرت داود بنی علیها السلام زمانه  
 است بو بجز تک طغوز بوز تیش ایدی سوره کلنج  
 ایکل بیکل قیوز سگسه اوج بیلدر هندسه  
 هنداز دندر هنداز انداز دین معرب دین  
 انداز دنی فارسیه تصمیم و رسم و اولچمک  
 و آرسون دیکلری آغاج و یا خود دمنور که انکله

علم هندسه

قاس و غیره اوجیزه نعمه الله لغتند و فی بویه  
 تصریح اولمده عربیسه ذراع بز کسب آرسوند  
 اندازه معرب اولدونه لسان عربی الفی ثانی قلب  
 ایلدیله هنداز اولدی آل اهل اولدونی کی و ماء  
 مفتوح ایکور کسور استعمال ایدیلر هنداز دیر  
 و هندازی فعل رباعی قلبیله ماضیه هنداز  
 اولدی فعلل وزنی اوزره هنداز هنداز  
 هندازه فهو هنداز دیر بوز کلام عربی  
 بر کلمه یونانی که اچری حرف زاء اولوب  
 ما قبلی حرف ذال اوله وارد بوز لینی سینه  
 قلب ایدیلر ذراط و سراه کبی واردی  
 هندسه اولدر فاسم فاعله هندس دیر بیلر  
 کذا فی مختار الصحاح هندسه ک لغت معنای دنی  
 مختار صحاح لغوی و بنائی اولچمک و اولمک  
 دیوب تصریح ایتمن بعض اولاد عرب عطیه فاسی  
 محله دیر که احسن یا سینه المثلثان  
 و لا هنداز یعنی ای بزم افندی صای سینه و  
 اولان سینه احکام ایلد بیلدر اما سانی اولانی  
 لغتند اچجی تقدیر ایدجی معنای هندس  
 اولوب المهندس تقدیر کنند دیش یعنی مقدار  
 تعیین ایدجی و تخمین دنی هندسه معنای  
 نهایت تخمین اچجی بر معنای کلور اولان  
 دیکلر اما هندسه ایکل معنای کلور بر معنای  
 ذراع ایلد اولچمک ایلجی معنای اولانمک در اولان  
 دنی قدیر تر کیدر هندس استعمال اولماز انکله  
 استعمال

ن

ایدر او شمدری هندی در فی استعمال اولینو چینی  
 تعیم طبعی ایله هندی معنای استعمال ایدر  
 و بینه بیان اولن هندی لغتی معنا سید  
 هندی نکت معنای اصطلاحی تعریفه ذرا اولدی  
 کی علم حسب اقتضا ایدر کی اوزره ذات سیک  
 و اشکال مقدارینی بلکه ایدی علم هندی ده  
 بقیح اشکال وارد آنلار ضبط اولنجی ماعداسی  
 آسان اولور اولدا دور محیط که کامل بر اوره ده  
 ثانیاً قوس دور محیط در که اول نصف دایره در  
 ثالثاً اضلاع قوس دور محیط در که اول نصف  
 دایره در اورد در ابعدا البره قوس دور محیط در  
 که نصف دایره ده زیاده جم در خاصا اشکال  
 مثلثات در لکن شکل مثلث مطلق آسانر  
 زیرا آنک اضلاع یعنی ایکلوری برابر در آنک  
 شکل عینده افق طاق، ایکلوری برابر اولان  
 ضلع ایچ کی در ضلع ایچی شکل مثلث مطلق  
 اوزرینه وضع ایتمک در ماعد مثلثات  
 آنلار جمله سی مختلفه الاضلاع و الزوایا در  
 یعنی بعض طرفک ایکلوری قسه و بعض طرفک  
 آنده در اوزون بو تقدیر جم زاویه لری یعنی  
 گوشه لری مختلفه اولوب برین برینه او یاز  
 اولور زاویه نکت کیمسه اچلور و کیمسه صقیلور  
 بو اشکال چوقدر آنلار جمله سی علم هندی ده  
 شکل ایله تصویر اولنمدر سادس اشکال آتسا  
 و آنده صحنه مثلثات و مستطیبات

مفاتیح

و مثلثات و مستطیبات و معشقات در موقرین  
 بنا اولور لکن اشکالی در فی علم هندی ده تصویر اولدی  
 و بو اشکالک استعمالی صدکار لوق منصفه صحنه  
 زیاده در صدکار لوق صنعتی علم هندی ده  
 تصویر اولان همان اشکالده عبارتدر و مجاز  
 لفظ در فی عربیده صیغه مبالغه اسم فاعل در  
 فارسیه آبادان کنده ترکیه شنلیجی دیر  
 شنلیجی قدیم ترکیه شمدری بالکیه ترک اولوب  
 اینک برینه معور ایدر جی دیر عبارت عربیده  
 فارسیه آبادان کردن ترکیه شنلیجی غران  
 در فی عربیده فارسیه آبادانی ترکیه شنلیجی  
 در عبارت و معور و عربیده ایدر ایدر معنای  
 فارسیه آبادان و ترکیه شن و کنج و بر لور  
 اما بو شن و کنج در فی اصلده فارسیه ایچ  
 وارد در زراعت و لابتنده بعض طایفه برینه ده  
 و طاعنه کزوب کلوچر اولی اولما غله قوند قری  
 برده اولور یا یوب زبر زیندر ایدر یوب یری دیک  
 دیشک ایدر اول یر اولور یوب اویوب دیک  
 دیشک ایدر لری بره کنج شیخ و عربی ده در فی  
 بو معناده ثقب ثقب دیر حجاز عربیده  
 فارسیه شنک تراش و کیده طاش یونجی  
 و طاشی دیر حجاز و بیتاء و طاشی و قشون  
 عربیده سی بر معنایه در فارسیه در دوز کز  
 و ترکیه دوز کز دیر لکن فارسی اولان  
 دوز کز در غلط و صانع او حشر ف عربیده



مؤتمرا علی سید الملک المیدان کسری صاحب هزار باره  
 اول کربینه اوروب، هر صواب اور ذوق او را بوی  
 الاعینیکه رسعا اول نشانه اوروب رود فعه ده  
 اصلا و قطعاً خطا، و تخلف استیوب آنه اولان  
 استاد را آغا حضرتینک اول نشانه کسری دست  
 کورد کنه و ذوق کسری ضالینش، حیران و سرگردان  
 قلوب، دیدیکه دست و بازو که قوت صاحب است  
 شنی معر آینه صد فکارین، و معارین صنعتی یکجا  
 سنک حقله لایق اولان بود که شمد تفکر بزم  
 ایله اخوت، ایدوب بوصفت تعلمه عزوت ایله  
 دیوقاری کتابه اولان خرد سبب دنی اگر بواغله  
 یوقابیت ایله بوصفته میل ایدرسه بنداق علم بند  
 آنجا تعلیم ایدوب یدره اولان کتابک بر شنی بستی  
 یازوبه اید ایله بر که عمرین اولدق بنده یوقه بر یاد کا  
 فالسود و بوجلسی بویله و عیدر کیر ایدوب آغا حضرتی  
 ذوقی بوردیکه بر عزیز دونه بیعت ایشتم واروب  
 آنلاردن کیشیلان ایله بر آند نصکر ان شاء الله تعالی  
 آنلار اگر جازقی و خیر دعاری بله کلوب تحصیل صنعته  
 مباشرت ایدرز و بوجواب و یروب بعد عزیز مشار  
 رغبت ایله روانه اولوب واروب عزیز مونی الیکه در صف  
 بوش قلوب چکن ماجرای علی وقوعه تفصیل بیان ایدوب  
 عزیزتار ایله ذوقی خراجه به واروب نیمه زمان خراجه  
 عالمندف تفکر ایله بعد زان جیب خراجه دن ینه  
 باشی قالدره بوردیکه اوغل بوصنعت و کاد  
 کماناسب و مزاوره مشاهه اولندی زیرا سماک

اعمال

اعمالی اکثر با جوامع شریفه موسساجد لطیفه  
 و مدارین و جنوسه و نگینه و فلاح و سوز و بلبله  
 و حبیب بناسنده اولقدر بر مقتضای حدیث  
 من بنی سجد او کتفین قطایه بنی الله لیتانی اجته  
 بر کسینه بر مسجد شریف یا بنسبه بوز تلخ قومی یوه سکی  
 دنی اولورسه الله سجا و شعا آنک تقابل سنده اول  
 مسجد شریفی بیان کسینه ایچون جنته بر اووه بابور  
 و دیگر حدیث شریفه هموز الحوز العین کتس المساجد  
 و محارضا جنت ایچده اولان خور عینک کانی  
 مساجد شریفی سنپور کنه و شنگله خور حور انک  
 جمعیده و عین عینا آنک جمعیده حور انک  
 آتی و قره سی زیاده آق و قره و یکدر عینا  
 کوزی بیوک و یکدر بونله مری زیاده حسن  
 و یرر هم و صدق عربده فارسیه کابن  
 و ترکیه قالین دیرل فاما سمدی نکاح دنی بونله  
 مستهور اولتدر و دیگر حدیث شریفینات  
 یشهد ان الله لا اله الا الله وان محمدا رسول الله  
 سئل کسینه که لا اله الا الله کلمه شریفه سید صولکله  
 یینه آجری بونکله تمام قلنه اول کسینه ایچون جنت  
 واجبا اولور و دیگر حدیث شریف من مات یشهد  
 ان لا اله الا الله وان محمدا رسول الله موتینا  
 دخل الجنة بر کسینه ایقان ایله اول الله شکر حضرتینا  
 غیر تکرری یوقدره و حضرت پیغمبر صلی الله  
 شکر علیه و سلم تخمیح حضرت الملک رسو لیدر  
 دیوشهادت ایدر اکر ذوات ایله اول کسینه کسینه

و حقیقت که با کمال آراسته  
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ایری برادگیه بونک کی برصغند اولوب قدرتی  
اولدوغنی قدر کله توحید و تھارته مداوت کونور  
بونکلر عاقبتی ختم اولنه بونه نعت عظمی بونه صفاه  
دو جهاندر که صورنا وجه مسروح اوزره دنیا عمارت  
اولکین معضاجرت تحصیل دنی اولانا توقف بو صنعت  
وارین کنگرین دیو آغای شاد الینه صد نکارین  
ومعارف صنعتارینه وار سینه اذن واجازت  
دیرون باجلا عجم القلب دعا و ثنا قلوب غلختری  
حق جل و علا حضرتیک عنانی و هدایتی و عزیز موی  
گرامتی و خیر دعای کالی الیه مان اول ساعت مبارک  
صد نکارین و معارف صنعتارینه واروب جانست ایوب  
بخدمتین اکنو زمانی اولوب اوده بینه کتک لازم  
کلدر که بو وقایع مزبور اثناسند همود اولایان  
خانه دنی کتمیدی هموز کیروب ایچده اولان اول  
صاوت النش اللطوی طشره جباروب بزم بریه بر حضرت  
پی علیه السلام اولسه کدره اول بختی قیر دوعی کبی  
بنداق بونلاری قیرارینه دیوینینه بر باله آوب اول  
سازیره و غیر بزمیشوب بره پکنت مد کدر که  
زیان ایلمه بونکه بیچ اچ کتمدر بر سکانینه بونک  
اچ سنی ویرالم دیو قلمسینه بیچ منتدایر و باقی سنه  
دنی ویریک استدر کدره آغا حضرتی انلار کچمیزی  
ویولرینی آمایوب باله ایله جمله سنی بتمدن باشه  
خشخاشه دوندردی **نظم**  
عیاد حق لازمه سعادت ذلی نیک کنگر موی عنایت  
جهانده اول عزیزانه مقارنه سکاه تری قلسون برینت

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم  
الحمد لله رب العالمین  
والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين الطاهرين  
الطاهرين

طریق مستقیم آره زینب الیه سیر و قیلند  
ایکینجی فصل  
آغا حضرتی صد نکارین و معارف صنعتارینه تمام  
کامینغی اوکندر کله صنعتارینه قدر کمال و نه قدر  
معرفتی واروره و همدردکی استری مقابله سنه  
پادشاهلرک و وزیرلرک لطفدینه بیچ مظهر و  
درهم سلطان مراد خان حضرتی آغا حضرتینه  
استدوکن تحف استری مقابله سنه در کاه عالی  
قیو جیلغی بیچ عنایت بیورستلوره و خطها اول  
سعادت معروره ایله دوت است بنور قاضینه  
بیچ حضرت باشه اولستدر آنک بیانسه در آغای رالیه  
حضرتی کمال مرتبه ده حلیم و سلیم الطبع بر وجود سرب  
اولوب دیر و دیانت ایله زیاده تعبد اولان  
کولکنه ذره قدر کبر و کین اولمایوب کند سنه  
اولا معارف و کمالاتی دنی اظهار ایله تقید اچیب  
بلکه عمر ایچیند دنی بر کره واقع اولماستدر  
کدینه بن فلان کاره قادرتم و فلان صنعت فلان  
علمله ما بزم و بر کسنه خارجه کلوب آغا بلدر  
تقارن اولسه تابکاری الیه آوب اشیمیک آنک  
صنعت و کارنه و علم همدسه معرفتسنه و آ  
اولموج احتمالی یوقدر زیر اغیر لیر کی کتدی  
اوکمز و صاحب الوقار بزدات شرف در  
بزم فلان کوه و فلان دور بومترم واردره غیر  
امانه قدر صنعت و هنره مالکدر و نه قدر استاد  
تقارن اولستدر کالی سینی الیه یاد ملرک لطف

و حسن از این پنج مظهر در دست مدانی بیان  
 ایده لم طغوز بوزن شمس یدری تاریخه آغازی از  
 صدق کار و معاری و صنعتی و ارد قدر فسر طغوز بوزن  
 طوق یدری سینه و ارجه سهر مهندسان جهان  
 و شهر آفاق و دوران اولاد اهل و غلام و جوار  
 دیکله عروف و جرم سنان آغاز فوات ایدیکه با بجز  
 خلیفه اولاد استاد و خایله جرم مزبور سنان آغاز  
 کمال بکری یمل و ارب کلوب و قوجه معار جرم دینی  
 اکثر ایام خاصه با بجز کلوب کتد که هند سه علی  
 و معاری و صنعتی آند و غیره در تعلیم ایدوب  
 و بعضی صنعتی اشل شد که جرم مزبور سنان آغاز  
 آلی کوسر و سنان آغاز دینی آوزی قلفه بی نظیر این  
 استلیم سیم شمردی بوسکه ایست اشل آدم بوقدر زخون  
 بر یاد کار مغول سی بر حقه تیلیب سعاد کولوب و سانه  
 بدیه طریقه و یریز سیم سلطان مراد بر قدر شانس  
 یاد سانه کده انکار حقه اعدا ایستک بطغنه مظهر  
 دو سوب عظیم و در کدر صاحب اولوردن دیوگاه  
 و بیگاه سولیبوب آجر الا در تاشیر ایدوب آغازی موی  
 دینی جرم قوجه آنک بند و نصیحتی اوزره علم صدق  
 اولی اشکال مقبوله و اضلاعی بر برینه موصوله  
 ینه رطل سلوبین حقه روز کار مقولس بر تلاوت  
 استلیم سیم کلوب طغوز بوزن طوق سکر سینه  
 جرم سلطان در اولاب شاه حضرتینه اول تاریخه  
 سلاح را اولی القه با دامای دیکله معروف لغه آغاز  
 یدری ایله عرض و انخاف و ایدیکه سوب حضور حضرتینه

وضع

وضع ایدیکه در اول عاری و حمان و سلف کار  
 اشکان نظر ایله بوجا نگاه و نگران ایدوب کوردیکه  
 سلطان قرآن عظیمه و پینشاه قرآن کریم بویله  
 بی نظیر تحت و سیر اولان و دینی و زیاده مانندی  
 بولمان سربا اضلاع مستکات و در سنا و اشکال  
 و مستکات و مستکات اضلاعی بر برینه مقفل  
 و اشکالی کونا کون شکل ایله مشکل یعنی بر کوسه سینه  
 نظر ایدیکه بر جنس اشکال و ذوات بر مدوره کوریند  
 و کوسه آخردن ینه اول حقه نظر ایدیکه غیر جنس  
 نقوش و اشکال با غلیب آخض صور مضمونه کوسر  
 برینه قدر که نظرگاه تبدیل اولنه اولقدر اشکال دینی  
 غیر مضمونه تحویل اولنور جرم آلی صنایع سدره جوی  
 گاه اول بانی و گاه بویانی بسرو عاشار ایدیکه  
 بالبدیه بویبت شریفی انشاد ایدوب بیوردیلریت  
 الله الله نور بوجو اشکال می کسی عقلم آیدیلر انحال  
 اند نکر سلاح ایدوب حقه ایدوب خطا بیوردیلر  
 بوکار کلیات فنی دیار در ایاب بولوب بنم کاب  
 عرض اولندی دیوگاه ایما بونری صدور بولقد  
 مذکور سلاح ایدوب سانه پاد ساهم حقیقه کتیری  
 عجز او غلغلندره صدق کار خلیفه سنی اولی قولر کوز  
 استلیم پاد سانه لاندرد بویکتور دینی دین اول  
 قدر سنان اولان شبه عالم بی قیاس صغیر ایدوب  
 ایدی اول خلیفه بنم قایده یاره شوز سده سعاد  
 باب عادت قریب بر خدمت ایله بهره مند و بهره و  
 قلمی لازم دیرینی ملاحظه ایکنوز و بونظری شریفی

کابلیات ساعین کفالت

طلوع ابتکره سلاحداران و قیام عاقل بر اغار فکره  
واروب بونه الیزه مرد و طوق کور که بتله عالمپناه  
حضرت نیک نطق مایه بونری برینه واره اول تار خنده  
خنگار قولنر با بنینه قوجیلک کی معجزه فی برینه  
یوق ایوبی ششاوره ایروب دیدیر که سعالک تو با کوه  
بیوردیکه بنم قاپد یزاشور بودا نک عبارتی قیونگی  
اولسون دیکلر زیواتفاق ایله قوجیلک ایله القا ایله  
اول کرم کانی اولان سلطه السلطان سندان خرطوم  
اول ایوبی دیو بیورد قلزده مذکورون آغار علی التور  
آغای مشار الیهی باخچه دن سر عتله کتور دوب  
ظلی که سعالک تو با شاه عالمپناه حضرت نیک حضور  
عالی برینه چقاروب سلاحداران غا دنی بحر و غلظ  
کلاسه بنسندره قاپوب عتیه عقیه قوجیلک کی  
اولانی نظیر بر زریح اسکنف مبارک اولسون دیو  
همان باشنه کیدر دیر بی

بزرگوار ایلیخیم آتی خراوه دیری قابو جیلک کلا بازه

بزرگوار ایلیخیم آتی خراوه دیری قابو جیلک کلا بازه  
و بوند خیری دق آغای موی الیه اکی بل صکر کندو  
کندوب خطاب و عتبا بیروب دیدیر که سعالک تو با کوه  
عالمپناه حضرت نیک بقدر سنگ غلظ و کار کین قبول قلوب  
یاد کاریریه غدا ایله یی نیچو بر حقه دق سلیوب  
که آخاف و اهدا الیزه سیر لائق اولان بود که فی  
سلاحه متعلق بر اعلی بایلی بندا ایروب آتی واق اهدا  
ایلیه سیر دیو بو ملا حظ ایله کلا اولانی نزل بی بدل  
وضع دزدیشان بر وضع کاندان سلیوب بو کوز  
باب سعادت آغای یدی ابد حضرت خداوند کاره

دریوب

دریوب بوداق اولکی کچی حضور بر نیرینه وضع اولونده  
منظور بر نیری اولدوغی بر لانی حال ایس یکم اولدوغی  
اختلال ایروب بالبداهه بو بیینی بو دیلر بیست  
این کاندان غل در با بنسنته لایح پیش نشسته  
بو کاندان ایچون دق اولکی کچی خستیر و کارا و مر ازا  
آز سیر بیوردیلر بودق اولکی کچی صد فناک دز که  
سیرنه عقدر حاک اولور و بوند دق بو بر حده  
مخروط اولدوغنک اصل بود که پادشاه متصل  
حسب نظر و کشاده بقدر اولوب عددون حد زوز  
اولما غله علی الدوام تا بلق پیشندن طور بر کاندان  
ایسه سول قدر مقبول و مطبوعه شود کلو آینه  
صفت جمل مصنوعه اولمستدر که هر باره صدق  
بریز روی صفی مرات اکندر کبی دایما با شاه  
حضرت نیک آردنه نیچ مسافه و صورت غا ایوبی  
سلطه کرم بو کاندان مقابله سند دق رعایت  
ایتمسته بدل هم کور کور بر اوجه خدمت ایله رعایت  
اولستون قان بنده مذکور در سعادت در دور اولوب  
دیو فرمان مایه بونری صدور و لوقده همان قیو اغار  
پایستام ایوبی است بنول قیینه حضرت باشی اولون  
کر دیر بو جل حضرت با شیوخه خط مایه یون سعادت  
معرون طلوع بولوب یزید ویر و کلندن بو بیتک  
مضمون ایله تعبیر قلدیر  
منصب اولسون الکوزده اولورسه اولسونده  
یوری حضرت نشیک ساک مبارک اولسونده  
اندک حکم آغای مشار الیه دوش قانی به حضرت باشی اولد

فا عیادت قیادت قیادت

فا عیادت قیادت قیادت

بودند غیر درنی، پنج خطه از ویادکار استیلاست  
 سلاطین عظامک، و وزیر آراکامک، و اصحاب رفعت  
 و ارب دولتک لایقند و لاجنسی الطاف عیدارینه  
 و اعطاف جیسارینه، عظمی و شوب انواع رعایت ابله  
 فرجی و لشکر آنک نهایت بقدر عشر عاشری بیان  
 اوسته نظیر کلام لازم کوراجت بود کلو استعار  
 اولندی غیر بیس و حی بود فی سوا و لیس بر کدر آما  
 اغا حضرت نیک صنعتونه متعلق دنی بر منقبه سنی  
 بقول ابله بر کون آغا حضرتی دنی صوناظر ابله  
 کند و سعادت نرسنه فغانی سلا مقلد نرسه اکتفا معا  
 او توروب مصاحبت ایدر ایلک ناکاه صحاف دلاله  
 برد لاجن جیش طویله یزید یا قوت خلی شکسته کاغذی  
 دولت آبادی بر ایست بر کن زر سیم عثمانی بعضی  
 شیک جلیسه مشابیه بعضی دنی ابن نقله طرز  
 مامل کشاده اولدقچه بر صیفه تک صفتی زینتی رقی کئی  
 شغف و یروب حشید کئی استخه کوسر زبولک  
 قطعه در بعضی شریف، سون سلطانیه او تون  
 اقریه جفتش آغا حضرتی دنی کلام سرینه نغیما ایفا  
 اوسته قالعوب دلاکن عیدنه آتوب بوس قلوب  
 یوزینه کوزینه سورب آچوب نظر ارب بکیر صلوات  
 سرینه کوره کونصکج دلاله دیرک بیک فچ زیاده ایلدجا  
 بوهدیه شریف ایلور فاما اقریه سنه قرق کون مقداری  
 زاده مهمل طلب یدرم دیوب دلال دنی قابل اوتوب  
 چتوب کندکده آغا حضرتن فقیره خطاب بروب  
 یوردیکه جعفر افندی بیلور جیسره دلاله نچون

فوقه

قرق کون متدارن مهمل طلب ایلدم اصل بود که شمدفکر  
 برای مقداری جیسر شس ایدوب ان شاء الله تعالی بر صنعت  
 بیست خطه شکمه مراد ایدندم آنی سچ ایدر بکل او تون  
 یک خطه و دنی زیاده ایدر بو مصحفی سرق کند و ایلد  
 آتوب و خند ایدوب بر جامع سربونه وضع ایدوب که  
 اندک تک اچونه تلاوت ایلد سکر بو یک عهده مقبول  
 او اوب تلاوت قنایند بکاد فی اصابت ایدیری دیو  
 یوردیکه بوسوال اوزره ایتدیلر صنعتونه لیلی الی  
 صانی التوند بیت خانه نقره ده آرسنگار زینتی  
 آتش کیمیا و کسر ایلد صانی کیمیا، فنقی صنعت ایلدی  
 بکار و کسب قادر اولور بر آن مقداری بر ایلد اوزره اولد  
 حکم ایشدیری بازاره چیتاروب او تورا فچیره و یاخود  
 خفاف و صیغره عرض وسیع ایتدیر مراد ایلد قرق الی  
 آتش اچیلد آن زیاده یوز اچیلد مشیری اولور ایلد  
 متار ایلد بو قدر صنعت و هنر مالک ایلد بر کوره دق کند  
 بر طبع ایلد صیغ ایتدیر کلدر و دلاور کئی و بهادر لیلی دنی  
 بو کاکوره در بعضی عزا زین او جین فصله آن و الله تعالی  
 بیانه اولینور وقوع معمار محوم سنان اغا وفات  
 صنعتی تعالی ارب بیلور سینه معار اولان داود اغا ایلد سینه خط  
 ایدوب و محوم داود اغا دنی فاشا یروب سرینه  
 معار اولان دالنج محوم ایلد اغا ایلد خاص باغچه صد کلا  
 صنعتونه بر شادت کردی اولما غله ایلد کند نه قدر که  
 آینه کیه احدث اولدند در جمله سرت الیه سینه اغا حضرتی  
 یوزده کجکدر و جوان کلنج نه قدر مناسبت نقره ایتدیر  
 ایلد فصله آن شاء الله تعالی بیانه اولینور کسب کسب جاسیلد

