RİSĂLE-İ Mİ’MĂRİYYE

AN EARLY-SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN TREATISE
ON ARCHITECTURE
STUDIES IN ISLAMIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE

SUPPLEMENTS TO MUQARNAS

VOLUME I
RİSĂLE-İ Mİ'EMĂRİYYE
AN EARLY-SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN TREATISE ON ARCHITECTURE

FACSIMILE WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

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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 *Risâle-i Mi‘mâriyye* 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 Sarayi 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.

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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 $k$ rather than $q$ is used for the $ж$, 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 Kurâн, hadith 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.
PARTICULAR ARCHITECTS DOES OF COURSE EXIST, ALTHOUGH AS COMPARED TO THE PROMINENCE GIVEN THE NAMES OF CLARENDON RELATIFS. THE OFFICE OF PATHYARY, ABOUT THE ARCHITECTS WHO ERECTED ITS BUILDINGS.

An 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 superintendents 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.”

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 intisâb, 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 Kalûk ibn ‘Abd Allâh and Kâlûyân al-Kûnâwî, found on several buildings of Fâkhr al-Dîn ‘Alî, the sâhib-’âtâ. A certain Abû ‘Alî ibn Abî al-Râjâ al-Halâbi is also known from epigraphy to have acted as architect for several of the military foundations of Sultan Kaykâwûs I.

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 engineering and geometry, was consigned to almost total obscurity.

3 Mayer, Architects, p. 19.
5 Mayer, Architects, p. 21.
6 See Et. Combe, J. Sauvaget and Gaston Wiet, Répertoire chronologique d’inscription arabe, XII (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1931-41), 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 hâşâ mi’mârlar ocâğı (Corps of Imperial Architects), a sort of ministry of public works headed by a professional architect with the title ser-’mi’mâr-ı hâssa or hâşsa mi’mâr-başı (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 hâşsa mi’mârlar ocâğı, who generally began their training as ‘âcemi oglans or Janissary recruits specializing in a particular manual craft. The research that has been done has been based in part within which he worked, are still only poorly known. 7 The research that has been done has been based in part on archival materials in the

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8 For a description of some of these types of materials, see Muzaffer Erdoğan, “Osmanlı Taşkilatında Hasa Mimarlari,” Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi, I, 1, 1963, pp. 157-202.


10 Selânikî Mustafâ, Ta’rîhî Selânikî Muştafa (Istanbul: Maḥbâ’âl ʿAmire, 1281); Mustafâ Na’îmâ, Ta’rîhî Na’îmâ (Istanbul: Maḥbâ’âl ʿAmire, 1283); Meḥmed Raşîd, Ta’rîhî Raşîd (Istanbul: Maḥbâ’âl ʿAmire, 1282). For references to some of the lesser known histories of interest to the architectural historian, see Erdoğan, “Kaynaklar,” pp. 113-115.


12 The teşkeres on the life of Sinân have been published in a critical edition by Rûfî Melul Mereç, under the title, Minâr Sinan Hayâtı, Başbakanlık Arşivi, the Topkapı Sarayî Arşivi and other Turkish archival repositories. Archival sources of value range from imperial and bureaucratic commands (ḥâkûm) to account books of various sorts (ta’mârîd defterleri, keşf defterleri and inşââî defterleri), deeds of trust for pious foundations (vakﬁyyes), and judicial records of religious courts (jerî’î mahkeme iclilleri). Literary sources include Ottoman court histories—Na’îmâ, Selânikî, Raşîd and others9—travel accounts, and descriptive works such as Evliîa Çelebi’s Seyhülamâne and Hâfiz Hüseyin al-Ayyânsarayî’s Ḥâdiḳat al-Ce’âmi.10 Perhaps the most famous literary sources dealing with a specific architect are the Tâkirket el-Enbiesî of Naqqâs Sâ’î Muştafa Çelebi and the other teşkeres that recount the life of the sixteenth-century architect Sinân.11

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 Mimarlari12 contained chapters on the imperial architects Sinân, Dâvûd Ağâ, Kâsim Ağâ and Muştafa Ağâ, as well as the transcribed texts of a number of sixteenth-century Ḥâkûm having to do with architecture. Another series of important studies of individual imperial architects was published by Muzaffer Erdoğan, who wrote on Dâvûd Ağâ, Kayserî’î Muḥammad Ağâ and Meḥmed Tâhir Ağâ.13 Şehabeddin Akalin published an important study of the Chief Imperial Architect Ahmed Dalîg Pasha,14 and Semavi Eyice did a similar study of Mi’mâr Kâsim.15 For Sinân, the best known of the Ottoman imperial architects, accounts have been published by a number of writers, including İ. H. Konyalî, Apullul Kuran and Ernst Egli.16
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 Risâle-i MiÆmâriyeye, written by a certain ÇaÆfer 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 tezkere dedicated to Sinân, the Risâle-i MiÆmâriyeye 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 Sarayi Müzesi Küttâphanesi in Istanbul, catalogued Yeni Yazma 339 dating to the second decade of the seventeenth century.

The earliest published reference to ÇaÆfer Efendi’s Risâle-i MiÆmâriyeye 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 Tûrân. In it the author enumerates the manuscript sources for the study of Ottoman art and architecture and includes among them the Risâle, the contents of which he describes in brief summary.17

Bûrsalî Mehmed Tahir also mentions the Risâle in his 'Osmâni MiÆcillifleri,18 where he ascribes it to the Ottoman historian ÇaÆfer ÇiÆyâni Bey (late sixteenth–early seventeenth century),19 an attribution repeated in an equally brief reference by Franz Babinger in his study, Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke.20

Reference was again made to the Risâle in a series of five articles published in February and March 1926, in the Istanbul newspaper İkdâm, by the paper’s owner, Ahmed Cevdet Bey. In the first of these articles (26 February 1926; İkdâm, no. 10373), under the title ‘‘Kitâb al-MiÆmâriyeye ve SafaÆ-nâme” (“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 (İkdâm, nos. 10378, 10385, 10395 and 10405) with excerpts from chapters one, two and three of the Risâle, 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 kapus and muhâzir baş, and his travels in the Arab lands of the Ottoman Empire and in Rûm-ili.

Celâl Esâd Arseven also noted the existence of the Risâle in his Türk Sanats Tarihi and published information taken from it defining the terms arsun, boğum and parmak.21 Elsewhere, while discussing Mehmed Ağa, he again mentions the Risâle, and states, following ÇaÆfer Efendi, that

at that time [i.e., at the time of Sinân 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, ÇaÆfer 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.22

In another of his works, L’Art turc,23 the same author again makes brief reference to the Risâle (“un manakib-name [biographie] de l’architecte de la mosquée d’Ahmediyê”) in the course of his discussion of Mehmed Ağa’s life and the construction of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque.

Portions of the Risâle were published in a rather defective transcription along with a brief introduction and notes, by Tahsin ÖÄz in several numbers of the journal Arkeâktêk in 1943 and 1944.24 ÖÄz radically

18 Bûrsalî Mehmed Tahir, 'Osmâni MiÆcillifleri, III (Istanbul: MaÆbaÆi Âmir, 1343), pp. 42, 192.
19 See below, p. 6.
22 Ibid., pp. 767 ff.
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abridged the text, but included in his published selections parts of the introductory chapter, as well as of chapter one, recounting Mehmed Ağa’s arrival in Istanbul from Rum-ı-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’ımär Sinân, his presentation of gifts to Sultan Murâd III and his appointment as a kapıca later as a muhtısr baş. And of chapter three, describing his tour of inspection in the Balkans, his service in Diyarbakır and Damascus, and his appointment as şu nāzir and mi’ımär baş. Öz follows this with brief selections from chapter four dealing with Çafer Efendi’s origins, from chapters five and six describing Mehmed 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 Hakki Konyalı in his Mimar Koca Sinan. There he remarks on the publication of selections from the text in Iḫdâm 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 Saray Museum Library.25 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 Saray Museum Library.26 Muzaffer Erdoğan, in his “Osmanlı Mimarişi Tarihining Oantik 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 Çafer Efendi’s work.27

Şerafettin Turan mentions the Risâle in his article “Osmanlı Teşkilatında Hassa Mimarlari” (“Imperial Architects in the Ottoman State Organization”), and briefly describes its contents.28 Kemal Cığ, former director of the Topkapı Saray 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 “Mimarının Muzikle ilgisi 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]),29 particularly for the life and activities of Mehmed 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.30

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 Gökşay in the commemorative volume for Professor Ismail Hakki Uzuçarşılı.31 In it Gökşay remarks that, “After a book, the Tezkiret-i 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.”32 These include its significance as a reference for the life of Mehmed Ağa and its extensive Turkish architectural vocabulary.

In presenting the Risâle, Gökşay reorganized the fifteen chapters of its text into four broad sections. The first of these (pp. 117-122) consists of excerpts from the fihrist; the second (pp. 122-147) is made up of parts of chapters one through four and deals with the life of Mehmed 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 Mehmed Ağa’s architectural works; and finally, the fourth (pp. 173-215) pulls together those parts of the text, in-

32 Ibid., p. 113.
including 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 Risale is discussed. He also attempts to clarify the identity of its author, Câfer Efendi, and he enumerates the other buildings attributable to Mehmed Ağa but not mentioned in the Risale.

**The Manuscripts of the Risale**

Both Öz and Erdoğan state that only a single manuscript of the Risale exists, YY339 in the Topkapı Sarayi 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 Risale in his private library. Both Arseven and Gökyay 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 Şöñ Säçat (29 Hazıran, 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 writes that at one time the book dealer Raif Yelkenci had a copy of the Risale 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 Risale in the libraries of Ali Emiri Efendi and Fuad Reşad Bey, both made from the Ahmed Cevdet manuscript.

Konyalı asserts that the text of the Risale in the Topkapı Sarayi 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 Risale mentioned by Gökyay or Konyalı, if they in fact exist, YY339 remains the single available version of Câfer 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, Kur’anic verses and the hadith written in red. Each page contains twenty-five lines of ta'lîk 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 Risale and that YY339 is thus an autograph copy of Câfer 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 Nakkaş Sâ’t Muştafa Çelebi’s account of Sinân’s buildings as found in the Teşkiret al-Ebniye.

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 Câfer Efendi or simply as Câfer. 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.

Although Câfer does not identify his place of origin in the Risale, 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

33 Öz, Arkiket, p. 180.
34 Erdoğan, “Kaynaklar,” p. 112.
35 Ahmed Cevdet, İkdam, no. 10373, 26 February 1926.
36 Arseven, Türk Sanati Tarhı, p. 374.
37 Gökyay, Armağan, p. 115.
38 Konyalı, Sinan, p. 39.
39 See ibid., p. 39, and Gökyay, Armağan, p. 114, who bases his assertion on the letters (location not noted) of a certain Muhittin, addressed to Ahmet Cevdet, and to the Director of Culture, Hamit Zübeýr (Kosay).
40 Konyalı, Sinan, p. 39.
41 For a discussion of the date at which Mehmed Ağa’s tenure as ser-mî‘mûrân-ı hâja ended, see pp. 10-11, below.
42 For example, Risâle, 27v, 28r, 56r.
43 For example, Risâle, 4r, 5r, 5v, 22v, 32r, 41v.
44 Risâle, 27r.
text of the *Risâle* that, “the Ağa has always been thus generous and benevolent to us for more than twenty years.” Beyond this rather bald outline, however, the author has very little to say about himself in the *Risâle*.

Nonetheless, beginning with Bürsali Mehmîd Tâhir, several authors have suggested that Çâfer Efendi is to be identified with Tezkereci Çâfer ʻIyânî Bey, the author of several histories, including the *Gazavat-i Tîryaki Hasan Paşa*, the *Zâhdeâl-Naṣîḥî ve ʻUmdet al-Twârîh* and the *Taʻrîh-i Cedit-i Üngûrûs*, who was born in Peç in Hungary, was active around the year 1000/1591-92, and was for a time the defterdar or director of the financial administration of Temesvar in Ottoman Hungary.

Öz, referring to the author of the *Risâle* as “Çâfer Çelebi,” rejects Bürsali Mehmîd Tâhir’s suggested identification, stating—although without source reference—that he came from Anatolia, not Peç, the home of Çâfer ʻIyânî Bey. Furthermore, he notes that nowhere in the *Risâle* is reference made to any of Çâfer ʻIyânî Bey’s other works. Gökyay adds that if the Çâfer Efendi of the *Risâle* had been identical with Çâfer ʻIyânî, we might have expected that he would have used his mahlaś (pseudonym) ʻIyânî in some of the many poems in the work, and that he would somehow 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, Çâfer ʻIyânî is referred to by the title bey, whereas the Çâfer of the *Risâle* speaks of himself as efendi.

It appears doubtful that the author of the *Risâle* is the same as the Çâfer ʻIyânî Bey of Bürsali Mehmîd Tâhir. On the other hand it is clear from the *Risâle*’s text that Çâfer Efendi had gained a certain familiarity with architecture and the science of geometry from his long years of association with Mehmîd Ağa, and one wonders if he were not possibly one of Mehmîd Ağa’s assistants in the haşsa miştåran-ı oçaği. Whatever his circumstance, Çâfer cannot be considered an outstanding literary figure, for his poetry is undistinguished, and his mastery of Arabic and Persian is at best imperfect.

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

**The *Risâle*’s Purpose and Content**

The *Risâle-i Miştåriyye* belongs to that genre of Islamic literature known as tezkere (biographical memoirs) and immediately calls to mind the eulogistic biographies of the architect Sinân, the *Tuhfet al-Miştåran* and the *Tezkiret al-Ebnîye* by Nakkaş Sâî Muştafa Çelebi.31 The relationship between the *Risâle* and these earlier accounts is made specific by Çâfer Efendi, himself: “... before this, menâşkib-nâmes [books of deeds] were written and composed about some of the chief architects [miştår ağaaları]. As menâşkib-nâmes were written down for them, it is necessary for us to write ... a menâşkib-nâme on our generous Ağa.”

At the same time, however, the *Risâle-i Miştåriyye* is not simply a tezkere of Mehmîd 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 Çâfer Efendi, derived from the author’s longstanding intimacy with Mehmîd Ağa:

Because we have been connected with him [Mehmîd 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 [risâle] concerning the science of geometry.

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

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45 *Risâle*, 27r-27v.
46 Bürsali Mehmîd Tâhir, ʻOsmâni Maʿelîsîleri, III, pp. 41-42.
50 Curiously, Nayîr, *Sultan Ahmet*, p. 39, refers to the author of the *Risâle* as pâşîr (poet) Çâfer Efendi, but cites no authority for this epithet.
51 Both published, as noted above, in critical edition by Meriç (see above, note 11).
52 *Risâle*, 6r.
53 *Risâle*, 6r.
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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, küfa, gazel 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 Cafer 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 Mehmed Ağa

The first section of the Risâle, which recounts Mehmed Ağa’s life and deeds, tells us that Mehmed Ağa, whose full name is given by Cafer Efendi as Muhammand ibn ‘Abd al-Mu’in,44 was brought from Rûm-ili to Istanbul as a Janissary recruit (devisirme acemi oğlan) in the last years of the reign of Sultan Süleymân Künnî, (970/1562-63).54 As a devisirme it is clear that Mehmed Ağa must have been born a Christian, but the Risâle records nothing of his date of birth, his family origins,56 or from what town or city in Rûm-ili he came. Erdoğan57 states (without citing his authority) that Mehmed Ağa was from Kalkandelen in western Macedonia. Nayir,58 on the other hand, noting the large number of fountains in Ilbasan in central Albania which Evliya Çelebi59 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.

Cafer 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 (‘ülüsfe) member of the ocaık or corps of bostancı (gardeners) of the imperial household. His first assignment was as watchman of the garden (bağçe bekçisti) around the tomb of Sultan Süleyman I,60 located immediately to the south of Sinân’s newly completed Süleymaniye Mosque. A year later Mehmed Ağa was sent to the hâss bağçe (Imperial Gardens) to be trained for the imperial service in a particular craft.61

As he entered the hâss bağçe, Cafer 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.62 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,63 but promised to teach Mehmed Ağa all that he knew about it.64 The Ağa remained troubled, however, and turned for advice to the great Hâlveti shaihk of the period of Sultan Murâd III, Vişne Mehmed Efendi, one of the most renowned savants and mystics of the age,65 who told him:

54 Risâle, 6r.
55 Risâle, 8v.
56 Franz Babinger ("Quellen zur osmanischen Künstergeschichte," 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 devisirme 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 sipahi in Anatolia. For the devisirme 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 Oğlan," E.I, I, pp. 206-207.
57 Erdoğan, “Kaynaklar,” p. 112. See also Izzet Kumbaracılar, “Türk Minnârîarı,” Arkitekt, VII, 1937, p. 60, who also identifies Mehmet Ağa as from Kalkandelen.
59 Evliya Çelebi, Seyhânatâme, VIII, pp. 723-724.
60 Risâle, 8v.
61 Risâle, 8v.
62 Risâle, 10r.
63 Risâle, 10v.
64 Risâle, 11v.
65 Risâle, 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.66

As a result of this advice, Cafer concludes, Mehmed Ağa turned away from music with regret for the days and hours he had wasted at it.67

Filled with remorse, the Risâle continues, the Ağa noticed in the workshop of the mother-of-pearl workers (sedefkarlar) in the hâş 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.68 Their hadîfe (master) Üstâd Muhammed then tested the Ağa’s strength and sureness of hand and concluded, “The appropriate thing is this, from now on [for Mehmed Ağa] to enter our brotherhood [and] learn [and] grow in this art.”69 Returning subsequently to Vişne Mehmed Efendi, Mehmed Ağa received the saint’s blessing to apprentice in the arts of architecture and the working of mother-of-pearl.70

From 977/1569-70, when he took up the arts of architecture and the working of mother-of-pearl, until the death of Sinân, “chief of the world’s engineers” (ser-i mühendis-i cihan), in 996/1587-88, Mehmed Ağa studied in the hâş bağçe under the supervision of Sinân himself and of Üstâd Muhammed, master of the mother-of-pearl workers.71 That he must have made rapid progress and shown an unusual talent is attested by Cafer Efendi’s statement that ...

Mehmed Ağa also soon showed skill as an architect, for according to a hâkim dated 10 Safer 994 (10 January, 1586) he was appointed by Sinân to complete the construction of the Muradiye Mosque in Manisa.73 This was an important imperial commission, the last of Sinân’s sultan’s mosques, and was almost certainly designed by the Chief Imperial Architect himself.74 The construction of the mosque appears to have been started by the architect Mahmûd, mentioned in Sinân’s hâkim, probably in 991/1583.75 But, Sinân continues, addressing the Lâlâ Pasha who was residing at that time in Manisa with the şehzade Mehmed, Mahmûd having died, Mehmed Ağa was appointed in his place at 30 ağıçe per diem.

The identification of the Mehmed in Sinân’s hâkim with Mehmed Ağa the future Chief Imperial Architect, although accepted by Aslanapa and Goodwin,76 is open to question, especially in view of the fact that Cafer Efendi makes no mention of Mehmed 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 Mehmed of the hâkim appears to have been a decorator (nakşî) 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 (hâşâ nakşîî) Mehmed Halife, who completed work on them with the help of a few assistants in the last lustrum of the tenth century (1587-92).77

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66 Risâle, 12v.
67 Risâle, 13r.
68 Risâle, 13r-17r.
69 Risâle, 17v.
70 Risâle, 17v-18v.
71 Risâle, 19v. The historian Selânîki Muştafa (Ta‘âbû, pp. 120-121) states that at the time Sinân was building the Selimiye, he had among his assistants Dâlîg Alîm, Davud Ağa and Mehmed Ağa. Akalim (“Mimar Dalîq,” p. 76) notes that Mehmet Ağa and Dâlîg Alîm were contemporaries in their apprenticeships as sedefkar, but incorrectly identifies their teacher as Alîm Ustâ. 
72 Risâle, 19v.
73 For the text of the hâkim, see Refik, Türk Mimarları, p. 118, no. 51.
74 Listed as Sinân’s fifty-ninth mosque by Sâ‘î Muştafa in the Teşkiret al-Ebniye; see Meriç, Sinân, p. 82.
75 This is the date given in the inscription over the entrance to the Muradiye; see Rudolf M. Riefstahl, Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 17; also Godfrey Goodwin, A History of Ottoman Architecture (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), p. 317.
77 See Tahsin Öz, “Tavanlarımız,” Güzî Sanatlar, V, 1944, p. 33, figs. 3-6; also L. A. Mayer, Islamic Woodworkers 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 Mehmed Ağa’s early aptitude as an architect, note should be taken of the attempt by Konyalî (Sinân, p. 66) to link him with the Mehmed Şuβaşî who served as a witness to Sinân’s second sahibîye and was appointed as the Chief Imperial Architect’s temporary replacement, or kâ‘îm-i mahkâm, at the time of Sinân’s hajj in 992/1584. (For the text of the hâkim 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 Risālē tells us that Sinān urged Meḥmed Ağā, 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 Ağā, on the advice and counsel of the late Great Ağā [Sinān] fashioned a lectern [tilīvât isticlemesi] in the form of a reading desk [ruḥl] of a type which was the rarity of the age.78

This he presented to Murād two years after Sinān’s death, in the year 998/1589-90, through the agency of the stāḥdār Ahmed Pasha Dāmādī. The sultan is recorded as being much pleased and in return appointed Meḥmed Ağā a kapuci of the imperial court (dergāh-ı âlti bevävbı) with the rank of kulle şöfisi (harem guard).79

As a kulle şöfisi Meḥmed Ağā conveyed a certain Şehlâ Mahmûd 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 Risālē continues,80 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 Meḥmed Ağā 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 Meḥmed Ağā returned, he was commissioned by the sultan to inspect the fortresses and garrisons of Rūm-ıli. 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 Cafer Efendi, he collected news of the infidels’ plans. He then proceeded 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.81 Then, visiting the Crimea, including the Ottoman garrison at Kaffa, he returned via a circuitous route along the Danube, passing through Silistra, Nicopolis, Feth-i İslâm, Golubac, Smederovo and Belgrade, before actually reporting to the sultan in Istanbul.82

In spite of all these travels, Meḥmed Ağā 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 (saylık, kemândan), “like the first [gift] without peer or equal.”83 This he presented to the sultan through the agency of the bāb-ı sa‘adet ağası. Sultan Murād, states Cafer Efendi, was much pleased with the present, and at the suggestion of the bāb-ı sa‘adet ağası, he issued an imperial edict (ferman-ı hümâyûn) promoting Meḥmed Ağā to the office of muhâţır başı or chief summoner of the four kadis of Istanbul.84 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 muhâţır başı, Meḥmed Ağā was made the müsâllîm of .Hour Pasha, at that time governor in Diyarbakır. As müsâllîm Meḥmed Ağā administered Diyarbakır for six months, according to the Risālē, and “as a result of his justice, the wolf and the sheep became companions to one another in that region.”85 After .Hour 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 kethüdâs in the Ottoman capital.

Two years later, in 1004/1595-96, when .Hour Pasha was appointed for a second time beglerbegi of Damascus, Meḥmed Ağā again served as his müsâllîm and administered Damascus pending the pasha’s ar-

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78 Risālē, 20r-20v, 22v.
79 Risālē, 23r.
80 Risālē, 23r.
81 The Ottoman-Hapsburg war of 1593-1606 must have broken out just a few months after Meḥmed Ağā’s journey. For details, see below, chapter 5, note 60; also Stanford Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 184-188.
82 Risālē, 23r.
83 Risālē, 20v.
84 Risālē, 21r, 23r.
85 Risālē, 23v.
rival. Subsequently designated hâkim of the nähiye (district) of Hawran in south Syria, Mehmmed Ağâ 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'a Kâsîb and his band. But the jealousies of Mehmmed Ağâ's rivals in Hüsrev Pasha's entourage turned the beglerbegi against his hâkim and resulted in Mehmmed Ağâ's return to Istanbul, probably sometime in 1005/1596-97 or 1006/1597-98.

Along with these administrative duties, Mehmmed Ağâ appears to have maintained his connections with the craft workshops in the hâss bagçe and with the hâşşa mi'mârâr ocağı or Corps of Imperial Architects. For Çâfer states,

... until the Great Architect, the late Sinan Ağâ, died [996/1587-88] he [Mehmmed Ağâ] studied the art [of architecture] with him. Then he worked with the architect Dâvûd Ağâ, who took his [Sinân's] place as mi'mâr-ı-bagçe. And the late Dâvûd Ağâ dying [in 1007/1597-98], he became an apprentice of the master of the art of working mother-of-pearl in the hâş bagçe, the late Dâlîg Ağâ Ağâ, who took his [Dâvûd Ağâ's] place as mi'mâr-ı-bagçe, from 1007/1598-99 to 1015/1606. And in his time, however many public buildings he [Dâlîg Ağâ] created, all of them were the work of the above-mentioned Mehmmed Ağâ.

On his return to Istanbul from Damascus, Mehmmed Ağâ was appointed su nâzîr (nâzîr-ı-âb) of the city of Istanbul. This, according to the Risâle, occurred in the year 1006/1597-98, a date which would seem, however, to contradict evidence that Dâlîg Ağâ Ağâ remained su nâzîr until Dâvûd Ağâ's death from the plague in the first ten days of Safer 1007/September 1598.

Whatever the actual date, by his appointment to the post of su nâzîr Mehmmed Ağâ became the second rank-

ing official in the hâşşa mi'mârâr ocağı after the ser-mi'mârân-ı hâşşa, and the prospective successor to that latter office. The Risâle states that Mehmmed Ağâ held the office of su nâzîr for eight years, that is, throughout Dâlîg Ağâ'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 kepîf and masraf defters in the Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi (D205 and 4411 respectively) refer to repairs carried out by Mehmmed Ağâ along with a certain Hasan Usta on the Ibrahim Paşa Sarayı on the At Meydani in Istanbul and to the tiles of the minaret and spire of the Enderun Mosque and adjacent Kasr-ı Hümayun in the Topkapı Sarayı. In addition, an inscription in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, dated 1013 (1604), states that it belonged to a fountain (today no longer existent and of uncertain location) known as the Mehmmed Ağâ Çeşmesi, presumably a private endowment of the su nâzîr.

After Dâlîg Ağâ Ağâ's promotion to the rank of paşa and his designation as beglerbegi of Silistre in Rûmîli, Mehmmed Ağâ was appointed ser-mi'mârân-ı hâşşa, according to the Risâle, on Wednesday, 8 Cemâziyelâhir 1015 (11 October 1606). As such, he was responsible for the construction of the Sultan Ahmed complex, begun in the year 1018/1609-10, 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) and still alive when the Sultan Ahmed Mosque was finished in 1026/1617. Although Mayer and Goodwin state that he died shortly there-
after, there is no evidence that he did not survive until 1032/1622, the year of Kasım Ağa’s appointment as Chief Imperial Architect. Thus it would appear that Meḥmed Ağa lived about eighty years and that he was Chief Imperial Architect probably from 1606 to c. 1623.

**ARCHITECTURAL WORKS**

In the Teşkiret al-Ebnıye and the Tuhufet al-Miṣmārān, Nakkaş Şâ‘î Muṣṭafâ Çelebi gives long, though slightly differing, lists of the monuments built by Sinān. Although no such list is provided in the Risâle-i Miṣmārîye, the several blank pages at the end of chapter five suggest that Câfer Efendi intended to provide a similar tabulation of buildings constructed by, or under the supervision of, Meḥmed Ağa during his tenure as ser-miṣmārān-i ḥāṣa, but never actually did so. As a result, the Risâle mentions only very few of Meḥmed 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 oluk) overhanging its northwest side, and the erection of a minbar on the Maḵām Ībrāhīm, 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, Meḥmed Ağa fashioned window grills and locks of pure gold.

Following his description of Meḥmed Ağa’s work on the sanctuaries of Mecca and Medina, Câfer Efendi devotes a second chapter to what from an architect’s point of view was unquestionably Ağa’s greatest work, the Sultan Ahmed Mosque in Istanbul. Construction of the mosque was still in progress when the Risâle was written in 1023/1614-15: Câfer Efendi tells us that when he visited it in that year, “this noble building had risen to the zone of its high dome.” The Risâle does not, however, refer directly to any of Meḥmed Ağa’s other architectural works, though Câfer 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, among other things:

> ... how many noble Friday mosques [camīʾ], and how many delightful quarter mosques [medres], and how many madreses, and how many baths [hammām] and how many palaces [saray], and how many pavilions [kōşk], 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.

Although no such accounting was made, it is apparent that Meḥmed 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 Risâle, where its author has a fatigued and harried Meḥmed Ağa ask him:

> O Câfer 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 [Câfer Efendi continues] this humble servant, counting the scattered buildings with which he was busy and preoccupied, had pity [for Meḥmed Ağa].

Although a precise enumeration of the entire corpus of Meḥmed 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

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103 Kumberaclar, (“Türk Mimarları,” p. 60) gives this as the date of Meḥmed 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.
104 These dates are also accepted by Nâyır, Sultan Ahmet, p. 41.
105 Meriç, Sinan, pp. 24-50, 74-129.
106 Risâle, 7r, 31v-47v.
107 Risâle, 52r-61v.
108 Risâle, 52r; for a description and literature, see Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbul (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1977), pp. 470-474.
109 Risâle, 32r; see also 7r. On 6r, Câfer Efendi also gives a part of this list, specifying in particular that Meḥmed Ağa erected more than a hundred fountains (çeşme).
Istanbul. Originally built in the second half of the fifteenth century by Zeyni Meḥmed Efendi, vakf rüz-nâmecesi (clerk accountant of pious endowments) of Fāṭih Sultan Meḥmed, as the classroom of a medrese, it was located opposite the house of Meḥmed Ağa. According to Ayyānsarāyī, the mosque was destroyed in the Cibāli fire, and subsequently both mosque and minaret were rebuilt by “Koca Miḥmār Meḥmed Ağa.”

2. The İstavroz Mescidi, located in the İstavroz Saray, built for Sultan Ṭāhir Aḥmed I in Beylerbeyi on the Asian side of the Bosphorus to the north of Istanbul, no longer extant.

3. The Sultan Aḥmed Çeşmesi on the shore at Tophane in Istanbul, no longer extant.

4. Forty fountains in the town of İlbašan in Albania, built, according to Evliya Çelebi, by “the Chief Architect (miḥmār bāṣī) who built the new mosque of Sultan Aḥmed Khan on the At Meydani in Istanbul.” He further notes that the dates of all the çeşmes are written in verse in faience (kāţi-i ǧīn) on the fountains’ arches, and gives a fragment of one of these poems in the Seyḥāhatname.

In addition, as Câfer Efendi states, during Dālīgīch Aḥmed’s term as Chief Imperial Architect, “however many public buildings he [Dālīgīch Aḥmed] created, all of them were the work of the above-mentioned Meḥmed Ağa.” Extant documents attest to the probability of his completion of the Muradiye Mosque in Manisa and his repairing of the İbrahim Paşa Saray and the Enderun Mosque and Karşı Hümayun in the Topkapı Palace; an epigraph in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi identifies Meḥmed Ağa as the builder of a fountain, no longer extant.

A number of authors have speculated on Meḥmed Ağa’s responsibility for other important foundations built during his tenure as Chief Imperial Architect. Gökay, for example, asserts that he was the builder of the Dar al-Šifa Mosque, founded by Sultan Aḥmed for the Muslim workers involved in the construction of his imperial mosque on the At Meydanı. Aslanapa suggests that he may have been responsible for the completion in 1608 of the tomb of Meḥmed III, begun by Dālīgīch Aḥmed Ağa, as well as for that of Sultan Aḥmed I himself, built in 1619. But the longest list of works ascribed to Meḥmed Ağa is that given by N ayr. Compiled from contemporary sources, it con-


109 For the İstavroz Sarayı, within which the mosque was located, see Uzuncarşıları, Sarayı Tıkıktıları, 14. According to Katip Çelebi (Fıkık-i Taβrīz, I [İstanbul: Maθaθa-ı Âmire, 1287], p. 353), the mosque was built in forty days at the order of Sultan Aḥmed I for the use of the kapucales and the retinue of the vezir-i aṣām. On the İstavroz Mescidi, see also Naşıma, Taβrīz, II, p. 109, who draws on Katip Çelebi; also, Gökay, Armağan, p. 173.

110 Naşıma, Taβrīz, II, p. 9; also Gökay, Armağan, p. 173.

111 Evliya Çelebi, Seyḥahatname, VIII, pp. 723-724.

112 The next to the last line of the verse as given by Evliya Çelebi reads in part, “Its date falling on ten...” (Deh düşüb taβrīzini...). One wonders if this is to be taken as dating the fountain or fountains to 1010/1601-02.

113 Risāle, 22c.

114 See p. 10 above.

115 Gökay, Armağan, p. 173; Ayyānsarāyī, Ḥadiḵat, I, pp. 110-111.

116 Aslanapa, Turkish Art, pp. 242-243.

117 N ayr, Sultan Ahmet, pp. 42-44. Her list includes:

(1) Mosque: In addition to the Sultan Aḥmed Mosque, repair of St. Sophia (1609); addition of a dome to the Haseki Camii (1611); the Kūrt Çelebi Camii (1611); the Sultan Aḥmed Mescidi in Edirne Sarayı (1612); the Osman Ağa Mescidi in Kadıköy (1612); the İstavroz Mescidi (1613); the Kūrkûbaş Mescidi (1613); the

Arabacılı Mescidi (1614); the Kara İмam Mescidi (1615); the Hājil Paşa Camii (1617); the Gedik Abdi Mescidi (1621); the Gül男孩子 Mescidi (1622); and the Sormagır Odaşi Mescidi (1622). (2) Tūrbes: The Kuyucu Murad Paşa Tūrbesi; Ekmekeğiçiğlu Ahmed Paşa Tūrbesi; Sultan Aḥmed Tūrbesi; Sultan Meḥmed III Tūrbesi; Sadrazam Hālil Paşa Tūrbesi; Nakkaş Hasan Paşa Tūrbesi; Güzelce Ali Paşa Tūrbesi; Destan Mustafa Paşa Tūrbesi. (3) Medreses: The medreses in the Kuyucu Murad Paşa and Ekmekeğiçiğlu complexes. (4) Hamams: Hamam in the Sultan Aḥmed Complex. (5) Saray and Kāş: The Sultan Aḥmed I Odası in the Harem of the Topkapı Sarayı (1600); the Kasrı Ali in the Tershane Bahçe on the Golden Horn; the İstavroz Sarayı; Beylerbeyi. (6) Bridges: The Ekmekeğiçiğlu Ahmed Paşa Köprüsü over the Tunc at Edirne; a four-arched bridge on the road to Sliviri (1618, name and location unknown), mentioned in Deftar 5112 of the documents relating to the construction of the Sultan Aḥmed Complex, in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi. (7) FOUNTAINS (Çeşme): Those located as follows: before the entrance to Gülhanı in the Topkapı Sarayı (1606); before the Haydarpaşa Bahçeşi in Kadıköy; before the Şahr-ul-Ievvan Ahrevi (?); before the imperial bake oven (baş ṣāfīn) in the Üskūdar Bahçesı; and before the Tazıcıl Odași near the Üskūdar Bahçesi. Also the Sultan Ahmed Çeşmesi in Tophane (1611); the Aziz Mahmud Hādāyı Çeşmesi in Üskūdar (1610); the Esad Meḥmed Efendi Çeşmesi in Kabataş (1613); the Meḥmed Paşa Çeşmesi between Edirnekapi and Rami (1617); and forty fountains in İlbašan in Albania. (8) FOUNTAINS (Şebil): The fountain on the northeastern side of the outer court of the Sultan Aḥmed Mosque (with inscription giving Meḥmed Ağa’s name); also the Kuyucu Murad Paşa Şebil in Veznice; the Halil Paşa Şebil in Üskūdar; the Kavgăd Kabin Şebil in Saractersheba; the Sultan Aḥmed Şebil near the tomb of Eyüp Sultan (1613); the Cini Şebil (1607), Ayse Sultan Şebil (1618), and Evliya Çelebi’s (Seyḥahatname, II, p. 90) “artistically fashioned şebil” (1606), all in Istanbul. (9) Karvanıvar: The Ekmekeğiçiğlu Kervansarayı at Edirne (1609).
INTRODUCTION

Meşmed 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 (sadeškârîškî). His skill in the craft is mentioned repeatedly in the Risâle, and Çafer Efendi has both Sinân and Sultan Murâd III lavish praise upon his workmanship.118 According to the Risâle he was trained under the supervision of a certain Üstâd Muhammed,119 and it was through the agency of gifts fashioned in this craft and presented to Murâd III that he was appointed a kapuc of the imperial palace (dergâh-ı ʿâli bevâbi) in the year 998/1589-90, and muhâşir baş of the four kadis of İstanbul in 1000/1591-92.120 Because of his skill, Meşmed Ağa is often referred to with the lakab, sadeškâr.121 Although it is clear that Meşmed 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, but others whose dates would suggest such an attribution. Certainly it is likely that many of these were in fact Meşmed Ağa’s work.

WORKS IN MOTHER-OF-PEARL

Meşmed 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 (sadeškârîškî). His skill in the craft is mentioned repeatedly in the Risâle, and Çafer Efendi has both Sinân and Sultan Murâd III lavish praise upon his workmanship. According to the Risâle he was trained under the supervision of a certain Üstâd Muhammed, and it was through the agency of gifts fashioned in this craft and presented to Murâd III that he was appointed a kapuc of the imperial palace (dergâh-ı ʿâli bevâbi) in the year 998/1589-90, and muhâşir baş of the four kadis of İstanbul in 1000/1591-92. Because of his skill, Meşmed Ağa is often referred to with the lakab, sadeškâr. Although it is clear that Meşmed 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, but others whose dates would suggest such an attribution. Certainly it is likely that many of these were in fact Meşmed Ağa’s work.

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.122

In addition, Çafer Efendi states that two years later Meşmed Ağa created a jeweled and gold-inlaid bow case (jaylûk, kemânân) for the sultan which, like the earlier gift, was “without peer or equal.”123

... 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.124

Finally, briefly mentioned are “an artistically made small table (piş-tahta) fashioned by Meşmed Ağa as a means of purchasing a rare Kurân in order to make it wâkf,”125 and an “elegant minbar” executed for the Makâm İbrâhîm in the courtyard of the Great Mosque of Mecca.126

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

bul: Millî Eğitim Basvimi, n.d.), p. 213, pl. 519, attributes the throne to Dâlîq Ahmed Ağa.

118 See Öz, Tavanlanmüz, p. 33, figs. 3-6; Mayer, Woodcarvers, p. 57 (where the craftsman’s name is transcribed Muhammed Halifa); Riefstahl, Turkish Architecture, pls. 22f and 22g.

119 See Ernst Kühnel, Die Sammlung türkischer und islamischer Kunst im Tschinilli Kösch (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1938), p. 20, pl. 19; Mayer, Woodcarvers, p. 52 (where the craftsman’s name is transcribed Muhammed).

120 Aslanapa, Turkish Art, p. 230.

121 For a discussion and views of the wooden doors and shutters of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, see Tahsin Öz, “Sultan Ahmet Camii’niin tezizini huusiyetleri,” Vakıflar Dergisi, II, 1942, pp. 209-212.
Mehmed Ağa’s Character

Considerable attention is devoted by Çafer Efendi in the Risâle 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 Çafer Efendi. He writes, “Our Ağa keeps the gates of generosity and kindness open and full at all times, like the hands of Ḥātim Ṭâ’ī.”

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 [‘timâret] 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.

Not only was Çafer Efendi himself the object of Mehmed Ağa’s largess, 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.”

The Risâle also emphasizes Mehmed Ağa’s mildness and good nature. “In his noble temperament,” writes Çafer Efendi, “there is such a level of kindness and munificence that he would not [even] let an ant be hurt by him.” 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 Cüm’a Kâsim.

Mehmed Ağa’s activities as a builder of pious foundations and an endower of wakfs are lauded in the Risâle as well. Çafer 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 (kêprü) and more than a hundred fountains (geyme), some with other people’s wealth (râl), some with his own wealth.” 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. Çafer Efendi elsewhere describes Mehmed Ağa’s making wakf a particularly fine Kurân.

With all these virtues, Mehmed Ağa still retained his modesty. Çafer 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.” 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.

In sum, says Çafer Efendi, Mehmed Ağa is to be likened to a peerless Kirmâni 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 Çafer rhetorically, “who knows how sharp is a sword remaining in its scabbard or with what kinds of jewels it is set?”

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 hâşça mi’mârlar 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 bostânc 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

136 Risâle, 26v.
137 Risâle, 26v-27r.
138 Risâle, 27v-28r, 57r.
139 Risâle, 28v.
140 Risâle, 27v.
141 Risâle, 23v-25r.
142 Risâle, 6r.
143 Evliyâ Çelebi, Seyâhatnâme, VIII, pp. 723-724.
144 Risâle, 21v-22r.
145 Risâle, 26r.
146 Risâle, 19r.
147 Risâle, 22v.
INTRODUCTION

ser-mîmârân-ı hâssa and finds close parallels in the careers of Sinân, Dâlögç Aھmed Ağâ, Kayserî’îlî Mehard Ağâ and Mehard Tâhir Ağâ, among others.144

What makes the account of Mehard Ağâ’s life and work unique is the detail available to us in the Risâle. While we would like to know more—the corpus of his works surely exceeded those we can at present attribute to him, and Mehard Ağâ’s later life remains largely a blank—the information given in the Risâle concerning the career of this one Ottoman architect finds no counterpart for any other single Ottoman builder with the exception, perhaps, of Sinân. This fact alone would be sufficient to mark the Risâle 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 Cafer 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.

144 The davûtme origins of both Sinân and Dâlögç Aھmed are well attested. Mehard Tâhir’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 Mahmûd I. Almost nothing is known of the origins of Kayserî’îlî Mehard Ağâ. In later life, however, all four led varied careers in the Ottoman bureaucracy, holding at different times offices little connected with their professional training. Sinân, for example, had a career as a military officer in the Janissary corps; Dâlögç Aھmed was appointed to the rank of paşa and made beglerbegi of several districts in the Balkans, Anatolia and Syria; Kayserî’îlî Mehard Ağâ was designated sârre emînî (the official charged with the delivery of the sultan’s annual gift to the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina); and Mehard Tâhir was made cizye başbâkî külü (chief inspector for the collection of the cizye tax) in the district of Feth-î İslâm in the Balkans. See Meriç, Mimar Sinan, pp. 5, 16-17, 69-71; Akaln, “Mimar Dal göç,” pp. 71-74; Erdoğan, Kayserî’îlî Mehard, pp. 1-3; Erdoğan, “Mehmed Tahir,” VII, pp. 158, 161-162.
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‘mārlik] and the working of mother-of-pearl [sedefkārlik].

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‘ba, and how he cleared the roads to the noble Ka‘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‘ba—honored by God, whose name be exalted—and for the Noble Sanctuary1 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 bennā‘ zarā‘ [architect’s cubit] and the čāmmeh zarā‘ [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 mil and the fersenk and the karş and the dirsek and the kulş and the ayak and the adm and the oğ atmi 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 nişan 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 nişan, 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 nişan as inscribed in wakf registers,2 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.

1 Harām-i Şerif: the term is usually used to designate the building complex on Mt. Moriah in Jerusalem, including the Dome of the Rock, the Aksa Mosque, and associated structures; see "al-Haram al-Sharif," by Oleg Grabar, E.I., 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‘ba.

2 Registration books of the properties of pious foundations. For an example of such a survey, see Ö. L. Barkan and E. H. Ayverdi, Istanbul Vakiflar Tahrir Defteri: 953 (1546) tarihi (Istanbul: Baha Matbaas, 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 Süleyman 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 [ehvät-u mufrad] and some are short poems [kiya] and some are lyric poems [gazel] and some are odes [kaşide]. And the total of the odes found here and there [in this text] is ten.

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

2. The first lyric poem concerns His Excellency the Architect of the Two Holy Cities, who sent the keys of these cities, it was employed as an alternative means of designating the Chief Imperial Architect.

3. The second ode rhymes in ra. 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 second lyric poem concerns His Excellency the Servitor of the Two Holy Cities, who sent the keys of these cities, it was employed as an alternative means of designating the Chief Imperial Architect.

5. The third ode rhymes in elif and mim. 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.

6. The third lyric poem concerns His Excellency the Servitor of the Two Holy Cities, who sent the keys of these cities, it was employed as an alternative means of designating the Chief Imperial Architect.

46. The sixth ode rhymes in vaṭ and ra. 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 ra. It is an ode named Esaşiye about the noble mosque of His Majesty Sultan Ahmed Khan. It is on the fifty-first folio.

59. The eighth ode also rhymes in elif and ra. It is an ode entitled Bahariyye 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 ya and dâl. It is an ode entitled ‘Idiyye about the noble name of His Excellency the Ağa. It is on the eighty-third folio.

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

IN EXPLANATION OF THE LYRIC POEMS (GAZEL) 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‘mâr-i hadîm al-harameyn]. It is on the forty-tenth 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.


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

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

6 Bahariyye: a type of kaşide in praise of an important personage beginning with a eulogy to spring.

9 ‘Idiyye: a type of congratulatory kaşide composed for and offered to important personages at the end of Ramażân.