فاعلین تعالیون تعالیون تعالیون





کورسه قاجوب تو تلاماز اگر توفیق اولسی برکزه کوز  
 رینه سور لکه بنشترز و بدکارنه اغاضتوری بونلان باؤر تو  
 واند العظیم هم فتنکوز قاجوس همان بوینی او زین بی فتنظر  
 عالی بوننه اولور و غلام بیوردی حضرت شیخ سید ابراهیم قدسی  
 واقعه نه اشارت بیوروب بو نظر ایچون عالی آنه در طوری  
 واروب آنلاری قیرقی کس فرصت سنکدر بیورور میران  
 جلد حال غیب بی شک و بی ریب بزم ایله بیلده در خست المانی  
 او ز رینه واروب برح باذن الله تعالی و بناینه یا الله بیوم  
 زمانه هر یکوز بنجلیه نوره اوروب بی اغضله عالی  
 باصوب اویق دکن کوزی دخی اقلادین قیرماغه بتلبالم  
 دیو بونفاق ایله او ز رینه واروب بر او غور دکن کلنایک  
 جری کوروب منوال مشروح او زره کوز زین آچدی بوی  
 قیرماغه بتلیوب رحل غیبک معانیه و عزیز بی الهی هم بی برله  
 آن و اجدده بعون الله الملک المغفور اول عالی بر طوری جان  
 عالی سردار جواد آقا شیخ جمعه کاسی و یاننده اولان بلبله بونلورنه  
 جمعا اون بی بی غزیری طوبی ماعدا جمله منی قلجدر بکوز  
 یازنه سکون بیچ بیکز بوننه و دود لرینی بولوب سوروب  
 بود کلو غنایم ایله بینه عودت ایدوب کلوب برینری منزل  
 قوندقورنه آن حضرت نیک ترجمانی اولان کسه یاننه کلوب  
 شیخ جمعه کلوب اون یون ایچ کورده ایچون و اون یون ایچ دخی  
 آنده غیری جوسل ایچون سره و بیکه تر آنلاری تخلیق  
 اولور بی یوقولارنه سولوب عالی حضرت بی دخی بکوزنه تم  
 دین تنگ و وارون بونی ملاحظه ایدیکه بولمونه بو قدر  
 ایچ دیه بود بوجواب ایدرانی شام ترینه دیری کوب کیده جلا  
 او کورس مالی ایله کورسی تخلیس ایدوب انور که بیج و قاطره

فتنای و بیک کور سلطه الاغزه حضرت شیخ سید ابراهیم عالی  
 قیر دیو بیک تنبیه عظیم بیور دیر دیو همان علی انور بیک  
 دخی بیلایکی کسوروب کورده لرینی قاز غزادور دوی اندک  
 خسرو پاشا بدیه ایچون بی بی بیک بوننه و بیک عهده دود او ز  
 ایدوب باعد انعام و غنایم یاننده اولان غزیده بیک ایچون  
 ایدینده تقیم و توزیع ایدر اندک شام ترینه متوجه  
 اولوب شام ترینه خلق دخی بوخ انور جبرینی کوب بون شام  
 عسکری و خسرو پاشا اغاضتورینی استمال ایدوب بیله ای بی بی  
 اید شام ترینه ایچون معایر بوب و شمر طونمانه بیله ایدوب  
 اوج کور اوج کجه بی اتوالی سه طونمانی اولوب خسرو پاشا  
 حضرت بی دخی کال برده مخطوط اولوب لکزه بوخ ای ابر بی بی  
 بی ایدم دیو کتجه بولکجه کله اولوب مغرب اولان اولور  
 دخی سلطان عالی برده زوانی جز انور دکن و اوروب آنلاری  
 جز انور دخی جمل طونمانی یا کور سلطان عالی او لور دخی قاطره  
 ایدوب وار شام آنلاری قیرمیش و یاخود خسرو بر سلطان بیک  
 فتح دخی سلطان کسانه اولور دخی و اول سر و اربینی و آنده غیری  
 دیری طونمانی بلقبه بوشیخ بلقبه بولینی کسرت سلطان  
 آنلاری دیرین کورسه با زنده سلطان بیک یون ایچ طونمانی  
 بولور دین کورده ولی بدیه دخی اولوب اولانکجه ایچ دیو بیک  
 قیوت و بیکر دود بو قدر سننه اوله کور انور بیکر غنایم  
 من بعد حد حساب بو قدر بولکده بیکه سولیکه دخی زیاده  
 درجم بیک تاثیر ایدوب المنی اغاضتورینه اطهاره بیک ایچون  
 حضرت بی دخی بیکر دخی اولان بیکه حضور نه طور ایدین  
 پاشا یاننده واروب و سنت بونن قلوب بولکجه سلطان  
 بو قدر خدمت ترینه اولوب بیچ قصوریه طور ایدین غفور

اولسون برون غیری بز انارنگ بر بر منند و کز نچه دلاور  
و بهادر قولیکور و در سزاک بز قولکوز نظر نیکو اولوب  
خافه بز ای اخلام آنکاره خدمت دو تمویب بز آنته  
کیده لم انار ای اخلام بیورک دیو سلاطین چوقوب کیده  
پتلی موی اید دق ملاحظه ایدوب کورسکه آدمیزدن اول  
زبان و کز بر بسنده کنویه اصلا بر باریه دق عانق اولوب  
بلکه علی الدوام اناری ایلسر انعام ایدوب جمله سی مفت  
بستی کیوب دجانا نعتی سیوب نچه و جمله هر ریشک کزوب  
حرزی وار و آغا حضرتیزن اکر بار کیده و اکر شام سر بند  
کندره لایحه و لایحه نفع حاصل اولور و من مشایخ ایملک  
آردیجه آدمی صواب استانبول کتیمه اولقدر منغ ایدوب  
تعبیری قابل ذکر کز چاره اولما یوب آغا حضرتیزن یوب  
دو میوب سعادت اولور و استانبول روان اولندیز خرم  
مردم دق نماندن آغا حضرتیزن حقیقه بعضی جواب  
سویلیانری جمع و خفا ایدوب بر طایفه حاکم خوران  
بنی انجلاین بر صاحب قران و کچ کران آد محمد آریغ  
سزاعت اولوب بنیاد وجودی افنا و دیران قلدی کوز  
دیو مجلسی زرد و دایوب انار دق دق و کبی یوزری  
قرالینه سزاندن چوقوب کیدوب هوا بر انقلاب با بود اولوب  
و اینکلون بولدی سبب کس نیک دولتیه آیتیه ککاه  
شیریزیرینی طونز رو باه شو انکامل آغا حضرتیزن استانبول  
کوب صفا و عزت و دولت و شوکت اوزره اولوب  
وینه انک سستی ایدوب کز مکره یولزی پاک و بی انک اولوب  
نخاج و قالیق استکلر کی آثاره بره بیابان دار الامان اولوب  
نظم حضرت آغا ایدوب رسته خواجه اکبری

قلدی ستم ایچره سر عاصیه بر خنده قدری مه قانده تمدن کوز  
بی پاک وار سون کعبیه کیکله نرسه کوز سون باشی و نرسه  
آند نکلر یکله کتی سه سنه اوان ایت مستطاب حقیقه مطبوعه  
سعادت ناظر اب اولوب تکمیل سکرین نغاری متصرف  
اولقدر نکلر کیکله نرسه سون سون حادی الاخرین کز بی  
چهار شنبه کون بعون الله تکمیل معاری مانی اولدیور دور بی  
فصل آغا استرالیکه لطف و کز بی و حجت و قی  
بیانیه در بوفصل یازمده احتیاج یوق ایدی زیر آغا حضرتیزن  
لطف و کز کون کبی جمله همان ظاهر و باهر اولمشد آنی بیانیه  
و شرح و عیان احتیاج یوقدر و یازمده بی تقدیریه دق  
بلکه طبع شیرینی بجنهور اولور ز بر امد شیرینزی و عباد  
میشد ی بود که اینرول نقدیه و احسان آنجه خدا متعال  
المشرفه عمره التریک و الزوال حضرتیزنیک معلوم شیرینی  
اولوب غیری کس آن دن معلوم ایدوب کز بوفصلی  
بش و جمله یازم لازم کلدی اولگی وجه بود کوز در حرم  
سلطان سلیمان پاک نژاد او غل حرم و مغفور لطف  
مراده طاب ز ما عهده زنه اولان آریاب دولت  
اصحاب قناعت اولوب مهری سخاوت ایلد معروف  
اولوب و اب شیرینی انارک بو ایدوب کز بر کس انار  
بر سنده و یک مراد ایدوب من بعد بر کس دن بر سنده المایه  
بلکه اول رباب دولتک قلیل المال اولندی دق فقرای  
تصدق ایچره کتد و نفس زنده کسب متقبل بر عقل حجت  
و مسخه عاطفت آدم آر ایدی البته بر فقیر و مسخنی  
یوزوب انعام و احسان ایتد دن خالی اولماز ایدی شیرینی  
اول کوز آدمیزدن و اول عهده صاحب کز نرسه قالمایوب

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم  
الحمد لله رب العالمین  
والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين الطاهرين  
الطاهرين الطاهرين

قالان در فی بزم مرآت نواغان حضرت نزه غیر بس انسانه ایله  
 تبدیل اخلاق ایدوب برکنه بر نسه احسان و انفاق ایتمه اولم  
 فاما بزم افغان حضرتین حوصی شاکل جل جلاله و عم نوازه حضرتین  
 دنیا و آخرتین می عمورالمیه باب کرم و احسانلی هر زمانه  
 کتب حاتم علی کی مفتوح و رایگان طوروب بر فقیر کلوب  
 قریب یاری کله بر آلم و باخود برینل و رون هوسنه انواع  
 لطف و التفاتنه و احسان عظیمه و صدقاتنه مظهر دوشتر  
 وینه اغای مود الیه خفیه صدقکارین صفتنی استکه دن  
 خالی دکدرر حلال ایچ تصدق ایسه دیوانی استیو صکی  
 بر استلام دیوب بیج ایتروب اول حلال ایچ جل فقیریه  
 تصدق ایدر و ایچس اولیجی فقره جسته نته خفیه بذل  
 و تصدق ایتمک معناد شریبیدر مای بنده بیج ایچ ایکن  
 دیور ایچ و برجه اولی یانه قویرب اوجا و صافلمن جمالی  
 یوقدر و غیر بارکی معاصیه دنی و بریک یوقدر زراذاتنه  
 غافل و صاحب کسین بزور عاقبت اندیش و در غیر بارون چو  
 عبرت اولوب مجاهد ایلمیچ خصوصت ساهه ایتمک دور  
 بیچ و خجیوس کی کور مسدر که مال دوستی اولوب بعده دفا  
 ایتمک نرس اوکما ذنر انکر مال لوتنی بیکرن عینیله  
 معاینه ایتمک دور ایکنج صعبه بود که یکن بیلدن مجاوز  
 در که سعادتخانه نسه و اروب کلوز بیچ دفعه ذات  
 شریترنه مضایقه ساهه ایدوب یه اول حوصی مضایقه  
 من بعد بطریق ایله تنگ و سنگدل ظاهر ایتمیوب اول انسان  
 زمان و ستمندن دخی زیاده آینه و رونه و آواده  
 و بنده و عطا السویه فقره و آکراهه باجمله سبزو مجاوره  
 سعادتخانه نرس عمارت اولوب صبل و چشم کونا کونا

نهایس

نهایس و طعام جیلوب اول اطعمه انیس کیمی دخی کریمه  
 اوکنده اچون طوروب اول نول نعمتدی بیانده غزلنه  
 و عطا لانه عظیم منت و صمد ایدر را و حوصی  
 و خج بود که متایخدر اولوب طوعش با بتم اولان حوصی  
 و منفردر بیخ بهرام جمع عزرا یکنجه دخی حوام نه ایدو کما  
 بیسوب و ولایتزده بر صلیح و متدیر و برزاید و عابد شریک  
 انجلا یز دخی ظهور کلمیوب عالم حساب و تندک بر زمانه حوصی  
 ایلوق حال حیو تنده و بیس مسمانده بروقت نمازین  
 و بر دم نفع و نیازین الله علم بلکه دخی قضایه و نیاز  
 قوسن و میوب اکثر آمانی و سینه و اغواستی غلوه  
 اربعین و اعکافنده و معا بد شریک طوافنه چو کرس  
 اعمال سنسی دیار یزده خلق ایچه داستان و خصال  
 مستحسسه سی بلکه ولایتی ظاهر و عیان اولوب افواهد  
 مناجاتی صدق و بی نهایت مهربانسی حکایه حکایت اول  
 سولینور نویله بر عزیز و بر موقد و بویله زراهد و رعایه  
 اولوب بندانی بالذات طوعش و الدم ایکن فقیر  
 تحصیل علم ایچ کندی یا نندن مفارقت ایدوب  
 استانبوله عزیمت لازم کلد که بعض کسندرا و عکک حضرت  
 اقدی استانبوله کیدورر خرج راهنه و فایره جک  
 مقداری انجا ایچ و بر یوسو بیکله پذیرد حرم بر آلیون  
 مشق ایچ راهنم ایچون و همتا بنوله واقع اولاجون  
 مضارقم ایچو قتی شی قلیل مبلغ بقاروب عطا  
 ایدوب فانا انا حضرتین هر زمانه با نفا بلع ایچ و خوش  
 و فوری عنایت و زور قی قلب تعظیم و تکریم بر لر برزی  
 کوندی کیدر را ایدی طوعش پذیردن موی تزیله تمیش

مادرند بیک طبقه بکازاده اولاد برصاحب کرم نشینند  
 برای فضل لطف حکایه اینک عبیدر آغا حضرتی یکون بیلند  
 تاج و در که و نامزه بود انعام و حسن ایدر بزم دینی انلا  
 سنج اینشن بر خدمت و ارمیدر یوسوال ایدر لاسه کلم  
 و ارد بر و اقی یکری بیلند زیاده در که انلا ک خدمت  
 شریفتر یوز هر سعادتخانه ایند و ارد بقر جان لایق بول  
 بول لغت جید بقر سواد ایدر ز انلا در فی آن عظیم کار و خدمت  
 یادگار نه عدا یوب آنه باب عالی تر نه نامزد کورا و  
 نعت ساولی انتسابی ایدر بزم جعفر افندی دیو ذکر پور  
 در ذبحی و چه بود که طبع شریفتر بر مرتبه ده لطف و کرم  
 و ارد در کمن بعد ضاری بود که بر نور انلا در دبی حضور  
 اولاد بود لطف طبعی و ارا یکینه از زیاده لطف و کرم  
 و اکثر وجود بیل کوشش قلوب خود و خستیش کوند  
 کوند ترقی اینک اوزره در مرحوم مراد پاشا حیوننده شایسته  
 ایکن آغا حضرتی اکثر احیانه و ارب انلا ایدر محبت  
 ایدر دی بر کون فقیر پیور دیکر بیلد میسر نیچون پاشا  
 حضرتیه کاه و بی کاه و ارب انلا ایدر شرفا و لورز  
 اصل بود که الی بیلد بره و ز راه عظام و عظام خاتم  
 و سنج کرام و غیرین حکایه منابت ذوق الهام ز بر سنه  
 نیچر کسه ایدر حشر اولمق واقع اولو بچین متار نند  
 فنیسنده که پسر و عطایه و لطف و سخایه بتعلق بر  
 خصلت حسن متا به ایدم آنکه خالق اولاد سالی ایدم  
 فاما بوجوب سعادت نه مشابه ایدم که خصال جسته  
 جمله سنه اولقدر مشابه ایدم و ارب کلد کج الله تعالی  
 حضرتیه ز جا و تفریح اندر یکدیگر بود کیه آنه اولاد خصال

حجیه

متعلقین هر

حسیه بی کاد فی میسر ایدر بی نظر  
 ندر بولم و سخاوت ندر بول لطف و کرم  
 ندر بول صبر و سکون ندر بول عالی بر سنه  
 ندر بول حوصله و دل ندر بول جوهر ندر  
 ندر بول برود صلاح و ندر بول یمن قدرتم  
 جعفر افندی ایدی پای کامیاب بر ذات مستطاف و کرم کباب  
 در که آدم آکا زیاده متعارف اولمینه انک حسن حاجی کامیابی  
 مشابه اینجی فیمنی بلخر لطف  
 اول لعل قیتمه واقف اولم یوب کز دون  
 آلی بره و در سور و بقر نور قرین لطف ایدر  
 بره بولیدی خصال حسیه می شایسته  
 برهانه زده اولدین اینک کبی کون مرتبه  
 غز ایدر علیچین طایف عرسه اخصت دره  
 سخای ذاتی آبی او فحش آینه الوب کیدر  
 رخ الاتع پشای سالیه الهولایت موصحب کرامت بر وجود  
 شریفه و ذات لطیفه ایدی انواع خضبات و مواصف  
 مستحسبه انده موجود اولمکه آنک شجره اصل باکی  
 و نمره غنایک بر کالی ایدر هر جمیل بر خور دار اولوب وقت  
 ایدر سر دالوق ایدی دنیسی هموز اولو دینی کبی آفرینی  
 ایچ هموز اولوب یا تره فی مرقد شریفی بر نور اولو کون و کلا  
 وزمین و آسمان بلکه ملائکه فلک کران و صیغه صبح و شام  
 اورد ایدر نیوب ذکر خیر ایدر ایدر اما کلاک دروغزی  
 پاک و صاف ایدر حقیانه انصاف ایدم و بزم در کون  
 آغا حضرتیکن راه منقبت کیدم آغا حضرتی بود خصال  
 حسیه بر نو بود کلا انعال پسندیده بی ناک اولوب طایف حسن

متعلقین و عیالین سخاوتین و عیالین

دقی ساکن المین آنکون عت ایتمیم توفیر و کثیره  
سعی ایدوب طور ماور علم و صاحبین موت ساج نجینه  
و ملاطین عظام و وزیر کرامه دنی متارنت مراجعت ایرک  
هر بر یک گفتار دوت دارنده برتقد و توضیح عزت معارزه  
بر حصه ادب ذات عالیت ندی آن خاطر نشان ایتمک  
بر اول شروطن اوزره روان و پویان اولار بولکین  
کاره کرکن معاشقند بر فصل منقبه شریفه نقل اولونی چو قید  
نظم ابراره طریقه دنی اولوز که بختش پیرده  
طبع شریفه نقش اوله اعمال صاحبینده  
دیرن و دیانت و کرم خود و لطف ده  
ایتر کرم اولر سده کندنه کبی متینده  
بسی وجه بود که اغا حضرتین هر کیم که انعام حوش اید  
نقص اولر سرتو قدر خلعت واقع اولمش اولوز آدم اگا  
واقعا لیبی حیران فالور حتی ساج و صلح از ره سندنه  
و طالب علم اولان بعضی فقر اطاینه سندنه هم غنیزه و چو  
فقیر بودله جزیره شرفه ایدر که اطلاع بولوب شعاع  
آفتاب کبی بر حمله همان چو دونه ایچر اولوب میرا  
اغا حضرتین و وجه اناره لطف و حش ایدر که تفریب  
قلب و اما بقدر زین قدرت الایه مقتضایه آنکزه ایلد  
عطا و احسان بیچ خلند ایر لیبوب و بیچ حیرن کال مضایقه  
یتسوب و اصل اولندر و اول عطیه زره نه قدر سرور صفا  
و برتدر حکایه ایدوب بوکتا بیاز نوح کسره که  
اغا حضرتین کجی جملات دیده ان اول حکایت خصال همه  
ازنده بر نسخه ادب کاه و بیگاه او قریب هر کوه اولر کتک  
کندورینه بر اکتب انا اذایه لرو اغا حضرتین دنی اولوز ایلد

بسی وجه بود که اغا حضرتین هر کیم که انعام حوش اید

قیامت دکن ام سر شریفی مکر اوله با مجله زیاده خبر دعبه  
باعث اولوب ایتر ندی فی خبر دعبه ایدر دین برین خصوص  
انجام و ابرام و اقدام و ایقام ایدوب حقیقه دنی اناره نقلی  
اومر اغا حضرتین پیروز بودر که احسن ایست در حاله  
آنی بکا اجمالاً بیان ایلد و کوز اول جمال اوزره دنی خبر خصال  
آحوال ایسم هر فصل و هزار باب بکون بیچ مفصل کتاب  
اولون لازم کلور و ستر و احضار ایدر دین اوست خلق ایچره  
فاسق و مستانه و ملقده اول اول اغانی عالیت شریفه  
حظ ایدر ای سرک احوال کوزی بومنا قیانه ده یازمانه  
اکنان بودر فاما اغا حضرتینک عطیه سر خصال اولوب  
امام عظم و معام ششم ابو حنیفه نعمان علیه رحمة  
الهدا کلام المنان اغا حضرتینک صابان کتبی ایچر بی  
کبیر و سز و آفر اول ایچره که آما و اصل اولندر اول  
طالب علم کبی سز غایت مرتبه خاطر کوز ایچون بخریز که  
منقبی ایلد اول حکایه بی رسالده نقل و تخریر ایدلم دیو  
تقدیر ایدوب بوجه ایلد اول خلاص اولدم ایدر  
ایدری اول تقدیر اوزره بودر و بیچ فصیح ازین لازم  
کلمی و اول عزیزک منقبی ایلد حکایه استیوا و لکه کدر  
حکایه زمانه سابقه صاحب حادثه نردن بر یاد کاسه  
این بادکار جورد لغنی خبر خلق ایچنه یعنی اطهاره  
طریقیل مال فراوان اولور اولر کسرتنه ننا زاید  
هر یزین بر آفر در هم بر آفر دینا هر یزین بولنده  
صلح اوله بر عزیزک غایت ایلد مضایقه واقع اولر  
ایچر سندنه برسی اول عزیزه بی سلطام بخورن بولنده  
نقد و فاقه آتشنه احتساب غصه و وجود کوزی بر افر

اخوان ایدوب بارضا بقه مخدنه متناق چکاره خود  
فلانک نظره وار سنگنک چکاره عطفه ایدوب کتوروب  
اهل و عبا لکه اتناق ایدرکن ویدوب عزیز بوز برتسم  
اوب اول نجسته بر باق ویدی بهام اتم حضرت امام  
اعظم حضرت پادشاه اولاد مروان بر توین مروان که  
خواجه خرد و عیله مشهوره که چو تک بوزیک می طغوز می  
سه صفر اعظمه خلیفه اولشیری سخا به تشوق  
کوتروب اولور اولر که به تصدق اینه کی حکایه اول  
دیدکل چو خرد نامرکن مناسبت و رازینلی طریقه  
ایرولک سخا و عطفه بکنر حکایه مروان بود که مروان بزور  
جور دلی کتوروب نچ مدت بذل مال و تصدق منان  
اوزره اولوب بعد بر کون سون ملاحظه ایتدی که  
بو آنه کلنج بو قدر مال تصدق ایتدی کی تحف ایدر ای  
کوره بر بیج مخدنه واصل او شیدر دیو ملاحظه ایدوب  
بالاخره تحف تنوع ایدوب کورسه که جمله بالی فسفه  
و اهل خرابه و دوستوب آنک عشقنه نقل نرم و شر ابروف  
و خرج ایتسار بود در دالم ایلد و بوزره و غم ایلد و آزار  
الاطوعی امام اعظم حضرت زیند و ار و حضور تر سینه و سول  
بولوب ملاقات اولدق زیند خلیفه بر قوم دید که نظم  
ای امام حضرت شیخ الامام مشاکلم و اراپه بر عرض امام  
مشخعی صانوب نیچا کادوک ویردم انار و منال امام تمام  
جمله نامشخعی ایتسار کرد ویرجوان باک نامی و سلام  
سلام اکرم امام اعظم حضرت زیند جواب ویر سیر کند  
مبارک قومیند بر کیم چیتاروب ایچنه اولانچ سید  
خلیفه ینسلیم ایدوب بیور بر که بو اقایله کیشنه تصدق

بسیار از اینها در کتابهاست

طریق

طریق ایدوب بر آدمه ویر سنگر کور مخدنه دوشمن اولور می  
دیر خلیفه دنی کیشنه اوب کیدوب سزاینه وارد دند  
بو کیشنه ایچ ایلد کیم ویر سم دیو ننگه واروب بونی  
ملاحظه ایتدی که بر کیم تبدیل صورت ایدوب بطشره  
اگرکن چیتاروب بر جامع شریزه واروب آنه صباح نمازنی  
قیلایین آندن مسکه جامع تر بنده طشره عطف بولده  
اکن اولد کیم کیم رشت کلور کیم کیشنه انا ویره بر دیو  
بو کیشنه رأی وندیر ایدوب بو سوال اوزره دنی  
ایدوب تبدیل صورت ایلد سر اینه اگرکن کیم ایلد چیتاروب  
بر جامع شریزه واروب صباح نمازنی قلم بنوعه جامع  
شریندنه به حکم طشره چیتاروب بر یوله دوستوب کیدرکن  
اول نانه طالب العلم اولدق قوسان قدر بر بعضی کیم  
قوسان کیم بر تحف تر سینه چیتاروب بقیه کلنج  
خلیفه دنی کیشنه ایلد سید چیتاروب تحف بیور  
ویروب اولدق اوب کیم کیدوب خلیفه دنی عبا  
مخدنه دوشمنی دیو تحف بیور تحف بیور کیم  
دوشمنی های سونه های سونه تحف قوم دنی بریده  
قارطیس با شکر کیم چیتاروب بر زیند یانه واروب  
کیم آتسار بر سینه چیتاروب اول زیند ایچنه بر اعوان  
خلیفه دنی زیند بر اقاد دنی کیم دیو واروب کورکن  
کیم بر وقتیه متداری قوش بر آتسار پاره بر بعضی تحف  
ینه آردینه دوشمنی سینه اول زیند آتسار  
آتسار سینه اصل ندر کجا جواب ویر سوال ایدوب  
تحف قوم دنی پنجه مان ننگه و تروده داروب کیم  
خلیفه کیم کیم کیم کیم کیم کیم کیم کیم کیم کیم