6 hadîm al-harameyn ("Servitor of the Two Holy Cities," Mecca and Medina): title first given to Sultan Selim I in 1517 by the Sharif 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, 1936), 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," and the glorious Qur'anic verse, _wa mā khalaktu al-jinna _wa al-insa _illā li-ya'budūni_, 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 _hānkalāhs_. 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 mistshrouded 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 Īḥulde, the third region ʿArfe, the fourth region Cerbā, the fifth region Melgā, the sixth region Siccān, and the seventh region, ʿAcibā ʿAcibā; 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 Berktā, the second being the ruby-yellow sphere of Mercury called Kaydūm, the third being the ruby-red Maʿūn which is the sphere of Venus, the fourth being the silver-white sphere of the Sun called Erkalūt, the fifth being the red-gold sphere of Mars called Retkā, the sixth being the pearl-white sphere of Jupiter called Rakīrā, 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. 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^10_

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

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^7_ Kur'ān, II:117; III:59.
^8_ Kur'ān, LI:56.
^9_ For an analogous account of the Creation, see Muhammad ibn Thackston, Jr. (Boston: Twayne, 1978), pp. 5-12.
^10_ Marginal note gives meter of verse, and reads, _meṣaʾilūn feʾilatūn meṣaʾilūn feʾilatū._ "This is the beautiful _māʿītess_ 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, lawlaka lawlaka lama khalaktu al-aflak, “But for you, but for you, O Muhammad, I would not have created the heavens.”

[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,

11 Marginal note gives meter of verse, and reads, mefâ tilûn mefâ tilûn}$fûlûn “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 you journeyed to the summit of the heavens.
By you alone was that Rakhsh subdued.
Yours is the Abode of the Two Bowshots.
From that place Gabriel drew back his wing.
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! Cāfer's sins are many.
Without intercession his state would be sad.

In praise of the Companions 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.


13 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.

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

15 Companions of the Prophet: those Muslims who were contemporaries of and were closely associated with the Prophet Muhammad; see I. Goldziher, “Aṣḥāb,” E.I.1, 1, pp. 477-478.
Verse 16

And peace be upon the four Orthodox Caliphs!
Because with them the Community of Islam attained greatness.

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 Câfer’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,18 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 [başsa-i mi‘mârân ağası], the honorable and dignified Muḥammad Ağa ibn ʻAbd al-Mu‘tin, continuously built and erected noble Friday mosques [cami] 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 [Câfer]. Because we have been connected with him for many years until the present time, for the most part

16 Marginal note gives meter of verse, and reads, meş‘ülî fi‘ilâtı meş‘ülî fi‘ilâtı “Mankind animates the muzari” meter.”
17 The first four caliphs, often referred to as the Orthodox or Rightly Guided Caliphs (al-khulafa‘ al-rašidîn), Abû Bakr (11/632), ʻUmar ibn al-Khattab (13/634), ʻUthmân ibn ʻAffân (23/644), and ʻAlî ibn Abî Tâlib (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 Genealogical Handbook (Edinburgh: The University Press, 1967), pp. 3-4.
18 Curiously, Câfer Efendi seems here to have written the date erroneously, for the year given in the colophon at the end of the Rısâle 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 âga]. 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 Âga, 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 Âga, it is entitled Risâle-i Mi'mâriyye.

FIRST CHAPTER

It describes how His Excellency the Âga 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 Âga to give up that fancied art. And then, how the Âga, 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 Âga 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 Âga created, honored him with the office of Gate Keeper of the Sublime Porte [dergâh-ı 'âli kapuçılığı]. And how, by a felicitous imperial decree, he became the Chief Summoning Officer [muhzir hazrat] of the four kadis of Istanbul.

FOURTH Chapter

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

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 [cami], 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 [kôşk], and how many bridges [kôprî], and how many fountains [çâme], and altogether how many pious foundations he built.20

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 Meydani 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 Âga 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.

[19] The menâkıb-nâmes of the architect Sinân (Koca Mi'mâr Sinân, 895-996/1489-1588) including the so-called Adâsî Risâle, the Risâlet al-Mi'mâriyye, the Tuhfet al-Mi'mâriyye, and the Tezkiret al-Ebnîye of Nakkaş Sâîlî Mustafa Çelebi have been published in a critical edition by Meriç; see Introduction, note 11 above.

[20] In the actual body of the text, the list of Mehmet Âga'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 barmak both the architect’s cubit [bennâ’ girâyat’] and the common cubit [‘ammâ’ girâyat’] contain and what the barmak is defined as, and what the reason is for the architect’s cubit being defined as thirty-four barmak and for the common cubit being one hundred barmak, that is thirty-two girih.

EIGHTH CHAPTER

It describes what an ayâk, and an adam, and an o k atumi, and a mil, and a fersenâ, and a berid, and a kânyâ, and a dirsek, and a kulaç 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 evelek, and şibêk, and nişân are in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages, and it defines them.

TENTH CHAPTER

It describes the details of the dönüm, and the şibêk, and the nişân, 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 girâc each of these three types is in terms of the architect’s girâc.

ELEVENTH CHAPTER

It describes the terms for palace [saray], and house [ev], and cell [kücre], and stone bench [söfâ], and entrance hall [dehîz], and terrace [sath], and roof [sahf], and dervish lodge [tekiye], and dervish monastery [bânkâh], and caravanserai [kârbân-saray], 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.

1 Süleyman I Kânûnî (“the Lawgiver,” referred to in Western usage as “the Magnificent”); tenth sultan of the Ottoman dynasty; reigned 926/1520 to 947/1566.

2 Rûm-ili: qayîlet or province of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, including in the sixteenth century Thrace, Macedonia, 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.
Remaining unpaid ['ulûfesiz] for five years, he then in the sixth year, after being enrolled as a paid Janissary ['ulûfe], became for a year the watchman of the garden [bağçe bekçisi] of the exalted tomb [türbê] of His Majesty the late Sultan Süleyman Khan—may he rest in peace. After a year he entered [the service of) the imperial gardens [hâşs bağçe] . 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 săz. 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. When the above-mentioned Aga 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 săz. 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?

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 Aga, trembling, beseeched the musician [to instruct him in his art].

Couplet8

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 săz." Saying this, he brought forth a plectrum for exercise and put it in his hand. And the above-mentioned Aga took the plectrum in his hand and kissing [the musician's] hand, drew eighty or ninety florins [filori], 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

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9 Christian youth conscripted for training for posts in the imperial palace, the Ottoman bureaucracy or the kapı kulu (slave) military corps; see Bowen, "Adjamı Oğlân;" also V. L. Menage, "Devshirme," E.I.3, II, pp. 210-213.
4 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.
5 bağçe: The gardens of the imperial palace.
6 săz: 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.
7 Marginal note gives meter of couplet, fəsîlâtun fəsîlâtun fəsîlâtun fəsîlâtun fəsîlân.
8 Marginal note gives meter of couplet, mefâ ʃinân mefâ ʃinân mefâ ʃinân mefâ ʃinân.
9 filori: Ottoman name for the standard gold coins of Europe, it derives from the Italian florina or florin; see H. Inalcık, "Filore," E.I.1, 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 Ağâ. As for His Excellency the Ağâ, 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 be 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 be exalted—willing, this will be described in the second chapter. [10r] In short, the above-mentioned Ağâ, 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 [senk] and zithers [kânûn], some violins [rebâb] and some pandore [zâfûrû], some organs [ergânûn], some pan-pipes [mûstâfâl], some lutes [tanbûr], some castanets [sâr-pâne], some dulcimers [santûr]. [10r] 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 Ağâ, "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 Üskûdar [in his dream] in order to make an excursion on 'Alem Dağî, as he was ascending the slope, His Excellency the Ağâ 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 [nagme]? What is time [zamân]? What is harmony [mülayyemet]? What is dissonance [mümâferet]? What is melody [lahn]? What is interval [bu'd]? What is tone [sâvî]? What is song [gînâ]? They know not. A note is the same as a deliberate producing of the sound ten. [12] Ten [  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. Sâvî [sound] is Arabic. In Persian they say āvâz, and in present-day Turkish they also say āvâz. But in old Turkish they said ın and ses and haykirt-mâk. Ghînâ, [song, tune] is Arabic. In Persian they say surûd, and in Turkish ysrîlamak. In addition to this there are twelve principal modes [makâm]. 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, ʾIrâk, Isfâhân, Zir-e-fênd, Bûzûrû, Şerengûlû, Rehâwî, Hüseynî, Hîcâz, Bûsêlik, Nevâ, and ʾUşûlê. 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 ʾuḥbe is four, since the derivative modes are defined in accord with the four


11 'Alem Dağî: an excursion spot on the Asian side of the Bosphorus above Anadolu Hisar.
The four derivative modes mentioned are Yegah, Diigah, Segah and Cargah. The lowest in initial tone is Yegah. The highest in initial tone is Cargah. Dugah and Segah are between these two. Dugah is close to Yegah. Segah is close to Cargah. In terms of classification there are four initial tones. The first tone is Yegah, the second tone is Dugah, the third tone is Segah, the fourth tone is Cargah. In Persian *yak* means one, *du* two, *sa* three and *char* four. As for *gah*, it means place. Yegah means first place, Dugah second place, Segah third place, Cargah 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] *auzaz* [song] because the *auzaz* are arranged in accordance with the seven planets. And the seven *auzaz* mentioned are Kust, Nevruz, Selmek, Sehnaz, Maye, Gerdaniyeye and Hisar. And in addition to this there are twenty-four [derivative modes known as] *terkib* [composition] because *terkib* are arranged in accordance with the twenty-four hours.13 Beginning one *makam*, 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 miski*]. In place of *miski*, it is also correct to say *miski* and *miskar*. All of these are proper terms. In Greek [the word] *muis* means melody and *ki* and *kar* mean well-balanced. The person who systematized this science is the disciple of the prophet Solomon—peace be upon him—the philosopher Pythagoras.14 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 Ağa, 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 Ağa] the twelve basic modes. But His Excellency the Ağa 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.15 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

13 For a discussion of the basic and derivative modes (*makam*, *puck*, *auzaz*, *terkib*) in Turkish art music, see Signell, *Makam*, pp. 23-151.
14 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, “Filhâghûras,” *E.I.*, II, pp. 929-930.
messenger’s fee you wish.” Saying [this], he took out and gave him a handful of aspers [akçe].\(^{16}\) And the above-mentioned Janissary recruit, [12v] taking him by the hand, went into the exalted presence of the honored saint named Vişne Mehməd Efendi—may his grave be hallowed. After kissing his hand, His Excellency the Ağä 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 [cinən] means jinn [cinler]\(^{18}\) because the suffix kən in cinən is a plural ending. Originally, [the word jinn] was cinə, like zinde. When the plural form was used in the Persian language, it became cinənən, like zindegan. Later, lightening and softening the nən, they said zindegan. From the point of view of words, cin is in this cinən 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 Ağä, 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 Ağä] 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 [sedefkäriler kär-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 Murâd III next to her mosque and medrese in Üskûdar. His death is reported to have occurred in the summer of 992/1584. See Nevç- zade ʿAjâʾīb, Ḥâdâʾîk al-Hokâʾîk fi Tekmilât al-Ṣākâʾîk, I (Istanbul: Maḥbâʿ-i ʾAmire, 1268), p. 361.

\(^{16}\) akçe: a small silver coin (asper) which formed the basic unit of the older Ottoman monetary system. The name derives from the Turkish ək (white), the color of silver; see H. Bowen, “Akte,” E.I.\(^{3}\), I, pp. 317-318.

\(^{17}\) Vişne Mehməd Efendi: one of the great ulema of the period of Sultan Murâd III. After completion of his medrese training, he became a disciple of the Ḥalveti master Kastamonulu Şâhib Şəbən Efendi, and himself became şâhib of the Ferrûğ Keştîşâ Tekkəsi near Balat. He was subsequently appointed preacher and professor of tefsir and Tradition in the dâr al-hadîṣ built by the mother of Sultan Murâd III next to her mosque and medrese in Üskûdar. His death is reported to have occurred in the summer of 992/1584. See Nevç-zade ʿAjâʾīb, Ḥâdâʾîk al-Hokâʾîk fi Tekmilât al-Ṣâkâʾîk, I (Istanbul: Maḥbâʿ-i ʾAmire, 1268), p. 361.

\(^{18}\) 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.\(^{4}\), II, pp. 546-549.
Adam, the pure of God, the prophet Seth—peace be upon him. And he is called the gift of God and the favored of God. The heavenly prototype of the Ka'ba in the Seventh Heaven [Beyt al-Ma'āmūr], 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—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 [Muhammad], Abraham, 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, Behket al-Tevāriği, 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. 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

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!

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

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

19 Seth (Şi't): 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-Kisâ', Tales, p. 86; also the article "Şūh," E.I., IV, p. 385.
21 'Abd Allâh ibn al-'Abbâs, called al-Hîbr ("the Learned") or al-Bâhr ("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 Kur'ānic exegesis; see L. Vecchia Vaglieri, "'Abd Allâh b. al-'Abbâs," E.I., I, pp. 40-41.
23 Behket al-Tevāriği: a world history written for the sâd-rate's of Sultan Mehemmed II, Mahmûd Paşa Veli, in 861/1457. Its author was the Ottoman historian Şükûlîh ibn Şâb al-Dîn Ahmed (d. 894/1488), a member of the ulama under sultans Murâd II and Mehemmed II. For details, see Babinger, Geschichteschreiber pp. 19-20.
24 Noah (Nûh): the Biblical Noah, esteemed in Muslim legend as a carpenter because of his building of the Ark; see Bernhard Heller, "Nûh," E.I., III, pp. 948-949.
25 Marginal note gives meter of verse, faš'ılatun faš'ılatun faš'ılatun faš'ılat.
The definition of the science of geometry is this: al-handasatu 'ilmun yu'rafi bihi kadru dahi al-ashyari'wa al-askali hasba-ma yuqtadhihi 'ilmu al-hisabi wa jadruruhi. That is, geometry is a science. And by means of that science of geometry a thing’s volume and a form’s size are determined. 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—peace be upon them—when the Ka‘ba 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 hindâz [quantity, measure]. Hindâz is arabicized from andâza [measure, quantity]. And andâza is Persian. [Those things] which are called tasmîn, resm, ölçmek and arsun are wooden or iron measuring rods with which [15r] cloth and other things are measured. And in the dictionary of Ni‘met Allâh they are explained as follows: dhîrâz is Arabic [for cubit], arsun is the Turkish. When andâza was arabicized, they changed the elif to a hâ in the Arabic language and it became hindâz, just as âl became ahl. And in place of hâ with a jetha [a/e short vowel sign] they used a kesre [i/i short vowel sign] and they said hindâz. And they made hindâzi a quadrilateral verb [a verb based on a root of four consonants]. Handaza is the past tense. In accord with the fa‘ala pattern they said handaza [past tense], yuhandizu [the indicative], handazatan [the noun], and muhandiszun [the active participle]. But there is no word in the Arabic language which ends in the letter zar preceded by the letter dal. [Therefore,] they changed the extant zar to a sin, like zarât and sirât. The extant [hindâz] becomes handasa. And they said muhandis for the active participle. It is thus in the Mukhtar al-Šîhâb.59 And in the Mukhtar al-Šîhâb 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 ahsîn yâ sayyidanâ al-muntâz bi-lâ hisâb wa lâ hindâz, that is, “O, our master, grant us numberless and measureless favors!” But the dictionary Şâmi fi al-Asâmî56 only accepts the meaning ‘estimator,’ defining geometrician as estimator, that is one who determines measurements. And as to the meanings of takhmîn and handasa, finally, takhmin has only one meaning, to measure [oranlama]. But handasa has two meanings. One meaning is to measure in cubits [zarâ ile ölçmek]; the second meaning is to measure [oranlamak]. And oranlamak is old Turkish. Today it is not used. Ta‘ham [estimate] is used in its place. [15v] And today handasa is not used either. Takhmîn 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 muhî], which is a perfect circle [kâmîl bir daire]. The second is the arc of a round circumference [kasî-i devr-i muhî], which is a half circle. The third is the small arc of a round circumference [asgar-i kasî-i devr-i muhî], which is less than a half circle. The fourth is the large arc of a round circumference [ekber-i kasî-i devr-i muhî], which is more than half a circle. The fifth are triangular forms [eskî-i mûsellelêgâr]. The equilateral triangle [jek-lî mûsellel mutlak] is simple, because its sides, that is its ribs, are equal. Similarly, its shape is like a [triangular] trivit [sacayak] the three sides and ribs of which are equal. Trivits are made in the shape of equilateral


30 Şâmi fi al-Asâmî: Arabic dictionary of Abû al-Fadl Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Maydânî al-Nishâbûrî (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 [murabbat], and after that pentagons [muhammaset], and hexagons [musededset], and heptagons [musebeeset], [16r] and octagons [musemenet], and nonagons [museset], and decagons [muaserset], 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 inlay. The art of mother-of-pearl inlay makes use only of forms derived from the science of geometry. And the word mizmar [architect] is Arabic. It is the active participle. In Persian they say abaddan kundan [builder], in Turkish senledici [builder]. Senledici is old Turkish. Today it is no longer used at all, and in its place they say ma'mur idiic [builder]. Imam [building] is Arabic. In Persian they say abaddan kardan [to build], in Turkish senletmek [to build]. And umran [prosperity, development] is Arabic. In Persian they say abaddani [prosperity, development], in Turkish senlik [prosperity]. Amir, ma'mur and amir [developed, flourishing] are Arabic. All three have the same meaning. In Persian they say abadan [built up, developed, flourishing] and in Turkish sen and gune [developed, flourishing]. But this sen and gune 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 gune and sene [hole, excavation]. And in Arabic thakb and nakb [exclusion, hole] have this meaning. Hajjar [stone cutter] is Arabic. In Persian they say sang-tirash [stone cutter] and in Turkish saf yonuci [stone cutter] and safet [stone cutter, mason]. Najjar [carpenter] and banna [builder] and hajiri [builder] and fatik [construction worker] are Arabic. All have the same meaning. In Persian they say dururger [carpenter] and in Turkish dulger [carpenter, builder]. Dulger is a corruption of the Persian dururger. Sani [artisan] and mukhtar [skilled artisan] are Arabic. [16v] In Persian they say dostkar [artisan] and pishavar [artisan] and in old Turkish eli-kolayi. But in present-day Turkish they say sanat elhi [craftsman]. Amal [work] and sanat [craft] are Arabic. In Persian they say kahr [work] and pisha [craft]. In Turkish they say is [work] and peze [craft]. Sinat [craft] and birtat [handicraft] are also Arabic. In Persian they say pisha [craft], in Turkish sanat [craft]. But some common people, corrupting [it], say zenat. Sani [expert, dexterous] and sana [creating, forming] are Arabic. Both have the same meaning. In Persian they say jarb-dast [expert, dexterous], in Turkish eli-duz [sic. eli d兹gin, dexterous]. Ustad [master] and muallim [master] are Arabic. In Persian, also, they say ustad, and in Turkish usta and ogredici [master, teacher]. But again, the Arabic ustad is arabicized from the Persian, and the Turkish usta is also a corruption of ustad. Mahir [expert, skilled person] and hadik [skilled, expert] are Arabic. In Persian they say kunarmand [skilled] and ustad-i bimand [master without equal], in Turkish eyi usta [skilled master], iseri [skilled worker] and baget [accomplished, skilled]. Mutahhadik [one who pretends to skills] is Arabic. In Persian they say nasaz [unskilled], in Turkish olim [one who overestimates himself]. Tilmid [student], gilim [youth] and maw'alim [student], the three of them, are Arabic. In Persian they say shakird [student, apprentice] and khidmatkar [servant, apprentice], in Turkish also, sakird and bidmetkar and oglan [servant] and ogrenici [apprentice, student]. Alat [tool] and adat [tool] are Arabic. Their plurals are lat and adaat. In Persian they say dast-afraz [tool] and in Turkish tutacak, katacak and avadendik [set of tools]. Avadendik is a corruption of lat with adaat. 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 dastgah [workshop] for all craftsmen's workshops. In Turkish they say tezgah [workshop]. And this is a corruption of dastgah. Detail 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 Aqa 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 Aqa's complete attention and careful concentration. Addressing that youth reading the book, they said, concerning His Excellency the Aqa, "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
Then, God—whose name be exalted—willing, returning hand of the aforementioned saint and regarding with his permission and blessing, I shall begin the

scribed in detail the past events as they had occurred.

above-mentioned saint. Arriving, he kissed the blessed

he said,

pondered for some time in a state of meditation. After

long life! It is your right to be a master of the arts of

lives he will have in his hands a token from

with a copy of the book in my hand so that as long as

appropriate thing is this, from now on enter our

brotherhood and learn and grow in this

science of geometry, and transcribe and present him

with an adze and mark a spot. Then, wishing him good

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 [üstâd] Muhammed, the overseer [haifije] 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 Ağā. And the Ağā took the adze

with his right hand which had been exercised with the

pectrum. 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 Ex-

cellency the Ağā’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 Ağā replied, “I have taken an oath of allegiance

from a saint. Let me return to him and ask his leave.

Then, God—who 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 des-

cribed 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

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-mafhasin

ka'atin bana Allāhu lahu bayān làf 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

d person. And another blessed Tradition [states], muhāru

al-ḥāri al-īni kansu al-masājiidi wa ʿimāratahu, [that is], to

build and sweep a blessed mosque is the bride price

[kābin] for the hours [ḥūr-i ʿin] in heaven. Ḥūr is the

plural of hawrā [hour] and ʿin is the plural of ʿaynā

[beautiful-eyed]. It means that the whites and blacks of

the eyes of hours are very white and black. Ḥaynā

means beautiful-eyed. Both of these [qualities] give

beauty. And yādāk [bride price] is Arabic. In Persian

they say kābin and in Turkish kalın. And even now the

word nikāh [marriage] has taken on this meaning. And

another blessed Tradition [states] man māta yeshhadu an

lā ilāha illā Allāh wa anna Muḥammadan Rasūlu Allāhi

mūkān, [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.31

And another blessed Tradition [states], man māta

yeshhadu an lā ilāha illā Allāh wa anna Muḥammadan Rasūlu

Allāhi mūkān dakhala al-jannata,32 [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 Muḥammad 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 des-

cribed 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 con-

sent to the above-mentioned Ağā to master the arts of

the working of mother-of-pearl and architecture. In

short, from the bottom of his heart he rendered prayers

31 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 khitima lahā bi-

32 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, 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.