معاوت ایسه ل انک انی فالدر رب جیننه و کینه  
 التکه قادر اولماز انا بزماستی سحره کله سحره  
 میونه غلبه ایروب شادی کی اوینا غلبه بایلوب  
 الی دلی جیننه و کینه واروب انچه دیر کیچون لرزه  
 بسلر دیوز غیزت الیه اول قش اولان کینه بو حکایت  
 بویل نقل ایرج حجت منور غیر کلام دیمیب انجی بوشی  
 اوقودیر نظم مال حاتم اوله آیتش ایه نصیب  
 مکانی فیسیک مقدور کم نصیب ایدی حمتلو  
 آغا حضرتی دنی آید کی تصدقات اولطاب العلم قد  
 بلکه دنی زیاده حکنه و اصل اولور زیر اولطاب العلم صدقه  
 دیویر طران مال و برن کسه نکالی دکل ایدی امام اعظم  
 حضرت نیکالی ایدی و آندن خیری دنی اولطاب العلم ایله  
 همان بر آدم ایدی آغا حضرت نیک عظیمی اصل اولور  
 کسه ایله بر نیک و زینه مونی لازم اولطاب العلم کمالی  
 آتند علم شریف تحصیلنه نیچ توابع و نیچ لواحقی و آرد  
 نظم وصف شریف علی نیچ شرح و بیان آیدم  
 تلف و کرم کنگ نیچ نقل و عیان آیدم  
 شعر کتاب واجده تلفات منافی  
 الامریه کتب و دیشان آیدم  
 مدحت دینده او معجون و صفت ایله  
 قصدم بود که آسب زلال روان آیدم  
 سیمین و رفقه زیدب و صاحبزادان  
 لایق بود که اوستی هب زرشان آیدم  
 باغ شاکه کل کی دوشلسون خزل لرم  
 بیلدری آنکه بر زنده خوان آیدم

ایضا در کتب  
 ایضا در کتب  
 ایضا در کتب  
 ایضا در کتب

ایل دل بو نه کلیم تو کتاب دره  
 ختم بودر خیدر کی امتحان آیدم  
 جعفر بود کلواجر آیدی راز جودن  
 اما که صبره جاره نی وار کیم نهان آیدم

بشیر فصل

کعبه مکه بر وضع اولان اولاد سر با اتون  
 و کس بند ایدله قابلو قوشقرینی و اتون اولغنی  
 و خلیل الرحمن علیه السلام مقامک منبر بینی  
 و روضه مطهره نک صافی اتون کلید لرینی و پیچره  
 دئور لرینی نیجه ایشلمدر و اول اولاد  
 قوشقرنه رسم اوزرینه مصنوع اولمدر  
 و آغا حضرتی دنی بو آنه کلجی قجاج جامع سرین  
 قجاج مسجد لطیف و قجاج مدرسه و قجاج حمام  
 قجاج سرای و قجاج کوشک و قجاج قالدرم  
 قجاج کوبری و قجاج جنبه با جمله قدر خیرات  
 بنا ایشمدر آنک یاننده دره

قبله امت خیر الامم و توجهگاه بنی آدم اولان  
 کعبه مکه غلبا و بنیه سینه عظمی که عزت و جلال  
 و شوکت و عظمتی حفته نیجه آیات کریمه و احادیث  
 عظیمه و اوده اولمدر کعبه شریفه اوله اسم بیایله  
 ذکر اولور اولکی بالکوز بیت دینلور تعلیم طریقه  
 نرنا بیخیم دینلک غالب اولور کی ایکنجی  
 بیت الله در الله لفظنه اضاقت الیه او چنجه  
 کعبه در در چنجه کعبه الله در شخصی مشهور  
 التجیس بیت حکرام در چنجه قبله شکر چنجه

کعبه در در چنجه کعبه الله در شخصی مشهور  
 التجیس بیت حکرام در چنجه قبله شکر چنجه

طوقه تجلیسی بنده و او تجلی الممیز و محمدی در افق  
 آدی وارد او کلبی مکه در اکتیجی مکه در او جیبی ام  
 القری در و بانه اولاد وادیند یعنی دره بره انبغ و  
 بطحاء دریر جعلی انبغ و بطاخ کلور بطی و بطی آ  
 در لغت و اندنصره ولایتی ذنی بجاز دریر جو  
 و نوکنده اولان شهرینه نجد دریر اچقدن  
 اولان شهرینه عوان دریر و رسول اکرم و  
 و مخر عالم صلی الله تعالی علیه وسلم حضرت یک رو  
 مطهره رای اولدوئی شهره برینه و یشرب  
 دریر وروضه منوره به حرم و مسجد رسول الله  
 دریر کاه اولور که روضه شریفه کعبه مکرره کعبه  
 حرا و انوب حرمین شریفین دریر کعبه  
 منظره قدیم و شریف و مبارک معبد در آدم  
 او غلانی عبادت اچکچون وضع اولن اولن  
 اک اولکسیدر نه کیم حق تکا حضرت یسوی  
 ال عمران بیوردان اول بیت وضع للناس للذکر  
 بیکه مبارک او هاجی العالمین فیہ آیات  
 بیانات مقام ابریم و من دخله کان  
 آمنا و بتدی علی الناس حج البیت من استطاع  
 الیه سبیلا و من کفر فان الله عنی عن العالمین  
 معنای شریفی بود که الله تکا علم و رسوله تحقیق اول  
 راؤ که آدم او غلانی اچون عباد تکاه  
 قونلدی شول او در که اول مکه شرفند  
 در مکه و نکه لغتدر اچکسیدر جائزدر  
 بییط نمیط راتب ناتم منظره منظره

لازم جائز اولدوئی کبی کلمات  
 در یون کجمله سینه حرف سیم برنه حرف باه  
 و حرف باه برنه حرف سیم استعمال اولن لغتدر  
 و بعضیلر نکه دن فراد کعبه مکره نکه لطنی در  
 و بریزدر و تفسیر تمشدر و نکه تسمیه اولن سینه  
 ذنی بر قاج و جبار مشدر نکه نکه معنای رحمت  
 دیکدر آدم او غلانی آنه از دعای اولمغله نکه  
 و میسر در و بر وجه ذنی بودر نکه ذق و قسم معنای  
 یعنی ققو و یارمن و صمون جبار نکه بیونلاری  
 یاروخ اچون یعنی قصد استدی بجبار کعبه مکره به  
 الا الله سبحانه و تکا بیوننه قاقدی و آئی صدی  
 جلالین تفسیرنه حضرت آدم خلق اولنم از دن مقدم  
 ذنی کعبه مکره بی ملائکه بنا المیشدر دیویاز مشدر  
 و تفسیر کشفانه حق تکا حضرت یسوی و کلوری  
 خلق انجدرن اکی بیکر بل مقدم کعبه مکره بی صو  
 او زنده ضویک بیاض قیمنند خلق ایشدر  
 آندن صکر ارضی نکه آتیه دو مشدر دیویاز مشدر  
 و بر ذنی حضرت آدم علیه السلام نیاده انک اول پاندوئی او  
 کعبه مکره در میسر و بردانی ملائکه مکره حضرت  
 آدم علیه السلام جنتدن جقدوئی زمانه بو معانی زیارت  
 اینه اکی بیکر سیلدر بیوننی زیارت ایدرز  
 دیوب حضرت آدم علیه السلام آندن صکر ذنی زیارت ایلدی  
 و میسر و بردانی ملائکه مکره و حضرت آدم علیه السلام  
 زیارت ایشکری او اول ضارخ ایدی خلق دیکلری  
 بیت محمود صکر نوح بنی علیه السلام زمانده

طوفان واقع اولدوقه دوزخچی کوکه دفع اولندی که  
 سمدی ملائکه آتی آنه طواف ایدر دیتلر بودیدون  
 اقوال جملسی تفاسیر شریفه دندر اقول: بوی بی توجیه  
 قابل هر و بواقوالی نقلدن مقصود بیت شریفی  
 و مبارککنی بیاندر نه کیم الله ساجد و تعالی حضرت ی  
 بیوز مبارک اول بیت لطف مبارک اولدوغی حاله  
 تغیر جلالین ده مبارک کلمه سنی ذابترکیه ایله تفسیر ایتس  
 یعنی اول بیت شریف برکت صاحبی اولدوغی حاله نتم  
 حج و عمره ایروب اولکنه احتکاف و خوئی طواف  
 ایدر کسینه یلی نهابه تواب حاصل اولوب کتاهی  
 بارغونور کندان تفسیر الحکف و هدی للمعالمین  
 دنی بوییت شریف عالمز ایچون برطوطی یولدن  
 یزراخلکک متعبد لیدر یعنی عباد نکاهلری در  
 دنی بوکجه مکرته ده پنجه علامت عجیبه و کرامات  
 کجیبه واردر نه کیم الله تعالی حضرت ی بیورر  
 فیه آیات بینات اول بیت شریفه پنجه و پنج  
 نشان واردر مثلاً قشقر سوزن کعبه مکرته بی  
 طوطی اوچوب کلور ایکن همان اوزدینه یقین اول  
 زمانه بر طرفه صابنق کبی و حرم شریفه بریحی  
 جانور صینه یا پشمای کبی و آنکه یارماز لوح قصه  
 جبارک هلاک و داری کبی اصحاب فیل که یارماز لوح  
 قصه بیدکلر ایچون هلاک اولدیر اول کعبه مکرته ده  
 بونک کسسه علامت کزدنی نهایی بو قدر جمله در بر  
 دنی بود که حق تعالی حضرت ی بیورر مقام ابرهیم یعنی  
 وارده اوزده ناز تعلق ایچون آنه ابرهیم معانی واردر

یعنی

یعنی حضرت ابرهیم خلیل الرحمن علیه السلام اکی مبارک  
 ابانغی طوطی ده کبر برنگ طاشه باتد و عشق آنده  
 اثری واردر و اول بیت شریف بر مبارک برهیم کیم  
 کبرسه امن اوزده اولور نه کیم الله تعالی حضرت ی  
 بیوز و من د خده کان آمنا دنی سوال کسبه  
 اول بیت شریفه کبره امن صاحبی اولور قتل ایله و ظلمه  
 و غیر ایله قانلودنی اولور آکا تعوض اولنماز  
 اول بیت شریف حوجه شریفه اولان قریش قبیله  
 دنی حق تعالی حضرت ی اطعم ایروب آج صومرز قویا  
 قیش یکنه و یاز شام شریفه واردر کار باندینی دنی  
 خوف در امیره ایله ایدری اول بیت شریف بویله  
 مبارک رفعم و بویله یاسن بریکانه اوچوج آنک  
 اراضی مقدسه لینه بز یوقدره وار ایدره اولان  
 بیوزد کاره عبادت ایچون عایشه صاحبه اولن  
 اولایه وارمن لایدر نه کیم حق تعالی حضرت ی  
 بیورر و علی بن ابی طالب حج البیت من استطاع  
 الیه سبیلاً دمی ادم اوغلانی اوزرینه بیعی  
 حج ایچون اجب در سول کسبه که آکا بویله قاکر  
 اولایغنه زاد و اولجه یه قدرتی یتنه کذانی حدیث  
 حج حانک کسری ایله و فتح ایله دنی جابر در ایکی ده  
 قرآندر ایدری سول کسبه نکه و اراغه قدرتی  
 واردر اول بیت الله واروب آنی زیارت ایچون  
 و اولد عاونان و عبادت قبوله لاجری برده ناز  
 قلوب و عبادت ایروب دعا ایچون کدر قدرتی اول  
 واروبه حق تعالی حضرت ی کیم عبادت نه محراب و کلمه

بنه کیم الله شکا حضرت بیوررو من کفر فان الله  
 غنی عن العالمین دین برکنه الله ویا خود حق  
 فرض ابتدا کی حج انکارا بنه حوج سبحانه  
 وکسا مستغنی عالم کردن یعنی آدم و نازلینک  
 و چون طایفه سنک و ملائکه تک عبادت نرینه اصلا  
 احتیاج بود هر نهایت زنده بر کریم و رحیم و کل  
 و غفور باد شاه در که آقا عبادت ایوررا ایسه کنود  
 کمال گزیندن قولرینک عبادت نرینه شکر ایور  
 و مقابل سند قات قات عوضنی و در ایور  
 قدر نرینه اول مقام شریفدن غافل اولیوب  
 آکه و ارا بنه سن ایسه لم زیر تحقیق آنه دعایز قبول  
 اولور اول جت شریفی بنا ایور ایله حضرت بریم ایله حضرت  
 اسمعیل علیهما السلام دعای قبول اولور یعنی کیمی نه کیم  
 حق شکا حضرت بیوررو و اذینغ اربتم القواعدین  
 و اسمعیل زینتا تقبل منا انک انت السميع العظیم  
 الایمن سوره البقره معنای شریفی بود که الله تعالی  
 اعلم و رسول دینی ذکر آید یعنی انسا بریم علی السلام و اسمعیل  
 علی السلام ابدیت شریفک علی دیوارینی قالدرد اولور  
 وقتد دیو کیمی زینتا تقبل منا انک انت السميع العظیم  
 بود خاک معنای بود که ای زوم برورد کاریز قبول  
 آید بزدن تحقیق سرب یارب ایشیدنی و بلجی سپر  
 یعنی دعایز ایشیدنی و کولکرده اولان بنتلری  
 بلجی بر پاک شاه سپر دیک در صاحب کشف  
 حضرتن بوخلده قواعدی و غیری بی سار  
 تفاسیر شریفده زیاده تفصیل بیورر مشردر

آنک

آنک جمله سنی بو مختصره نقل ایتمک نمک و کلدر  
 فاما باری بر مقدار سنی نقل ایسه لم قواعدی قاعده  
 جمیدر قاعده دینی اساس دیک فر فارسیه مینا  
 ترکیه مثل دیرر و روایت بویله در که کعبه مکرته  
 اول نقل سیدی و اردی حضرت بریم علی السلام  
 آنک اولرینه نقل قالدردی و یا خود قواعددن مراد  
 سافات در سافات سافدن جمیدر ساف و عرفان  
 وصف واحد اوجیه عیب فارسیه والا ذینک  
 رسته ترکیه قور دیرر یعنی دیواردن بر قات دوسته  
 دیکر مرقور ایچ مینتندن ارتناع مینتند و ایچ  
 قاعده در فوعه اولور و دینی فریور که الله شکا حضرت  
 بیت شریفی جنت یا قوتلندن بر یاقوت اندر سیدی  
 ایکی قبوس و ارا ایدی بریمی شرقی ایدی و بریمی غربی  
 ایدی و ضامن متعال حضرت بیورر آدمه دیکر بی سنک  
 ایچون ایوردم متول سنه ن که آنک اهل ان طوفان اولن بنم  
 ۶ سنک اهل ان طوفان اولور یعنی کیمی حضرت آدم علی السلام  
 ارض هنددن آکه یانجه مشرق اولدی و ملائکه کاهه دینی  
 آنی قبول ایله تلقی ایلدیر و دیدیر که سنک خلک مرقور  
 اولدی یا آدم و تحقیق ایکی سیک بیلدرین لوبیت  
 شریفی فتح ایورر حضرت آدم علیه السلام دینی فون  
 که ارض هندده مکه مشرقیه یا یا بح کلوب کعبه  
 مکریمی فتح اییدی پس ایچمی بو روایت اولور  
 بو بیت شریف اول بیت یا قوتی ایدی طوفان کولرین  
 کلچر طوروب و طوفان اولاجی زمانه حوج سجانو  
 حضرت بیورر آلی دوز دینی قات کولکه قالدردی که

اول بیت معمور در آن خراخ در بر بعد طوفان  
واقع اول تقدیر نکر استگما حضرت ی بوستدی  
بیتی بنا ایتمک حضرت ابرعیم عبد السلامه ابر ایلی  
حضرت جبریل علیه السلام دنی بیت معمور ک  
مکانی که تعریف ایلی یعنی بیت معمور ک ری  
قنده اولدغنی کوسر دی و برو فی حیح استگما حضرت ی  
بر نولت و بر پیش که مکانی کولکه ایلی و نبدال اولد  
اول بولود ک کولکه ایلی و زرینه کعبه مکرمه بی پنا  
ایلیه آندن زیاده و اکسنگ ایلیه و حضرت ابرعیم  
علیه السلام دنی آنی یا بروغنی زمانه بس قطع طاعن  
یا پیشدر دیمش طور سنا دن طور سنا دن لبنا دن  
جودیدن جوادن و در بر که تلمنی جراطاغدن  
یا پیشدر و حج الا سودی جبر ایل علیه السلام کول  
کوردی دیمش و بر دنی ابوالقبیس طاعن  
چقتدر دیمش اول اول سیاض باقوت ایلی  
که جنتدا چقتیدی طوفانده قبیس طاعن  
کزلوب صکر حاضر غودتر جا بلت زمانه که تا پیش  
قاردی شرح اولدوغی اوزره حضرت ابرعیم بی علی  
کعبه مشرفین بنا ایلی و حضرت اسمعیل علیه السلام کول  
پیشدزدی بوید بنا اولوب پنج زمان کچکدن صکر  
هم اولماغین حضرت اسمعیل علیه السلام قایم اتاسی  
اولدوغی عرب قبیلدی کولطان خرمم دیر کعبه  
مکرمه بی عمارت ایوب آثار دنگرینه خدم  
اولماغین عمالقه عمارت ایلی بعده بی هم  
اولماغین قریبی عمارت ایلی و پیشدر عمالقه و عمالین

دیکر

دیکر ی علی بن اوفین ارم بن سام بن  
نوح علیه السلام اولادند بر قوم در شماره دغش ایلی  
و بیغیر صل استگما و سلم حضرت ی نه سوال ایستدر  
یا رسول الله خلق ایچون آن اول قتی مسجد وضع اولد  
دیدلر نه بیور سکره المنجد احرام تم بیت المقدس  
بعده بی سوال ایستدر فاج بیل تفاوت و اوزدرا بیلر نه  
زون بیل بو بیور سکره یعنی بیت المقدس کعبه مکرمه و  
زون بیل کولک یا بیستدر مغشرونه اقوال مزوره بی تقاض  
سزینه ده بیان اجمه دن مقصود لری بودر که اول مقام  
و مکان لطیفه بی شک و بی استباه قدیم دن ملائکه  
و انسانه عباد تکاه اولوب ایچنه اعتکاف و احرام  
طواف اولیو کلسدر حضرت بیغیر صل الله علیه و سلم  
دنی زمان مجزه کلجه اون اوج بیل مقدار سانی قبله  
ایدر بی شکل هجرت واقع اولدوغه صکت الهیه متقاض  
بیت المقدس قبله نه مأمور اولوب هجرتده صکره اون الی  
آی زور ایچر بیت المقدس قبله اولوب بعده قبله کعبه  
مکرمه بی قول اولدی نه کیم حیح استگما حضرت ی بیور  
قَدْرِي نَقَبٌ بِحِجَابِ السَّمَاءِ فَلَمَّا لَيْتُكَ قَبْلَهُ  
رَضِينَا قَوْلَ وَتَعْلَمُ شَطْرَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ وَحَيْثُمَا كُنْتُمْ قُولُوا  
وَجِوْكُمْ شَطْرَهُ مَعْنَى عَرَبِيٌّ بُوَدْرَكَ اللَّهُ مَا عِلْمُ  
وَرَسُولُهُ يَحْتَقِقُ مِنْ كَوْرٍ بَيْنَ بَاحْتَمِ سَنَكْ نَوْرُكَ  
كُوْكَ تَعْتَمِي بِسْ اِيْدِي بَرَّالْبَيْتَةِ سَكَا قَبْلَكَ كِي تَحْوِيل  
اِيْمَنُ يَنْتَعِ دُونَ دُرِّ كَعْبَةِ مَكْرَمَةٍ يَهْ كَسْ آتَدَنْ  
رَاضِي اُولُوْر سِيْمِ بِيْنِ اِيْدِي دُونَ دُرِّ  
يُوْر كِي كَعْبَةُ مَكْرَمَةٍ طَرْفُهُ وَهَر قَنْدَهُ اُولُوْر سَهْ كُوْر

یوزگوزی آندن بکادوندریکوزی یعنی حضرت  
پیغمبر صلی الله تعالی علیه وسلم قبله تک تحویل و تکلیف  
رضا ایدر دی و تضرع ایدوب مبارک ه  
یوزگوزی گوکه طوغرو طوغر ایدر ایکن  
اد بندن نشنه سونیز ایدر اول اکلدن ضمیر  
شریفند اولان زکالری اوزره بوآیت کیه نازل اولوب  
نازل اولدوغنی برله همان کعبه مکرمه یه طوغرین توجه  
یوردر بجهردن ادن الکی آن صکره و بندرغز اسندن  
ایکلی آن مقدم مآه و جنبه بی سیده سجده بعد از اول  
اول فرزندک ایکن رکعتنی بیت المقدسه طوغری  
قلمش ایکن کعبه مکرمه یه استقبال ایدوب ازلا  
خاتونرا اولدوخ بره کعبه صف با غلبه خاتونرا  
ار اولدوخ بره کعبه صف با غلبه زینک دورت  
رکعتک صومرا ایکن رکعتنی دن کعبه مکرمه یه طوغرین  
فرض تکمیل ایدر قبله شریفه اول سجده لطیفه تکمیل  
اولنجه ایدر کعبه القبتین دیوشیمه ایلدیر  
بوکل کلجه کعبه مکرمه احوالندن نقل ایدر کعبه مکرمه  
تفسیر شریفه ده مسطوره غیر یی رود اصل بر کلمه  
احکام اولنما مستدر بوندن غیر یی دن حقند نیجه  
آیات کیه وارد بوختر رساله ده بیانی قابل  
دکلر تفصیلی ایله بلک بر او ایونر تفسیر شریفه یه  
در اجتهت ایستونلر و بیت شریفه مختصر یی دن وار ایدر  
وار ایدر استان سعادت نشانه یی یوزگوزی سوزده  
جمالی ایله مترنم سوزلر زیر آئی کورکن و اوزرینه  
باقی ضانی عبادت در نته کیم کتاب نصاب الاحبار ده

مسطور

مسطور حدیث شریف وارد و اول حدیث شریف بود که  
النظر الی بیت الله الحرام عبادة یعنی کعبه مکرمه  
باقی عبادت ایدر ایکن که باقی عبادت اولون  
یا اول مقام شریفه آدم نماز قلب سنن رعایتی  
حج ایدر کعبه قدر تو ایدر اولون کعبه مکرمه  
جمیع خلق عالم روم و عرب و عجم او حجب بینه  
واو دلهار عدیم النظیره حجت و مودت و حرمت  
و عزت اوزره اولوب بی آدم بالاتفاق جمالی کورنکه  
مستحق اولوب هر یی ای صبر و ای طاعت مشاهد  
طلعتنه توجه و عزت قلب و ولایت یوم و بند و بند  
و تکریم کند و ماؤران شهر و بخارا و عمرقند و خجند و عظیم  
بلاد اولان محوسه استانبولده و اندر غیر یی  
نیجه آیین و نیجه سلیق یولدن بو قدر سادّه بعید و  
بود کلوا کعبه عذیره دن قاروب کعبه مکرمه یی بار  
معاینه طلعت دلدار ایدر اولون محسوب در عجب  
زیباسو پوسنده سید و بیادنی حضور شریفه وارن  
خاک عزت زین رومالیده قلان زمره کعبه مشافیقن  
و زقره عاشقانه صاد و قینک اول طرف و اکن فدیه  
چین سنی و طواف کعبه کلکابن کلکابن اولان حدیث  
و صدالین و بولنگ لیک با الله دیو جواب و ندر ایدر  
رینه تحلل ایدر سید علی الحنفی مع هر چند اولان  
صلوات و وقایع و در صفا و سلطانه تعلق اولینا قرآن  
عظیم و قرأت اولینا قرآن کیم موافق هر تبه ده تا بر و تبه  
عشق الهی ایدر آیت کیم لوانر لسانه القرآن علی صلی  
لرینه حاشا متصفا عامن خشیه الله متصفا کیم ذوقی

وقت شوقند و کثرت عسند و موریتا حشیت الطیه و  
 باره باره اولویا زوب زین شایع است لکن نظر و انتظام  
 و ایمنها و اولی جوامع را با هم آمیخته قلوب نشاء اولیون باز  
 بشاء علی ذلک سلطان پاک نژاد در حرم و منور سلطان  
 ملا شیره حضرتی و فی بیت الکرم بود اندک اکامی اوجی  
 دید که شرح شرحه الامام ده لایس نیز بین المسیحی غدا  
 ماروی آن داود النبی علی السلام نبی بیت المقدس ثم الله  
 سلمنا علیه السلام فرینه حتی نقب الکبریت الاحمر  
 کما ریس العقیبه و کان ذلک اعوامی بعد من ذلک الوقت  
 و کان یضی لیس میل و فی حایج الخیر فی حقیق کانت العرا  
 یغزون فی صورنا بالالیال من مسیره انی عفره لاه  
 روایتی اوزره حضرت سلیمان بنی علیه السلام بیت  
 المقدسی انام ایتدکه فیه سنک باشه کیمیا التونی  
 قویب آن تریم ایتس ایمین بنادنی اول  
 بیت الله زینت اولیغچون کیمیا التوندن  
 سطح مبارک اوزره برآتون اولون ایتدنع  
 ایوب رسال ایدیم کبریت احمرکی ذکل بلکه  
 مهر انور کن عالی منور ایله و اول اخبار جوامع  
 مبارک کی می محافظه اید جک بالدر کش قایل بود لای  
 قوایم و زینک مینوع اولوب اول بیت شریفک  
 میان لطیف سراپا بویله بر قوشغه التوح کدر  
 دیو بوجه اوزره دران مایونتری صد در بود  
 عمر نه معازیش اولان قوجه معار و یکله معرف  
 در حرم سنان آغا بر عویب زبان عالی حضرت زبوری  
 تخمین چون اول ایتدنی مقدس مرغز لکنه و اول لای  
 سبوزانه

سبوزانه و اورد قدی بو اثر سکاوت ظفر بولیکه  
 بنم بدیل میسره اولیون دیو مقدس و شتر اولی قوی اوزره  
 کورسب نظر ایوب کورسکه اول مبارک بناقیر زایدی  
 جانیخامیل و ایضا کورسب جهته اوجه سندن اول کورم  
 دیوار خواجه سستی شکار فی بعض مواضعه  
 برز مقدار و اختل بنی حکم شریف کاشندی طرفه  
 صابویرتس و عقده لؤلؤ ترکی نظم و انتظام بولس اول  
 زخام جوامع و اجبال احترام بعضی برندن صحرا یوب  
 سائند لا تفاوت اوزره قیام کورس مش و التون اولون  
 دیکلری زیناب جری التور و سال ایضاب قبیلند  
 اولوب سبیل نازان ایله مشا قریب بوما جری ایله  
 اتغوی آستوب غایت ایله بونقده قلمس جلد اول  
 اذل قد بلند و قامت سعادت مندک نازک نیان  
 عرت کانه و خجل رعت لسانه بسیمین و زین صبح  
 بر قوش مینوع اولوب سر ایاقوشم کدر بویله  
 بر قوش ایله بند اولدوقه حکم میان شریفی در لوط  
 و یک اولوب اخبار مبارک بر برندن منکر اولون لایم  
 کلور دیو معار بود بوجه اوزره آن تخمین ایوب  
 بولکه کوزه و فی آنه رسم تصویر تبیین قلوب بعد  
 هتا بنولکلوی اقع کاس سلطان کامیاب عرض و ایضا اید  
 سلطان عزت تب اول عکرده اولاعا عظام ایله مشاوه  
 ایوب بعضی تجیز بوزایوب دیو بلکه اول بیت شریف  
 باری خدا عزوجل خوندیک جالی تحلیف مظهر ذوق شریف  
 عشق الهی مختار اولدوغوشای زمره سندن اولت حدیث  
 شریف اکتفای استماع الی الله المساجد و افضل  
 سبوزانه

جزا القبله معنای عرفی دیگر که صحیح است حضرت زین  
بغضه که این یعنی برکن سولوی مسجد اردو اندون مؤمنان  
افضل قبله در معنی کعبه مکره در نوعی لطیفه  
مقتضای سخن دانی اول بیتانده معشوقه زمره مسند  
اولی لان مکلور امید می عاشقانه نظر ایندیک عاشق  
نقدر نمی و ناتوان اولی قوت عشق که دیا نور ایا فنا  
اوین خرابه زلف و لبس سعید و نظر عاشق دنی بود که است  
ایر کوز در می کن که حرفی عین ایلد حرفی سین مابینده  
واقع اول آخری گفتند قدره قامتند ذره قدر اعوجاج  
واجناسی اولیوب کمال در سه استقامت اوزره  
و معشوقیتند دنی نظر ایدیک معشوق عشاقند میل  
ایند تقبیل ایکن انلان ارسال ذیل قلمی شان عایدند  
جمله عالم انگ عاشق صادق ادمی زاد و فرشته مطورین  
وار و اول فر و چشمه اول داد انلرینی بوس ایلسون اول  
جواب زوایه دفعی جبه زوایه بیقران ابریم علیل الرحمن  
حضرت یکن زبان عورت انجام و عشر سعادت و جامی  
ایامنه رسته نبوت راستی اوزره نظام بولوب شمار  
د انندان بریدر ابریم علیل الرحمن علیه السلام حضرت زین  
برودنی حیرت نبویه و نایک سینه می غایتنه وار و کمال  
دوت بیک بکری اوج میل اولورد دوت بیک بکری دور دنی  
سینه بیک برخی سینه اول کدر اول بیت شریفه تعرض  
اولینو کلمتد تعرض ایند دنی نادیم اول مشهور و محبت  
نبویه ملک آتش دوزخ رسیده ماه رجسک بکری بدنی  
کوننه عبداله بن زبیر بن عوام مکه مشرفه حکام و والی  
اولی که بو فکر مشغولی اولدیکه کعبه معظری می

عادت

عادت اید اول ملو اظه ایلد مبارک طاسینه وضع اید  
سابقا نقل اولنا بیت معمور یا قولی اسلوبنه که ایلدی  
ایده اوزره کسوه شریفه ایلدی اول اول کسوه مایه  
کسوه شریفه ایلدی اول اول کسوه مایه شریفه خیر ایدی  
لکن اول ایلد جوابم زوایه وضع اید طاسینه اولیوب  
عاقبه اللارجوی نبویه نیک تیش اوچین سنه سی جاکر اولی  
اول اوچین کوننه ضفا و مویه مابینده صلب اولدی  
اندر نکر کمال دیکر کسوه وضع قدیم معلوم اولی  
ایلد قوت جمع ایدد عبدالله تک تغییر نی تبدیل ایدد  
اول ساه شریف عینی ایلد مبارک طاسینه یه بولورینه  
قویب اصل قدیم اوزره وضع ایلدی ایدی وضع قدیم  
تعرض ایلد و قدر اوچین مستحق و کله و جوی انهل و اول  
ایلد اب کلامنه دنی جواب بود که بونیک می مغال ذریع  
د اراده حال قبیلند علم مساویانده بود که مجاز ایل  
دیزر حقیقتند اریق اولوق آقان بلکه انلان اولد اول  
ایدن صودر آقان بو تقدیر ج اولنی دنی تبدیل ایلد  
فالماز دیوب بعضیدی دنی اقول مزوره یه جواب ایلد  
ویزه شویله ویدیکه لفظ عاشقک انقذه بی استقامت  
دارد حرف عینه اتصال و استنادی سنی ایلد اول عین ایلد  
قوت بولون اول طرفدن احکام اوزره در حرف عین دنی  
که برسد کی اولمدر لکن خارج ک حرف عین طغیره  
برسنه استناد انمشد حرف عینه متصل اولدوغی  
مخلد علی الخصوص نهل اوجو حاجی دنی و از درد اخلاص  
سنه اخیان بونی اینه خارجندن یعنی حرفی سینی  
طرفندن برشد و ربطه مختلج در زیر حرف عینه متصل

اولدو معنی رده منصف اولوب آساعه دوشمک حال اولدو  
ما بعدتده اولان نظ عشق دینی مفتوح اولوب بو معنی ده  
ایدر و مستوفک شاعنه فیل بویب تقییل ایچین انا  
ارسال ذیل فقدر دیکلر معنوی و مجبودن بونکجه  
لطف ظنور ایچکله که معارضه یوقدره معارضه نومه نومه  
لکن معنوی دانا ناز عشوه افوره درنا روز کانت ایسه  
صنعت شعله شمع در آنده حریف علت اولاوا اولان دینی بونکه  
دلالتی وارد باجمله دوشمک عشاق نظردن دور و فخر  
قلما یوب قلب المومنین بیت الله فواجده معورینه سی  
اولمغ کلمه بیچاره عشاق فکر چکدولن خدای تعالی ده خیری  
کمنه بیز بیت قو عالم اولوب اولدور ایلک خیرت سینه  
نه بلسون عاشق اولما نیکر انا حال عشاق  
و معنوی دینی اولوب معنوی نه دکلو تریزه اولان اولان  
تعظیم و تکریم بونوب زیاده حسن و لطافتی موجب اولور  
حجوب کلمه سنی سیم زنده زیوره مستوف اولمقدر نظم  
اوز که عالم و ارا که طلعت حجب ده  
یزدنی عالم و ارا که کسوه مرغوب ده  
زیور و فخر لیا سید کوز لری آیدر  
کندوسن کوز تریک ایزر شعله بر لبوب ده  
اولوبی تبدیل احتیج یوقدره دیکلر کلامک دینی و صحیح  
یوقدره جبر الیه و سال الیزاب نعم مجاز فرسل در معنا  
ایرمی و اولوق اقدی دیکلر لکن ایزریق و اولوق  
اقایرب بکله صوره آقان و حقیقته جزیان مانک حقیقه  
فاناما از چوق اگر شه و میزایه تا نیر ایتمه آنلردن بکله  
مقدار قلع ایتمه اول مقبول اولان اجر آودنی صوابله

بیت الله فواجده معورینه سی  
کمنه بیز بیت قو عالم اولوب اولدور ایلک خیرت سینه  
نه بلسون عاشق اولما نیکر انا حال عشاق  
و معنوی دینی اولوب معنوی نه دکلو تریزه اولان اولان  
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اوز که عالم و ارا که طلعت حجب ده  
یزدنی عالم و ارا که کسوه مرغوب ده  
زیور و فخر لیا سید کوز لری آیدر  
کندوسن کوز تریک ایزر شعله بر لبوب ده  
اولوبی تبدیل احتیج یوقدره دیکلر کلامک دینی و صحیح  
یوقدره جبر الیه و سال الیزاب نعم مجاز فرسل در معنا  
ایرمی و اولوق اقدی دیکلر لکن ایزریق و اولوق  
اقایرب بکله صوره آقان و حقیقته جزیان مانک حقیقه  
فاناما از چوق اگر شه و میزایه تا نیر ایتمه آنلردن بکله  
مقدار قلع ایتمه اول مقبول اولان اجر آودنی صوابله

معا

معا آتاسه نهرو میزایه جزیان نیچ کسناد اولور دینی  
بوندن قطع نظر حال آنده فایلم اولان اولوق خلفه حبیبیه  
رحیم الله زمانده مصنوع اولمشدر خلفه زمانده خربینه  
عالمده اولقدر و وسعت بوق ایلی که نیچ کزه بوز  
بیک کزه بوز بیک فلورر قیملور بر میزاب استصناع  
ایره وضع ایه لری اول اولوق استند دینی زمانده  
دینی قتی بونقه کسندر فمال عثمان خربینه سنه بونون  
الله تکا سولقدر وسعت و قوت و قدرت وارد  
اول مقام تریفک عزم لطیفه سور شکلده خاص  
آلوندن دیور دینی بنیا قلمی کلنده اول حجب عالم  
و دلدر ستم بییت المقدس کبی تریهین اولوب سربا  
زرور یوره مستوف اولسه عجبیدر دیو بونکجه  
جواب بر ووب باجمله بایسته بوقدره سازعه و حمله  
و بودکلو مقابل و مجاوره واقع اولوب قیل و فالدن  
و جنگ و جدال خالی اولمیب بو اتاده دینی شرق و غرب  
وانکروس سوزن ظهور ایچکلی تاخیر اولوب سلطان کلان  
عز دینی وفا ایتمیب کاملن بکرن بسن بل زور ایدر ووب  
خصوص منوره مبارکرت اولما یوب آخر الامر سابقا  
سبحه السلام اولوب جوار رحمت باری و اهل اولان  
در حرم و مغفوره صنع الله طاهره شاه حضرتین مشع عتره  
و انفس کسینه اول مقام دلکشایه و مکان جانفرازه  
وارق حج ایتمکله شریفه و نعبینه ایتمکله  
اول ایستکله مبارک تک دیوار سعادت کاری جیجا کمال  
حربه ییل قوب انصاری دینی رسال اولمشدر انصاری بیط  
ایچان برکوه احتیاجی وارد بعد عودت ایدر و بکله

حالا بر سلطنت زمین و خلیفه روی زمین اذلا سلطان  
 صاحب الغیاب و الدین ماکد الامانه العظمی و ارشد خلافت  
 الکبیرین بکمال برتری و البری و خادم الحوضین الشریفین  
 ماکد ماکد الیوم کما یوم فی العلم و شرف الخواصین باطنی  
 المنصور بفرمانه و سلطان شرف الی عثمان خلف خلفه الحسن  
 السلطان العثمان خلفت سلطنته و ابدت دوله و حضرت  
 واقع حال عرض بیوردی سولدانها بیوردی مکه مطر الایام  
 و الاصلادین در حرم سلطان در کعبه مکه نیک اتون اولوغی  
 تبدیل نیکت و میان نیا کنی ربطا چون البر وضع مکر  
 ایشلیک معصوم ایدیشل ایدی لکی اول نایغده بعضی علماء  
 عظام اول بیت بک عتیقه وضع یداونغی امر حسن کله  
 و تقدیر دیو بخیر زیور ایوب و بوندی غیری دق اول اتان  
 سفر ظهور برید عمر شریفی دق و فال تکلمه الیه الا لاسیما  
 اولتادق فاما بوسه مبارکده دق مباشرت اولتایوب  
 نادر کور خس جادعت دما و بروج سعادت اتان در حرم  
 شریفه و شوب انجار جو اهر زو اهره شار اولوغی جمالی  
 واردر بنا شریفه قدر طقید وضع یداه نوبیت اول  
 مقام شریف میان لطیفه اوز زردن در مکر ربطا اولتوقه  
 بناء مبارک کنه نیجه قدر واقع الیوم بوضو غفلت اولتایوب  
 علی العجله تارکنده لابند دیو اعلام حال ایدیکار حضرت سلطان  
 عالیت فی حال تبارک کنه مباشرت بیوردی متالیه  
 معماران حضرت شریفه و فانه ایدو متا بوجه فریضه عامه دن  
 نیجه بوزیک که یوز بیک نام الیوم و جمع العیار تاندر کبریا  
 اهر کما شریف دینار جعبه آغاز متالیه دق بوانه کلجه  
 سلطان خلیفه دن اول بیت شریف میان لطیفه مکر سعادت

وضع

وضع ایکن مراد ایدن سباده لک بهر نیک نیا شریفین  
 بو کرا خضو صیون مصور اولان رسوم کزوده محفوظه  
 بولنوب عرض وقد طولی معلوم ایدنک ایچون اچوخ  
 اطلاع مراجعت بیضا آند فکره صنوع اولاجی مکر لک  
 زری بی و دعانه لریمی بسط ایدو زبدر دق دعانه  
 جانکاره اولوغ اوزره اشکال مشوقه سب بر رسم جدید  
 تصویر و تمهید قلدیکه مهندسان جهان و مصوران دور  
 انک مثلنی کورس و ایشتره دق دکله در بعد رسم  
 مزین و طرز مذکور اوزره ضابطی بولاد دن نیجه و  
 مزین و فرج سنون صنوع اولوب بعد ذلک  
 اوتار مذکوره و دعایم مشوقه نیک اوزر لری ینه زین  
 رسم بندر دوشنوب با جمله بو کرا اولاجی زهر و شونک  
 تمام اولوغ موصوف اولتایوب زده حضرت خلیل الرحمن  
 علی السلام متعانه بر علی مشیر و روشنه مطهره دق  
 بی جدید اوج قطعه اتون کلید سلنوب بو جمله  
 تکمیل اولنوب حاضر و نهیا اولدقد فکره بو سبانه  
 معلومه و هدایای لطیفه مقبول نیچو اعلی صنوع و بهر بی  
 نیجه در غوب مطبوع اولتد نظر که سعادت لویا سبانه  
 حضرت نیک منظور عالی و المیچون بخوشی ادره قیود  
 خایه دن داود چشک دیلمه مؤذوف محاسن لکن ینه  
 لکن خنده وضع اولنا جمع قوام اوزره  
 قور ایوب بونار حرمین مختصرین ایچون صنوع اولتد  
 اوانق شریفه مبارک کنه کیدر دیو اجملا اطفا و زرا عظام  
 دکله افرام و حضرت شیخ اسلام وزره مشایخ کرام  
 دق سعادت کور علما و فضلا و مدبرین و محققین

و ارباب دُول تخمینا یون بیکدن زیاده آدم حجاز اولوب  
 شاهنشاه عالیشان و چاق و دیگچران و سپاه و سایر  
 خلقک مستغفر رب اولدوقد فخره بیای مرموزی و کشف  
 مذکور بی اعزاز و اکرام برله حرمین شریفینه کوندر کعبه  
 اندیکره بعون الله الکمل العین جمله س بقیمه اولد  
 طه و اصل اولوب میسر اولوب هر یمن بر کونورینه وضع  
 اولمخدر حوض تک حفر تری آنلاری قبول تیش اولد  
 پناه عالیشان حضرت نیکو آنلاری ایجاد ایدن عمار  
 حضرت نیک عمر شریفینی یونانیونا زیاده ایدیریق  
 دارعبا ده دنی مقابله سنده اجر جز بل عنایت  
 قلبیوره آمین بحق سید المرسلین نظم  
 یاری ضایه اولمغه انقیاد کوز  
 دنیا ده حاصل اولدی جمع مراد کوز  
 وضع ایچکین اذ خوب اثری بیست و وروده  
 معارف خادم الحرمین اولدی اذ کوز  
 اول وضع پاک دولت عقل ذرر شکار  
 ابر کوردی براری آنه پاک اعتقاد کوز  
 خیرات بی نهایت لکن طهور عالمی  
 فردی کون کون بی شتاب جیاد کوز  
 هم کعبه مکره هم روضه شریف  
 اولدی معقیله حبیب فواد کوز  
 جوی آستانه سبب اولدی اثر لکن  
 آجاز دن اولدی مکره مدینه بلاد کوز  
 لطفله حضرتی بی طاعتی قول ایلدی لکن  
 مخلص و ناجی کوز له جو علی عیاد کوز

حرمین شریفین  
 حرمین شریفین  
 حرمین شریفین

زور

فی الواقع معارفنا لغندن مراد ضلع قبله اول ایکن مقام  
 شریفه نظر و عمارت و محبت و خدمت قلبی در  
 خلیل الرحمن علیه السلام انی بنا ایدلدن بر والی بنالان  
 اول عتیق اولدوقد غیر مجاری کسوه شریفه سنده غیر دنی  
 بر کس نکلاندن بر اثر عمل کلوب اول محل شریفه  
 وضع اولمخدر احمر سنده تکا سندی آنجلین بر اثر لطف  
 صنوع کلوب اول مقام دکتاب وضع اولدی میان کعبه  
 سر با ازین سیم بنیله قایم اول مرفوع کوز و سطح بلنددی  
 اوزره نچ کوز یوز سیک کزه یوز سیک فوری دکر اول  
 جزایر زده و مقام خلیل الرحمن بنی علیه السلام اول  
 زیبا بنیزه و روضه نظاره بنی صلیبه صافی اتون  
 اوج قطعه کلید و اشکال متنوعه مصوره اوزره  
 نچ زربین پنجره سلنوب ارسال اولدی کعبه  
 تریف دیکت نه کعبه بر نوجب آیت کونده و محراب  
 الی ابرهیم و اسمعیل ان طهر ایتی اللطافین  
 و الصالحین و الکریمین و اذ قال ابرهیم رب  
 اجعل هذا بلدا آمنا من سورة البقرة معنی شریفی  
 بود که الله تکوا علم و رسوله دنی برابریمه و اسمعیل  
 علیه السلام بنی اوی پیشترده پاک ایچکله امر ایلدی اول  
 بیت شریفی طواف ایندلر ایچونه و ایچنده مقیم اولمخدر ایچونه  
 دنی ابرهیم بدول وقتله بارب بومکانی امن صاحبی  
 بر شهر ایله تحقیق آنک ایلی آنک عامی قبول الطریق طانی  
 حرم قلبی بعضه سولید امن اوزره آنی تکریمه ایچنده  
 انسان عالی ذوق کله و بر طریق ایله کنه - نظم اولمخدر و  
 پیشنه صلیه اولمخدر قانونی اوزرایه صفتنه یا پیشتر

و چایری دخی بچکر کعبه کوزه کوهی طولاً او ن بدی  
 ذراع و عرضاً او ن ذرت قرت ذراع در وقتاً دخی  
 یکی ذراع در حرم شریفی دخی طولاً یوز او ن بدی  
 ذراع در و عرضاً دخی کذک یوز او ن بدی ذراع در  
 و اوج قات قبة لیک التلزنه واقع اولان لر ارضی  
 مقدسه ای سزا پیکر مبشر ذراع در حسب سطریحی الم اول  
 مقام شریفک و حرم لطیفک و قبة لیک بوجله کذک ای  
 مقدسه ای جمعا یوز یکی بدی یک در تیز قرق طغوز  
 ذراع در و بوندن فیری دخی جانب شرقینده اتی میل و جانب  
 غربینده دخی کذک اتی میل یعنی شرقی غرب سمتی  
 اعتباری ایله طولاً جمعا او ن ایکی میل و جانب شمالینده  
 دخی اوج میل و جانب جنوبینده کذک اوج میل یعنی  
 جنوب و شمال سمتی اعتباری ایله عرضاً اتی میل مبارک  
 یزکه حرم الله اولسدر بود دخی حرم بیت المقدس کبی حرم او ن  
 یوزک دخی کذک صیدی و جنبینک قویا لمسه و ککسه یه  
 تعدی و ظلم ایتمسی حرام در ایدی آدم بوندن تعقل ایچک  
 کزکرم بوجله اراضی مقدسه قدر معزز و مکرر و نه قدر  
 شرقی فضیلتی واردر و سابقاً حرمین شریفین ارسال  
 اولان بدایای شریفی و تحف لطیفین بونزه سزا بولور  
 سیر و عمارت اولند دخی اوزره اجمالاً توصیف ایلرکن لکن  
 سدی اول مقام شریفه حسن کوسر و اول اوزره بونزه  
 اتی وصف ایچک قابل کلدن زایل بلاتشیه برآز سزانه بیچ  
 وضع کز و زریزه و جوهری ذری نیت افسر و ادرانه  
 کماله کندی اولی و زریکه قاکر دکلدر قمار بر شیب زیبا  
 و بر دلدار مستنن اوزرینه ایلس اولسه اول کسوه

فان

فاجره بر رتبه ده شرف بولور که آدم نظرایه تک  
 کوزرنا شوب خدای خالص متغلا حردوس پس قلقدن  
 چاره قالمازنه سعادت و نه دولت و عتبات حاضر  
 که آنجیلین آثار شریفه آنکارکن مبارک اللندن حاصل  
 اولوب اول شریف مقام ره وضع اولندی نظم  
 باشیب وقت مبارکه صدقار لغی  
 اشته ختم آیدی تندی آغا معارفی  
 حشره دن ایله اثر صاحبی آدم اولن  
 انی اخیایله عالمده انک فار لغی  
 فی وصف لیت اولام شرفه الله الکلی العلمام  
 بیت شریفه الیکم اربع اختر ام  
 یعنی آقا توجده ایله ایله لم قیاسم  
 طور من کرک خضوع و خشوعیه تویله کیم  
 کویا بزه شهنشه عالم وزیر سلام  
 بلک کرک فی بیچ جنوبه او کیم  
 عاشق اتی ملاحظه ایچک کرک غام  
 یعنی حرا و خالی ارض و سما درره  
 اول قبله ایچک اولدی المکنده ایلام  
 یارب بلند غده کاشانه در او بیت  
 اندون مشاهیر اولنور فیض لاینام  
 اول موضع لطیف ده مقبول اولور زعام  
 زیر اسنی شفاعت ایبر اول لاکلام  
 کعبه و یک تعرب حقد و یک شکار  
 غافل بولننه ایلیکور بولننه ایچام