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-i āli kapuculğī], 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 [koça miśi mār], the late

33 Allusion is made here to accounts in the Kurān describing Abraham as attacking the idol worship of his father and his people;
34 Marginal note gives meter of couplet, meşā'itlān meşā'itlān fe'ülān.
Sinân Ağa, who was the chief of the world’s engineers [ser-i mühendis-i cihân] and famed to the horizons and throughout the ages, he studied under Üstâd Muhiyyâ, the masters [halîfe] 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 Murad 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 lecturn [tilavet iskemlesi] in the form of a reading desk [rahl] [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 Murad—may he rest in peace—through the agency of Ahmed Ağa, known as Ahmed Pasha Dâmédia, when he was then silâhdâr. When it was placed 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 Murad—may he rest in peace—through the agency of Ahmed Ağa, known as Ahmed Pasha Dâmédia, when he was then silâhdâr. 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 Küran 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

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 [halîfe] of the workers of mother-of-pearl from among the ʻacemi qlans 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

1 Sinân ibn ʻAbd al-Mennân, the Great Architect (koca miḥmâr); born in a village of Kayseri (c. 895/1489-90), he was drafted as an ʻâcemi ʻâgân 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 miḥmâr başî in 944/1538, a post he occupied until his death in 996/1588 (not 997 as recorded above by Çâfer Efendi). The greatest of the Ottoman architects, his menâksz- nâmén 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 is the Şehzade (1543-48) and Süleymaniye (1550-57) complexes in Istanbul, and the Selimiye complex (1569-75) in Edirne. For his menâksz- nâmén and other accounts, see p. 2, note 11; also Ap tulah Kuran, “The Mosques of Sinân,” 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.

2 Sultan Murad (Murâd III): twelfth sultan of the Ottoman dynasty; reigned 982/1574 to 1003/1595.

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

4 Ahmed Pasha Dâmédia: presumably Çâhdâr Ahmed Pasha (d. 1027/1618), son-in-law of Murâd III, who was at various times married to two of the sultan’s daughters (in 1013/1604 to Faشiyye, and in c. 1024/1615 to Fetîhiyye); see Alderson, Table XXXII.

5 silâhdâr or silâhdâr ağa: the sultan’s swordkeeper, who also handled all communications to and from the sultan; see Mehmet Zeki Pakalan, Osmanlı Tarih Deşipleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü (İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Basmevi, 1953), III, pp. 221-225; also Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, I. 1, pp. 338-339.

6 Marginal note gives meter of verse, fâsilâtün meflatüllün feâtât.
a post near the Bāb-š Saʿādet7 of my Imperial Court. Think of a post for him!” When he said this, [20v] the silāḥdār ağa, the kāpu ağas8 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 [kapuç].9 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 silāḥdār ağa, saying, “Congratulations!” snatched his [the Ağa’s] conical aqemi oğlan’s cap [külâh]10 from his head and immediately placed on his head a matchless golden üskâf,11 which is the costume of the kapucus of the Imperial Court.

Couplet12

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 [gaylâk] 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 [kemandan], like the first [gift], without peer or equal. This time he presented it to his Imperial Majesty through the agency of the bāb-š saʿādet ağas.13 [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:

Couplet14

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...
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 kapu ağası immediately said, "My Padishah, the kadi of Istanbul has need at the present time of a muhâzir başı." [Upon this] an auspicious imperial edict concerning the [appointment of the Ağa to the] office of muhâzir başı was drawn up. On handing it to the Ağa, he [the sultan] expressed himself with the contents of this couplet:

Couplet

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

Go! May the office of muhâzir başı be auspicious for you!

After that, the above-mentioned Ağa became muhâzir 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 su nâzir,17 this well-wisher [Cafer] was sitting in company with him in the upper story selâmlık18 of his house having a friendly conversation, when suddenly a middleman for a secondhand book dealer arrived. In his hand there was a noble Kûrân of large size selling for thirty thousand aspers in the Grand Bazaar, with calligraphy in the Yâkût style,19 Devlet-âbâdî paper, verses in the borders throughout in the Ottoman manner, some letters resembling the Shaikh’s celi20 and some tending toward Ibn Mukla’s,21 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 tekbi22 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, "Cafer 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 [piş-tahta]. When it is sold it will realize thirty thousand aspers and more. Let me buy this noble Kûrân with the labor of my hands, make it wakf,23 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].

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16 Marginal note gives meter of couplet, fâsilâtân feâsilâtân feâsilâtân felâtân.
17 su nâzir: Literally, “water inspector.” An official of the outer service of the Imperial Palace under the şehir emînî, he was charged with maintaining the waterworks and water systems of the capital.
18 selâmlık: that part of a large house reserved for men, where male guests were received and entertained.
19 Yâkût hâtis: 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, "Yûkût al-Mustâsîmî," E.I., IV, p. 1154.
20 Shaikh’s celi: celi is a type of monumental cursive script characterized by embellishment with various decorative devices. Presumably, reference is here made to celi written by Shaikh Hamd Allâh (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 Hamd Allâh with such high esteem that he held the Shaikh’s inkpot while Hamd Allâh wrote his lines; see Celal Melek, Şeyh Hamdullah (Istanbul: Kenan Mathaas, 1948); also A. Süheyl Ünver, Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah (Istanbul: Kemal Mathaas, 1953).
21 Ibn Mukla (Abû ʿAlî Muhammad ibn ʿAlî ibn Mukla): (272-328/885-940), vizier of the ʿAbbâsîd caliphs al-Muṣṭâdir, al-Ḵâhir and al-Râdî and a famous calligrapher, he is considered the inventor of “proportioned script” (al-khât al-mansûb), 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 Muklah to the North Arabic Script," American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, 56, 1939, pp. 70-83.
22 tekbi: the affirmation Allâhâ ekber (God is most great).
23 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., pp. 1096-1103.
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 a hundred aspers. The being the possessor of so much skill and ability, did not purchased for forty, fifty or sixty aspers, or at most a shoes and dealers in secondhand books, it would be even once praise himself in any way. And his courage Architect, the late Daviid Aga, who took his [Davidi Ağa's] studied art with him. Then he worked with the architect Daviud Ağa, who took his [Sinan's] place as mişmär [baş]. And when the late Daviud Ağa also died, he became an apprentice to the master of the art of working mother-of-pearl in the Imperial Garden, the late Dalgic Ahmed Ağa, who took his [Davüd Ağa's] place as mişmär [baş]. And in this time, however many public buildings he created, all of them were built by the above-mentioned Mehem Med Aga. 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. 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 Kirmani 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.

Verse27

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.

24 Marginal note gives meter of couplet, fa'ilatiin fa'ilatiin fa'ilatiin fa'ilatiin fa'ilatiin.
25 Daviud Ağa: Ottoman architect, a student of Sinan, who served as şu näzim from 983/1575-76 to 990/1582. After 1585, on Sinan's orders and much to the satisfaction of Sultan Murâd III, he worked on buildings in the Topkapı Palace. He was appointed mişmär baş after Sinan'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 Mehmêd Ağa (993/1583), the Incili Kışık and the Bayezid Kışık (999/1590-91) both in the Topkapı Palace, and the mausoleum of Murâd III, all in Istanbul. It was Daviud Ağa, also, who began the construction of the Yeni Cami for Vâlide Şâfiye Sultan, one of the wives of Murâd III. For further details, see Ahmet Refik, "Mimar Davut," Darülifniin Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmua, I, 1932, pp. 1-16; idem, Türk Mimariyan, pp. 26-33; Erdoğan, "Mimar Davud," p. 179-204; Mayer, Architekten, pp. 59-60.
26 Dalgic Ahmed Ağa (sometimes Dalgic Ahmed Çavuş): Ottoman architect and worker in mother-of-pearl. Trained by Sinan, he was appointed şu näzim, and later, in 1007/1598-1599 or 1008/1599-1600 was made mişmär baş in place of Mişmär Daviud Ağa. Subsequently he was advanced to the rank of pasha and was made beşlerbeş of Erzurum, Damascus, Aleppo and Silistre. He was killed in the Kalenderoğlu rebellion, after Rabî II, 1013/1604. (According to Mehmêd Şüreyya, Sicill-i Ejmiyan, II [Istanbul: Maṭba‘a-i ʿAmire, 1308], p. 207, in Sevval 1016/January-February, 1608). Among the buildings attributed to him is the tomb of Sultan Mehmed III (1016/1608). He continued work on the mosque of Şâfiye Sultan (the Yeni Cami) until her son Mehmêd III abandoned the project. Mother-of-pearl inlaid objects fashioned by Dalgic Ahmed include a Kur'an box, for a time in the tomb of Mehmed III but now in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul, and the doors of the tomb of Murâd III. See Akaln, "Mişmar Dalgîç," pp. 71-80; Z. Orgun, "Mimar Dalgîç Ahmed," Arktike, XI, 1941, pp. 59-62; Mayer, Architekten, pp. 37-38.
27 Marginal note gives meter of verse, mufalû fa'ilatiin mafalîtû fa'ilätû.
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 Cafer, 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-five [1567-68], in the time of the late Sultan Süleyman Khan, the aforementioned Ağa came from Rûm-i-ıli to Istanbul as a Janissary recruit. For a period of five years he remained ʿulîfesı. In 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 lectern to His Majesty, the appreciative, generous Sultan Murad Khan, he was favored with the office of Gatekeeper of the Sultan’s court [dergâh-ı ʿalî bevvâblâgîn], and for two years after that he was [23r] a kulle şeffisi.1 At this time, taking Şehlâ Mahmûd [?] in letters to Cairo in Egypt, he surrendered him to Üveys Pasha2 who was at that time beglerbegı 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-i-ıli. 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 Kafa, he also examined them. Again, after that, from Kaffa he visited and saw Silistre and Nicopolis and Feth-i İslâm 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 muhzâr başî of four kadis [of Istanbul], in all the late Bostân-zâde Efendi,3 and the late Şun4 Allâh Efendi,4

1 kulle şeffisi: servant to the eunuchs who guarded the gates of the harem in the imperial palace.
2 Üveys Pasha: high Ottoman official in the later years of the 10th/16th century. He was bâş defendâr (chief treasurer) during the reign of Murâd III. Subsequently, in 995/1586-87 he was appointed beglerbegı of Egypt, and in 998/1589-90, the year of his death, was promoted to the rank of vezir. For details, see Şüreyya, Siçill, 1, p. 445.
4 Şun Allâh Efendi (Şun Allâh Muştafa 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-ı asker of Anatolia, and in 1001/1592-93 kâdi-ı asker of Rûm-ı-ıli. Dismissed in 1003/1594-95, he was appointed şeyh al-islâm for the first time in 1008/1599-1600, but was removed from office in 1010/1601-02. He again served as şeyh al-islâm from 1011/1602-03 to 1012/1603-04, and for a third time between 1013/1604-05 and Rebi‘ I 1015/July-August 1606. Finally, he was appointed şeyh al-islâm for a fourth time in Receb/November of the same year and was retired in Safer 1017/May-June 1608. For details see Şüreyya, Siçill, III, pp. 233-234; also Uzunçarşılı, Tarihi, III, 2, pp. 458-459.
and the late Ebû al-Su’ûd-zâde Muştafâ Efendi, and the late Şems al-Dîn Efendi. After that, on the late Hûşrev Pasha’s becoming beglerbegi of Diyarbakîr, he [Hûşrev Pasha] sent him [the Ağa] to Diyarbakîr as müselliim. He administered Diyarbakîr as müselliim 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 Diyarbakîr from that time to this and even now are busy blessing him. Then, after Hûşrev Pasha arrived in Diyarbakîr, the aforementioned Ağa, having come to Istanbul, became the kapû kethûdasî of the above-mentioned Pasha. Subsequently, the late Hûşrev Pasha, having been made beglerbegi of Noble Damascus, the aforementioned Ağa again became müselliim, and until Hûşrev Pasha came to administer Noble Damascus as müselliim. After Hûşrev Pasha arrived in Damascus, he became magistrate [hâkim] of one of the districts of Damascus named Hawrân. 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 Hûşrev 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. While in that state and busy with prayers, recitations from the Kurân, 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

1 Ebû al-Su’ûd-zâde Muştafâ Efendi: one of the sons and a student of the great sixteenth-century religious scholar Ebû al-Su’ûd Efendi (896-982/1490-1575); see Uzuncarşılı, Tarih, III, 2, p. 674.
2 Şems al-Dîn Efendi (Ahmed Şems al-Dîn Efendi Kâdi-zâde): son of one of the slaves of Hâdim 5Âli Pasha, trained for the ulama under Ebû al-Su’ûd Efendi and Kadî Efendi. Appointed a muderris, he gradually rose in rank and was in time designated kadi of Istanbul. Made kâdi-‘âsker of Rûm-îli in 974/1566-67, he subsequently had a falling out with Sokulu Mehmêd Pasha and resigned his office to become muderris of a dâr al-hâdîq in Edirne. In 983/1575-76 he was appointed muderris of the dâr al-hâdîq of the Süleymaniye in Istanbul, and in the same year was made kâdi-‘âsker of Rûm-îli. On the death of Hâmîd 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 Uzuncarşılı, Tarih, III, 2, pp. 453-454; also Süreyyâ, Sicil, III, pp. 164-165.
3 Hûşrev Pasha (Hâdim): high official in the imperial palace in the last years of the 10th/16th century, he held several offices including that of kâlîr-r-baş. In the year 1000/1591-92 he was appointed beglerbegi of Damascus, of Diyarbakîr 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 Diyarbakîr a second time, of Bosnia in 1012/1603-04, and of Kayseri in 1015/1606-07, in which place he died. Mehmêd Ağa must have served Hûşrev Pasha between 1002/1593-94 and 1004/1595-96, that is, during his first governorship of Diyarbakîr and his second in Damascus. See Süreyya, Sicil, I, p. 274.
4 müselliim: vulgar for müselliim, an official who prior to the nineteenth century acted as a deputy-governor or lieutenant under a vâli (governor of an eyalet) or a mutaşârrîf (governor of a sancak); see Pakalan, Deşîmler, II, p. 639.
5 kapû kethûdasî: an agent appointed by the governor of a province to represent him at court in the Ottoman capital; see Pakalan, Deşîmler, II, pp. 172-173.
6 hâkim: magistrate or district administrator for a nahiye.
7 Hâdim: a district (nahiye) in Syria, located south of Damascus and west of the Jabal al-Durûz; see D. Sourdèl, “Hawrân,” E.I., 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 Āga, seeing the great number of those rebels and the quantity of those soldiers, refused battle and disdained corpses, how many days would it take us to crush to fight such a vast army which has seen so many wars them? Now, we are such a small force! It is impossible the soldiers accompanying His Excellency the mentioned place, he swiftly galloped off. That day, the Compassionate," tightened his horse's girth and as taken place in a dream, he prostrated himself before the holy tomb, saying, But the 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!

Couplet12

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 Āga, becoming stern with them, replied, "By God Almighty, if any among you flees, I will immediately behead him. Cowardly ones, who knew that the rebels were here? Concerning this place, His Excellency, Shaikh Sayyid Ibrāhīm—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 Allāh!' 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 Cumša 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 Āga 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 Āga's translator, approached, whispering in his [the Āga's] ear, "Shaikh Cumša Kāsib wants to give you ten yiık13 aspers for himself and ten more yiık aspers for the other prisoners. Would it be permissible to release them?" The Āga, 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 Ibrāhīm, 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 Īusrev Pasha, he separated out seven thousand sheep and a thousand camels. He turned over the remaining sheep and booty to the ghazis14 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, Īusrev Pasha and all of the soldiers of Noble Damascus went out to meet the Āga. 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 Īusrev 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-

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12 Marginal note gives meter of couplet, metres: metre, metre. 
13 yiık: Ottoman historical term for 100,000 (or 100,000 kurus); see Palakan, Dejmiler, III, p. 639. 
14 ghazi: title of honor designating those Muslim soldiers who take part in raids and wars against the infidels; see I. Melikoff, "Ghazi," E.I, 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. Muḥammad Ḵaṭṭṭā 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 yūk 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 Ḵaṭṭā. One day His Excellency the Ḵaṭṭā came to the pasha when all of the pasha’s men were in his presence. Kissing his 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! 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 Ḵaṭṭā 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 Ḵaṭṭā, not turning back, went in happiness directly to Istanbul. And the late Ḵusrev Pasha, in regret, brought together and reproached some of those who had spoken slanders against His Excellency the Ḵaṭṭā. "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**

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

The fox cannot fill the place of the powerful lion.

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

**Verse**

His Excellency the Aga, 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 Kaʿba 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 naṣīr-āb [ṣu naṣīr] of Protected Constantinople. After holding this office for exactly eight years, on Wednesday, the eighth of Cemāzīyelāhūr in the year one thousand fifteen [11 October, 1606]—with the help of God, whose name be exalted—he became miʾmārḵāṭ.
FOURTH CHAPTER

It describes the kindness and generosity and benevolence and charity of the aforementioned Ağá. There was no need to write this chapter because the Ağá’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 Selîm Khan and of his son the late and deceased Sultan Murâd—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. It 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 Ağá, 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 Ağá keeps the gates of generosity and kindness open and full at all times, like the hand of  hashlibem. If an inferior should come [to the Ağá] 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 Ağá 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 [Cafer 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 [ imaret’] 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 Behrâm, 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-

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1 Selîm Khan (Selim II): eleventh sultan of the Ottoman dynasty, reigned 974/1566 to 982/1574.
2 Sultan Murâd (Murâd III): see p. 34, note 2, above.
3  hashlibem (hashim al-Ta’i) ibn ’Abd Allâh 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, “Hâtim al-Ta’i,” *E.J.*, III, pp. 274-275.
4 *imaret*: a public soup kitchen supported by wakf for the feeding of the poor and needy; see Pakalan, *Deşmüler*, 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 Cafer 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 Aga, always amply giving and allotting aspers and gurus 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 Aga’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 Aga 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 Cafer 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 Murad Pasha was still alive in Istanbul, the Aga 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 5

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, Cafer 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 6

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.

3 Marginal note gives meter of verse, mefā’ilun fe’ilātun mefā’ilun fe’ilān. 4 Marginal note gives meter of verse, mefā’ilun fe’ilātun mefā’ilun fe’ilān (fe’ilān).
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 serdar. 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, 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

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 Kur'ānic verse, "Therefore of the bounty of thy Lord be thy discourse," 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 that illustrious 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 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 Imam, 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 Risâle. By doing this, I escaped their clutches. Now, in accord with that

9 Kur'ān, XCIII:11.
10 Great Imam: 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.

7 serdâr: military title meaning "commander." In Ottoman usage it was sometimes employed as the equivalent of serâsker (commander-in-chief), though the latter title is more exactly rendered by the title serdâr-i essem. For details, see Pakalan, Deşimler, III, pp. 178-181.
8 Marginal note gives meter of verse, mefäṭulâ fâsilâtû mefäṭulâ fâsilât.
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, 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 Muhammad ibn Marwān11 renowned as Marwān the Ass, who became caliph in the victorious month of Ṣafer 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,

Verse12

‘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

11 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 ‘Abbāsid armies. He is sometimes referred to as Marwān al-Himār (Marwān the Ass), a name he earned by his doggedness and perseverance in warfare before his succession to the caliphate. The epithet is here translated into Ottoman as Merwān-ı İjar.

12 Marginal note gives meter of the verse, ファーラーーファラーーファラーーファラー.
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 vukiyye. 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 Qur'anic verse, "And be not cast by your own hands to ruin," 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, 'Oh, 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 discard[ed] [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 Imam. Arriving, he narrated this story to him from beginning to end. His Excellency the Imam—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 Abu Ḥanifa'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 Qur'anic verse, "Vile women are for vile men," unclean wealth unavoidably goes to the wicked. And according to the Qur'anic verse, "Good women are for good men," pure wealth also goes unavoidably to the righteous,' he said, 'And this is the answer to that question.'

Verse 17

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

13 *vukiyye*: same as *okka*, 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.
14 Qur'ān, II:195.
17 Marginal note gives meter of the verse, *fā'ilātun fā'ilātun fā'ilāt*. 
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 18

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

Verse 19

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 Cacfer 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 [pulādī koşaklari] covered entirely with gold and silver fittings, and the

Golden Gutter [altun oluk]1 fixed to the Blessed Ka'ba, and the minbar of the Makām of Ibrāhīm [Hā lil al- Raḥmān makām]2—peace be upon him—and the locks of pure gold and the iron window grills [pençere demürleri] of the Tomb of the Prophet [ravzā-i

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1 altun oluk (Golden Gutter): the gold water spout, often referred to as the "Spout of Mercy" (mizāž al-raḥma), projects from the northeast 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.3, 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.

2 minbar of the Makām Ibrāhīm: 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 Makām Ibrāhīm 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.
The holy Kacba is described by ten noble names. The kibla of the auspicious community of the communities and place of orientation of the sons of Adam! 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]. The ninth is Beniyye [the building]. The tenth is al-Beyt al-mutahhara [the Sacred House]. The seventh is the Kibla. The kibla is the direction toward which Muslims face in prayer; see J. A. Wensinck, “Kibla,” E. I., 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.

Kacba 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 anwala baytina wudī'atī li-nnāsī alladhī bi-bakkata mubārakana wa hudan li al-ṣalamīn fihi āyātun bayyinatun maḥfūzan Ibrāhīma wa man dakhala kāna āminan wa li-‘ilāhi ‘alā al-nāsī ḥajju al-bayti man istic‘āta‘a ilayhi sabīlan wa man kafara fa inna Allāha ghanīyyan ‘an al-ṣalamīn.* 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 *nuḥayt* and *numayt*, *rātim*, *muḥbata* and *muḥmata*, and *lāzib* and *lāzim* 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, and then they call the highland cities Najd. 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. And they call the Tomb of the Prophet *raza-i munevevere* the Sanctuary [haram] and the Mosque of the Prophet of God [mescid-i Resūl-Allāh]. Sometimes they say the Two Blessed Sanctuaries [haramen-i şerifesn] 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 city of the Blessed Kacba. 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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 Jalâls it is written that before Adam was created, the angels built the Blessed Ka'ba. And in the commentary entitled Kashshâf 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 Blessed Kacba and He crushed their necks and 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 in the commentary entitled Kashshâf it states [it states] wo hudan lil'-îlama, [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.” 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 Haram-şerif, 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 Ma'âm Ibrahim in order to pray, that person attains the grace of Abraham. 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

11 Commentary of the Two Jalâls, (Arabic, Tafîr al-Jalâlîyân): a famous work of commentary on the Kur'ân begun by the fifteenth-century Cairene teacher of jurisprudence Jalâl al-Dîn Muḥammad al-Maḥalli (1389-1459) and completed by his student, the great encyclopedist, Jalâl al-Dîn Abû al-Fadîl 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Suyûtî (1445-1505); see C. Brockelmann, “al-Suyûtî,” E.I.1, IV, pp. 573-575.


13 Ūmrâb: 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 seventh 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 Kur'ân, the Beyt Ma'mûr and the Ūmrâb. See “Ka'ba,” E.I.1, 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.

14 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.

15 Umbre: 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 Mârûm.

16 Kur'ân, III:97.

17 Haram-şerif (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 truce of God reigns. For details, see “Ka'ba,” E.I.1, II, p. 197.

18 Ma'âm Ibrahim: 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....”. 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 Kuraysh, 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 whosoever entereth it is safe....” 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 Allâh. 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. Therefore, God—whose name be exalted—says, “As for the unbeliever, God is All-sufficient nor needs any being.” 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 jinn 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 yafâ'u ibrâhimu al-kawâ'idâ min al-baytî wa Ismâ'îlî rabbanâ takkabal minnâ innaka anta al-samî'râ al-‘âlîmu. 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, rabbanâ takkabal minnâ innaka anta al-samî'râ al-‘âlîmu. 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 Kashshâf gave additional details from Traditions [kawâ'id] and other remarks from the noble commentaries. It is not possible to relate all of them in this summary. But let us relate at least some of them. Kâvid [customs, traditions] is plural of kâ’ida. And kâ’ida [also] means ‘foundation.’ In Persian they say bunyâd, 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. Szâfi‘ is the plural of szafa [course of masonry]. Szafa and arâk and szaff-i-wâhid, the three of them, are Arabic. In Persian they say naâd-i yak rasta, in Turkish kir, 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

19 Kurâ’n, III: 97.
20 Kuraysh: the Arab tribe that inhabited Mecca and to which the Prophet Muhammad belonged. In later times, when the Sunni theory of the caliphate was formulated, it was generally held by the ulama that the caliph should be from the tribe of the Kuraysh; see W. Montgomery Watt, Muhammad at Mecca (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), pp. 4-16.
21 Kurâ’n, III: 97.
22 Kurâ’n, III: 97.
23 Kurâ’n, 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 tawāfī" done around that thing just like the tawāfī 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 Kacba 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'mür,25 and they also call it the Ūrāz. 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'mür to him. That is, he showed the place where the Beyt-i Ma'mür 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 Jūdī,26 and Mount Hira.27 And they say that its foundation was made from Mount Hira, and the Black Stone28 was brought from heaven by Gabriel—peace be upon him. Moreover they say it came from Mount Abū al-Kubays.29 At first it was a white jacinth that came from heaven. During the Flood, it was hidden in Mount Kubays. Then, in the Age of Ignorance,30 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,31 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 Kuraysh restored it. Those who are called ʿAmālikī32 and ʿAmālik [36r] are a tribe of the descendants of ʿAmīlk ibn Lāvāz ibn Iram ibn Sām ibn Nūḥ—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

24 tawāfī: 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, "Tawāfī," E.I.1, IV, pp. 702-703; also Burton, Narrātiwe, II, pp. 165-170, 286-288.

25 Beyt-i Ma'mür: one of the heavenly prototypes of the Ka'ba; see p. 49, note 13, above.

26 Mount Jūdī (Jabal Jūdī): a high mountain mass in the district of Bohtān in eastern Turkey, about 25 miles north of Jazirat ibn ʿUmar (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.1, II, pp. 373-374.


28 Black Stone (ḥajar al-aswād): 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.1, II, p. 196; for a view, Mohamed Amin, Pilgrimage to Mecca (London: MacDonald and Jane's, 1978), pp. 88, 89.


30 Age of Ignorance: the pre-Islamic age in Arabia.

31 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.3, II, pp. 603-604.

32 ʿAmālik (the Amalekites of the Bible): although they are not mentioned in the Kurān, 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, "ʿAmālik," E.I.3, I, p. 429.
of Jerusalem [Beyt al-Maṣdis].”

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 Kurān 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 taqāf. 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.

Thus God—whose name be exalted—says, "kādira tun taqāfū waṣīrān wajhaka waṣīrān shatru al-masjidi al-ḥarāmi wa ḫaythumā kuntum fawallā waṣīrān shatru shatru."

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, 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. 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 Kurānic 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-nazaru ila bayti-Allāhi al-ḥarāmi ‘ibādatun. That is, “To gaze upon the Revered Ka‘ba is an act of worship.”

Now if it is a act of worship to gaze upon it, how much more divine a reward must be obtained when a man prays in that Blessed

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33 Beyt al-Makdis (“The Temple,” from the Aramaic bēth makʾāṭshā): a designation for Jerusalem in early Islamic sources such as Tabari (i, 2360, 1, 13) who refer to the city as Ilīyā madīnat bayt al-makdis (“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-Makdis, namely al-ḥaram. See D. S. Goitein, “al-Kuds,” E.I.2, V, p. 399; also Guy LeStrange, Palestine under the Moslems (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1890), pp. 83-84.

34 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 Saḥbān 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 Kurān II:136ff., and since that time the Ka‘ba has remained the Muslim kibla. See J. A. Wensinck, “Kībla,” E.I.2, V, p. 82.

35 Kurān, II:144.

36 Badr: a small town some 84 miles southwest of Medina at which in the month of Ramāzān 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.

37 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 rakā’s, he received a revelation commanding him to face the Ka‘ba rather than Jerusalem. He and the Muslims then completed the last two rakā’s 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.

38 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 silk, which encloses all four walls of the Ka'ba and is replaced in accordance with or according to the imperial decision was made known. When, in accordance with the requirements of the exalted edict, the Chief Architect [mi'irmār bāyi] of the time, the late, deceased Sultan Murād—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,46 lā ba'ṣa bi-taqāni al-masjidī indanā limā ruwya anna Dāwūd al-nabiyya 'alayhi al-salām bānā baya al-maktīs thumma atamāhu Sulaymānū 'alayhi al-salāmū fa-zayyanahu ḥattā nasābī al-kibrīta al-aḥmara "ala ra'si al-kuḥbata wa kāna ḥāliqa a'azza mā yūjādu fi dhālika al-wakītī wa kāna yudī'ī min miltīn wa fi al-jāmi'ī al-mahbubīyya ḥattā kānati al-ghazzālatu yaghzulna fi daw'īha bi-al-layāli min masīrāti ithnāyyī 'ashara milān,47 when the Prophet Solomon48—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 exalted edict, the Chief Architect [mi'irmār bāyi] of the time, the late, deceased Sinān Aga, known as the Great Architect [koca mi'mar], 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 sequence, when that most noble sultan of pure lineage, the late and deceased Sultan Murād49—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,46 lā ba'ṣa bi-taqāni al-masjidī indanā limā ruwya anna Dāwūd al-nabiyya 'alayhi al-salām bānā baya al-maktīs thumma atamāhu Sulaymānū 'alayhi al-salāmū fa-zayyanahu ḥattā nasābī al-kibrīta al-aḥmara "ala ra'si al-kuḥbata wa kāna ḥāliqa a'azza mā yūjādu fi dhālika al-wakītī wa kāna yudī'ī min miltīn wa fi al-jāmi'ī al-mahbubīyya ḥattā kānati al-ghazzālatu yaghzulna fi daw'īha bi-al-layāli min masīrāti ithnāyyī 'ashara milān,47 when the Prophet Solomon48—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'irmār bāyi] of the time, the late, deceased Sinān Aga, known as the Great Architect [koca mi'mar], 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

39 black brocade: this is a reference to the kiswa or curtain, the black cover embroidered with verses from the Kurʾān 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.3, IV, p. 317; also Amin, Pilgrimage, pp. 94 and 132-145.

40 tekhir: see p. 36, note 22, above.

41 sa'y (“the running,” or “the course”): ceremony performed after the tawāf as part of the hajj or namāz, consisting of running seven times between Sawāf and Marwān outside the Great Mosque of Mecca. See M. Gaudreoy-Demombynes, Le pèlerinage à la Mekke (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1923), pp. 225-234; also, Burton, Narrative, II, pp. 288-289.

42 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.
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 marbles 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,49 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 [rūūm] 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 great ulama 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, is it of the party of lovers. And the noble meaning of the blessed Tradition, aḥabbu al-biḥārī ilā Allāhī al-masājidū wa afḍalu mawādīn [38v] minḥā al-kīblatū,50 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 Allah 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 [ask]. It is inconceivable that they [lovers] are mortal and that they are near destruction. And the word ʾażāk (عذاق) is proof of this. Do you not see that in its form and height, the elf, occurring between the letter ʾayn and the letter sīn, 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 Rebe [14 March, 684], when ʾAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr ibn ʿAwwām51 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.52 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 Ṣafā and Marwa. After that, a person named Ḥajjāj,53 bringing together learned people, loyalist brother, ʿAmr. For details, see H. A. R. Gibb, "ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr," E.I.3, I, pp. 54-55.

51 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr ibn ʿAwwām (2-73/624-692): a member of an Arab Muslim noble family of the Qurashy of Mecca who opposed the seizure of the caliphate by the Umayyad house. ʿAbd Allāh rose in revolt against the second Umayyad caliph Yazid I in 60/680 and three years later, on the death of Yazid, declared himself amīr al-muḥāsin (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, ʿAmr. For details, see H. A. R. Gibb, "ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr," E.I.3, I, pp. 54-55.

52 Kiswa; see p. 53, note 39, above.

53 Ḥajjāj (al-Ḥajjāj ibn Ṭāṣif, 41-95/661-714): a member of a humble Arab family of Ṭāṣif, he led the siege force dispatched by the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik to subdue the rebellion of ʿAbd 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 ibn Ṭāṣif," E.I.3, III, pp. 39-43.
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.

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, jārā al-nahrū wa sūlāl 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 ʿAbbasid caliphs—God have mercy on them.59 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 ʿOṣmān that it is possible to build a wall of pure gold in the form of a rampart around the gracious Sanctuary of that

55 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 elf of the word ʿaṣrīk. Because it is contiguous with and leans on the letter ʿayn, deriving strength from that ʿayn, it is stable on that side. The letter ʿayn 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 ʿayn 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 ʿayn, [39v] it is possible for it to fall down. And when the work ḫk at its end is marked with a fetha, this sense is indicated.56 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 Almighty God knows the suffering of the wretched lovers.

56 I.e., the ḫk at the end of ʿaṣāl becomes ḫl (a splitting, cracking, fissuring) by changing the kesre to a fetha.
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 ulama] 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 came to pass, [the restoration work] was postponed. And the life of the fortunate sultan, not succeeding [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-islām, His Excellency the late and deceased Şûn Allah, 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 khankas, victorious with the help of God the Creator, the glory of the House of ‘Oṯmān, the caliph of the caliphs of God, His Majesty the Sultan Aḥmed Khan—may his sovereignty be everlasting and his state be eternal. Thus, he [the şeyh al-islām] related that the glory of his [Sultan Ahmed's] forefathers and ancestors, the late Sultan Murād, 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 ulama—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 suffering, [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-islām thus] described the condition [of the Ka'ba], straightforward, His Majesty the Illustrious Sultan immediately began preparations. Commanding His Excellency the above-mentioned mi‘mār ağâ, 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‘mār ağâ] 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 padshahs 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 [diş’üm] 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 higher than the şeyh al-islām in the Ottoman bureaucracy. As head of the hierarchy of the ulama, he recommended to the sultan the appointment of the upper grades of judges. His political functions included the issuing of fetāā 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-islām played a central role in the definition of legal issues in the empire. See H. I. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Devletinin İlişke Teşkilatı (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basmevi, 1965), pp. 173-214; also Pakalan, Düşünme, III, pp. 347-351. For Şûn Allah, see p. 38, note 4.

60 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 Murād 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.

61 şeyh al-islām: title given to the Hanāfî mufti or jurisconsult (as opposed to kadi or judge) of Istanbul, who from the early sixteenth century acquired undisputed authority over the ulama of the Ottoman Empire. Appointed by the sultan, only the grand vizier was
the age and artists of the era had not seen or heard. Then several symmetrical and well-proportioned tie rods [veter] and square piers [sütün] 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 Maḵām of the Friend of God [the Prophet Abraham]—peace be upon him—and the three non-ferrous, golden locks [kılıf] for the Tomb of the Prophet 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 Dāvdūd 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 şeyh al-islām, and the great shaikhs, and the kādī-asker [chief military judge] and other ulama 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 tāwūşān [halberdiers of the sultan’s bodyguard] and Janissaries, and sipāḥ [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. 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 mişār āğa 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.

63 Minbar of the Maḵām Ibrāhīm and golden locks of the Tomb of the Prophet; see pp. 47-48, notes 2 and 3, above.

64 A number of works more or less contemporary with the Risāle-i Mişāriyye 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 Zāhīdet al-Tawārīḫ, written by Muṣṭafā ibn Ibrāhīm, imām-i sütānī under Ahmed 1, who wrote under the pseudonym Şāfi; see Babinger, Geschichtsschreiben, pp. 146-147. In Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan Kitapları, no. 1304, pp. 123a ff., he writes,

“The hajjis who returned in the middle of Cumādelülā in the year 1001 [end of October, 1602], and in particular the retired şeyh al-islām, Mevlana Şûn 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 [kupac] 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 [rād], for a total of sixteen pieces, and to support these pieces four iron posts [dirık] were prepared for each corner. The lower of these two collar beams which we have mentioned was covered with skilled wood and inscriptions [leha] of pure gold, done in the art of engraving [kalemkâr], 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 Miḥ Ahmed, 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 Süleyman—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 Ahmed], 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 dīfverdār of Aleppo, but who in return for this was [later] given the office of beylerbeyi of Aleppo, was appointed. In addition, although these things [the beams and supports] that are mentioned were things that the mişmār bāšı Mehmed Āğa 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 Hijjāz 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 mişmār āğa arrived at the Haram with the mentioned things.

“From letters sent at that time from that place it is understood that on Sunday morning at the beginning of Muharram, 1021 [4 March, 1612], as the sun rose, all ulama and faqīhs 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 65

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 Cacfer, 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 Ma’kām 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, wa shahi’din ila Ibrāhīma wa Ismā’ila an tahlīra bayti li-al-jā’ifina wa al-rakibta al-sujiidi al-idh kāla Ibrāhīmu Rabbi ya’al ḥādha baladan āmīn. 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, and pasture is not mowed. Lengthwise, the Revered Ka’ba is seventeen girā, widthwise it is fourteen girā, 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, so 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 decayed 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 [karu], 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.”

65 Marginal note gives meter of verse, mefi’ulā fā’i’lātū mefi’ulā jā’ifīn.
height it is twenty ǧirāʿ. And the Blessed Sanctuary [the mosque of the Kaʿbā] is one hundred seventeen ǧirāʿ lengthwise, and is also one hundred seventeen ǧirāʿ widthwise. And the holy ground beneath each of the Three Domes [ʔuq kat Kubbe] is each a total of twenty ǧirāʿ. 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 ǧirāʿ [sic]. And in addition to this, for six mīl to its [the Kaʿbā’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 (Ḥaṟām Allāh). 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 bezzaz-sitān, [the things] there, with their perfection, are not themselves capable of giving of 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 Ağa that in this manner, [those] noble works having been fashioned by his hands, were placed in that Blessed Abode!

Verse

He began at an auspicious time in the profession of the working of mother-of-pearl.

Behold, the Ağa 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.

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.

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67 ʔuq kat Kubbe: this presumably refers to the kubbe or dome over the Zamzam well and two further domed buildings at the edge of the matāf 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 Narration, 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 Hügeldi, 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.

68 Ḥarām-Allāh: the consecrated area surrounding the Kaʿbā, 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. Wensink, J. Jomier, “Kaʿbā,” E.J. IV, p. 322. For the manner in which the Kaʿbā 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.

69 bezzaz-sitān: bedestān, that is, the vaulted and fireproof part of the bazaar where valuable goods were kept.

70 Marginal note gives meter of verse, faṣilatun fajilatun faṣilatun [faṣilatun].

71 Marginal note gives meter of verse, mufuḍtā faṣilatun mufūḍtā fajilatun.
In truth, the thing intended is the Creator of the Earth and Heaven. That kibla 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. Do not be found heedless! Be scrupulous in this!

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 kibla? 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. 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's72 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 Cafer!

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 Meşabihi73 related by ʿAli?4—may God honor him. And this is that blessed Tradition. ʿAli ibn Abi Taʿlīb, cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad and fourth caliph, was one of Muhammad’s first adherents.74

Kâla al-Nabîyyu ʿalayhi lâʾnatuhu Allâhi wa al-malâʾikâti wa al-nâsi ajmaʿina là yakbalu ṣaʾfu wa là ʿadlu dhimmatu al-muslimîna wahidatun [44r] yasʾā bihā adnāhum fa-man akhḍara musliman fa-ʿalayhi lâʾnatuhu Allâhi wa al-malâʾikâti wa al-nâsi ajmaʿina.75 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 ʿAyir and Thawr76 is sanctuary. Both ʿAyir and Thawr are the names of mountains. And Illuminated Medina is between these

72 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.


74 ʿAli: ʿAli ibn Abī Ṭālīb, cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad and fourth caliph, was one of Muhammad’s first adherents.

75 Literally, "The Prophet—peace be upon him—said, 'Medina is sanctuary between ʿAyir 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].’"

76 ʿAyir 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. 45

is that blessed Tradition. Ḫāliṣ Rasūl Allāhī ṣallā Allāhu Ta’ālā ‘ālyehi wa sallām inniuharrimunā mā-baynā lā batayy al-Madīnati an yuḵta’aghadāhumawu yukta’asaydūhā lāyada’unā ṣaddāna raghbata’ anhā illā abdallāh al-Madīnati Ta’ālā fiḥā man huwa khayrun minhu wa lā-yathbutu ṣaddāna alā al-lāwāhawā wa yahdīhā illā kuntu laḥū shafi’ten aw shahīdan yuwm al-ki’yāmati.78 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 Mesābih there is a blessed Tradition related by Abū Hurayra29—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 bārīk la-nā fī thamirinā wā bārīk la-nā fī sā’īnā wā bārīk la-nā fī muddīnā Allāhumma inna Ḫāriḍīma ḥabada wa khaltīla wa nabiyyuka wa innhō ‘abdūka wa nabiyyuka wa innī ṣā’ika li-Makkata wa anna ad-dā’ika li al-Madīnati li-mithli mā da’āka li-Makkata. 40 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 sû. And

77 Sa’d (Ṣaad ibn Abī Waḳkās): 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-Kādisiyah where the Sasanian 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. Zettersten, “Sa’d b. Abī Waḳkās,” E.I, IV, pp. 29-30.

78 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.”

79 Abū Hurayra (Abū Hurayra al-Dawṣī 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 Bahrain by the Caliph ʿUmar, and it is said that Muḥāwiya 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, I, p. 129.

80 Literally, “O God, bless for us our fruits [crops] and bless us our sû and bless us our mudīl! 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." 81 Sa‘a and müdd are dry measures. Fruits are sold in these units. “O God, truly Abraham is Your worshiper and Your friend [halîl].” Halîl means friend [dörl]. “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 Meşâbih related by Ibn Sa‘îd.82 And this is that blessed Tradition. Inna Ibrâhîma harrama Makkata fâ-ja‘alâhah haraman wa inni hâramtu al-Madînata haraman ma-bayna [lacuna] an yuhrâka fi-hâ damun wa lâ-yuḫmatu fi-hâ silâhun li-kitâlin wa lâ-yuḫbatu fi-hâ shajaratun illâ li ’alafln.83 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 written in the noble Meşâbih related by Sa‘îd ibn Abî Wakkâs.84 And this is that blessed Tradition: man akhadha ahabdan yuṣîdu fihi falyasubhû.85 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 striped those who hunted there in accordance with this blessed Tradition. And again, there is a blessed tradition written in the noble Meşâbih. And this is that blessed Tradition: umirtu bi-karyatin ta‘kulu al-kûrâ yakâšina Yahribu wa hiya al-Madînata tanfî al-nâsâ ka-mâ tanfî al-kûrû khabâlha al-hadîdî wa qâla inna Allâha Ta‘âlâ sammâ al-Madînata tâbatan.86 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, ʿUmar87—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 Yahrib 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 Tâbe.88 That is, He gave it the name Tâbe. And tâbet means pure and clean and also to smell like a flower. And there is a blessed Tradition related by Ibn ʿUmar,89 written in the blessed traditions collected by Imâm Suyûtî [entitled] Jâmiʿ al-

81 Ibn Sa‘îd (Khâlid ibn Sa‘îd): one of the earliest Companions of the Prophet, who died in the year 13/635 during the Syrian campaigns. See H. Loucel, “Khâlid b. Sa‘îd,” E.I.1, IV, pp. 927-928.

82 The tradition as given in the text appears to be lacunar. 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.”

83 Sa‘îd ibn Abî Wakkâs: see note 77 above.

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

85 Literally, “I was commanded to go to a village and that village eats villages. And that village is Yahrib, 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 Tâbet.”

86 ʿUmar (ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭţâb): 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 Abû Bakr (d. 13/634) and was assassinated in Basra in the year 23/644. For details, see G. Levi Della Vida, “ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb,” E.I.1, III, pp. 982-984.

87 Tâbe: a name for the city of Medina.

88 Ibn ʿUmar (ʿAbd Allâh ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭţâb): 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, “ʿAbd Allâh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭţâb,” E.I.1, I, pp. 55-54.
And this is that blessed Tradition: 
\textit{man zura kabri wajbat lahu shafa'iati}.\footnote{Imam Suyuti, \textit{Jami\' al-Saghir}: a synopsis of a larger collection of traditions (\textit{al-Jami\' al-Ka\'hir}), in which al-Suyuti attempted to collect from hadith literature all of the sayings of the Prophet. See C. Brockelmann, \textit{\textquotedblleft al-Suyuti," E.I.\textsuperscript{1}, IV, p. 574; also p. 49, note 11, above.}} This is its blessed meaning: 
\textit{\textquoteright\textquoteright Whosoever visits my grave, to that person will my intercession be due.\textquoteright\textquoteright} And again, in the \textit{Jami\' al-Saghir} there is written a blessed Tradition related by Anas.\footnote{Literally, \textit{\textquoteright\textquoteright He who visits my tomb, my intercession will be due him.\textquoteright\textquoteright}} And this is that blessed Tradition: 
\textit{man zarani bi-al-Madinati muhtasiban kuntu lahu shahidan wa sha\'i\'an yaawm al-kiyamiati}.\footnote{Literally, \textit{\textquoteright\textquoteright He who visits me in Medina, I will be a witness and an intercessor for that person on the Day of Judgment.\textquoteright\textquoteright}} This is its blessed meaning: 
\textit{\textquoteright\textquoteright Whosoever visits me in Medina, I will be a witness and an intercessor for that person on the Day of Judgment.\textquoteright\textquoteright} 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!

\begin{quote}
\textit{In Praise of Illuminated Medina—May God, Whose Name Be Exalted, Illuminate Her with He Who Illuminated Her}\footnote{Yathrib also became like Batha,\footnote{Bathii: name of the lowest part of the valley of Mecca and hence of Mecca as a whole.} 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 adoration 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.}
\end{quote}
[47r] In Praise of All the Holy Places

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 Qur’ān,
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 hours 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 Maydam in Divinely Protected Istanbul, the imminent completion of which is being facilitated by God. And it describes how attentive the Ağā 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 Ağā 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 Ahmed 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 literature, see Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon, pp. 470-474; also Nayir, Sultan Ahmed, pp. 35-133.