فاعلین تعالیات تعالیات تعالیات  
 مفعول فاعلیات مفعول فاعلیات

در سنگ که آنه کسب قرب بجا آورون

باب غزوی قومه الدن علی الدواجم

در می ایستد سنی مکر اول بیت صاحب

خالی بپردیه خود نه صورت سینه من اول

مخارج طسه از فرسین و مجاز دن

باری کتور سه لیره اول یار دن بیام

ای قبله صنفا سنی ایاکور رینوز

اوستق بز و صالک لیره شاد کام

سینم بودیم اول خرم پاکله وانوب

عشا قبله ایتم بیله اجرام ایله خرام

آنک زیا رتن بزه یارب یکسرت

الان فکر عیدک در مسجد اجرام

یوم غزوه آب ز خرم ز حمله تبر

قورقم بود که طغین ایند خشم کونی غوام

باغ از انوب سنگا بز صغیر نشتر

سن بر خیم سینه سکه در دایم اختم

نطقه بزر لغه بو قولک علی جعفری

کعبه یوزی صوبینه ایاطالی الانام

و ندینه سنوره کن از رضی تقدسه در فی خرم اولستر

بته کم حضرت علی کرم الله وجهه دن زوی مضایح رضی

سطوح حدیث شریف وارد و اول حدیث شریف بود که قال الربی

الدری حرام مابین خبر و قور قن احداث فصاحدنا

او اوی محمد بن ایه لعنة الله والملائكة والناس

اجمعین لا یموتون الا عدل ذمه الله لیه و حقی

یسئ

یسئ بها اذ نام فمن اخضر تسلیا علیهم لعنة

الله والملائكة والناس اجمعین صدق رسول الله

و صدق حبیب الله معنی برقی بود که الله تعالی علیه

مدینه شریف رضی علیه السلام که اول رضی علیه السلام بود

عبر و شور مری بر طالعک بیدر مدینه سنوره در فی بو

آبیطا علیا بیدر در بین برکته آنه بر بدعت پیدا

ایله با خود کند و بی بدعت پیدا ایله فاما بدعتی

وضع ایله تعیین اولسه حی تعالی حضرت نریک و نوشته

لک و آدم او غلانریک لعنتی انک اوزرینه

اوسون مسیهرک عهد و امانی بزه او کورینه اول

عهد عهد در و امان در فی امان در جمله مسلمانان

اذا نامی انی بوزده مامنه سنی انک کدر یعنی عهدی

و امانی بر صلواتی ایتمد یاسیر مسلمان اول عهدی

مقرر ایروب آنک اوزرینه طوزن کدر فضا لک

اذا نامی انی انی انی کور قوردر و عور کور در انظار پیدا

در فی اول عهد بر طری ایله بوزده مامنه سنی ایتمک کور

بسی اییدی برکته بر مسلمانک عهدی اخفا و نقص ایله

یعنی عهد و امانی بوزده حی تعالی حضرت نریک و ملکوتی

و آدم او غلانریک جمله سنک لعنتی انک و زریه بود

و اندر فضا اول بدعتی احداث ایله تک بدعتی پیدا ایله

معاونت ایلمنک و بر مسلمان ایرو ک عهدی بوزده تک

خرنی یعنی نافله سی و بعضیله دیدر تو بیسی و عدلی

یعنی و فایده فضا فدا سی مقبول اولماز مثلاً اول کسه

وفات ایتمک فضا اول کسه فدا سی مقبول اولماز مثلاً اول کسه

و اگر حج و غیر بر ایتمه رضی تعالی حضرت نریک انی قبول ایتمه

کمر حیاته ایکنه و با یوب صرف و عدل الیه مقبول  
 او نور بونه منقون اولان بود که حضرت پیغمبر صلی الله  
 تعالی علیه وسلم غزطانی الیه نوزطاعنی ما بیندینه اولان  
 بران حریم قلمتدر ایدی آئی حریم بیلوب  
 زیاده تعظیم واحترام ایکن ککر و ذوق مصابیح  
 منظر سعدون مروی حدیث شریف واروره  
 و اول حدیث شریف بود قال رسول الله صلی الله تعالی علیه  
 اتی احریم ما بین لایبئ المدینة ان یقطع غصبا حیا  
 او یقتل صیدنا لاید غصبا احر غیره عنها الیه  
 ابدل الله تعالی فیها من یهو خیر منه و لای یقتل  
 احر علی لا و ایها و یهدیها الا کنت له سعیا  
 او شیئا یوم القیمه صدق رسول الله و صدق  
 حبیب الله معنی شریفی بود که الله اعلم و رسول تحقیق  
 بین حال حرام ایدرم مدینه مشرفه تک ایکی طاسلو بری  
 ما بیندینه آغاجی کسملدن دکن ذوق اولور و صید  
 قتل اولتمدن اول مدینه مشرفی کسه ترک ایتیه رغبتنا  
 اوزری الا حق تعالی حضرتی که آنند ذوق اعلی بدل  
 ویره و ذوقی برکته مدینه مشرفه تک صدق و تحقیق  
 اوزرینه ثابت اولماز لایبئ انما سفح اولورین و یجد  
 شاهد اولورین قیامت کوننده وینه مصابیح شریفه  
 ابو هریره رضی الله عنه حضرتند مروی حدیث شریف  
 مدینه مشرفه خلق ان اول بر صیحه کوزدری آئی  
 قو پاروب پیغمبر صلی الله تعالی علیه وسلم حضرتینه آیب کوزری  
 حضرت صلی الله تعالی علیه وسلم ذوق مبارک الیه الرب ایتیه  
 مروی حدیث شریف دیو کوز دعای اوزرینه او نور کوزری

دعا بود اللهم بارک لنا فی ثمننا و بارک لنا فی  
 صاعنا و بارک لنا فی ثمننا اللهم ان ابرهیم عبدک  
 و طیبک و نسیک و انی عبدک و نسیک و ان  
 دعاک ملکة و انا ادعونک للمدینة بمثل ما دعاک  
 ملکة معنی شریفی بود که الله اعلم و رسول  
 بارت برم یشتریک مبارک الیه و صاعزری بزه  
 مبارک الیه و نیدی بزه مبارک الیه صلح  
 و مذ بونر کیلر رور میوه پی بونر الیه صائر  
 بارت تحقیق ابرهیم سنگ فولکدر و خلیلکدر خلیل  
 دیک دوست دیکدر و پیغمبر کدر شداف سنگ  
 فولکدر و پیغمبر کدر نیم اول تحقیق سکا دعای ایدی  
 تک ایچون شداف سکا دعای ایدرم مدینه ایچون اول  
 سکا تک ایچون دعا ایدول کی حضرت پیغمبر صلی الله تعالی علیه  
 ذوقی بونر کی دعا ایدوب اندر صکره بران کوزچکن  
 او علاجی جیوزدی پس اول میوهی که ویدی  
 وینه مصابیح شریفه ابو سعید مروی حدیث شریف  
 واردر و اول حدیث شریف ذوق بود ان ابرهیم حریم  
 ملکة یحطها حرما و انی حرمت المدینة حرما ما بین  
 بار بینها ان یخراق فیها دم و لا یحتمل فیها سلاح  
 لقتال و لا یحتمل فیها شجرة الا لعلی معنی  
 شریفی بود که تحقیق ابرهیم عبد السلام ملکة مشرفی  
 حریم قدری شداف مدینه بی حریم ققدم ایچو جانانی ایتیه  
 قانر دوه کلدن و قتال ایچو اندر یان کوزر لینه  
 ذوقی آغاج پیغمبر صلی الله تعالی علیه وسلم طواره و بریکل ایچو  
 اولایک طواره و بریکل مراد ایدر نیجی آغاج ذوقینه

که بفرستی و گوید وینه مصباح تریزه سعد بن ابی قحطی  
 در وی حدیث شریف وارد اول حدیث تریف دنی بود  
 من اخذ احدا یصید فی قلیة سبکة معنی تریفی  
 بود که بگفته طوئنه مدینه منوره تک حرم تریفند  
 برینست که آن صیدایه پس آمدی اول طوئان کسسه  
 اول صناد و صونون یعنی اوزن از اولان اسپانی آسون  
 دیگر صحابه کرام دنی کنوز ما نرسد آنه او این تری  
 دنی بود حدیث تریف موجب طوب صویارادی  
 وینه مصباح تریزه مسطور حدیث تریف وارد  
 و اول حدیث تریف دنی بود از حضرت بقره تا کل  
 القی یقولون یشریب و هی المدینه تنفی ان تن  
 کما تنفی الکیه حیث اکتبید و قال ان الله تعالی  
 تنفی المدینه طایفه معنی تریفی بود که بن مأمور اولدم  
 بر کوبه کوی که ایله کوی که جمله کویلی پیسه ککدر  
 یعنی بر شخوه کوی که بن مأمور اولدم که اول شخر  
 جمله دنیا تک کوی تری و شخر لینی افتا و نحو ایله  
 بونه جوی معنی ویر مسطور و نه قدر معنی دنی ویر  
 صحیح وارد رستمی ترکیه دنی ویر فلان فلانی تریف  
 که غلبه ایدر دیگر عبارت را ایدی مدینه منوره  
 دنی قیامت که جمله و لا یتله غالب اولسه ککدر  
 حضرت عمر رضی الله عنه آنه مغربین مشرقه کک  
 جمله دنیایی ضبط ایدی و خلا دانی حضرت  
 تنک علیه وسلم تریف سادات سعادری ایله جمع  
 دنیا به غالب جمله عالم خاکه یوز سور که جاری  
 ویرد وینه حضرت صلی الله تنک علیه وسلم بیورد

اول

اول کوی تریف که اول مدینه در شرفها الله  
 تنک و دنی خلق کنایه کیدر کوی کک و مورک  
 چرکینی کیدر دوی کبی و تحقیق صحی تنک حضرت  
 مدینه منوره طایفه دیو ششمه بیور مسطور  
 یعنی طایفه دیو آد ویر مسطور طایفه دیک پاک و آری  
 و کوی چک فو خولو اولمق دیگر و امام نبوت علی  
 حضرت تریف جمع ابتدوی احادیث تریفه در جامع  
 مسطور ابن عمرو حروی حدیث تریف وارد  
 و اول حدیث تریف بود من زار قبری و حیث  
 شفاعت معنی تریفی بود که بر کسسه بم قبر می زیارت  
 ایسه بنم شفاعت که واجب اولور و دنی سینه  
 جامع الصغیره مسطور انش حضرت نردن حروی حدیث  
 تریف وارد اول حدیث تریف دنی بود من زارقی  
 بالمدینه فحسبنا کنت له شهیدا و شفیعاً یوم القیمة  
 معنی تریفی بود که بر کسسه نبی مدینه و جنبه زیارت  
 ایله آنکه شاهد و شفیع اولور و قیامت کون  
 اول تمام تریفه نقد دنی پنج احادیث تریفه وارد  
 کدی بو مختصره آنلاری ذکر نمک و کله اول تریف  
 قنانه عاشق و مشتاق اولند تنبع ایله سونلر  
 شرف المدینه المنوره نورا الله تنک یغورها  
 اولدی بطحا کبی دنی تریف  
 ذبلة ارض مشرقی و مغرب  
 طینی عنبره زر عتباری مسکن  
 خان پاک مغدسی طیب

فایده این کتاب است که در  
 بیان این کتاب است که در

اولیٰ جمیع الاراضی المقدسه  
 غصه و کشت و جانی ضرورت  
 اولدی بطلا و قدس و غیره بطوروتی  
 دیگر بکلیه مقدسات بود  
 بوز او پیشه کوکدن اینش بود  
 بونه اولمش در کتب مشران  
 اینجا جمله انه ایندی طهوره  
 جمله نورایت و حضرت قرآن  
 جمله انجیل و جمله ای ز بود  
 اول اول جلی بیکه بار اولوب  
 بعده اندن اولدی بکلیه مشهوره  
 سنی بایه لم اورایه وارنه کیم  
 بولله کو بیکه بول بولور بر مورده  
 یوقدر ز مورده کلون غیر تمس  
 اینتر صرف قوت مقدوره  
 مور کیمی بیاده جه کیمه لم  
 بزه بر بار اولور قیود سوره  
 افر مولایه امتثال ایله تم  
 یوقسه حجه و کلیموز ماموره  
 کیده ز ز بولکون یارن دیردن  
 براقه عمر ایله بیری مغروره  
 عاقبت موت چون مغرور  
 معنی ده اولمشه در اهل قنوره  
 داروب اول خاک بیکه بوز سوله لم  
 اینشه غر غر بزا ایندی مروره

اولیٰ جمعی سیدی انه پیغمبر  
 پنجه اولمز ز باری واجب  
 اولدر چنکه صاحب امت  
 بری کوریک کدر اول صاحب  
 یدی قات کوریکه که کلر بکن  
 اوره به وارمز ایت مذنبه  
 انه طوران و کلید اور سول  
 امتیه و کلید طالب  
 اینجا لم زیاده افعال  
 اولسون اول خاکه مهر عراب  
 نامر عاتق اولسون یا کوز  
 دعوی عشق جفسون کاذب  
 که سولیه محبت الیکیم  
 اول محبت بزی اولجا زین  
 قلیا لم زبان قرصی نوت  
 قصدر اولسون اول اولجا  
 کیم بکوز کیم زیارت ایلمدن  
 ناکهان بکون اوله وز غایب  
 روضه و بیته کندمز و اله لم  
 که وارمز و کاله نایب  
 سنت پاکه اتباع ایله تم  
 کیمیا لم خلاف اثر عقب  
 کربندان بولیکه باری خدا  
 بزی اول بزدون ایتیمه خایب

۲۶  
 کلامی ساجدین کلامی

باشند اول بوضع صفت اساده  
 رشک پند آبی کورنگه دینی خور  
 بر بیخون واروب آبی کور میلم  
 اوله تا کیم کنا مخر مغفور  
 او مزر آبی حقدن ایلمیه  
 اوره دن امت مخری دوره

الفتح قصه  
 خالایموند استیقا انما عن قریب بستر اولادین محمد بن ابی  
 آن میدانند با در علمنا حضرتتک جامع شریفک  
 بنای و جاوره در و آغا حضرتی بغیانة استیقا  
 بویا شریفه نه قدر مقید در و تعدد و بستر اولادین  
 پنجم صرف بتمشدر و الان دنی قدر اقدام و انما علی  
 وارد آنک تفصیل بیانده در

مشا رابیه آغا حضرتی حالا مستغول و لدوخی لازم  
 التکریم و التعظیم با دستاه هفت اقدم یعنی سلف  
 ابن السلف ابن السلف ابو جعفر ابن السلف احمد  
 ابن المرحوم السلف ابن المرحوم السلف ادرعا  
 ابن المرحوم السلف سید علی ابن المرحوم السلف سلطان  
 ابن المرحوم السلف سلطان ابن المرحوم السلف یزید  
 ابن المرحوم السلف ابو الفتح ابن المرحوم السلف یزید  
 ابن المرحوم السلف غاز خاوند کاکم ادرعا ابن المرحوم السلف ادرعا  
 ابن المرحوم السلف عثمان خان طالب شاه و نال شاه من  
 حضرتتک شریفه و سلفینده آت میدادیم و عرف  
 مبره ده بخوبی نقد نظر کابو اولاد خدایه اولاد  
 یکا و کن کز سینه سینه اسانه نباشرت اولاد  
 جامع شریفک بنای اوزره اولو ببعول الله تعا  
 بنای شریفی دنی قبه عالیسی علقه جیقوب ابجوخ  
 دنی قبه شریفه قائم در حق تکا حضرتی صحت و سلامت  
 الیه آئی دنی اقام ایتمک بستر الیه آمین یارب  
 العالمین آغا حضرتی سالف الذکر جامع شریفک  
 دسی ایچون تصویر ایندوکی اشکال

ابن المرحوم السلف ادرعا  
 ابن المرحوم السلف یزید

التفصیل

بود ایدریک منظوری اولمغین استیوایست  
 قصیده سنی دیک واقع اولوب رکاب همایون  
 رفع اولدوقده سعادتلوب پادشاه عالمیناه کمال مرتبه  
 مظلوم و مسرور اولوب مقابله سنده بچ لطف و  
 احسان ایلدی و اول قصیده استیوایست ذکر اولدور  
 هذه قصیده اساسیه  
 بی اوروب زر علم مکره جریخ دوارت  
 ایلدی قنده کرون پنه انوار اطلعات  
 شکل خراب صفا نشسته دوتوب قور قور  
 اولدی قندیل بچو میلده جهان جامع وارده  
 مخوفه جامع دهره ایکی شمع روشن  
 عالمه شوق ویزر طلعتله لیل و نهارت  
 طور موسی صند سیر اولدی وضع منبر  
 حضرت صفدن آیدر اندر تجلی انوارت  
 جای کوه بلند اولدی تحف مفضل  
 طایفه خورشید نس نبلل سخن کلزارت  
 کورینوب بوضوح خوله عالم خاکیم  
 جامع شاه جهان ز شیمی ایدی شطارت  
 سایه زرد و صمد حضرت سلطان احمد  
 صاحب هوش و جود سرد و عالمیناه  
 سیدیم عطف شاه فریدون حشمت  
 ماه خورشید صفت خورشید و قنار  
 صاحبینت و قلم ناصب ز انان علم  
 مالک خنده چشم کسری بهرام شکار

این قصیده  
 در وصف  
 حضرت  
 شاه جهان  
 است

کف

کف خسار انان دوزخ زان جان جهان  
 سیر شاهان کسان بهمن دوار ایگارت  
 قهر مان دهم و سلطان سلطان اعم  
 ز شمع عالم و کفر و یوسف دیدار  
 دل صدیق صداقت شه عثمان حیا  
 کی فاروق عدالت کرمند کرازه  
 طالب خیر وارث قصیده کند زور  
 داور خیدر تر سالک راه ابرار  
 کوزک اول شاه جهان کرم و خسان  
 وضع خیر انجمن آیدری بچر کشت و گذار  
 ویرینوب شاه کرم رفع غلالت رضا  
 اختیار ایدر کرم دفع اوله مسکن و دازه  
 وار ایدی شکرستان بولده بچ کلمه سزای  
 انش و جندک نوع ایدی کلمه ایدر بار  
 شکر آل علی برینی طوم شیدی پنه ری  
 سر کسر اولمشیدی زرقه بوسه اوکلارت  
 حضرت شاه جهان اولوب اللهم خدا  
 ایلدی عرصه آنده بچ خیر و اتار  
 باشلیدی پایمخم بر جامع بالا بلند  
 صورت ز شمع لطیفند قماشور انصار  
 نقشینه ایلش آرد تک رسون مالینی  
 چکری بهر او انک ز شمع صانکرم کار  
 جنت آسا بو مقام اولدی هوادار و لطیف  
 دیندیم آینی زیارتده نسیم انکار

جانب نبل در یادگی ات میدانی -  
 ماعدا برین معوره شهر و بازارت  
 جزوی بری دایم قلم و صکره بنه جامه غدا -  
 بایله آنچه محلات اوله اعلیٰ اعضا -  
 روز و شب هفتاد اولدی او بناه عالی -  
 حکم اقدام عظیم و زره امین و مغا -  
 اول سلیمان کسیدر جامی بیت المقدس -  
 که بنا سنده فرجه کی چوقدر بخار -  
 شوق قدر سرعت بنیادنه وارد اقدام -  
 همت سایه بخور کی یا عدی انجارت -  
 طور بدین چقد در روی زمینه علی -  
 با صبح استر عظیمه به پای دیوارت  
 اولیجی بو جلیسین سرعت و اقدام عظیم  
 ناگهان کلدی نام اولدی خون جبارت  
 جمله خلق اولدی صلاح جمله صلوات مشغول  
 بی نماز اولمخلد کدی جلالی ز کنا -  
 یا یقین قائله بان اولدی قوت ملکتنه  
 آنکچون دیدیشا نکه حق حاکمان  
 شو کنگله کو دیکدن دولت و دین و حکم  
 سز و قلدی سخا بان و قرال و قفارت  
 راضی شایه دینی کلمه ایسه یمانه -  
 جرم و غضباننه اینترسه اگر استغناء  
 او خیز عون خدا بیله کسوف کلمه سی  
 حرب تیغله آکا ایدره بجه سزارت

جمله بی

جمله بی سیفله سن عهدی سخا ایستدک  
 لایق اولدردی جینی اوله معبد سلیمان  
 سنه وصف اینه اولدی نوحه عظیم  
 لطفک قنقیسی ایلین عدو سماره  
 حسناتی قبی جوق سن شه صاحب خیرک  
 جمله سن قنده ایدر ضبط عقول و افکاره  
 لایق وصف بقا قدر که تا ازل اولد خزه  
 جعفر اولدور سه جناحیه جهان طیارت  
 حق قنده اولد بو صبر جمیع مقبول  
 دولت و سلطنتک دایم الی یوم قراره  
 عن قریب اولد مئینه انبیا تمام سخا  
 خلق عالم دینی بر امر که زمان بردار  
 تاج دولت علم هر کی با شکره  
 اولد لایق بنه کیم دور اینه صبر دوار  
 بو بنا بر عالی بناه شریف در که حضرت آدم صغی  
 صلوات الله علیه و سلانه دور زندن بوانه کلنج بونله  
 دینی بر عالی و حکم بنا بنیاد اولتمش و کلدر  
 جامع شریف و خرم لطیف بر سره دردی نیاد ما فی ناله  
 بونله بد نظر صهی بریدنی یوقدر اتی مساده  
 وارد و اول اولد درت شرفه اتفاقا سعاد تلو  
 پادشاه ایلد ابا و عظام اجداد کرام لرندن بوانه کلنج  
 واقع اولان پادشاهن عددن مطابوع واقع اولد  
 و بو بنا بر بناه عظیم و ما غله اتی باشه بر فصل  
 کتور دک استجموع شریف نیجه بناه عظیم اولد  
 اساسی و بناسی نیجه مستحکم وضع اولدوغی

اتی سازه اولون دور شوق اولدور اولدور  
 اتی سازه اولون دور شوق اولدور اولدور

توصیف ممکن اولماغله آنی بیان ایلدک  
 حقیقت ایله آنی بلک دراد ایدینن اولاعلم  
 بندسه ده غایت ایلدماهر و حازق الوب  
 اندنکله نچایام و شهور و نیچه اعوام و ده یوز  
 اوزینه واروب مطالعه ایلد و توروب رشوم  
 و زقوم تشبیه سی نه اشکال و نه کونه احوال اوزده  
 وضع اولدوغنی اذعان ایتمک کدر و دخی  
 بوجام سرفیک اوصافه حقیقت ایلد مطلع اولم  
 درادیندر رشوم مضموره و زقوم مقدره سی ایله  
 بناه شریف و طرز لطیفک و ضمیمه بهاریه نامه  
 انشاء و انشاء ایلدکم تشمس عدیبتی مشتمل اولان  
 قصیده نه دخی نظر مطالعه ایلسون کورسون که  
 اول مقام دلگشا و مکان فرخ فرامنه دور لو اشکال  
 و نونه احوال خیره اوزده وضع المونسدر و هموناقبانه  
 بو محله گل میسر اولدقه بوضاهر کله کله واروب  
 آغا حضرتی کوره یه حال دخی نه نخل اوزده دز که  
 بلکه بوجام سرفیه متعلق دخی برسنه ظهور ایلد  
 ظهور ایلدسی آنی دخی بومناقبانه ایچر یاز ایلد دیو  
 بومناظره ایلد واروب آنی زیارت ایلد و کله کورس که  
 ذراون جامع جدید سرفیک تاذروانی اوکنه مجاده  
 دوشینو قوش فاما مجاده اوزرینه اوتورما یوب مجاده  
 همان آت ملاحظه ایلد ب تواضعاً و متضاماً  
 لایق ایلدنه برقد بجز پرده اوتورمش صاخ الذنه  
 شیخ و ضوال الذنه آرسون صاخ ایلد طور ایدین  
 شیخی جویوب هر دانی دور ایلدک اشهد

آن

ان لا اله الا الله و الحمد لله و الله اعلم و رسوله  
 سبحان الله و الحمد لله و لا اله الا الله و الله اعلم و رسوله  
 بونی و زده ایدینش اوتور و کاه و بیگانه اطرافنه  
 نظر ایلد ب اجمال اوزده اولان استاده اشکک  
 دیو ضوال الذنه اولان ذریع ایلد اشارت ایلد بوقیم  
 دخی بویله شتغالنی مشابه ایلد بک کندی کندی  
 ایشتم اوزد شریفه سنی اقام ایلسون آندر صکر  
 واروب ملاقات اولوب سرفا و ایلد دیو سکر  
 ایلد ب و آن بر شفا و ایلد اوتور ب بو ائنه کور کور  
 علم موسیقی یه غارف بر عزیز بناه سرفی سرفی بقیله  
 قار شودن حقیقه کلوب بناکنک بعضی بر لیلی سیر  
 ایلد ایلد کلوب ستر احتیاجون یا نده اوتور بون  
 اولدق آغا حضرتیک تقدیر نظر ایلد ب بوزرته  
 نیز اوزدنه مقید اولدوغنه و هم استاده اقدام  
 و ابرام ایلد و کنه تجلی ایلدی حقیقه دخی بومناقب  
 آغا حضرتی عجز اوغلانی ایکن سازده اجر اولان  
 علم موسیقی هوس ایلد ب بعده دونا کوروب  
 اولدق ایلی کوره سید فارغ اولوب و شیخی اولان  
 عزیزکن خیر دعای ایلد صد فکارق و معمار لوح  
 صنعتلرینه واردوغنی نقل ایلد بک عزیز بوزر  
 همان بستی قالدور ب بوزر دیکه الحمد لله شفا  
 آغا حضرتی حاله سعاده و اصل اولمدر  
 سدی ضلای اذکار و توحید ایچنه علم موسیقی  
 مشابه ایلد بود کورسون کورسون کورسون کورسون  
 الله تعالی جل جلاله و هم نوال حضرتلرینه راجع ضمیر