Marginal note gives meter of the verse, fa’ilātun meqā’iqan fe’ilān [fe’ilān].
1 The Sultan Ahmed Camii; for description, plans, views and
the deceased Sultan Murâd Khan, son of the deceased Sultan Mehmed Khan, son of the deceased Sultan Yıldırım Bâyezid Khan, son of the deceased Sultan Ghazi Hudâvendigâr Murâd Khan, son of the deceased Sultan Orhan Khan, son of the deceased Sultan ʿOsman Khan—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 Meydam 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 Ağa for the plan of the previously described noble mosque, [52v] I composed this Esâsiyye Kaşîde. 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 kaşîde is this which is related.

This Is the Esâsiyye Kaşîde³

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 mahîfis.⁴

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 Ahmed,

Lord of reason and wisdom, sublime ruler,

Master of all grandeur, shah with the majesty of Farîdûn,⁵

Khusraw⁶ who is a moon as bright as the sun and Jamshîd⁷ of dignity.

Master of the sword and the pen, who raises standards and banners,

Lord of the armies and domestics, Chosroes like Bahram the Hunter,⁸

[53r] Shelter of the mountain-peak of mercy, storehouse of time of the life of this world,

Chief of the king of kings, the Bahman⁹ and Dârâ-visaged.¹⁰

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² This is the line of succession of the Ottoman house back to its founder, ʿOsman.
³ Marginal note gives meter of the verse, fi'îlîhûn fi'îlîhûn fi'îlîhûn fi'îlûl [fi'îlûl].
⁴ mahîfîl: private gallery or tribune for preaching in the mosque.
⁵ Farîdûn: one of the early kings of Iran mentioned in the Shâh Nâmâ of Firdawsi; see H. Masse, “Farîdûn,” E.I., II, p. 798.
⁶ Khusraw (Kîrû): the name of two of the kings of the Sassanian dynasty, Anûshîrwan (531-579) and Aparîwiz (591-628), mentioned in the Shâh Nâmâ of Firdawsi. Because they dominate the later Sassanian period, they came to personify Sassanian royalty for the Muslims. See M. Morony, “Kîrû,” E.I., IV, pp. 184-185.
⁸ Chosroes like Bahram the Hunter (kîrû-s Behram jikûr): Bahram V, fourteenth ruler of the Sassanian Dynasty, who ruled from A.D. 420 to 438. Often referred to by the surname Gûr (“Onager”), he was renowned as a hunter. See B. Carra de Vaux, H. Masse, “Bahram,” E.I., I, pp. 938-939. The name kîrû (“Chosroes,” Husrev Cyrus) is used here as a title analogous to caesar in the West, with the meaning emperor or ruler.
⁹ Bahman: name of one of the early kings of Iran, identified with Artaxerxes Longomanus. In the Shâh Nâmâ, Firdawsi makes him the son of Isfandiyâr, grandson of Vishtasp the patron of Zoroaster and the father of Sâsân, eponymous ancestor of the Sassanian Dynasty. See Theodor Nöldeke, The Iranian National Epic or the Shâh Name (Bombay: K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, 1930), pp. 21-22, 74-75.
Hero of time and sultan of the sultans of the nations,
Rustam\(^{11}\) of the world and Yūsuf-faced\(^{12}\) Kaykhusraw.\(^{13}\) Modest shah of [the house of] 'Ogsmān, true with a sincere heart,
Who is a Fārūk\(^{14}\) in his justice, a Karrār\(^{15}\) in his munificence.
Desirous of charity and good works, he is a caesar [like] Alexander.
A ruler like the strong Ḥaydar,\(^{16}\) a follower of the path of righteousness.
Observe the munificence and kindness of the Shah of the World!
How he roaming 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 not 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.\(^{17}\)
  As though Bihzād\(^{18}\) 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 Meydan.
  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,\(^{19}\) working on it day and night,

\(^{11}\) Rustam: the son of Zāl and greatest hero of the Shāh Nāma. Of superhuman strength and courage, he apparently belongs to the folkloric traditions of Sīstān and Zābul. For details, see Nöldcke, Epic, pp. 16-20, 68-73, 83-87.

\(^{12}\) Yūsuf: Joseph of the Old Testament, a favorite subject of Muslim legend. The Kurʾān (XII: 31) describes Yūsuf as of angelic beauty. See Bernard Heller, “‘Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb,’” E.I.\(^1\), IV, pp. 1175-1179.

\(^{13}\) 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.\(^1\), IV, pp. 815-816.

\(^{14}\) Fārūk: 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.

\(^{15}\) Karrār: literally “impetuous”; one of the nicknames given to ʿAli because of his courage and daring. For ʿAli, see p. 60, note 74, above.

\(^{16}\) Ḥaydar: literally, “lion, brave, valiant”; one of the nicknames given to ʿAli.

\(^{17}\) 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 Manichaecism. 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 Ardahang/Erjenk was, according to Muslim accounts, illustrated with numerous paintings brought back by Mānī from heaven as a prophetic miracle. See George Widengren, Manī and Manichaeism (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965), p. 109.

\(^{18}\) 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.\(^3\), I, pp. 1211-1214.

\(^{19}\) emīn: presumably a reference to the jihir emīnī, one of four high ranking officials with the title emīn attached to the outer service (bīrān) 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 miʿmār bāšı, or chief architect, and a muḥāsa or water inspector. For details, see Uzunçarşılı, Saray Tıpkıлат, 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\textsuperscript{20} and kings and unbelievers prostrated themselves before you.  
And if the heretic shah\textsuperscript{21} 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,\textsuperscript{22} which cannot be had  
By Cafer, 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 [yürefe].  
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

\textsuperscript{20} Ban: a title given by the Hapsburgs to the governors of certain military districts in Hungary and Croatia.  
\textsuperscript{21} heretic shah (rāzelfi pāh): the Shi'a Safavid shah of Iran.  
\textsuperscript{22} 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,"  
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 küside of seventy couplets which I wrote and composed with the title Baharıyye,23 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 Ağa 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!’’24 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 Ağa’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 [Cafer Efendi] related that when His Excellency the Ağa was an aşemi 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 shaikh 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 Ağa 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 hūoe, 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 derivatives when attaining a state of rapture and ecstasy with the semâ,25 such sounds also come from the marble which is being dressed. And the Ağa is here like a shaikh, 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 ağa should build his noble mosque accompanied by prayers and devotions. You related that previously the Ağa 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 Yegâ. And some wield them harder than this. Their pitch is like Dûgâ. And some wield them harder than this. Their pitch is like Segâ. And some wield their picks very forcefully. Their pitch is like Çârgâ.26 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

23 See below, pp. 73-76.
24 The shahâda, or Muslim profession of the faith.
25 semâ: the music, recitations and whirling dances performed by various Sufi orders to produce religious emotion and ecstasy.
26 Yegâ, Dûgâ, Segâ, Çârgâ: the pitches D, A, B and C, respectively; see Signell, Makam, pp. 177-184, and p. 27 above.
devotions and prayers, distress would not be suffered. Downd upon me!

There was a certain uneasiness and dejection in his noble spirit. When I asked the reason for it, His Excellency the Aga said, "O, Cafer 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 the scattered buildings with which he was busy and preoccupied, felt pity [for the Aga]. 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 blessed Tradition. Yu'ta bi-najulin yawm al-kiyamati 'ind al-mizâni fa-yukhraju lahu ti's'un wa ti's'una sijillan kullu sijillan madal-basari fihi khaftayahu wa dhunubiha fa-yinda' fi kaffati al-mizâni thumma yukhraju kirtajun mithlu al-anmulati fihi shahâdatu an lâ ilâha ill-

Allâhu wa anna Muhammadan 'abduhu wa Rasûluhû fa-yûda' fi kaffatin ukhrah fa-yarjahu 'alâ khaftayahu. 27 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 shahâda will be put on one side of the scale. Now this blessed paper as small as a finger tip with the words of the shahâda on it, will prevail over all the registers of sins and will be heavier than them." When the beautiful meaning of this blessed Tradition was related in this manner to His Excellency the Aga, 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 Risâle. 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 is a middle-quality type of stone, and they call stone of the best quality, that is the finest and rarest, jewels.

27 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 shahâda—"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-tas, kara-bacer]. 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. 

Laun and aluân are Arabic [for color]. In Persian they say rang, in Turkish ton. Bayăd, abyăd, bayda and bid are Arabic [for white]. In Persian they say safid and sapid, and in Turkish ak. Aswad, sawda and süd are Arabic [for black]. In Persian they say siyâh and siyah, in Turkish kara. Azraâk and zarâk and zuruk and akhab and kahba are Arabic [for blue]. In Persian they say kabûd and asmânî, in Turkish gök and mûz. And the mentioned mâyî is a corruption of asmânî. A山庄, hadrä and hadr are Arabic [for green]. In Persian they say sabz, in Turkish yeşîl. A山庄mar, hamrâ and humr are Arabic [for red]. In Persian they say surkh and sünî, in Turkish kızıl and kırmızî. A山庄far, safrä and sufr are Arabic [for yellow]. In Persian they say zard, in Turkish sufru [58r] Ablak, bulkâ and bulk are Arabic [for variegated]. In Persian they say rang-âmîz, 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 [benefe]. In the Arabic language they say banafshaj. And nefî [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 [erguviîn] erguviînî. And they call that red which resembles the color of the rose [gül] gülgünü. 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 [a山庄k yeşîl], some dark green [cemenî, 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 abyăđu yakikun, and yakâ’un and näśî’un in Arabic, saht-sapîd in Persian, ak-pâk in Turkish. And if one wants to say something is very black, he says aswadu ghirbûn and yahmûnîn, and hâlîkun in the Arabic language, sakht-siyăh in Persian, kap-kara in Turkish. And if one wishes to say something is very yellow, he says asfaru fâkî’un in the Arabic language, sakht-zard in Persian, sap-sar in Turkish. And if one wishes to say very red, he says a山庄maru kănî’un in Arabic, sakht-surkh in Persian, kıp-kıızî in Turkish. And if one wishes to say very green, he says akhbardar nâdırin in Arabic, sakht-sabz in Persian, yem-yeşîl in Turkish. And if one wishes to say very blue, he says akhaba lâmî’un in Arabic, sakht-kabûd 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 [sâmîr]. And sâmîr and almâs and

Câfî Efendi gives a variety of forms for each of the Arabic terms. Thus, for laun (color), he gives both the singular and the plural forms. For bayăd (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 Arabian. And in Persian and Turkish they say ʾelmās. The second is billāur, with a kesre under the bā [ܒ] and a felha over the làm [ڵ]. It is Arabic. In Persian and Turkish they say billūr, with a kesre under the bā [ܒ], and a zamm over the làm [ڵ]. There are no black jewels because God—whose name be exalted—created jewels to adorn mankind. As 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 which resemble the colors of particular stones. The colors of such materials are compared to similar stones. They say diamond white ʿarbūz, in Arabic ʿarbūz, in Turkish [59r] gōk-yaḵūt. And there are also two types of jewels green in color. The first is emerald, and carnelian red. And there are certain materials, the colors of which are compared to similar stones. They say diamond white ʿarbūz, in Arabic ʿarbūz, in Turkish [59r] gōk-yaḵūt. And there are also two types of jewels green in color. The first is emerald, and carnelian red.

Verse 29

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 [sylān] 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 ʿelmāsī, and emerald green zūmūrūdīn, and carnelian red ʿakīkī. And in circumstances where they say bright yellow [ṣap-sarī], [59r] they could say kehrūbā. And lapis lazuli [lājiwerd] is the name of a blue stone. Thus, they call some blue things lājiwerdī. Lājiwerd and lāziwerd and lāciwerd are [all proper] terms. And in Arabic they say lāziwardīyyun. 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 [ezīre-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 [somāḵī] 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...
They also call this mermen the well-known marbles being used in buildings. The description of black marbles: There are also two types of marble black in color. The first is Damascus marble [Siim mermeri]. And they also call this mermer-i Şan. The second is Üsküdar marble [Üsküdar mermeri]. The second is Üsküdar marble [Üsküdar mermeri]. They also call this mermer-i Üsküdar.31

The description of green marbles. And there are two types of marble green in color. The first is Zile or Amasya marble [Zile ve Amasıyye mermeri]. And there are two types of marble red in color. The first is porphyry [somaklı mermeri]. The second is sparrow’s eye marble [serçe-gözi mermeri],33 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 Amasıyye mermeri]. It has blue veins in white. The second is privet marble [kurd-bağri mermeri]. It has red veins in red. The third is variegated sparrow’s eye marble [alaca serçe-gözi mermeri]. The fourth is Gebiüze and Mihălich and Cebel-i Tekfur marble [Gebiüze ve Mihălich ve Cebel-i Tekfur mermeri]. These are stained with various colors. And the twelve types of marble are completed. In addition to these there are also many odd marbles [burduvât 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 rukkâm are Arabic [for marble]. In Persian they say marmar and sang-i sâpîd, and in Turkish they also say mermer. And marwa 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 maru. 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 yâsh and yâsak, the four of them, are Arabic [for jade]. They have one meaning. In Persian they say sang-i sâb and sang-i yashm, in Turkish yeşil mermer and yeşem mermeri. In Arabic and Persian and Turkish they say somâkî for the well-known pure red marble [porphyry]. And these are what are called the twelve types of common stones [kara haçer]: şahra [rock], salt [hard stone], celêmîd [large rock], kaddâha (? flint), saflan [slate], nêşef [pumice], saflha [flag stone], kâkârâ [? flint], cendele [small stone, boulder], bâshâ2 [gravel], haşrem [limestone], sofâ [slate, schist]. And details having to do with these will be given—God, whose name be exalted, willing—in the twelfth chapter.34 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.

31 Üsküdar mermeri: marble from Üsküdar on the Asian shore of the Bosporus.
32Dahna mermeri: presumably a marble from al-Dahna in eastern Najd.
34 Zile ve Amasıyye mermeri: presumably marble from Zile and Amasya in Central Anatolia.
35 Gebiüze ve Mihălich ve Cebel-i Tekfur mermeri: marble from the modern Gebze on the Gulf of Izmit, from Karacabey near Lake Apollont to the west of Bursa, and from Tekirdağ (Tekfur Dağ) on the Sea of Marmara. Regarding the Mihălich quarries, see Barkan, Süleymaniye, I, pp. 353-354.
36 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 Ḵaṣīde which is given [below], was recited and composed and written and inscribed.  

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 kibla 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 ṭevḥīd. 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 Kaʿba. 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, 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 makhfīl is the spreading branch of the plane tree. Each of its columns is a tall palm trunk.

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37 Marginal note gives meter of the verse, mafā'īlūn ʃe'ūlīn mafā'īlūn ʃe'ūlīn [ʃe'ūlīn].

38 Iram: a mythical garden said to have been devised by Shaddād ibn ʿĀd in imitation of the Garden of Paradise. See W. Montgomery Watt, “Iram,” E.I.3, 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. 39
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, 40
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!

39 The Sultan Ahmed Mosque overlooks the Sea of Marmara.
40 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.

Indeed, for the stone to gird itself at the waist was orthodox custom.
Just as Ahmed Muhtar [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 zunnâr.

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 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.
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 Cacfer.
Thus, let not the King of the World consider his words excessive.
And let us pray for that distinguished padishah [Ahmed Khan]!
Let young and old, with purity of heart, say amen!
O God, bless him with long life like the Prophet Hijir!
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 be perpetually powerless before him!

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*zunnâr*: a rope belt worn by some Christians and pagans as a religious emblem.

**Zamzam**: the well in the Great Mosque of Mecca; see p. 60, note 72, above.

*Suspended Seven Odes* (*zab'a-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 "Ukaz for their distinction, transcribed in letters of gold upon Egyptian linen and hung from the door of the Ka'ba. For a discussion, see Reynolds


**Prophet Hijir (Hijr-i Nebi)**: 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 Ilyâs are held to be immortal, having drunk from the "Water of Life." See P. N. Boratov, "Khâdi-Ilyâs," *E.I.*, V, p. 5.

**Shah of the Heretics**: see p. 67, note 21, above.
Let the infidels groan under the blows of his [Ahmed 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 barmak [finger, inch] the bennā'gīrā' [architect’s cubit] and the ‘āmmе gīrā' [common cubit] each are, and the length at which the barmak is fixed, and the cause of the bennā'gīrā' being fixed at twenty-four barmak, and the reason for the ‘āmmе gīrā' being fixed at one hundred barmak, that is, at thirty-two girih. Dhīrāq [cubit] is Arabic. In Persian they say andāza3 and gaz, in Turkish arşun.4 Isba5 [finger width] is Arabic. In Persian they say angusht,6 in Turkish barma/c.7 Ibḥām [thumb] is Arabic. In Persian they say anguṣht-i buzurg, in Turkish büyük barmak.8 Anmala [fingertip] is Arabic. In Persian they say sar-i angusht, in Turkish barma/c ust. Burjuma [knuckle, finger joint] is Arabic. In Persian they say band-i angusht, in Turkish borçun.9 Now we have come to the description of the arşun [ell, yard, gīrā']. There are two types of arşun. One type is the bennā' arşun10 [architect’s cubit, bennā' gīrā']; the second is the ‘āmmе arşun11 [common cubit, ‘āmmе gīrā'], that is the girih12 of the common people, as distinct from [that of] the architect. The bennā' gīrā' is twenty-four borçun [joint, inch]. They call it burjumatu anmalati al-ibḥām in Arabic, band-i sar-i anguṣht-i buzurg in Persian, büyük barmakı baş borçun [the main joint of the thumb] in Turkish. And each borçun is two and a half barmak. If you place this barmak, 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 barmak in the science of arithmetic. And each barmak is ten ıplik [thread] when ten ıplik are spread out side by side and each of those ıplik is equivalent to a thread spun from one hundred spider webs. With this reckoning of a barmak, the bennā' gīrā' is exactly sixty barmak. But with respect to the borçun, it is twenty-four borçun. And each borçun is two and a half barmak. But architects do not employ the borçun. They use only the barmak. [62v] It is a sort of metaphor. They [architects] mention the whole, and they mean part of the whole. Because barmak is the whole, borçun is part of it. As each borçun consists of two and a half barmak, twenty borçun make fifty barmak. And the remaining four borçun make ten barmak. The total comes to sixty barmak. And the reason this gīrā' is of two types is that the ‘āmmе gīrā' [common cubit] derives from commercial calculations. And this ‘āmmе gīrā' is one hundred barmak. And each barmak is ten ıplik. And each ıplik is equal to one hundred spun spider webs. And they divided this gīrā' of a hundred barmak into thirty-two parts. And they called each of these parts a girih [knot].10 Girih is Persian, with

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1 dhirā (Turk. gīrā'): cubit, ell; the general term for any one of a number of units of linear measurement. See Hinz, Masse, p. 55 (dirā'), which gives the so-called 'Abbasid black dhirā' as 54.04 cm.
2 andāza: cubit, ell; unit of linear measurement in Iran.
3 gaz: cubit, ell; general term for a number of units of linear measurement in Iran. See Hinz, Masse, p. 62 (gaz).
4 arşun: cubit, ell; general term in Turkish for a number of units of linear measurement.
5 isba: finger width; a measure of length which varies in relation to the size of the gīrā' in question. See Hinz, Masse, p. 54 (isba').
6 angusht: finger width; a measure of length of varying size used in Iran. See Hinz, Masse, p. 54 (angust).
7 barmak: finger width; a measure of length of varying size used in the Ottoman Empire.
8 bennā' arşun (bennā' gīrā'): architect’s cubit, the same as the Arabic al-dhirā' al-mi'māriyya. See Hinz, Masse, p. 59.
9 ‘āmmе arşun (‘āmmе gīrā'): common or vulgar cubit, the same as the Arabic al-dhirā' al-'amma. See Hinz, Masse, p. 55.
10 girih: literally "knot"; a Persian unit of linear measurement. See Hinz, Masse, p. 62 (gēreh).
a Persian kāf and a kesre under the rā. 

In Arabic they say ʿuṣāda, in Turkish düğüm. But they [also] use the term girih. And it appears that originally there was no girih mark in the girih as there is now. Perhaps a secure knot was tied in a cord at the point of every girih. Thus, they made the girih mark. And, therefore, as a result, they still refer to the mark at the point of the girih as a knot. And each girih is precisely three and one eighth barmak. And [concerning] those thirty-two girih [of the ʿamme girih], just as previously each of the four aḵçe11 which were coined from the dīrhem12 was equal to thirty-two mankan13 so they had fixed the girih in accord with those thirty-two mankan. But now, because the aḵçe is reckoned in a different manner, the science of arithmetic and the calculation of the girih are obsolete and void and completely in disarray. For many thousands of years, until the years nine hundred ninety-four and five [1585-87],14 that [earlier] reckoning of the girih 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 girih used by the common people is not that complete girih. It is half the complete girih, that is, sixteen girih. And the complete girih is still the girih called the bez arsun15 [cloth cubit] among the common people. It is exactly thirty-two girih. And the bennā girih is fixed in accordance with canon law because those matters of canon law which require surveying [meşâhâ] in which the bennā girih is used include the science of the division of estates [ṣâmil-i ferâyêz].16 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 bennā girih—that is, six barmak [sic, boğun]—is used [as the unit for surveying]. If the basic principle is twelfths, one-half of the bennā girih—that is, twelve barmak [sic, boğun]—is used. And if the basic principle is twenty-fourths, exactly one girih using the bennā girih—that is, twenty-four barmak [sic, boğun]—is used. Thus, this bennā girih is defined with an eye to the division among heirs of real estate [mülk] and of landed properties [yir] and of rental property [aḵār] in accordance with the science of the division of estates. For that reason, this bennā girih does not match the girih of the common people but is of another sort. If a sixth is subtracted from a bennā girih, 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] 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 bennā girih. And there is no girih truer than the bennā girih, because this has been calculated in terms of the finger joint [bûrcûme]. There is between a tall and a short man a great difference, for example, in the [size of the] wrist [bilek], in the span [karş], in the foot [ayak], in the pace [aḏim], and in the arm span [kulaš]. But the boğun is the bûrcûme [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 girih 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 bennā girih, forty boğun are exactly one ʿamme girih, and twenty boğun are half a girih. Now [the unit of linear measurement] called the arsun, used by tailors and others, is also half a girih. And the bez arsunu [cloth cubit] used at the present time is, as was stated, exactly one girih, which is exactly forty boğun. Sudus [sixth] is Arabic. In Persian they


12 dīrhem: silver coin of varying weight and metal content. See Pere, Paralar, p. 12.

13 mankan: Ottoman copper coin of varying weight and metal content. See Pere, Paralar, p. 14; also Lane-Poole, Catalogue, p. xvii.

14 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 İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluş ve İnkişafı Devrinde Türkiye Iktisadi Vaziyeti," Belleten, XIII, 1949, pp. 497-568.

15 bez arsun: the cloth cubit, presumably the same as the Arabic al-dhina al-Istanbuliya. See Hinz, Mass, pp. 58-59.