غائب و ذکر خواص اولاد و ایلدینچی ذکر شریف  
 ایدر صوفیه و ذاکر حالت وجد و کرمیت کلوب  
 سماع اینه کلری صدای غیبی ایلدینچونان در دردن  
 ایلد صد کلور و آغا حضرتی بونه بر شیخ کبیر  
 زیرا هم استاد ایشک دیوار ایدر و هم یسه  
 شیبی الله الوب کند و دخی اورد اذکار شریف  
 مقید رسالت کویا شاه حضرت یک بود و لیدر که  
 بویلر دینار عمار آغایه ناک و مستدر و بویلر دینار  
 آغا جامع شریفی توحید و اذکار ایلد بنا ایدر  
 مقید آغا حضرتی علم موسیقی به بنوش ایشک دیو  
 نقل ایدینور خالا بوجامع شریف با سینه بز  
 علم موسیقی بالتمام مشاهده ایلدک ندی بناشی  
 سیر ایدر ایلر اولد ایلک جنس خرد مشاهد ایلدیم  
 بر خرد بر دوز لوسه ابر کونه مقام حال اولور اولی  
 جنس خرد صد اینه غیبی ایلد اول ایلک مقام ایلدیم  
 و استاد ک بعضی کولنگی قالی باب یاب او زر  
 آنک برده می نگاه کبیر و بعضی آندره دخی زبانه جاورد  
 آنک برده می نگاه کبیر و بعضی آندره دخی زبانه جاورد  
 آنک برده می نگاه کبیر و بعضی آندره دخی زبانه جاورد  
 ایوج اولد آنک برده می نگاه کبیر دورت  
 شعبی دخی آندره مشاهده ایلدیم و جامع شریف بناس  
 سیر ایدر ایلک بدی نغمه مند راست کلام آتار دخی  
 هر بری بگونه صوت و صد ایلد استاد بره آنکلور  
 دیولورادینا بنالی طولا سوب تنیه ایدر آتار ک  
 صوت لر دخی بی بی آواز می مشاهده ایلدیم و بو

اول

اولد ایلک جنس خرد اولد نصیم اولمخ وار و سکر  
 یئر برد ایل اولمخ واردر هر بر نه بر دور لوسوت  
 و صد اورد بری دورت حرکت کرمی دخی آندره مشاهده  
 ایلدیم استودرا ایدر کم اصول جلدی علم موسیقی  
 و کلیدر دیو عزیز مزبور خصوص دخی بوج  
 اوزره تحقیق ایدوب اندر فکله سلا ملیوت ه  
 چیتوب کندی کند و کند فکله فقیرینه آندره آغا  
 ایلد ملاقاته ترقف ایچون قلوب بوانتاده استکلر  
 دخی اول کون خرد اذکار غیبی بوش ایدوب یعنی  
 کون کلر غیبی ایلد او بوش با سینه قویوب و بلکه  
 چیتوب کبیر و بقیه آغا حضرتی ایلد همان یا کلور  
 قلوب اندر فکله یاب یاب مصاحبت و مکالمه چاقو  
 و معامله به شروع اولد فکله کور دیکه خاطر شریف  
 بر مقدار انقباض و بحضوری و اسببیدن سوال  
 ایدر کله آغا حضرتی بوردیر که بنی جعفر افندی طبع  
 بچه بحضور و انقباض اوزره اولسون کور سیر که  
 بونک کی بر آغیر با سیر یونکی اوزریده دریا کلور  
 بو اولسه اورد و اذکار ایلد اوزرینه اولوب  
 عشرت جملر ایدی اما بونسا سیر بند غیر دخی  
 بچریده برکنده اینه واردر هر بر سیر اوزرینه وارده  
 تعقیب ایتک لازم کلور آتار و اریوب تعقیب اولما بچی  
 اولماز ایدی خاطر بچریده انقباض و بحضوری مشاهده  
 اولد و غنک صاحب بودر و هم اول برکنده اولان  
 ایندیک دخی افکارنده ایم دیو جواب ایدر  
 الواقع فقیر دخی ملاحظه ایدوب مشغول اولدو دخی

برکنه اینی سنی عذایوب انصاف ایلم بوحصابت  
آنسانه یدیه برکتب شریف کورویانی المودن آوب  
بوس ایوب نفاؤلا آوب بنه یدیه و یوب شوکتب  
شریفه نفاؤله راست کلان معنای شریفی بکاف نقل آید  
دیو جواب ایوب حقیق دنی مجله نظر ایوب کورم  
که نفاؤلنده بوحصیت شریف واقع اولمش اول  
حدیت شریف دنی بود که ذکر اول نور بونی  
برجل یوم القیمة عند المیزان فیخرج له  
سبع و تسعون سجلا کل سجلا مد البصر فیها  
خطایاه و ذنوبه فیوضع فی کفة المیزان  
ثم ینزل فیها مثل الأثقال فیها شحاکه  
ان لا اله الا الله وان محمد عبده ورسوله فیوضع  
فی کفة اخری فیخرج علی خطایاه صدق رسول الله وصدق  
جیب معنای شریفی بود که الله تعالی علم ورسوله قیامت  
کونده برجل یعنی بر میزان قیامت کتور دله پس کوز  
ایری قدر او زود طعنته زکناهی سبلی چهار یله  
یعنی اول سبلی اچنده اول کسبک کنایه ی بازلمش  
پس بوسبلی ترازومک ترازومک کف سه قونله بولم  
برخی اوهی قدر کاغذ چهار یله آنک اچنده یاز  
اشهد ان لا اله الا الله واشهد ان محمدا  
عبده ورسوله بوحصابت کلمه شریفی اچنده اول  
کاغذ دنی ترازومک اول بریانی کف سه قونله پس  
ایدی بوحصابت کلمه شریفی اچنده اول بریانی  
قدر کاغذ شریف کنایه ی سبلی کف سه قونله  
راخ کلمه و آثاره آخراوله بوحصیت شریفه

معنای لطیفی آخا حضرت بنه بوجه اوزره نقل آید  
قال عینی الیه تراوی اوزره واقع حسی علی اولمخین  
برر تبه ده مخطوط اولوب صفا الیدیکه تعبیری  
قابل ذکر نیست بوصفا الید فقیرک الله یا ینوب  
بناء شریفه کندویه مخصوصه اولان اوده سه  
آوب کیدوب واروب ایچر کیدوب کیدوب کیدوب  
جیبند و بیش تحت سنه بولان جمله حاضر تعبیری  
فقیره عطا قلوب و اول احسان بنه خانه ده کباب  
ایچکون باجی رتوج زبان دنی ارسال ایوب بوقدر  
عنایم الید تعظیم و کرم برله خیره کوند کیدوب  
باچکله منوال مزبور اوزره احسانیه مظهر دوست  
دو اوهی خانه به کلمه رساله امانه مباشرت ایوب  
و غیره زبردنی وجه شرح اوزره جامع ترین بقا  
اوه ایچینس مرمر ساهه ایلم دیمش اولمخین  
لازم کلدیکه مرمری دنی نتج ایوب مرمر جنسک  
انواعی و هر نوعنک رنگنی بیان ایتم و آثار دنی  
بوساقبانه ده مرمر ایلم کلدیکه مرمر کت  
تفصیله مرمر دیکه ی طاس جنسک اوزره حال کوسیدر  
زیرا طاسک عکس یعنی کزیده و ایوسنه جوهر  
دیرر و اونیسه یعنی آسانه حال کوسنه قره طاس  
دوره مرمر دیرر بلبلو به جوهر اونه ایکی نوع ذر  
و بلبلو به مرمر دنی اونه ایکی نوع در و بلبلو به  
قره مرمر دنی اونه ایکی نوع در بولارک هر برینک دنی  
حزوه و ات نیچه انواعی وارد آثار نادر ذرا اولان  
اولا آشیانی بیان اجمه نکند فایده سی وارد تطویل

لازم کلدور بودید و کز او ج جنس کلدور که وارد  
 اکرام جومر واکر ساده و جومر دار زتر واکر قره  
 جگر اولی یکی نوع اوزرینه اولمغه باعث بود که  
 ذاتری بری برینه مغیر در کیمیسی پکدر و کیمیسی  
 یونشقدر و بعضیسی در فی خلق ایچمه قمتلو در  
 و عزیز و خرتلو در و بعضیسی معتبر اولمبوب  
 قمتلو در و ذاتری برینه مغیر اولو در کیمی کونی  
 دنی برینه مغیر و ختندر و ذاترین قطع نظر اولمبارک  
 چو جی دنی کونی اعتباری ایله مقبول اولور ایچی بولارک  
 بر قبولیتی کونی اعتباری ایله اولیجی لازم کلدوریکه  
 اولاً التانک انواجی بیان اولنه یزین بویله اولیجی  
 جمله الوان تشیح اولوزب بلو بیلونون کیمی غری ده  
 و فارسیه و ترکیه تعیین اسلمن وارد رانجی ده  
 یدی کون بولندی انبارکن سبب اولو لغت اوزر  
 تفضیل بود که کون الوان عربیدر فارسیه رنگ ترکیه  
 طون دیر سیاض ایضین تشیح ایض عربیدر فارسیه بیغیدر  
 و ترکیه آج دیر اسود سقا اسود عربیدر فارسیه  
 سبانه و برینه ترکیه قاره و قره دیر ازرق و زرق  
 درون اکب کلبه عربیدر فارسیه کبود  
 و آسمانی ترکیه کونک و مانی دیر مانی دیر  
 دنی اسانیدن غلط در اخضر خضر  
 خضر عربیدر فارسیه سبز ترکیه نیل  
 دیر ازخمر خمر عربیدر فارسیه  
 سبغ و سزری ترکیه قرزل و قرمزی دیر  
 اخضر خضر آخضر عربیدر فارسیه زرد ترکیه خاوه دیر

ایله خ یلقه دنی عربیدر فارسیه رنگ سبز ترکیه آج  
 دیر اسود کونک و وجه اوزره جمله رنگ اولمبارک  
 پدیدر غلی و فارسی و ترکیه بونلارک هر رنگ  
 آدی وارور بونلارک غیری رنگلرک بواجی دله  
 آدری یوقدر زیرا انبارینه بونلارک اولمبارک  
 اولمشدر مونی ایله قرمزیدن کتدر موز رنگی  
 بنفش رنگنه اوزیر مشر لسان عربده بنفش  
 دیر و نغی دنی قوی مانی ایله نیل دیر کتدر  
 و غیره دنی قول ایچ اولم اعتباری ایله شکورک  
 رنگرینه مشابه اولمغه قنغی شکورده مشابه  
 اول شکورده بنسبت ابتدا مثلاً شمعی قرمزی  
 رنگنه بنه قجاج قرمزی وارور مشول قرمزی که اوزر  
 مشابه اگر اوزر مشول قرمزی که کمل رنگنه  
 مشابه در آنکه کلکونی دیر و سایر دنی بولم  
 کوره در برینه مشابه اولیجی اول رنگی اولمش  
 نسبتاً ابتدا در نیل رنگنه کتدر قجاج دورلو  
 نیل واردر کیمه آج نیل دیر کیمه چینی دیر  
 و قس علی بن علی و سقا و بیان قتلند بیاض ایله  
 سبانه بری برینه خند در ضوق استیجاغه خند اولو  
 کیمی ما کون ایله نیل و قرزل و صاری لونر عقلا برینه  
 خند در کیم و اما صید و کلدور و هم اعتباری ایله  
 سبیه تا مثل قبیلند در و عسدر بیغ بلکه بری برینه کتدر  
 دیکدر و الوان زبوره نکات و هله دنی اعتباری  
 واردر لونشده مبالغه ترا اولمش غیری الفاظ  
 دنی انظاره حتم اولمور مثلاً شمعی بیاض رنگنه

زیاده لی مراد اولنسه عریبه ایضاً یقیناً و یقیناً و یقیناً  
 فارسیه سخت سپید ترکیه آن یاقوت دیرل و زیاده  
 قره در دیک مراد ایدنسه لسان عریبه اسود  
 عربیت و مجوم و خاکک فارسیه سخت سیاه  
 ترکیه قنبره دیرل و زیاده صاری دیک مراد اولنسه  
 لسان عریبه اصغر قانع فارسیه سخت زرد ترکیه  
 صابضاری دیرل و زیاده قرزی دیک مراد ایدنسه  
 عریبه اصغر قانع فارسیه سخت سبز ترکیه قنبرل  
 دیرل و زیاده بشل دیک مراد ایدنسه عریبه اصغر  
 اصغر فارسیه سخت سبز ترکیه یقیناً دیرل  
 و زیاده کوک دیک مراد ایدنسه عریبه اصغر  
 اصغر فارسیه سخت کبود ترکیه کوک دیرل  
 ملوک ایدی اولن نوع جوهر ک سیاه سیاه نکنده  
 ایلی نوع جوهر وافر اولکسه سالمور در سامور  
 و الماس و ماس در لغت و جمله سی عریبه فارسیه  
 و ترکیه و قی الماس بله ایکیجیسین بلور در بانک سری  
 و لامین فخی ایله عریبه فارسیه و ترکیه بلور دیرل  
 بانک سری و لامین فخی ایله سیاه نکنده جوهر بودر  
 زبراجوهری حق تکلف تری لسانه زینت بچون خلق  
 ایله سیاه ایسه زینت بودر نک اول سیاه حدیثه  
 زینت هاجنک کندو جسم شریفه بولنه سیاه زلف  
 و سیاه چشم و پره جوده کبی و کوک نکنده ایلی نوع  
 جوهر وافر اولکسه فیروزه در فارسیه و ترکیه  
 پیروزه دیرل عریبه و فیروزه دن معربا و مند  
 ایکیجیسے باقوت از در فارسیه باقوت کبود ترکیه

کوک

کوک باقوت دیرل و یقیناً نکنده و فی ایلی نوع جوهر  
 وافر اولکسه زرد در فارسیه و ترکیه و فی زرد  
 دیرل ایکیجیسے زرد در عریبه فارسی و ترکیه زرد  
 دیرل و قرزی نکنده و فی دورت نوع جوهر وافر  
 اولکسه لعل در عریبه فارسی و ترکیه لعل دیرل  
 ایکیجیسے باقوت اصغر در فارسیه باقوت سبز ترکیه  
 قرز باقوت دیرل ایکیجیسے عقیق در دیکجیسے قرخان  
 عریبه و فارسیه و ترکیه و فی عقیق و در جان دیرل  
 و صاری نکنده ایلی نوع جوهر وافر اولکسه باقوت اصغر  
 فارسیه باقوت زرد ترکیه صاری باقوت دیرل  
 ایکیجیسے کهربا در کهربا فارسیه لسان عریبه کهربان  
 دیرل کهربان فارسیه معربا و لند ترکیه کهربا  
 و کهربان دن غلط ایدوب کهربا زرد لسان فارسیه  
 بو کربا لفظ کاه ایله لفظ زبادن ترکیه و لند  
 کاه خان و زبا قنبره دیک ترکیه و لند کاه خان قنبره  
 اولور کاه مذابله و کاه مذابله فی جایز در راه معنی  
 کاهیر با و کهربا و پاره نو و نو دیرل نظر  
 باقوت اصغر شکر و صغر پیروزه الماس بلور مستد  
 بهتم عقیق و بیس کوبانیت لعل و زرد در جان زرد  
 اصل اولان الوان بوندر غیر بونلان تابع شکر استعدیا  
 سنیلان دیکلری نور نکنده در مورایه یو عاروه  
 کجروکی اوزنه مانی ایله قرزیدر مرکب در بعضی سیاه  
 و فی وافر که رنگلری بعضی کاهن زرد نکنه بگزر آنک کبی  
 آجید رنگلری تا به اولان کاهن نسبت اولوند  
 الماسی و قرزیدر عقیق دیرل و صابضاری و باجکری

مستطاب  
 مستطاب  
 مستطاب





بیانه سنگ فوشنی مگر سینه اش زنده فوشانی ریاضه احمد مختار  
 یکی ریاضه بود که کردی ز کمر کوبی آبی دلی بعضی صنوبر ناره  
 اوز را و اوق حرم پاک نام فرزند سحاب سغب فلک کبی و کوهی آرد  
 جیاه ز عربی که در اوقدین اچسوز که راه حقه سبیل و کربن بیکی ناره  
 قارالی کعبه پیراب ز لیم فوشن قرار باغلی اچما و اتری ز انظاره  
 علی که و ام آوش که در زهره در سیمی بو تک کی حسنا نیت و آرو همد شاره  
 او جاب سکا بی سینه کلش در شکوفه و در عاچم هزار بار هزاره  
 بو تکیم باکی کورن همی غر غر صنوبر که نور بنفش صوفه که زینتی طوماره  
 بو غر غر در بل سیم معلقه در قلاوه شکلی اولور دره لوله شواره  
 بواتی حروف که می ترکید تا کونیم صبا او کلشین طلیحانی ایتدی نشاره  
 بهار کلشینه کسسه بود و تی و به قلم لان که بر کار کبی جزوی کناره  
 بو و صفه که سینه در حروف و آرسون فضای کلشند یا بند کوهی خاص خاره  
 بنا باکی شوه کلوم قرع اولشند کمال وصفه قادر سید مکر اشعاره  
 بهار فصله جعفر بو کلوش شریو که آتسوسه عالم کلای سست کلناره  
 او با و شاه کزینه دمی دعا ایدولم خلوص قلیله امین و سوسه صفا و کباده  
 موی آتسوی خضری کبی یاربت رجال عیبی سلطان ایلکل سن یاره  
 عذاب قره اعداسین اکل مقلود وجود ویرمه انکد شمیمه سن اچما ره  
 ندانم شاه و توفیق او لب توی انان سیدی حریفی بل نالش ایلک کفاره  
 او لب طغر و منصور و عالی غایم اظالمیر سن اول یا معین و با جیاه  
 مقیر که جمله مراد و مقصودن یکی جهان اول سلطان ایل بر خور داره  
 بقا بو لجه بو عالم جهانه صانع اولون بود در عالمیز العینی و الا کاره  
 ولی کشاده اول اغیبه شگفته کبی بو باغ عالمی خورشید ایدیک کوهی  
 بهار شکلی تر و تازه کل کبی خندان  
 جهان نیکو دلا افسوس رحمة کلزاره

در هیچ وقت  
 ذراعی وعده ذراعی موری فوج بر من در و بر من  
 بچه اعتبار بو تندر و بنا ذراعی بکون و دوت بر من  
 اوزره وضع اولدوغنه باعث ندر وعده ذراعی یوز  
 بر من اولد با و تونز ایل کره اوزرینه وضع اولدوغنه  
 سینه زانک بانه در ذراع عید فارسیه اندازه و زانک  
 آرسون دیر ایشیح عیدر فارسیه انکست ترکیه بر من  
 دیر ایشیح عیدر فارسیه انکست بزوزن ترکیه  
 بیوک بر من دیر ایشیح عیدر فارسیه هر انکست  
 ترکیه بر من اوی دیر ایشیح عیدر فارسیه هر انکست  
 ترکیه بوخون دیر کلک ایدی آرسون بیان آرسون  
 ایل دور دور در و فو لوس بنا آرسونیدر ایلکی فام  
 آرسونیدر یعنی بنا اود غیر خلق عالمک داعیدر بنا  
 ذراعی بکون دوت بوغوندر که عیدر  
 فارسیه بندر انکست بزوزن ترکیه بیوک بر من کل  
 باش بوغنی دیر ایشیح عیدر بوغون دوق این بچن  
 بر مقدر بوغنی دید و مکر شهادت بر معنی سینه  
 اوزرینه یا تو یا قدر در سن ذراع یا ننه نه قدر و زانک  
 قانلی و ارایسه علم حسابن اولدوره بر من دیر  
 و هر بر من اون ایلکدر اوزن ایلک صراوردی بان  
 یا ننه دو شمشیر لوجی و اول هر ایلک یوز عدد اوز کلن  
 بلندن بو کلش اول ایلک قدر در بوغنی حشا اید  
 بنا ذراع کابل انش بر من ذرا ما بوغون اعتبار ایل  
 بکون دوت بوغوندر و هر بوغون ایل بچن بر مقدر  
 لاسمیری بنا طائسه بوغون احتمال اتمزار بر من دیر

ذراع





معنی بود که بر کرده معتبر اولاً میل کوز کوز به سنگ  
 غایتی در شرح دمی اوج میل در بعضی اوج کوزای غیر قدری  
 برید و پدید فارسیه دوازده میل و ترکیه او را که میل  
 بر در شرح اعتباری ایل دورت شرح اولور آدم عتباری  
 ایل بر برید قریب سکر یکم اولور و این اعتباری  
 بر برید یوز قریب دورت یکم ایل اولور  
 شبهه عربید فارسیه بدست ترکیه فارسی در ر  
 ذراع عربید فارسیه و این و این ترکیه در سکر قول  
 در اول اول ذراع یونان در سکر در این اوج و این  
 اولاً یکم ایل اولور ایش و اول یکم ترکیه ذراع در لایس  
 و اول یکم دمی ذراع در لایس منکر بوبنا و عتبار ذراع  
 دمی وضع اول نقد بونان بیل ذراع و بیدر و الا  
 او یکم لسان عربی ذراع در لایس ایدر بوند معلوم  
 اول یکم بونا و عتبار ذراع در لایس عربید در سکر قول  
 معنای اول ذراع در لایس ایش و آرسون دمی ایش  
 این در غلط فارسیه ایش الفک فتحی و اول یکم ترکیه  
 ایل قول و لکن معنای در این بود یکم ترکیه یکم  
 بود در لایس ایش ایش این در لایس ایش ایش  
 و زنی اوزره او مقدر ایسه اصلی اوزره آرسون آمین  
 و زنی اوزره و یکم ایل در غلط شهری اختیار این  
 اوزره و زنی اوزره آرسون ایشون اصله ایش  
 این آمین و آمین و زنی اوزره آرسون ایشون ایشون  
 ذراع قول و در سکر معنای اول ذراع در لایس ایشون  
 فارسیه قول و یکم بونان اول ایشون ایشون ایشون  
 اما فارسیه اول اندازه و کوز سکر انان ایشون ایشون ایشون

ایم

ایم

سوره بلد و کی قدره و ذی ذوم و در غرستانه فد آن  
 و بکلای ذی موعنا به در زرافدان قوسلشن رجفت  
 او کوزه در بر بر کونن هره قدره بر سوره بیورس  
 اولقدر بره و ذی فد آن در بر و فارسیه فد آنک معنانه  
 یک چفت کاو در رختا رختا خفا خفا العذآن هی البقر الیه  
 حوث و ابیح العذایذ یعنی فد آن سول صغور که  
 چفت سوره و یکله اما علم حساب و علم هندسه بودوم  
 مساحه طریقی ایله اعتبار اولمشدر و اول مساحه طریقی  
 اولان دوئم اوج قسم اوزینه تقسیم اولمشدر اولکی  
 قسم سازه اعنک سطر خلیسه ایله یکلیکیوز یکریس  
 ذراع اولمشدر و اینکچ قسم اولکی یک برل بس ذراع  
 اولمشدر و اوجی قسم اوج یکلیکیوز ذراع اولمش  
 کدر بونلارک تقصیل اونیج فصله بیان اولمش  
 دره و حشاره عریدر فارسیه یند مشاره و حشاره  
 ترکیه اولمش و قاریه درله یند بو معنایه عربستانه  
 و عدله ذی بعضی یازنه حج در بر چفتی خم اگر ایکن  
 اللله خم اریچنگ یقدر بر جزئی اوزر اندر صلح  
 اولچدی یند کوزه ترکیلی جزئی جز با یوسب شیخ ضابطه  
 بتلر ایچی اول جزیکلر سنه اولان باه رک مره پناه  
 اولمش در علم اول مره باه یی حخته ایله نعبه ایدر  
 ترکیه ذلی بعضیسه اگر حخته اطلاق ایدر حشیه  
 عریدر فارسیه جوب ترکیه جیب در بر آیش  
 و علامت عریدر فارسیه نشان ترکیه خنده در بر  
 سکلر رسته بلورنر یعنی نشان سز اول سنده یند  
 فتح اولمش در اول سنده سولی چند بیور و پوز

قغیر

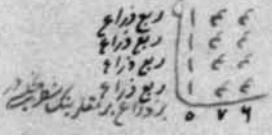
قغیر قغیران اقغیره عریدر فارسیه بیان ترکیه اولچکن  
 در بر قغیر را اولچکن قغیران و اقغیره قغیر ک عریدر اولچکن  
 و یکدر و قغیر کدوس کز یکلیان در کذ آن یختر الصبح  
 کیله و کیل و یکلیان عریدر فارسیه بیان ترکیه  
 اولچکن در رختا رختا حصاره و الهم الکلیله بالکسر تعال  
 انه طمس الکلیله کالجلت و الکیته معنای کیله کافک  
 کسیر یا یله جلسته و ترکیه کبیر و یکدر  
 قغیرن بونه بیان را بودر که علم هندسه بونقیه  
 نشان معنایه کله کدر  
 شعیره و شعیر و شعیرات شعیره عریدر  
 فارسیه یکلر جو ترکیه برار شعیره عریدر فارسیه  
 جو ترکیه آره شعار و شعیرت ذلی عریدر بونلر جمع  
 فارسیه جودا ترکیه اریچر و یکدر بونشعیرن ذلی  
 بونه ذراجه تک اصل بودر که بونشعیره علم هندسه  
 جیب معنایه رغان اولان علم هندسه کتا برده دوئم  
 اولاجن برده جریب و نشان اولاجن برده قغیر  
 و جیب اولاجن برده شعیره دیو استعمال ایشلدر  
 و کیله ذلی قغیر اعتبار یا ایله ذرا اولمشدر  
 او شیخ فصل  
 علم هندسه متصاحب وضع اولان دوئمک و جیبک  
 و نشانک تقصیل بیاننده دوئم ذلی پنج اوج و طر اوزر  
 اعتبار اولمشدر و اوج وجه اوزر اعتبار اولمشدر  
 باعث ندر دهر وجهی بنا ذرا ایله قاریه ذرا عدرا تک  
 کلدر ایچن دوئم احواله دوئم اوج وجه اوزر یند  
 اولکی وجه بودر که بنا ذرا ایله اوزر سن ذراع بقدر ای

اوتزنی اوله برایی اون قاشا کیم که مرقاتی بنا  
 ذراع ایله اوله بچوق ذراع اوله اول اوله بچوق  
 ذراع اوله بقاشه بر جیبی و بر اول چبج ایله طولاً  
 اون جیبی و عرضاً دوق اون جیبی اوله جیبی و اولی  
 اوله ضرب ایله بر جیبی اول ضرب دوق جیبی حسابی  
 شرط جیبی ایله یوز جیبی حاصل اولور و یوز جیبی  
 بر اوله جیبی بر بنه دیر بنه بر سادی بو اعتبار  
 اوزره یوز دوقم یوز جیبی شرط جیبی ایله یوز جیبی ایتدی  
 و بنا و ذراعک شرط جیبی ایله دوقی بیکل یوز بیکر  
 ذراع ایله بیکل یوز بیکر بنش ذراع اوله دوقم  
 ارض قیتم اولور و بر رده اعتبار اولور و یوز جیبی  
 اوله دوقم ایشا بنوله و ایشا بنول قیتمه واقع اولور  
 مستطیلر و یوز دوقم اوله یوز جیبی بنا و ذراعک  
 شرط جیبی ایله اوله ایکی ذراع و ربع ذراع ایله ربع  
 ذراع و یک ذراعک دورت حصه سندن بر حصه  
 که اول بنا و ذراعک حصه نصبه یعنی اوله ایکی بر مثنی  
 اوله ایکی بر مثنی ضرب ایشا حاصل اولور و بر ایشا  
 بنا و ذراعک بیکر دورت بر مثنی وارد بیکر دورت بر مثنی  
 بیکر دورت بر مثنی ضرب ایچک ربع شرط جیبی ایله  
 بشیر زشمش آتی بر مثنی ایله یوز جیبی ایشا بیکر  
 دورت بر مثنی ایشا بیکر بوشیر زشمش آتی بر مثنی  
 دورت حصه بر تقسیم ایچک بر حصه سی یوز قریح

دورت بر مثنی ایله بر و نصف ذراعی نصف  
 یعنی اوله ایکی بر مثنی اوله ایکی بر مثنی  
 دورت یوز قریح دورت جلا بر قبیل حیا اوله جیبی

بشیر

بشیر زشمش آتی اولور صورت بودر که ذرا اولور



بیکر که طولاً بر ذراع و عرضاً دوق بر ذراع اوله ایله  
 اول بر بنه ذراعک ربع حسابی ایله طولاً بیکر  
 دورت بر مثنی و عرضاً دوق بیکر دورت بر مثنی  
 ایله بر سادی بر مثنی شرط جیبی ایله اول بر ذراع اوله  
 بیکر مثنی بیکر مراد ایشا بیکر دورت بر مثنی  
 بیکر دورت ضرب ایله بر سادی ایشا بیکر  
 دورت بر مثنی ایشا بیکر بشیر زشمش آتی بر مثنی  
 حاصل اولور ایله بیکر بیکر بر ذراع دوق ربع یعنی  
 دورت حصه دوق حصه جیبی لازم کلجک بر دوق حصه  
 اول بر طولاً نصف ذراع و عرضاً دوق نصف ذراع اوله  
 یعنی طولاً اوله ایکی بر مثنی و عرضاً دوق اوله ایکی بر مثنی  
 اوله کلر صورتی بودر که ذرا اولور

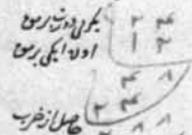
بشیر زشمش آتی

بشیر زشمش آتی

بشیر زشمش آتی ایله بر مثنی ایله بر مثنی  
 اوله ایکی بر مثنی اوله ایکی بر مثنی  
 دورت یوز قریح دورت جلا بر قبیل حیا اوله جیبی

چینی نه اون چینه ضرب ایدرسن چینگک شطریه ایله  
 یوز جیب حاصل اولور نوک دخی بر اون چینه بر نشا  
 دیرسن و یوز جیب اون نشان اولور و یوز نشا  
 دخی کال بر دویم اولور و بودجه اوزرینه چینگک  
 شطریه دیو کزکی یوز جیب اولور فاما بناه ذراعتک  
 شطریه ایله ایکی یکت کیری بس ذراع اولور و یوز ایکی  
 کیری بس ذراع اولان دویم استا نول و نه بر  
 مقدار ایداق اولان بعض برده مستعمله اشافا  
 دوم ایلی و جیره کرسی و بوا ایلی وجه اوزرینه  
 اولان دویم چینگک هر جیبی بناه ذراعک شطریه  
 ایله کیری ذراع و ربع ذراع ایدر وجه اوله تفصیل اولدو  
 کبی و یوز نه اولان نشانک هر بر نشانی دخی بناه  
 ذراعک شطریه ایله ایکیوز ایکی پنجوق ذراع ایدر  
 و دو تک اوچ و چهندن او چینی دخی بودرله  
 بناه ذراع ایله اتش ذراع اولان طولانی بر اتنی  
 اولک کیری کبی اوله قات ایدرسن که هر قاتی بناه  
 ذراع ایله اتنی ذراع اوله بر قاتی نه بر جیب دیرسن  
 و اول لته ذراع اولان بر قات جیب ایله طولاً اولور جیب  
 و عرض دخی اولور جیب بر قات جیبس اند نشکره اون  
 چینی نه اون چینه ضرب ایدرسن چینگک شطریه ایله  
 یوز جیب حاصل اولور نوک دخی بر اون چینه بر نشا  
 بر نشا دیرسن و ذرا اوله یوز جیب دخی اولان  
 نشان اولور و اون نشان دخی کال بر دو قدر  
 و بوا جیبی وجه اوزرینه اولان چینگک شطریه ایله بر دویم  
 یوز جیب اولور فاما بناه ذراعک شطریه ایله ایکی

اولان اون نشانک هر بر نشانی دخی بناه ذراعک  
 شطریه ایله یوز کیری ایکی پنجوق ذراع ایدر  
 پنجوق دیک یعنی بر ذراع بر یک دوت حصه  
 سدن ایکی حصه در ترکیه ایکی دورنه بر عریبه  
 زنجیر دیر که بناه ذراعک دخی شطریه ایله ایکیوز  
 سکسن سکز بر موی ایدر نصف ذراعینه کال بر ذراع  
 یعنی اون ایکی بر موی نه کیری دوت بر شطریه ایدرسن  
 بس ایدر اواض بدنه عکال ایکیوز سکسن سکز موی  
 حاصل اولور بناه ذراعک دخی دخی اصلنه بود قدر  
 زیر کال بر ذراع بس یوز تمش اتنی بر مقدار و اون ایکی  
 بر موی کیری دوت بر شطریه صورت بودر که ذرا اولور



خبرده حاصل اولان ایکی یوز سکسن سکز عدد دخی تضعیف  
 اولونچان بس یوز تمش اتنی بر موی اولور صورت بودر که ذرا اولور

صورت تضعیف  
 دراعه اولان بر موی شطریه  
 نصفه ذراع بر موی شطریه اعتبار اولدورن افراحتک  
 آخر وجه دخی سمت و طریق وارد بر بند رسا که سندن  
 بیان اولمشدر بلیسین اولدورن که در اجعت ایلسون  
 و دو تک اوچ و چهندن ایلینجی و جیب بودر که مثلاً بناه  
 ذراع ایله یوز بر موی مقدار اولونچانی اولان بر ایلی  
 اون قات ایدرسن که هر قاتی بناه ذراع ایله دورنت  
 پنجوق ذراع اوله بر قاتی نه کال اولور جیب دیرسن  
 اولونچان پنجوق ذراع اولان جیب ایله طولاً اولور جیب  
 و عرض دخی اولور جیب اوچ جیبس اند نشکره اولور

چینی

التیوز ذراع ایدر و بواجب و صب اوزرینه غنیه  
 اولنا دونه مصر و بشار و بضره و کوفه و سرفند  
 و بخار و لاجلند مستعمل در زیر کت بلده و لغتده  
 بواجب و صب اوزره اولاد و دونه یاز مشدر در صفا کلام  
 زمانند دنی بوجه اوزره بسا صا و لندرد و عیار  
 ایدر اولاد و کنگ جینک بر جینی بنا ذراع یک شطوط ایدر  
 اولاد و کنگ ذراع اولور و بر نشانی دنی بنا ذراع کنگ  
 شطوط ایدر و جیوزالتش ذراع اولور و کنگ کت به بویله  
 تصحیح و لندرد اختی لغتده دنی اجرب دونه طولی  
 و عرضی التمش ذراع در دیو سیاه ایدر کی دونه دنی بود  
 اما تخت و خلاصه ذراع ذکراتمش کنگ جریب یک کنگ  
 اصل بود که جریب یک کنگ دوت کنگ کنگ بر اولور و ذر  
 ایدر بر که دوت کنگ کنگ آل اولقدر کنگ جریب  
 دیر دیو تصحیح بود مشدر در تخت و صفا تصحیح ایدر که  
 دونه دنی مشبو و جیوز و صب اولاد التمش ذراع و  
 التمش ذراع دیو ذکرا و لندرد دنی و نه بواجب و اصل دونه  
 اولدر نایت جریب اول دونه قریب طریقی ایدر اوج التمش  
 ایدر ذراع و اولاد و اولی اعتباری ایدر تخت غلامی  
 بنا ذراع کنگ شطوط ایدر اوج یک ایدر ذراع در  
 و تخت اولی ایدر یک یک کنگ بر بس ذراع در و کنگ  
 یک ایدر یک کنگ بر بس ذراع در و بواجب یک ایدر ذراع  
 اولاد دونه اصل و اولاد و اولی اعتباری ایدر اوج تخت  
 اوج حقیقتده متویلا اولی کنگ ایدر که تخت غلامی  
 اوج یک ایدر ذراع و تخت اولی یک کنگ و زیتوز  
 ذراع و کنگ اولی یک ایدر ذراع اول کنگ بر اولی ایدر

وجه مشروخ اوزره اولدر و غنیه او توری تقریباً  
 در نیلای بیغ اعلی و اولسط و اولی اولی کایستینی  
 تقاضا اوزره دکندر آنجی اعلا کنگه و اولسط کنگه و  
 اولاد کنگ حقیقتده قریب دیکدر و اعلی و اولسط  
 و اولی حقیقتا اعتبار اولاد و غنیه علم هندسه ده  
 اولاد کنگ حقیقتا باجعت اول مشدر زیر ایدر دونه جذر  
 چقماز اما اوج یک ایدر عدده دونه و ایدر یک کنگ  
 بس عدده دونه و یک ایدر یک کنگ بس عدده دونه جذر  
 اعلی چقماز جذر حسابی دنی یک کنگ اولاد ایدر علم حقیقت  
 و علم هندسه بر اجتهاد ایدر قاعد مندی روم المیزه  
 و اولادده بعضی بر اصل صفا اولی ایدر خرنیزه  
 دونه قنوم ذرا کنگ و صب اولسط اوزره دونه ایدر چقماز  
 نواجب بر شریف دنی و اولدر کنگه اول ایدر شریف متویلا  
 قید ایدر که اول ایدر بنا ذراع ایدر قریب بس ذراع در  
 رعایا ایدر اعتبار و اعتماد ایدر ایدر ذری ایدر اولی  
 اولسط و ذری ایدر اولی ایدر اولی بس ذراع  
 کلور صفا اولدر و غنیه اعتماد ایدر ایدر شریف قید  
 ایدر حقه دانه بنا ذراع ایدر قریب بس ذراع و ذری  
 ذراع ایدر قریب بس ذراع تقریباً برابر در محل تقاضای  
 و اولر بنا ذراع ایدر قریب بس ذراع طولی اولاد ایدر  
 بنا ذراع کنگ بر دنی حسابی ایدر یک کنگ بر من ایدر  
 و ذری ایدر ایدر ذراع ایدر قریب بس ذراع  
 طولی اولاد ایدر یک کنگ بر دنی ایدر ذری ذراع کنگ  
 ایدر کنگ یک کنگ بر من و فضلده ایدر که ذری ذراع ایدر  
 کمال ذراع ایدر ذری ذراع بنا ذراع کنگ

برخی جستا ایله کلمه یی برنج در فاما درنی اوستون الیه  
 ریغایا اولی اویچسه اول فضلله ظهور انیز زالیانی  
 خزینه عاره دن ویر دکلی زانده اول کلمی برنجی فضلله  
 اعتبار ایدی؛ ایی که کوره و برزر پس ایدی اول اسی  
 برنج جستا ایله کلمه یی بوز برنج اولش اولوره  
 حال الکلام بوقدر تفصیلاتن بزم مراد من و مقصود  
 بوایدی که هتا بنوله و جوارن و محبته اولان و ونگ  
 و نشانک و چنگک مقدار نیی بله و زایدی بونک  
 دوغنی بنا ذراعک مطر جیسے ایله ییکس کیوز یکم پس  
 ذراع در و میر شش ذنی بنا ذراعک مطر جیسے ایله  
 یوز کیوزی ایلی بچون ذراع در و میر جیبی ذنی بنا  
 ذراعک مطر جیسے ایله اول ایکی ذراع و نزع ذراع در  
 بونلار بوقار و ده بر قاج دفعه تفصیلا بیان اولمشدی  
 کلمه جمله دن اصل مقصود بلذات بواولمائی انی شش  
 کلمه اختصار آورده ذکر اولندی قاعده بعض طایفه  
 تذکره نهم نشان و بعضی سنده ربع نشان قید  
 ایتمک در اگر مقید نیم نشان ایسه بر نشانک بصفیر  
 که مطر جی جستا ایله الشمس بر ذراع و نزع ذراع در و اگر  
 مقید اولان ربع نشان ایسه مطر جی جستا ایله  
 اوتوز بچون ذراع و نزع ذراع در شش و یک ذراعک  
 سکر حصه سنده بر حصه در شش معلوم اولان الکلام  
 قاعده بوقاعده مساحبه معلق اولان اسیا نیله  
 مساحه و ذرع و وزن اوجیه عر سیدر اما  
 مابین نهم ذرع و در مساحه تک مناسب فارسیده  
 پیوند نهم و ترکیه بر اولدیر بر و ذرعک

جمع

مساحه

قاعده ربع مشکون  
و ساحتی بیانه در

قاعده بود تا بعد دخی شونک بنانه در در ربع مشکون  
نام کتابه ربع مشکونی بیان ابلش بیان ایندو کپی  
برده دخی بود نیانک مساحت خصم صده بوار ربع مشکون  
شویله باز مستر که خط استوانه نوبی جزیره سینه وار  
التمش آتی درجه در و هر درجه سی کپری ایلی فرسخ در  
و هر درجه ای اوج بیل در و هر بیل دوت سیک ذراع در  
و هر ذراع سکر قبضه در قبضه و یک طونام دیگر در  
و طونام دخی آورده آدک ای طونامی ایله اعتبار  
اولمش در و هر طونام دخی دوت بر مقدار و هر ربع  
آلی از به در دیو قرح ایتمش بر سیدی بو تعریفه  
بر بناه ذراع اولتر ایلی بر ربع اولم لازم کلور و کدی  
آدک ایلی دخی آدجه کلجی ایلی بصری اولور زیاده زود  
آدم اولم ایلی سکر قبضه سینه بناه ذراع از کلور و آدی  
آدم دخی اولم ایلی سکر قبضه سندن ذراع آرق  
کلور ایلی اوسط آخال و معتدل آدم کدی که  
سکر قبضه سیمله ذراع بر ابرکله و بو اعتبار ایله  
بناه ذراع سکر بر ذراع بوز طقس ایلی شعیر  
اولم لازم کلور و بزخمه یعنی بوغون حسابنه  
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شعیر دوشکل لازم کلور سینه العنق صاحبی بار دخی  
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غفل اولم ایلی کدی بر زیر ایلم بیلور که بعض زمانه  
بر ربع کسوراتی حسابی غایت ایله دقیق حساب اولم  
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لازم کلور عانه ذراعنی کسورات خاطر ایلی چون

کوز

کوز ربع ایتمش در مستل شمدی عانه ذراعنی شویله  
فرض ایتمش در که بر کامل ذراعنی یوز ربع و هر  
بر ربع یوز ایلیک و هر ایلیک یوز نایر عنکبوت  
اول نایر عنکبوت دیک اوز جک تبیدر نایر عنکبوت  
تخص اولم اولم قابلمیدر قابل دکلر زیر  
بر عانه ذراعنی اوزرینه کامل یوز سیک اوز جک  
ایلی هر اوز دی دیز یوز اوستنده التمش ایتمش  
بر عانه ذراعنی اوزرینه ایسه بو قدر تل صغیر احتمال  
بو قدر ایلیک دخی صغیر زیر اوزر ربع یوز ایلیک  
اولم ایلیک اوز ایلیک ایلیک بر ذراع صغیر ایتمش  
بودنی حال در ایلی هر ربعی بو یله خالی ایکن  
علم حسابنه کسورات اجلی چون سینه بونی بو یله اعتبار  
و فرض ایتمش در سیدی بوندن معلوم اولدیکه  
بناه ذراعنه دخی کسورات اجلی ایچون شعیرات  
حسابی غایت لازم در با خصوص فرسخ و میل  
و برید قسمنده بو حساب معتبر ذر بناه ذراعنی اوج  
ایلی اوجی یوز بیلر سکر شعیر ذراعنی اوج ایلی یوز  
طقس ایلی شعیر در بر بناه ذراعنی دخی بو قدر  
ربع مشکون احوالی دخی مساحتیه متعلق  
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و بران و بعضی بری سمور در و بو ربع مشکون  
سکر اولور بلور سیدی طائفه وار در اولم ایلی

مطل  
و کیفیت ربع مشکون

مطل  
و طوائف ربع مشکون









فصل در وصف...  
 و چون قیوم و بیوک بود کنگار چرخ اویمه کنگار قیوم و مطلق کنگار  
 و قیوم قناری و قیوم کنگار اوست و آلت این کنگار و قیوم قیوم کنگار  
 و او کنگار کنگار و زو و اوس و قناری زره و سندان و قیوم کنگار  
 و اوست زره و آلت زره و جفت زره و قیوم قیوم کنگار  
 و قیوم زنجیری و قیوم سونیس و سونیس و سونیس و سونیس و سونیس  
 و جمله او کنگار است سینه متعلق اولان استیا کنگار انسان است  
 دسان فارس و دسان ترکی ایلا اسماری میانیف و کنگار کنگار  
 و قیوم کنگار کنگار کنگار کنگار کنگار کنگار کنگار کنگار  
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اوتون ایلیغی فصل  
 بنایری و قمل قونلیق بره و قمل دوشمسی و قمل طاشی و کنگار  
 و زوانه و قمل عرقه و صوفی و کنگار کنگار کنگار کنگار  
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 و آتاشه ایلیغی کنگار کنگار کنگار کنگار کنگار کنگار کنگار

دیوان قیوم

فصل در وصف...  
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قهقهه عرسه کابون سنگی آتش کرسن اود هاشی دیکدر  
 صفوان عرسه کابون سنگی لغوان کرسن قباغان طایع دیکدر  
 زنده عرسه کابون سنگی پاشینه کرسن کوه کله طایع دیکدر  
 صفیه عرسه کابون سنگی پهن کرسن بقیع طایع دیکدر  
 جندل عرسه کابون سنگی کزوه کرسن دکر می طایع دیکدر  
 خضا عرسه کابون سنگی پیره کرسن اوقی طایع قباغان طایع دیکدر  
 خشم عرسه کابون سنگی کج کرسن کرج طایع دیکدر  
 صفا عرسه کابون سنگی رفیده پهن کرسن بقیع طایع دیکدر  
 حشک عرسه کابون سنگی چوب کرسن آجاج دیکدر شکر کرسن دیکدر  
 کینه عرسه کابون سنگی خشم کرسن کرج دیکدر  
 بلاط عرسه کابون سنگی عاتیه کرسن بلاط در غلا ایست بلاط دیکدر  
 جدار عرسه کابون سنگی دیوار کرسن خار مار دیکدر دیوار دیکدر  
 خار عرسه کابون سنگی دیوار پاشینه کرسن دیوار و صالح طایع دیکدر  
 سده عرسه کابون سنگی دیوار و کتو کردن کرسن دیوار دیکدر کتو کرسن  
 نکر عرسه کابون سنگی دیوار و جزا کرسن دیوار کدوکی و طایع کرسن  
 طین عرسه کابون سنگی نخل کرسن بالچی دیکدر نه بالچی اولور دیکدر  
 سیب عرسه کابون سنگی کاهکل کرسن صانلو حیوه بالچی دیکدر  
 حقیق قشق و شیده عرسه کابون سنگی کرسن کرج دیکدر  
 کوه کابلان عرسه کابون سنگی آهک کرسن ایلی دیکدر  
 صابون عرسه کابون سنگی آهک نخل کرسن ایلی دیکدر  
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 زاده عرسه کابون سنگی کج کرسن کوه کرسن بوجق دیکدر  
 زخام عرسه کابون سنگی کوه کرسن کوه کرسن بوجق دیکدر  
 عاده عرسه کابون سنگی اسطوخودوس طایع کرسن  
 و صفت عرسه کابون سنگی کابون سنگی کرسن دیکدر  
 سده عرسه

سده مسند عرسه کابون سنگی کرسن دایق دیکدر  
 و ساره عرسه کابون سنگی کابون کرسن بقیع دیکدر  
 ساجه عرسه کابون سنگی حیدر کرسن خاتین دیکدر  
 بنطقه عرسه کابون سنگی کوه کرسن کوه کرسن بوجق دیکدر  
 زخام عرسه کابون سنگی کوه کرسن کوه کرسن بوجق دیکدر  
 طاق عرسه کابون سنگی کوه کرسن کوه کرسن بوجق دیکدر  
 خار عرسه کابون سنگی کوه کرسن کوه کرسن بوجق دیکدر  
 جلیزه عرسه کابون سنگی کابون کرسن فارسی اوزره تابان دیکدر  
 و تر عرسه کابون سنگی کوه کرسن کوه کرسن بوجق دیکدر  
 سشم عرسه کابون سنگی کوه کرسن کوه کرسن بوجق دیکدر  
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 قوه عرسه کابون سنگی کوه کرسن کوه کرسن بوجق دیکدر  
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 خنوع عرسه کابون سنگی کوه کرسن کوه کرسن بوجق دیکدر  
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 سشف عرسه کابون سنگی کوه کرسن کوه کرسن بوجق دیکدر  
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 و تده عرسه کابون سنگی کوه کرسن کوه کرسن بوجق دیکدر  
 سشف و سشف عرسه کابون سنگی کوه کرسن کوه کرسن بوجق دیکدر







رشته عسبره کاهون رکنس باره کفند رکنس انگلی ایب باره می دیکدر  
نیشته و عسبره کاهون پنج کوب رکنس آقاخ توفیق دیکدر  
بیطر و عسبره کاهون کوبینه و خایسک رکنس توفیق و بچینگ دیکدر  
به سقده عسبره کاهون خایسک رکنس چگونج دیکدر  
ذقیتر عسبره کاهون پنک و دزیه رکنس نیوک کجونه و فایله و زره و زردی  
کابنتان عسبره کاهون آبر رکنس قفنج دیکدر زونه کلبنتان دین دیکدر  
صیقل صقل صقل عسبره کاهون زودون و پره آهن رکنس آلی و پره آهن دیکدر  
ساقیل عسبره کاهون کشتایند و زوانید و پره زانه رکنس آلی و پره آهن دیکدر  
صیقل عسبره کاهون دست افزار پره زانه رکنس پره زانه دیکدر  
بصقل عسبره کاهون آن چکر که باور و دند رکنس اول رکنس که ظاهر پره زانه دیکدر  
مصقل عسبره کاهون زودونه و پره زانه رکنس پره زانه او شش دیکدر  
خشونه عسبره کاهون در شتی رکنس ابری اولی یعنی پره زانه دیکدر  
ملاسه عسبره کاهون نرمی و لغز رکنس پوشش و پره کایع او زودونه دیکدر  
نلا و عسبره کاهون آژند رکنس کجلا دیکدر بکلر بوارا کجه توفیق دیکدر  
نیلوا و عسبره کاهون ماله و آژند رکنس کجلا ماله می دیکدر کجلا آژندی  
مسیخ عسبره کاهون ماله آژند رکنس صوره ماله می دیکدر  
بیلون عسبره کاهون کالینه خیش رکنس کزنج قابلی دیکدر  
مزه عسبره کاهون کلند رکنس قارمه دیکدر آنگه بالی قازدر  
بجفا عسبره کاهون کلند و کلند رکنس قارمه و چینه دیکدر دیکدر  
لغم عسبره کاهون ماکر زنده دیکدر آیین باشد رکنس ایشی کلند کجلا  
قنآه معنی عسبره کاهون لغم کن رکنس لغم قازینی و لغی دیکدر  
قنآه عسبره کاهون رآوب بر زمین و در زمین رکنس آخس و آخس اولان  
قیقون عسبره کاهون آب ششاس رکنس صوا و دروغی بری بلنج دیکدر  
ماده عسبره کاهون آست رکنس صود دیکدر  
نجرنی آله عسبره کاهون ران کاه آب رکنس صوا قیچ دیکدر