16 ʿilm-i ferâyêz (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 Kurân (IV: 11-12, 176); the shares are calculated in terms of certain fixed fractions (1/2, 1/4, 1/3, 1/8, 2/3, 1/6). See Th. W. Juynboll, "Ferâyêz," E.I., II, p. 783; also Joseph Schacht, Introduction to Islamic Law (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 169-174.
say shash-yak, in Turkish altda bir. Rub⁵ [fourth, quarter] is Arabic. In Persian they say chah-yak, in Turkish dördte bir. But some people, corrupting rub⁵, say urub, and some people, corrupting chah-yak, say şeyrek. 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 nim, in Turkish yarm. Thuluth [third] is Arabic. In Persian they say sa-yak, in Turkish üçte bir. Thuluthan [two-thirds] is Arabic. In Persian they express it du sa-yak, in Turkish iki üçte bir. Iki üçte bir [two one-thirds] means üçte iki [two-thirds]. Thuman [eighth] is Arabic. In Persian they say hash-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 ayak [foot], and adm [pace], and ok-atms [bow shot, furlong], and mil [mile], and fersenk [parasang], and berid [stage], and kars [span], and dirsek [cubit, same as girā⁵], and kulaç [fathom], and mesafe [stage, a day’s march], and merhâle [stage, a day’s march], and menzil [stage], and rab⁶ [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. Kadam and rişil [foot] are Arabic. In Persian they say pây, in Turkish ayak. Khutwa [pace] is Arabic. In Persian they say güm, in Turkish adm. Ghaltwa [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 partâdô, in Turkish ok-atm and ok-nîjâm. All of these are four hundred girā⁵. Mil⁵ [mile] is Arabic. In Persian and Turkish they also say mil. Calculated in terms of paces [adm] it is four thousand paces. And in terms of ayak [feet], every adm [pace] is three ayak. And three ayak are also equal to one girā⁵. Farsakh² [parasang] is Arabic. In Persian and Turkish they say fersenk. And the Arabic farsakh is arabicized from the Persian fersenk. In terms of mil, each farsakh is [equal to] three mil. And in terms of the mentioned adm, it is twelve thousand adm. And in terms of ayak, it would be thirty-six thousand ayak. And some people regard the mil as equal to about the distance the eye can see. And the distance the eye can see is at most four thousand adm [paces]. Those who consider [the mil] as four thousand adm measure it in terms of girā⁵ and ayak. And they say every three ayak is [equal to] a girā⁵. But those who say [the mil] 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 Mukhâr-i Şihâb. This is the definition: it specifies, al-mîlu min al-arâdi muntahâ madd al-basari wa al-farsakh hu thalâthatu amyûâin.³ [64v] This is the meaning [of the Arabic], that the valid terrestrial mil is the limit the eye can see. And the farsakh is three mil, that is, three times the distance the eye can see. Barîd⁴ [stage] is Arabic. In Persian they say duvâzdah mil [twelve miles], and in Turkish onîk mil. In terms of farsakh, it is four farsakh. In terms of adm, one berîd is forty-eight thousand adm. And in terms of ayak, one barîd is one hundred forty-four thousand ayak. Shihr [span] is Arabic. In Persian they say bidist, in Turkish kars. Dhirâ⁵ [cubit] is Arabic. In Persian they say varîn and arish,⁶ in Turkish dirsek and kol. Previously, when the girâ⁵ 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 dhirâ⁵. And they used to call its unit of measure a dhar.⁷ And later, when these bennâ and āmme girâ⁵ were fixed, they also called these dhirâ⁵. And to this day, in the Arabic language they call these units of measure [i.e., the bennâ girâ⁵ and the āmme girâ⁵] dhar. Now, from this it is clear that the girâ⁵ they call bennâ and āmme girâ⁵ are taken from dhirâ⁵, which means forearm [dirsek, kol] in Arabic. And arsun is a corruption of arishîn. In Persian, arish, with a fethe over the elf and a kesre under the râ (ٍ) means “forearm” [kol, dirsek], and [the suffix] in means “this.” In the place in which they would say bilek budur [this is an arm] in Turkish, they say arish-ion in Persian. And although arsun is of the form of zeytûn [ending as it does in ün], it is, perhaps,

¹ mil: mile; unit of linear measurement of c. 2 km. See Hinz, Masse, p. 63.
² farsakh (Turk. farsah): parasang; Persian unit of linear measurement equal to three mil, that is c. 6 km. See Hinz, Masse, p. 62.
³ “The terrestrial mil is the limit to which the eye can see and the farsakh is three miles.” For the Mukhâr-i Şihâb, see p. 30, note 29, above.
⁴ barîd: stage; unit of linear measurement equal to 4 farsakh or c. 24 km. See Hinz, Masse, p. 55.
⁵ dhirâ⁵ (Turk. girâ⁵): a unit of linear measurement varying in size but in general comparable to an ell. See Hinz, Masse, p. 64.
⁶ arish: a Persian designation for the ell. See Hinz, Masse, p. 54.
⁷ dhar: a designation for the Persian ell (also known as the gaz and more rarely as the dhirâ⁵), of varying length. See Hinz, Masse, p. 64.
more correct to say *arşin* in the manner of *āmīn* [ending with an *ān*], as it originally was [in Persian]. Let those who prefer the widespread corrupt form say *arsun* [with a long *ū*] in the manner of *emīr* and *zeytīn*. Thus *girāz* [cubit] was derived from the Arabic *dāhirā*, 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 *girāz* just as they are. Thus, they are fully described in the previous chapter. *Bā* [fathom, the distance of the two arms extended] is Arabic. In Persian they say *bāz*, in Turkish *kulaç*. *Masāfa* [stage, a day’s march] is Arabic. In Persian they say *dūr-i miyān-i du manzil*, in Turkish *iki konak arasında*. In the Mukhtar-i Sīhāh it says, *al-masāfatu al-bu’du*. That is, the Mukhtar-i Sīhāh took as the definition both the distance between two stages [menzil], and the distance between several stages. *Marḥala* and *manzil* and *rab* [stage, inn, halting place] are Arabic. In Persian they say *mānzil-gāh*, in Turkish *menzil yeri*. But the original Turkish is *konak*.

**NINTH CHAPTER**

It describes what they say in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages for *dōnum*, and for *evlek* [a quarter *dōnum*], and for *cubuk* [one one-hundredth of a *dōnum*], and for *nişan* [one-tenth of a *dōnum*], and for *kaftiz* [one-tenth of a *dōnum*] and what their dictionary meanings are. *Jarīb* [a measure of land area] is Arabic. In Persian they say *garīb* and *garī*, in Turkish *dōnum*. 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 *dōnum*. To begin with, it is said in the Mukhtar-i Sīhāh that *al-jarību min al-ja’āmī wa al-arḍī miṣḥarun wa ma’ā’un wa jam’a’u ajribatu wa jurbānu kultu al-jarību mīkālīn wa huwa arba’atu akfīzātun wa jarībun min al-arḍī mābadhīru al-jarībi al-ladīhi huwa al-mīkālīn. 2 This is its meaning: that which we call a *jarīb* is be it food [*ta’āmn*] or be it land [*yīr*], is a designation of a [specific] dimension. That which they call a *jarīb* is a measure [for grain] of four *kīla*. 3 This is what they call a *ta’ām cerībi* [in Turkish]. 4 And each field which [in sowing] takes one *jarīb* of grain, that quantity of land is also called a *jarīb*. This is what they say a *yīr cerībi* [in Turkish]. 5 And in the dictionary of Ni’met-Allah 6 it says a *garī* [that is] a *dōnum*, is forty *adm* [paces] [square]. And further, among farmers they define a *dōnum* 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* 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 chīf-i gān*. The Mukhtar-i Sīhāh states, *al-faddānu hiya al-bakaru al-latī tahruwu wa al-jam’i al-faddāni*, 7 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 *dōnum* is defined by measuring. And that measured *dōnum* is of three types. The first type, in square *bennā* *girāz*, is one thousand two hundred twenty-five square *girāz*. The second type is two thousand twenty-five square *girāz*. And the third type is three thousand six hundred square *girāz*. 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 zamin*, in Turkish *evlek* [furrow] and *karak* [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 [*gīzr*]. 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 *tahtā*. Khashaba [rod, a measure of length of c. 14 feet] is

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8 *bā*: fathom, span; a unit of linear measurement of 4 canonical ell or c. 2 m. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 54.
9 "A stage is a distance."

2 "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 *kaftiz*. And a *jarīb* of land is the area you can sow broadcast with a *jarīb* [of seed]. This is the measure." 1 For the Mukhtar-i Sīhāh, see p. 30, note 29, above.

3 *kīla*: a term for a variety of units of volumetric, dry measurement. See Hinz, *Masse*, pp. 41-42.
4 *ta’ām cerībi*: a term for a variety of units of volumetric, dry measurement. See Hinz, *Masse*, p. 38, who describes these under the heading *garīb*.
5 For Ni’met-Allah and his dictionary, see p. 30, note 28, above.
7 "The *faddān* is the land an ox can plow [in a day], and the plural is *faddāni*. "

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Arabic. In Persian they say chūb, in Turkish çihbik. Ayat and alâmat [mark, notch] are Arabic. In Persian they say nishan, in Turkish nišan. 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 sunu nišndeliyiver [notch that]. [66r] Kafiz8 [dry measure of c. 250 lbs.], kufzān and akfīz are Arabic. In Persian they say paymāna, in Turkish ölçek. A կաֆիզ is one ölçek. կուֆզան and ակֆիզ are the plurals of կաֆիզ. They mean ölçekler [in Turkish]. And a կաֆիզ itself is eight mıkyl [a dry measure for grain]. It is thus in the Mukhtār al-Šihāh. Kila and kayl and mıkyl are Arabic. In Persian they say paymāna, in Turkish ölçek. In the Mukhtar-i Şihāh it says, wa al-ismu al-kilatu bi-al-kasr yuqūlu innahu ta-hasanu al-kīlati ka-al-jilati wa al-rīkba. It means kīle with a kesre under the kāf (?). It is pronounced like jīla and rīkba. The purpose of discussing the kafīz here is that in the science of geometry this kafīz means nišān.

Sha’īra and sha’īr and sha’īyir and sha’īrāt. Sha’īra [a barley corn] is Arabic. In Persian they say yak jav, in Turkish bir arpa. Sha’īr [barley collectively] is Arabic. In Persian it is rendered by jav, in Turkish by arpa. Sha’īyir and sha’īrāt are also Arabic. They are plurals. They are rendered by javāh in Persian, by arpalar in Turkish. And the reason for mentioning this sha’īr here is this, that in the science of geometry this sha’īr means [the same as] çihbik [rod]. In Arabic books on the science of geometry jarb is used in place of dönüm, and kafīz is used in place of nišān, and sha’īra is used in place of çihbik. And in connection with kafīz, kīla was also mentioned. [This is] the end of the ninth chapter.

TENTH CHAPTER

It describes details having to do with the dönüm and the çihbik and the nišān 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 zirāc each type is in bennā2 zirāc. 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 bennā2 zirāc is thirty-five zirāc [66v] in length into tenths so that in bennā2 zirāc each segment is three and a half zirāc. They call that three-and-a-half zirāc segment a çihbik. With that çihbik you measure ten çihbik lengthwise and ten çihbik widthwise, and you multiply the one with the other. In terms of square çihbik, one hundred çihbik are obtained from that multiplication. And you call each ten [square] çihbik of that one hundred [square] çihbik a nišān. Therefore, in terms of this definition, a dönüm of land amounts in square çihbik to one hundred çihbik. And in terms of square bennā2 zirāc, it amounts to one thousand two hundred twenty-five zirāc. This dönüm of one thousand two hundred twenty-five zirāc 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 bennā2 zirāc each çihbik of the hundred çihbik in this dönüm amounts to twelve and a quarter zirāc. A quarter zirāc means one part of the four equal parts of a zirāc, that is, half of a half of a bennā2 zirāc. In other words, it is obtained by multiplying twelve barmak by twelve barmak, because an exact bennā2 zirāc contains twenty-four barmak. When twenty-four barmak are multiplied by twenty-four barmak, in square barmak it amounts to five hundred seventy-six barmak, that is to say, twenty-four less than six hundred barmak. When these five hundred seventy-six barmak are divided into four equal parts, each part amounts to one hundred forty-four barmak. And this is the form for multiplying half a zirāc by a half, that is twelve barmak by twelve barmak:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
12 \\
[x] 12 \\
24 \\
144 \\
\end{array}
\]

144 is the number of square barmak.

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:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
144 \\
144 \\
144 \\
576 \\
\end{array}
\]

576 is the [number of] square barmak in one.

[Square] zirāc.

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8 kafiz: a term for a variety of units of volumetric, dry measurement. See Hinz, Mase, pp. 48-50.

9 "And the noun kīla is [written] with the kara. It is said that he
It is an area which is one girâc in length and also one girâc in width. Now that area, in terms of the number of barmak of a benna² girâc, amounts to twenty-four barmak lengthwise, and also twenty-four barmak widthwise. Therefore, if you were to wish to know the size of that one-girâc surface in terms of square barmak, you multiply twenty-four barmak by twenty-four. It is six hundred barmak less twenty-four barmak, that is, it totals five hundred seventy-six barmak. Now when it is necessary to subtract a quarter from this complete girâc, that is one part of its four equal parts, a surface is subtracted which is half a girâc in length and half a girâc in width, that is, it must be twelve barmak in length and twelve barmak in width. This is the form that is described:

Widthwise, these points are the twelve barmak which we mentioned

Lengthwise, these points are the twelve barmak which we mentioned

Each of these red points stands for one barmak, and [the area] twelve points in length and twelve points in width is one fourth of a square each side of which is one girâc. Thus it was represented in this square. And [67v] in terms of square benna² girâc, each of the ten nişân in this dönüm amounts to one hundred twenty-two and a half. Half means two parts of the four equal parts of a one-[square]-girâc area. In Turkish they say iki dört-de bir [two fourths], in Arabic rubc ʾayn. And in square barmak of the benna² girâc, [a half girâc] amounts to two hundred eighty-eight barmak. You multiply a complete girâc by half a girâc, that is, twenty-four barmak by twelve barmak. Now then, you get two hundred eighty-eight barmak from that multiplication. And half a benna² girâc is exactly this much, because a complete girâc is five hundred seventy-six [square] barmak. And this is the form for the multiplication of twenty-four barmak by twelve barmak, which is described:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
24 & \text{twenty-four barmak} \\
12 & \text{twelve barmak} \\
48 & 288 \\
24 & \text{The product of the multiplication.}
\end{array}
\]

And when this number two hundred eighty-eight, obtained from the multiplication, is doubled, it becomes five hundred seventy-six barmak. This is the form described:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
288 & \text{method of doubling} \\
002 & 576 \\
& \text{is the [number of] square barmak in a girâc.}
\end{array}
\]

And there are other ways and approaches and manners of obtaining the [number of] square barmak found in a half girâc. 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 benna² girâc is forty-five girâc long, so that each segment, in benna² girâc, is four and a half girâc. As before, you call a segment a cebik. You measure with that cebik of four and a half girâc [an area] ten cebik in length and ten cebik in width. Then you again multiply that ten [68r] cebik by ten cebik. In terms of square cebik it results in one hundred cebik. And you call each ten of these cebik a nişân. And these ten nişân are exactly one dönüm. And in this way, the [number of] square cebik is, as we said, one hundred. But in terms of square benna² girâc, [this second type of dönüm] is two thousand twenty-five girâc. And this dönüm of two thousand twenty-five girâc is used in various places at some distance from Istanbul, such as southern Rüm-ili and the Islands [cezireler].¹ And in terms of the square benna² girâc, each of the cebik of the dönüm of this second type amounts to twenty and a quarter girâc, as was described with regard to the first type. And in terms of square benna² girâc, each nişân of the ten nişân in this [second type] amounts to two hundred two and a half girâc. And this is the third type of dönüm: as previously, you fold into tenths a cord which in terms of benna² girâc is sixty girâc long, so that each segment, in benna² girâc, is six girâc. Again, you call each segment a cebik. And with that six-girâc-segment cebik, you measure an area ten

¹ cezireler (also adalar): the Islands, i.e., the islands of the Aegean Sea.
§bik in length and ten §bik in width. Then you multiply ten §bik by ten §bik. In terms of square §bik, the result is one hundred §bik. And you call each ten of these §bik a nı̇san. And ten nı̇san are exactly one dönüm. And one dönüm, in terms of square §bik of this third type, is one hundred §bik. But in terms of square bennâ² zirâ‘ı̇, it amounts to three thousand [68v] six hundred zirâ‘ı̇.

And because they write about this third type of dönüm, in the provinces of Egypt and Baghdad and Companions of the Prophet. And in terms of square was measured in this manner in the time of the noble companions. And in the dictionary of doniim, it defines §bik as,“Doniim: its length and width are sixty zirâ‘ı̇.” And the dönüm that was described is this dönüm. But in the Mukhtar-i Si̇hâh [the number of] its [this dönüm’s] zirâ‘ı̇ was not mentioned. Rather, this is the definition of that which they call a jarib: “That which they call a jarib is a quantity of four kila. Thus, they call every field which [in sowing] takes four kila of grain a jarib.” But the dönüm described in the Mukhtar-i Si̇hâh conforms to this third type of dönüm mentioned as being sixty zirâ‘ı̇ in length and sixty zirâ‘ı̇ 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 bennâ² zirâ‘ı̇, is three thousand six hundred zirâ‘ı̇. And the middle order of magnitude is two thousand twenty-five zirâ‘ı̇. And the smallest order of magnitude is one thousand two hundred twenty-five zirâ‘ı̇. And when this dönüm of three thousand six hundred zirâ‘ı̇ 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 zirâ‘ı̇; and the middle order of magnitude was two thousand four hundred zirâ‘ı̇; and the smallest order of magnitude was one thousand two hundred zirâ‘ı̇. 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 [ceğr] 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 [ı̇b] 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 bennâ² zirâ‘ı̇, forty-five zirâ‘ı̇ [long]. If people doubt and do not trust it, let them measure it with a tailor’s measuring stick [dersi arsunı̇]. If that cord comes to fifty-five zirâ‘ı̇ with a tailor’s measuring stick, let them trust its accuracy.” In point of fact, forty-five zirâ‘ı̇ with the architect’s zirâ‘ı̇ and fifty-five zirâ‘ı̇ with the tailor’s measuring stick are approximately equal. There is [only] a small disparity [between them]. In terms of the calculation of the bennâ² zirâ‘ı̇ in barmak, a cord which, in bennâ² zirâ‘ı̇ is forty-five zirâ‘ı̇ long, amounts to one thousand eighty barmak. And a cord which, in terms of the zirâ‘ı̇ used by tailors is fifty-five zirâ‘ı̇ in length, amounts to one thousand one hundred barmak. The cord in the tailor’s zirâ‘ı̇ has only twenty more barmak [than that in bennâ² zirâ‘ı̇]. And in terms of the tailor’s zirâ‘ı̇ [this twenty barmak] amounts to exactly one zirâ‘ı̇, since the tailor’s zirâ‘ı̇, calculated in terms of the barmak of the bennâ² zirâ‘ı̇, [69v] is exactly twenty barmak. But if people measure that cord with a tailor’s arsunı̇, it does not appear to be excessive, because at the time it [the cord] was issued by the imperial treasury, including those extra twenty barmak, they issued the cord in that way. Thus, in terms of barmak, that cord is exactly one thousand one hundred barmak. Briefly, our aim and purpose in going into so full an explanation is that we may know the dimension of the valid dönüm and nı̇san and §bik in Istanbul and its surroundings. Now, its [Istanbul’s] dönüm, in terms of square bennâ² zirâ‘ı̇, is one thousand two hundred twenty-five zirâ‘ı̇, and each nı̇san in terms of square bennâ² zirâ‘ı̇, is
one hundred twenty-two and a half girā, and each šibik in terms of square benna3 girā, is twelve and a quarter girā. 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 cābi [collectors of wafq revenues] and mútevelli [wafq administrators] write nīm nīsān [half nīsān] in their official memoranda, and in some of them they write rub6 nīsān [quarter nīsān]. If nīm nīsān is what is written, it means half a nīsān, which in terms of area, is sixty-one and a quarter square nīfan. Thumun means one of the eight [equal] parts of a girā. It is given thus, and that completes the matter.