عین

عین عسبره کاهون چینه رکنس چکر دیکدر اما نماند کاهون چینه در بار  
بیر عسبره کاهون چینه کجلا صو قیوس دیکدر  
بوره یا عسبره کاهون نایسه و کنگ رکنس لوله و کلک دیکدر  
بکره عسبره کاهون چرخ چاه آب رکنس صو قیوس عسبره کاهون  
ذالیه عسبره کاهون دوان رکنس فارسی او زره و زره دیکدر  
مجال عسبره کاهون چرخ دلاب رکنس رکنس کجلا دیکدر  
خوض عسبره کاهون آبدان رکنس دوان او زره و حوض دیکدر  
مصقل عسبره کاهون آبدان و شاد زونه رکنس حوض دیکدر  
سقا عسبره کاهون سبیل و سبیل خانه رکنس مصلح دیکدر  
را قوز عسبره کاهون تم و نوری رکنس کوب و کلک دیکدر  
صاوه عسبره کاهون کجلا اولان ساوه رکنس نوری عسبره کاهون کجلا  
نیز عسبره کاهون لوله و نایسه رکنس ماله او زره لوله دیکدر  
صفیور عسبره کاهون لوله آبدان و شاد زونه رکنس حوض و آبدان  
آشرب اشرف عسبره کاهون کاسی و کاسی رکنس توفیق دیکدر  
آنگ عسبره کاهون اشرب و اشرب رکنس توفیق دیکدر  
ضفر عسبره کاهون رومی رکنس توفیق دیکدر  
شید عسبره کاهون برنج رکنس فارسی او زره و زره دیکدر  
خاش عسبره کاهون میس رکنس باقر دیکدر  
علا رکنه و صا ص قلم عسبره کاهون آرزو رکنس عاقل کلین دیکدر  
لغام عسبره کاهون کفش رکنس طیم دیکدر  
صید عسبره کاهون آهن رکنس دوز دیکدر  
انیش عسبره کاهون آهن رکنس پوشش دیکدر دیکدر  
فولاد عسبره کاهون فولاد و فولاد رکنس کجلا دیکدر  
ذکر عسبره کاهون فولاد رکنس چکر دیکدر فارسی او زره و زره دیکدر  
بند و آبی عسبره کاهون کجلا رکنس کجلا رکنس اول توفیق دیکدر

عسبره کاهون و کجلا

عسبره کاهون و کجلا  
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میزان سینه کاسون زنده و نازایانه ترکیب فارسی از زنده نازایان در  
 بقعه و سدر کاسون چونان دهل ترکیب فارسی از زنده چونان در  
 علم هند بر لطف علم در - زیرا جمله اهل صنایعک آلات  
 واد وانی اشکال هندسیه اوزر مدضع او نشدند و هیکلاری دنی  
 جمله سوسر هندسیه اوزر و ایجاد و احداث او نشدند و لکن  
 ینه او قدره اصول و مشلوب - کونستر مشهوره

چینبر ایله دف لرین خط واحد صاحبی اولادور و خطکله اوزر  
 کوزره موضع ایشلردره و اعواد جنبیکله کوزره لرین  
 ایکی خط صاحبی و اولاد اشکال قوسیه به تشبیه ارباب آلهاری  
 اوزر قسم اوزرینه موضع ایشلردره بر قوسیه دور خطکله  
 نصف قوسیه شکلده و ایکی قوسیه دنی دور خطکله نصفیدن  
 ناقص اولدوسر اصغر شکلده و ایچ قوسیه دنی دور خطکله  
 نصفیدن زیاده اولدوسر اکبری شکلده وضع ایشلردره و  
 موسیقار لرین خطوط تلامذ صاحبی اولاد قطع الکره قطع  
 شکلده وضع ایشلردره و چنگ و قانون لرین خطوط  
 صاحبی اولوب و قسم ثانی اولاد مثلثات ارباب متوسعه تک  
 هیکلاری شکلده وضع ایشلردره ساری دنی کوزره

قیاس و تقی کر کدر خط  
 فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن  
 ساز و سوزک ایلر در مغرب چون دفع عزم  
 صورت ناخوار له باری بزه ویرمه آسم  
 بانک نفع صور خشر کار ایز بیز کوشمه  
 ساز و سوزک نغمه نغمن سوز اولمش در آسم  
 واقفیت کششدن احوال اصول نغمه  
 طوری دین اخبار ایزرسا کافانان تار بیسم

میزان سینه کاسون نانی و فی ترکیب فارسی از زنده نانی و فی در  
 قضا بر سینه کاسون بود فی ترکیب فارسی از زنده نانی و قاسم فی در  
 زمار و قضا بر سینه کاسون فی ترکیب فارسی از زنده نانی و فی در  
 جود و عود و سدر کاسون بر خط ترکیب قیوز در لر

مطرب سدر کاسون سازنده ترکیب دنی فارسی از زنده سازنده در  
 عواد و سدر کاسون بر خط زنده ترکیب قیوز چالیج دیگر  
 نافر سدر کاسون چنگ ترکیب دنی فارسی از زنده چنگ دیگر  
 طنبور قوسیه فارسی ناه ایله اولاد طنبور دنی قوسیه نشدند  
 چلا زده سدر کاسون برده ساز ترکیب دنی فارسی از زنده چله در  
 زبا بر سدر کاسون کمانچه ترکیب دنی فارسی از زنده کمانچه دنی در  
 و تر سدر کاسون زده دینه و ناز ترکیب کرش و نقل در لر  
 زیر سدر کاسون رود باریک ترکیب ایشلردره کرش دیگر  
 بیسم سدر کاسون اوزر سینه ترکیب نیم قلبی در لر  
 یاموی سدر کاسون کرکلی ترکیب بوزقی در لر

زایله سدر کاسون حرکت ترکیب دنی فارسی از زنده حرکت دیگر  
 موسیقار مترب لغت یونان اوزره در فارسی و ترکیب دنی موسیقار  
 موسیقار لام ایله دنی لغت موسیقار ایله علم غلام ارباب مسقال در لر  
 صحیح مترب فارسی اولان ترنج دنی قوسیه نشدند ترکیب علم غلام ارباب  
 صفانه مترب فارسی اولان چغاندن قوسیه لغت صفانه ترکیب  
 قانون سدر کاسون قانون ترکیب زنده اوزره ینه قانون در لر  
 نقاره سدر کاسون طلاف کس علم غلام ارباب نغمه و دینک در لر  
 جلیجل سدر کاسون زنگ دف ترکیب دف پربی دیگر  
 اطار سدر کاسون چینبر ترکیب دنی فارسی از زنده چینبر در لر  
 طبل سدر کاسون دهل و سینه و کوس ترکیب علم غلام ارباب طبل در لر  
 پیقان سدر کاسون بوری خاک ترکیب فارسی از زنده بوری در لر

چون بقا یوق دیرجهانده ساکد نیکر سازوسوز

اولده زانیم صداسی بو عددمر بو عدیم

عبرت آورسک اگر برنده برتک قلدن آل

یا ندر بو کثرت قبل و مقاله دمبدم

می کیمی تجلیس تجلیس دور قلمه عالمی

عاقلیسک بزم عیش و عشرت باسه قدم

بی بقا دهرک ففاسین کورسیدی جعفر

تصیرید قلمردی جام صحبتینک دانی جسم

اون بستیغی فصل

خیرد عاذا که ذکر اولنور بود عا جلدی بوساله تجریر برده

ایتمزدن مقدم بو فضا عالم ایله ما بنیزده ده بر مقدار سخت

واقع اضرة واقع اولو حقیردی آذن لغت و اعراض ایتمکله

بود نیای بر غومتم بر مرشیده اوزر منزه قصد و هجوم ایروب

مانول الوفا اولو بعضی اجتهاد کرم و اصدقا فحاشم شدی آذین آذین

ایسج سبتیز ایله بروج سورعدا آذین دیده مرزه دوی نهر عالم صورتی

کوشتر قب جمله عالم بو وجهله بره اغیارته بلکه کند و مکن کانتز

دقی کند و کوز منزه خارته اولوب کوردمک کسندره زیم عهد و فاقه

و آیینده دوزانن صورت دوی ذوق و صفادره قدر قالمش

خاطره بولکد بکده مشیوبی و فاجها نکلن جهنم سنکد بوز جبریت

بر قلع کون باری جهنم پیرانه سنی کورمکک چون بر خجوه جیره

کیرتم و وایمده محض و فجاور اولام پیش بو عهد اوزره دخی

طریق ملحوظه سلوک ایروب و ارقب کیمت کبی قفص وارنما

بر بیت کوشه سنی اختیارته نایرمل بچنده نهان ایکن مبارک

عید شریف واقع اولوب اول روز مبارکده وار و ارقب کیمت

مضامی و ملاقاته و شرف اولوق ممکن اولو مخلصه عبیدیه ناسنه

براعتداری

براعتداری نامه ارسال و لغت شدی آبن دخی اولو ایروب

ذکر این کم آنضکون نور و مگو اغا حضرت ای کون زرد ایریزوب

آوقا خجرت بلکه بران و هر ساعت و لسان منزه مذکور اولو

ادعیه شریفی ذکر این کم و اولو عبیده و کور اعتداری نامه بود کور

بیزه قصیده عبیدیه بطریق الاعتداری

تنبیه ارقب جبارنی فغانا یریدنه

زرخانه ایله یازدی بو شب جرحه عین عبیده

اول حرف عین عبیده اشارت ایش نکر

ضانی اگر چه بعضی ائی کرم بر حدم دیده

بزدان خالق کرم و لطفنی کور کثرت

عبید شریفی عینی ایله ایلدی بد دیده

یا غیش و عشرت ایش شکل ماه نوه

قلدی افاده معنی افطاری اولو عبیده

یا خود جلال رورقی زرد بر سفینه دره

آتمش ائی سواجل عربیه ریم سفیده

یا روبر عبید در بو خج طقیدی جرح

صاحب نظر اولان بوده اولمینه عبیده

یا دفتر سپهره بر نا در جلال

کیم دین صومی خلق آئیدی فلک رسیده

یا ز کیمی حرا نیکه آوران زرد اولوت

نخسه ایلندی باد صبا جرحه برکت رسیده

یا خود افنده حلقه زردین زرد اولام

فتح اولوی یعنی خلق جهانده در امیده

فصل صفا اچلدی به خود دار دهرده

اول شو قله ایلدی شفق نایر نه کلبیده

معمول نایمات صفا جلال

شدهی تم نوہ قبی شو برین کت دوشه  
ظن آفرین کسندیه کار آیتیه وعیده  
روی زینت بر توی بخش آلیوب کشتن  
کینسون موجهان سحر کسوه جدیده  
بو عید حرمینه خداوند ستخان  
خلفه صفامیتر این مدت مدیده  
چونکوهانی حضرت معارفان کت  
عیدن مبارک آلیه وعمرن مریده  
مخدوم ستطاب مکران دخی  
روشن خمیر و طالع دولت کی سعیده  
دنیاطور عجد دولت وعز تلجوق بینه  
خزیند کیبی روشن کردون کی رشیده  
جعفر دنا چکوز دخی اهدا ایر دعا  
دعوات صافیات و سحبات بی عیدیه  
اول فرج عید و گوکن کور نذیجه ماه نوہ  
انجم کی سعید اوله سیر کون کی فریدیه  
باقی همیشہ دل بصفاد سرور باره  
آمین بحق آن صمد خالق العیبیه  
قطعه در مشاجات سخدای رب العالمین ع  
ای خدای متعال واحد و فرد و صمدیه  
سکاف نظام فراوانکه یوقی حد و عدده  
سنده در لطف عطا سنده در احسان کرم  
بزه عیسیان و خطا جرم و جنایت بی حدیه  
دعا شریف دخی بود که ذکر اولشور و سابق اولان  
سما غار دخی حسبه تین بلا بی بوضعت انشا در اجمال کت  
دخی بیانور

شدهی

دخی بیانور

شدهی کت کت ایتمیه خالصانه دعا ایتمیه اولای  
دجله بنی آدمی و بنی آدمین غیر اونی سکر بیک عالمی  
بودن و ارایدن و اول خدای ذوالکین شجل جلاله شوم ناکت  
حضرت زینت بر لکی بچون نانیاسید الکونین رسول کرم  
صلواتها علیه وسلم حضرت زینت روح بر فرط طری بچون  
وسایر جمیع انبیاء و اصفیاء و اولیاء انتباه ازواج بر فرط کت  
نانا جمیع آل و اصحاب بخصوص چار بار کزین در سوال کت  
ازواج طیبه بر کون و آندها کون بواره کلنج کین علماء عظام  
و مشایخ کرام مشیفتین و نجهت بدین منتقین و صالحین  
من هذیه الزمره کانیان کان النبی هو المتوفی قبل هذا الان  
آنکار ک دخی جمله سنک ازواج شریفه لری بچون و ابجلمه  
انت محمد دنی اهل سنت و اهل جامعدن بواره کلنج کین  
اهل ایمان ازواجی بچون و حال دخی بوا کت شانه ابیات  
و خارج ابیات و ولوب حیاتیه متباقی قالان علامه مومنین  
و کافه مسلمین حق انا حضرتاری دخی کتد و جمال کرمند  
و لطف و احسان و یغیندن و صحت و عافیه و روزی و فیوض  
هر برین غیر طوبی بن سیر بر بر بر و علی مخصوص کت اسلا  
جهان شوش و نشا و خواجین دوران ظل الله مساعد و بچون  
عالمیناه و طال بقا و مؤنان مناه حضرتاری کرمین  
اعدا دین اول کفره بر کین بدنام دن و کفره و کفره  
و بد انجام دن اهل اسلامک محافظه سینه و ظلومین  
صغیر انما کت و دفع ظلماری ملاحظه سینه و خوفه  
و مؤکل و مسلطه اولش دخی کت حضرتاری کتد و کت  
عینایت بر که آت قوت و قدرت و لطف و طاقت و نفرت  
میت را بر عت سنا کت نهال نرس اول شتر زاده دخی

سلطان سلاطین و خلیفہ روس زمین شدر۔ الہی سعادت  
 عسکر اسلام ظفر آنجام ایله۔ هر نه یجا مشوقه اولور سن  
 آنک انعطاسی مقهور و مدخر ابرقرب۔ یا الہ العالمین سن  
 عسکر اسلام ایله آئی منصور و مظفر ایله بروردکارا  
 سن آنک قمر و دولتی و عزت و سعادت و شوکتی و  
 وعدل و انصافنی و کرم و الطافنی تو ما فیوما زیاده  
 ایرویرصب لشکر صاحب ظفر بینی و عسکر نصرت ارنینی  
 دخی برورد و شکر قمری و شمرده حیث کانونک فوق ما ارا دواته  
 کفار خاکسار و اعدا و بیکیش و بیکار ادرارینه غالب ابرقرب  
 پیش نینه مکانلرینه عودت ایتد کلرنه۔ یارب سن آنکار کلاه  
 هر برینی سلبا و غایما و ظنک نینه و مکانلرینه ایصال ایله  
 و آنلاردن غیر دخی انباء سبیل مستطینی و تحت لطف  
 واقع اولورن مکانلرینه موجود بولنان مجاورین و مقیمین دخی  
 و غوما ائتت محمدی هر برینی خطا و خطردن صاف قلمر تخلص  
 و ربوب جملة یہ صحت و عافیتلر میسر ایله و بولاره وقع  
 اولان اول بنا سبیلی دخی مکانلرینه و وظنک نینه  
 صحت و سلامت ایله ایصال ایدوب مقیمین ایله مخالجه  
 حنین حال و عرطوبتلر میسر ایله و کفار خاکسار بیز  
 اسیر اولان مسلمانلر دخی حق جل و علا حضرتلری  
 کمال لطفدن هر برینی آسان و جمل تخلصلر میسر  
 و حسن حدتاری دخی جمیع ائتت حکمت جمل خیر وارد لری  
 میسر ایدویور۔ دخی اول حدای الکل اللمتعاله  
 المنزه عن الشربک و الکر و الال حضرتلر معارفنا حرکت  
 عمر و عورت و دولتی و صفا و سرور و رفعتی و صحت  
 و سلامت و عافیتی کونن کونه افزون۔ ایلیه الہی

نجیم

نجیم مروتلو فی حضرتلری بیت اولان کله مکرمه کله  
 رسول اولان بسموه معظمت کت عمارت و احبارینه  
 و عطله عالم معابر جدید بنا لری شمس ایدوب هر برین  
 شریفینی عمارت و احبار و انردن خبری دخی بجه معابر جدید  
 بنیاد و بنیادیندی ایسه یارب انک مقابل سنسدنی  
 فردوس اعلائی که مقام پیشرا ایدوب باغ خاندان  
 انک لجن نبوت عالیته بنا ایله یا الہ العالمین کمال لطف  
 سن آنک دنیا و اخرتی بجه ایدوب حمد و مکرملری  
 دخی بجه مکرملر و هر نه خبر مردی و ارب انک جلال  
 یارب سن میسر ایله و سابقا دخی معارفی اولوب  
 یوز لیلدن زیاده واقع سرمایہ عمر بیک اکثرینی سبیل  
 خرا و جهاد و قد اولان بنا و بنیاد و صدف دخی  
 قور معارف مرحوم سنمان کایک کمال شیری اتی بیلن خرا  
 ادره اولوب مدت مزوره و صهر بری طرفی اکر اولان  
 بلنواد کی و دروس کقله رک فخرده و آکر و سن  
 قرانک انزاسن صحای صحای حج جنگدن و آلان  
 و بغداد سفر لرنه و قره بغداد فخرده و بولردن غری  
 بجه عظیم سفر لره و یارلق ایدوب هر عابده کبجری  
 او حافن و یکجری ایکن طوقوز یوزیکری طوقوز سنه  
 رد و سن قلوس فخرده و تلوسکمانی اولوب صکره ذال  
 بدمان جنگنده اندوکی برارلنر منجاب سنن بابا  
 اولوب بعد دخی بجه سمر لره واقع اولان برار قلری  
 مقابل سنن پایه سنجه زنجری باجی بعده حاصل اولوب  
 و صکره دخی معارف سبیلن هر تب سبیله که رعایا سنه  
 آرن صکره اتی ایکی بیلن دخی معارف باجی اولوب زمانه

ساعات

مژورده واقع اولان يقيناً عمری حضرت باسد صرف و فرج بود  
 مدت رتورده بسکن اوج قطعه جامع شریف و آلی بر قطعه  
 شریف پیش و آلی بری قطعه مدرسه و دیگری قطعه دار قرآن  
 و آون بری قطعه عالی عمارت شریف و اوج قطعه دار الشفاء  
 و تش قطعه معظلم کار کبره صوبی کمری و زیر زمین دن بر  
 کونک مسافه ای کار کبره صوبی و مسکو قطعه کار کبره کوروی  
 و آون قطعه زقطه معظلم کاربان سری و آون اوج قطعه  
 و بونلو کوره دخی تربه و مخزن و قنار و قبری نرانی و میلان  
 دغان و بز استان جنبا ایروب زمان صباوت و شبان  
 غیری که اولت استخو حشون بر دور این بخش قطعه سلیمان  
 عمری حشون و حضرت باسد صرف ایروب هر برین  
 سعی بلین قوت باز کسی بزل بی اوج بنام برین  
 حضرت روحی شاد ایروب بونلارک مقابله سن جن  
 امدان عدد از بنده که عالی سر ابرو بلند کوشک بنا ایلیه و آون کار  
 دخی معارفی اولوب دار دیان دار بقایه و رحلت ایروب  
 مرحوم داد و اناک روح دخی حج عالی حضرتی را خلد سیر  
 رحلتی بر باد ایروب بره و آون صکره دخی معارفی ایروب  
 دلاورک شیری حشون سنند نهادت شریفی خوش بون  
 مرحوم و ایوج ما اناک حج تک حضرتی دخی غایتی اولوب  
 از اوج شهید ایوج حضرتی و قلبی عرش علایه وضع ایروب  
 و در امان امدان مقدم دخی خاشا و مخلصا حشون  
 ایروب بیلاد اسلامیه که لایند و لا یحیی ساجد و جلال  
 و معارف و صلح جنبا ایروب انا لایه و ای ایچون و آنا حشون  
 یا تو حج عالی حضرتی بزم روتلو انا حضرتی هم برین  
 صحیفه فلک و قیصره ایلیه معتقد معتقد اولاد کور

داود افکار

خالق احد افقا

دخی غلطو ملو میسر بود بر معتقد ایروبین بار الی عالمین  
 و دخی اهل ایمان و اهل اسلام دن اولوب برون اول  
 فخر ص قسبا حبه نده عبادتگاه بنا ایروب و دار بقایه  
 رحلت ایروب استاد لرغیرار دخی ایچون مو دخی انبیا  
 عظام و مرسدین مشلمات ایسکا علم جمیع دخی  
 بزد برب و بشقدم اولوب انا اول معتقد ایروب  
 بنیاد اولاد ان آدم صلی الله علیه و آله و سلم  
 و انا اولک بره نیش لوب بخاری ایروب منو دخی  
 علیه السلام و آنا ان قبله عالم اولوب نیش عیش ایروب  
 سنی اولان یکجه مکرمه نکت شرفها استخا بنیاد و بنا  
 تکمیل و بکار ایروب بکار ایروب ایروب ایروب  
 الرحمن علیه السلام حضرت کرمه و انک الذی بار الی عالمین  
 صلوة و سلامه اولد و کل کسک یا خالق الارض و السماء  
 بزم سید بنو رسول با صفا محمد المصطفی حضرت کریم زنده  
 و انک ل دخی اولاد دخی بکلین صلوة و سلام  
 ایروب سنی حمید و حمید و کریم و رحیم با دسا حسن  
 ایروب شریفک ایروب ضو کونفدره هر برین حد ایروب  
 نقل لازم کلکین طریق رحلتی بزمه زاد و رود  
 و هر هاد لاجن زاد تقوی شموی قلوبه و غایت ایروب  
 انا دخی و توفیق بر لب ایمان و قرآنی بزم رفیق ایروب  
 و دخی هر برین کسک کولنده شموی بر براد و انا دخی  
 عالی حضرتی لطف و کرمندن جل جلاله اولد ایروب  
 ایروب عاقبت خبری ایچون اولد بزمه حتی اولاد ایروب  
 ایچون دعا بجه حاج اولان جانلر ایچون جمله کس  
 خوشن و مومنات و مسلمان و مسلمات اولان

ایچون باغییری مسلمانلی ایچون جملاست محمد کفر مادی  
ایچون اسمعالی حضرت نربک و فساد نری ایچون فاشه  
روح پاک بنی راصلوت

اللهم صل علی محمد وعلی آل محمد كما صلیت علی  
ابرهیم وعلی آل ابرهیم وبارک علی محمد وعلی آل  
محمد كما بارکت علی ابرهیم وعلی آل ابرهیم وارجم  
محمد كما رجمت ورجمت علی ابرهیم وعلی آل ابرهیم

انک محمد حبیب نظر  
یوزدن آریق شیب ایچون انیسوب بولکاب  
صوبه هندو دن کندی یه نازده تیاب  
منجی نایکی سالی یه کوروشه  
خلاق الفاظی اولوبدیرا کوریا کوریا تیاب  
اقا حضرتینه نامور اولمشه در بو

اولوی دیرا که نور و صبر و دیره شتاب  
حفظ آیدالم بونی بر دیرن نامحمدن  
نایک نامل لاله کرمیه بوکو بوهرتاب  
صدف دیک اولوبدیرا بملودور  
قنده واروا فی بو صرودد در کیمیا

تبع اولجه بو در دیر کسبدن ریزر  
دیره کور یوزدی ییم شومه ماغیر حساب  
سینان بو در دن جلدی بو سید ادر  
بونی جسدی تیری بو تیری خدای و دای  
بو خدای شغالک یزه بر لظیفه ریزر

زره یازسون بونی بوچ کلک کلک نایک  
بر سیر کیدر زاده بویر نیکم ناکهان روزده کلک کلک خلدی بو حساب

Handwritten marginal note in Persian script, likely a commentary or additional prayer text.

نصح نیکد جهانن مستصح اولم  
یوخس اب فغره در بنبله لوج اولوب  
قیور او زده سر لوده کجا بو قدر

بونی یزه اول دیری توبت فلورتن و با  
بچه ربونن عمارت این زده نیایی  
کسه نیاقی قالدی بو خادار خراب  
بجلم کل بو خاداری و مستند دست

یزدم تجره یزی ناکه شعر لوج و تراب  
بیدله مستحیبه غنی نیدک نصیب  
طیب خیمه و غلی بیز شولک اطباب  
بو صفا نایک شمه کور و ضم ایلیکم  
خدی اولسون دخی آسماء خدای تواب

محمد تمام اولدی بو شمارت  
نصیح جموی حب اینجه نایک کجا

Handwritten marginal note in Persian script, likely a commentary or additional prayer text.

Handwritten marginal note in Persian script, likely a commentary or additional prayer text.