Precept: This rule describes things having to do with surveying [misāba]. And misāba and dhar and azn are, all three of them, Arabic. But there are differences between them. To convey the meaning of misāba [the measuring or surveying of land] they say paymūdan-i zamin in Persian and yer ölçmek in Turkish. And [70r] to convey the meaning of dhar [the extent or measure of a thing] they say gaz-kardan in Turkish. The equivalent of azn [a weighing] is sanjidan in Persian, jártmak in Turkish. Tài [length] is Arabic. In Persian they say dirāz, in Turkish uzunluğ. ʿArz [width] is Arabic. In Persian they say pahnayi, in Turkish enilık. Tülani [longitudinal, in length] is Arabic. In Persian they say [word omitted], in Turkish uzadi. Tavil [long, tall] is Arabic. In Persian they say dirāz, in Turkish uzun. ʿArīd [wide, broad] is Arabic. In Persian they say pahnā, in Turkish eni. And Tulan [in length, lengthwise] in Arabic. In Persian they say bar-dirāzī, in Turkish uzunlugına. And ʿardan [in width, widthwise] is Arabic. In Persian they say bar-pahnayi, in Turkish enine. Hisṣa [share, part], and sahm [share, portion], and našīb [share, portion], and hazz [share, portion], and khalāk [share, portion] are all Arabic. In Persian they say bahra, in Turkish pay. The plural of hisṣa is hisṣas; and of sahm, sīhām and asham and suhman; and of našīb, anṣibā; and of khalāk, khalākāt; and of hazz, ḥuzzā. In Persian they say bahrahā for these, in Turkish hısseler and paylar. Shiṣk [part] and ashkās [pl. of shıṣk, parts]; kist [part] [and] akṣās [pl. of kist, parts]; cuz2 [part, section] [and] aczā2 [pl. of cuz2, parts]; kism [part, section, division] [and] akṣām [pl. of kism, parts] are all Arabic. And they have a single meaning. In Persian they say pāra, in Turkish paraık. And paraık is a corruption of pāra. And each one of these means “part” [hiṣṣa]. And the late Kemal Paşa-zade—God have mercy on him—made this clear in the dictionary compiled by him called Muḥīt al-Lughāt.3 Baʾd [part, portion] is Arabic. In Persian they say bakh, in Turkish biraz. Now some people say, şundan biraz vir [Give a portion of that], that is şunā bəʿüz ma ve bir mīkdār was vir [Give a part and a portion of that]. Nīsf [half] is Arabic. In Persian they say nīm, in Turkish yarım. Shiḳḳ [small part, half] and shajr [half, part] are Arabic. They also have the meaning “half.” In Persian they say nīme, in Turkish yarım.4 [70v] Precept: and this precept describes that which is accounted the inhabited quarter of the earth’s surface in the book named Nuzhat al-ʿUkūl.5 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.6 And each degree is twenty-two farsakh. And each farsakh is three mil. And each mil is four thousand girā. And each girā is eight kabda [hand]. [The Arabic] kabda means tülām [in Turkish]. And a tülām is defined in terms of the breadth of the hand of an average man. And each tülām is four barmak. And it makes clear that each barmak is six arpa. Therefore, according to this definition, one benna2 girā must contain thirty-two barmak. And with regard to the palm of a man’s hand, a hand is wide and flat. When a man is excessively fat, a benna2 girā is less than eight kabda. And when a man is short of stature, a girā is more than eight kabda. Now a man must be of medium and average stature, if eight of his kabda are to equal one girā. And one girā of the dimension of this architect’s girā must total one hundred ninety-two shaʿīr [barley grains]. And when it is necessary to define the arpa [barley grain] in terms of the calculation of the bürüm, that is the boğun, each boğun must contain eight arpa. According to what was written by the author of the Nuzhat al-ʿUkūl, 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 barmak to be calculated very precisely. Then it

3 Muḥīt al-Lughāt: famous Arabic-Persian dictionary compiled by the Ottoman scholar and ʿajīb al-ṭilām Kemal Paşa-zade in 926/1520.
4 Marginal note reads, “This precept describes the dimensions of the inhabited portions of the earth’s surface.”
6 The Isle of Thule (Tūl Cezeresi): the northernmost part of the inhabitable world according to the geographers of antiquity.
is necessary to calculate fractions with *shaʿir* [barley grains]. For the purpose of fractions, note how the ʿāmme ẓirāʾ [71r] is calculated! Now, for example, arithmeticians lay down the rule that the ʿāmme ẓirāʾ is such that a proper ẓirāʾ is one hundred *barmak*, and each *barmak* is one hundred *iplik*, and each *iplik* is one hundred ʿāmme ẓirāʾ. And [the prescribed number of] *iplik* would not fit, because when there are a hundred *iplik* in each *barmak*, ten thousand *iplik* would have to be contained in one ẓirāʾ, 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 *benna* ẓirāʾ, calculations in *shaʿir* [barley, corn] are essential. This reckoning is particularly important for fractions of *farsakh* and *mil* and *berid*. A *benna* ẓirāʾ is three *ayak*, and each *ayak* is sixty-four *shaʿir*. [Thus,] two *ayak* are one hundred twenty-eight *shaʿir*, three *ayak* are one hundred ninety-two *shaʿir*. And this amounts to one *benna* ẓirāʾ.7 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.8 The first of these [71v] is the Greek. The second is the Turkish. The third is the Chinese. The fourth 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 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."9 There were five persons [who were great surveyors of the earth's inhabited quarter].10 The first of these is Efridun al-Safi.11 The second is Tubbaʾ of the Himyarites.12 The third is the prophet Solomon, son of David—may peace be upon them. The fourth is Alexander the Great. The fifth is Erd-ṣīr ibn Bābil al-Fārīsī.13 These, along with many geometicians 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 *berid*, and how many *farsakh*, and how many *mil*, and how many ẓirāʾ and *adam*, and how many *barmak*, and how many *ayak*, and how many *shaʿir* the world, whether land or sea, measures, all of this the author of the *Nuzhat al-ʿUkūl*—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 ʿāmiʿ-i ʿerif, and *mescid-i latif*, and são, and *menāre*, and ʿerefe, and *minber*, and mihrab, and mahfil, and *kübbe*, and ʿalem, and kūrsī, and *musalla*, and *medrese*, and zāyiye, and *sauqa*, and sarāy, popular legend for his universal knowledge, and in particular for his mastery of astronomy; see H. Masse, "Farīdūn," *E.F.*, II, p. 798. 13 Tubbaʾ: 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 Caʿfer uses the title as if it were the name of an individual.

and dâr al-sâ'âde, and bab-i dâr al-sâ'âde, and ʻataba, and cenâb, and südde, and ʻeyūn, and düvûn, and kûş, and tahtâ-pûs, and ʻevana kûş, and hâlûl, and ʻis-hâlûl, and ʻisra hâlûl, and oda, and hûrus, and selamîlûk, and ʻazînî, and mûâzen, and kîlêr, and dûlâb, and sîrdâb, and ʻir-i zemîn, and ʻusti ʻaçık oda, and bacassû oda, and sunumûra, and ikî kâpûla oda, and yer-evî, and ʻar-tak oda, and mak-bâh, and ocaq, and furun, and tennûrî, and yaz odast, and kîş odast, and ʻavantî oda, and ʻorgûcîlû oda, and kûbbelû oda, and kûrdunûlû kubbê, and ʻisâf, and dehîlz, and bâca, and pencerê, and nazar-gâh, and medî-i bâsar, and müsêbbek pencerê, and kafe, and dûlêb pencerê, and raqf, and muşandara, and ʻoﬄa, and tabel-ʻoﬄa, and tarbüsûn, and kireved, and mûraşsî ʻtâht, and muşlak ʻtâht, and meclîs, and erler cemî oldûgî yer, and ʻavetler cemî oldûgî yer, and perde, and serer-perde, and menzîl, and meskenûn, and ʻukûk, and ʻâder, and oba, and oltûk, and ʻâmâm, and çâmê-kân, and halvet, and kûrma, and lûle, and kûlûn, and dûheng, and kenîf, and ʻabdêst-hûne, and gusûll-hûne, and çâmê-suyluk idecek yer, and içfîlik, and ʻâkûr, and anbûr, and âhûr, and ʻamanîlûk, and mesra, and evler, and dönûm, and bâg, and ʻân, and reste, and taht al-kalâ, and car-şî ʻottûsî, and kalâ, and sehir bûrû, and ʻenêdek, and degirmen, and at degirmên, and su degirmên, and ma-mûrû yer, and vûran yer, and nîkê, (nûkê) and nakê, and ʻîmâret, and meremmet, and vûrânê ev, and anacak temeli kalmsî vûrânê ev, and ev yeri ve yurdî, and buyûk sehir, and muşlaka sehir, and kaṣaba, and köy, and maḥalle, and sokûk, and ʻar-sû, 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.

Jâmî [congregational mosque] is Arabic. In Persian they say mazgit-i âşîña [Friday mosque], in Turkish câmî-i ʻerîf [blessed congregational mosque]. Again, it is Arabic. Actually, in Turkish the meaning of mazgit-i âşîña is rendered by ine mazgîti.

Masjid [mosque] is Arabic. In Persian they say sajidagâh [place of prayer] and mazgît [mosque], in Turkish, as in Arabic, mescid [mosque, quarter mosque]. But originally in Turkish they said mezgît as in Persian.

[72v] Harîm [courtyard, environs, border] is Arabic. It is rendered by pirman [environs, circumstance] in Persian, by şere [surroundings, environs, circumstance] in Turkish. But as in Arabic, they also say hâlûl [court, courtyard].

Harâm [and] hârâm [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 korsi yeri [protected place, sanctuary] in Turkish.

Manâr [minaret] is Arabic. It is rendered by jây-i bâng-i namâz [place of the call to prayer] in Persian, by ezân okunuçak yer [place of the call to prayer] in Turkish.

Shura [battlement, gallery of a minaret] is Arabic. In Persian they say kungura [parapet]. In Turkish, the common people, corrupting the zâmme [the short u of shura], say şerefe [battlement, gallery of a minaret] as if it were the Arabic with a feteha.\(^\text{[42]}\)

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.

Maḥfîl [place of assembly, pulpit, private gallery in a mosque] is Arabic. It is rendered by jây-i anjuman-i hâflisân [place of assembly of Kur'ân memorizers] in Persian, by hâflisânî derneği yeri [place of assembly in the Kur'ân memorizers] in Turkish.

Kûbba [dome] is Arabic. In Persian they say gunbad [dome], in Turkish, as in Arabic, kubbe. It has become a shared term.

ʻAlam [flag, banner, standard, apex of a minaret] is Arabic. In Persian they say sanjak [flag, banner, standard], in Turkish, as in Arabic, ʻalem. 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 kursî in both Persian and Turkish.

Musâllâ [public place for prayer] is Arabic. It is rendered by namâz-gâh [place of public prayer] in Persian, by namâz kılacak yer [place of public prayer] in Turkish. (And in Turkish the Arabic term is used in compounds like bayrâm musâllâsî [place for public prayer for holidays] and şeşme musâllâsî [place for public prayer at a fountain].

Madrasa [theological school] is Arabic. It is rendered by jây-i dars şûfan [place where lessons are given] in Persian, by ders diyebek yer [place where lessons are given] in Turkish.

Zâviya [dervish lodge] is Arabic. In Persian they say khanaleah [sanctuary], khanaleah [sanctuary], khanaleah [sanctuary]. In Turkish as in Arabic they say zâviye ve tekye [dervish lodge].

Șawma'â [monastery, hermitage] is Arabic. It is
rendered by j̣āy-i pārsāyān [place for ascetics] in Persian, by zāhīd ve ʻābidler yerı [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 alḵs evi [house of a high-ranking person] in Turkish. The word erciメン [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 alḵs evi kapust [gate of the house of a high-ranking person] in Turkish.

ʻAtaba [threshold] is Arabic. It is rendered by āsītān [threshold] and āstāna [threshold] in Persian, by eşık [threshold] in Turkish, which must be the threshold of a door [kapu eşği].

Fāṭez [lintel] is Arabic. It is rendered by āsītān-i zivārīn [lintel] in Persian, by kapumın üst eşği [lintel] in Turkish.

Uskufa [threshold, door sills] is Arabic. It is rendered by āsītān-i zīrīn [door sills] in Persian, by kapumın alt eşği [door sill] in Turkish.

Kunna [projecting roof, eaves] is Arabic. It is rendered by kābul-i dar va dīvār [projecting roof over a door and wall] in Persian, by kapał sündumast [projecting eaves over a door] and dīvār sündumast [projecting eaves over a wall] in Turkish.


Sudda [gate, gateway] is Arabic. It is rendered by dargāh [gateway] in Persian, by kapu yerı [gateway] in Turkish. But it is also used with the meaning of kapu [gate, door].

Iyuvān [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-ṭak [an open-fronted room supported by four pillars] in Persian, sāye-bān [porch, trellis] and sōffa [porch] and ẓār-ṭād [light structure consisting of posts and a roof of branches, trellis, bower] in Turkish.

Divān [law court, chancellery] is an arabicization. It is rendered by jāy-i yārğū [law court] and nik-nāma [chancellery] in Persian, by daʾwā yerı [law court] and evī beti yerı [chancellery] in Turkish.

Šah [lofty pavilion, high palace, high castle] is Arabic. It is rendered by kākh [palace, pavilion] and kushk-i buland [lofty palace, lofty pavilion] in Persian, by yūce kşok [monumental pavilion] and bınā-yi ʿāli [high building] in Turkish.

[73r] Kaṣr [palace, fort, summer house, pavilion] is Arabic. In Persian they say kushk [palace, castle, summer house, pavilion, villa] and chār-ṭak [pavilion, summer house]. In Turkish, the common people, corrupting it, say ẓār-ṭāk [pavilion, summer house]. It also is rendered by a masonry room [ota] built of stone.

Tārīma [kiosk, booth, cabin, stall] is an arabicization. It is rendered by khānā-i chuḫči ve kūnbādīn [domed wooden house] in Persian, by catma ẓubbüllü ev [domed wooden house] in Turkish.

Ravāk, rivāk, rāwāk [loggia, porch, verandah, portico] are arabicizations. They say chār-ṭak-i kābul [open-fronted portico with overhanging eaves] in Persian, sündumalü ʿini ẓār-ṭāk [roofed, open-fronted portico with overhanging eaves] in Turkish.

Tāk [arch, vault] is an arabicization. It is rendered by kamar-i chār-ṭak va juz-i-ū [arch of a portico, etc.] in Persian, by ẓār-ṭāk 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 sūffa [porch] and takhta-pūsh [wood covered shelter] in Persian, by gögelik [shady spot, arbor, bower] and tahta ʿūrtūlū ʿofa [wood-covered porch] in Turkish.

Ghurfa ʿullīyya [upper room, upstairs room, belvedere] is Arabic. It is rendered by varwārā-i zivārīn [open upper room, gallery, balcony on a house top] in Persian, by fevkāni ẓār-ṭak [upper pavilion] in Turkish. It is like a sāh-nisūn [open gallery on a house top].

Muḥawawata [courtyard] is Arabic. It is rendered by jāy-i dīvārīn [walled place] in Persian, by dīvārīn yer [walled place] and haḥlı [courtyard, court] in Turkish.


Muḥawawata-i ḵārījīyya [outer court] is Arabic. It is rendered by jāy-i dīvārīn-i birūnī [outer court] in Persian, by ẓārha haḥlı [outer court] in Turkish.

Boyt [house, room] is Arabic. It is rendered by khānā valid tradition, 'The doors [sudad] will not be open to the people.'}
[house, room] in Persian, by oda [room, chamber] in Turkish.

Qajra [small room, cell] is Arabic. It is rendered by khāna-i khurd [small room] in Persian, by küçük oda [small room] in Turkish.

Kaytun [guest room] is Arabic. In Persian they say mihmān-khāna [guest room], in Turkish konuk odası [guest room] and also misafir-hāne [guest room] and selâmlık [guest room].

Khāzīna and khizāna [treasury] are Arabic. In Persian they say ganjīna [treasury]. In Turkish the common people, corrupting it, say hazine [treasury].

Makhdan [storeroom] is Arabic. It is rendered by jāy-i māl u matās [place for money and effects, storeroom] in Persian, by māl ve matas yeri ve odası [place and room for money and effects, storeroom] in Turkish.

Killa [mosquito net] is Arabic. It is rendered by pashsha-khāna [guest room] in Persian, by pashsha-khanaha [mosquito net] in Turkish. It is a curtained room called a cibinlik [mosquito net] in Turkish, set up to [keep out] mosquitoes.


Makbaa [store room, hiding place, refuge, cellar, shelter] is Arabic. In Persian they say nihān-khāna [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 dölāb [cupboard, cabinet]. And dölāb is Persian and is shared with Turkish.

Sirāb [cool storage room, cellar] is an arabicization. It has been arabicized from the Persian sardāb [cool storage room, cellar; from sard, cool, and āb, water]. It is rendered by su soudacak oda [water-cooling room] in Turkish.

Sarab [underground chamber, tunnel] is Arabic. In Persian they say zir-i zamīn [underground room, basement], in Turkish ızbe [underground room, basement] and also, as in Persian, by zir-i zemin.

Mashtaba [balcony, roof terrace] is Arabic. It is rendered by bām sutūn [terrace, roof terrace, balcony] in Persian, by direkt odası [balcony, roof terrace] in Turkish, that is, an open-roofed room.

Kūkh [a small, windowless hut or house of reeds] is arabicized from kakh [palace, villa, summer dwelling, apartment at the top of a house with an open front]. It is rendered by khāna-i bī-ravzan [room without windows or aperture to let smoke escape] in Persian, by bacas yok oda [chimneyless room] in Turkish.

Tēna [molding, eaves over a door, projecting ledge] is Arabic. It is rendered by kābul [eaves] and kābur [eaves] in Persian, by kapu üzerinde olan şundurma ve saçak [roof and eaves over a door] in Turkish.

Najfa [tunnel, a chamber with two entrances] is Arabic. It is rendered by khāna-i dü-darın [chamber with two entrances] in Persian, by iki kapulu ev [chamber with two entrances] in Turkish.

Bāy-i fauqānī wa ściwyjy [upper-story room] is Arabic. It is rendered by khāna-i zīvarīn [upper room] in Persian, by üst oda [upper room] in Turkish.


Māthakh [kitchen] is Arabic. It is rendered by jāy-i ash pukhtan [place for cooking food] and ash-khāna [kitchen] in Persian, by corba pişirçek yer [place for preparing soup] and aş odası [kitchen] in Turkish.

Kānūn [fireplace, stove, oven] is Arabic. It is rendered by āṭashdān [fireplace, stove, oven] in Persian, by ocaq [fireplace, stove, oven] in Turkish.

Furūn [oven, outdoor baking oven] is Arabic. In Persian they say dāsh [outdoor oven], in Turkish, as in Arabic, again furun. It is a shared term.

Watīs [oven] is Arabic. In Persian they say tannūr [oven], in Turkish, as in Persian, tennūr [oven].

Sāür [pit oven] is Arabic. It is rendered by tannūr dar zamīn [pit oven] in Persian, by yer tennūr [pit oven] and ocaq, and furun in Turkish.

Bāy-i sayāfi [summer room] is Arabic. It is rendered by khāna-i tābistānī [summer room] in Persian, by yaz odası [summer room] in Turkish.

Bāy-i shtaavi [winter room] is Arabic. It is rendered by khāna-i zimstānī [winter room] in Persian, by kis odası [winter room] in Turkish.

Bāy-i musatāsh [flat-roofed room] is Arabic. It is rendered by khāna-i bāmīn [flat-roofed room] in Persian, by /Framework oda [flat-roofed room] in Turkish.

Bāy-i musan nam [vaulted room] is Arabic. It is rendered by khāna-i kūhānī [vaulted room] in Persian, by örgücül oda [vaulted room] in Turkish.

Bāy-i muğhabb [domed room] is Arabic. It is rendered by khāna-i kunbadīn [domed room] in Persian, by kübbelı oda [domed room] in Turkish.


Dārun kawrāw [spacious house] is Arabic. It is rendered by sarōy-i farākh [spacious house, large house]
in Persian, by bol ve geniș ev [large and spacious house] in Turkish.

Dârûn Ma’mûniyya [?, lit. the House of Ma’mûn] is Arabic. It is rendered by sarây-i dâ pushkhis [house with two roofs] in Persian, by iki kât sakflû oda [room with two roofs] in Turkish.

Dâru al-đarb [mint] is Arabic. In Persian they say sarây-i dirâm-zan [mint], in Turkish altun ve açke kesen yer [place where gold and silver coins are struck] and now đarbâne [mint].


Dâr al-shîfâ [hospital, lunatic asylum] is Arabic. In Persian they say timâr-khâna [lunatic asylum], in Turkish, as in Persian, timâr-bâne [lunatic asylum]. It is [also] rendered by ilâc odâsi [establishment for curing, hence, hospital].


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 hıyât. It is rendered by [a place] in front of a door and under the eaves.

Diḥlis [entrance hall, vestibule] is an arabicization. In Persian they say bâlân-i andârînî [inner entrance hall, inner court], in Turkish iç kapu öni [area before the inner gate] and also, as in Arabic, iç hıyâl [inner court].

Sâîfâ [porch, outer entry hall] is Arabic. It is rendered by bâlân-i bîrînî [outer entrance hall, outer court] in Persian, by bâra hıyâlî [outer court] in Turkish.

Kuva [chimney, smoke hole] is Arabic. It is rendered by ravzan [smoke hole, chimney] in Persian, by baca [chimney, smoke hole] in Turkish.

Rauzanâ [small smoke hole] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian rauzan. In Turkish this also is rendered by baca.

Rauzhan [window, skylight; lighted, illuminated] is an arabicization. It is again rendered by rauzhan [lighted, illuminated] and by pânjara [lattice window] and chûb-i pânjara [window lattice] in Persian, by tıpkîk [skylight, light well, window] and pencere ağacı [window lattice] in Turkish.

Manzâra [lookout, watchtower] is Arabic. It is rendered by dîdâ-gâh [lookout] and nazâr-gâh [lookout] in Persian, by bakacâk yer [lookout] like a window, etc., in Turkish.

[74r] Madd-i başar [range of vision] is Arabic. It is rendered by dîrâzî-i bûnî-i dâda [range of vision of the looker] in Persian, by göz irimi kadâr aştık yer [range of vision, open space ranging as far as the eye can see] in Turkish.

Shâbbaka [lattice, grillwork, screen] is Arabic. It is rendered by raawshan yak badâgîr shuda [? lattice] in Persian, by pencere barmâqî birbirîne girmsî [interlaced window grill, lattice, screen] in Turkish.

Kâfâs [screened enclosure] is Arabic. In Persian and Turkish they also say kafas, as in Arabic. But they also say kafas with a sin [i.e., written قفص instead of قفص].

Mushabbak [latticed, screened] is Arabic. It is rendered by yak dar dîgar girîg shuda [interwoven, latticed] in Persian, by birbirîne girmiş ve girîh olmus [interwoven, latticed] in Turkish.

Mîshkât [niche for a lamp, lamp] is Arabic. It is rendered by dââbî-i diîvâr [wall niche, wall cabinet] and charâggîp [lamp, portable lamp, candlestick] in Persian, by diîvâr penceresi ki öbîr farafa geçmîye [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 sergî [shelf] and also raâf [shelf] as in Arabic.

Ifrîz [projecting, sheltering roof] is Arabic. It is rendered by parvâz-i tâk [projecting, sheltering roof] in Persian, by mușandara [projecting, sheltering roof] in Turkish. It means eaves and roof built to protect a door and wall from rain.

Sûffa [ledge, hall, stone bench] is Arabic. In Persian they say tashîr [a shady place to rest on], in Turkish seki gibi yûkseke neşîmene [a high seat like a stone bench or porch].

Najîra [wooden bench] is Arabic. It is rendered by sùffa-i chûpîn [wooden bench or porch] in Persian, by iştî ortülî tahta sùffa [covered wooden bench or porch] in Turkish.

Tâfârîf [intervals, interstices in a lattice or screen] is Arabic. It is rendered by dârbâzîn [a screen or lattice in front of a door] in Persian, by târbûzûn barmakîklarînî arâkîlarti [interstices in a lattice or screen] in Turkish.

Arîsha [vine arbor, thrones, pl. of arsh] is Arabic. In Persian they say jafta [vine arbor], in Turkish âşma kirevîdî [hanging arbor for a vine], like a span.

Arsh [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
àrâsta [ornamented, embellished throne], in Turkish, with the Arabic word "murâsâ" [ornamented], they say "murâsâ" 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 yer" [meeting place], and "oturacak yer" [sitting place] in Turkish.

Mabfil [men's meeting place] is Arabic. It is rendered by "jây-i anjuman-i mardân" [men's meeting place] in Persian, by "erler derneği yer" [men's meeting place] in Turkish.

Mâ'âtâm [women's meeting place] is Arabic. It is rendered by "jây-i anjuman-i zanân" [women's meeting place] in Persian, by "çavretler derneği" [women's meeting place] in Turkish.

Sitârâ [curtain, screen] is Arabic. It is rendered by "pârda-i dar" [door curtain] in Persian, by "kapu perdesi" [door curtain] in Turkish.

Surâdâh [royal tent, an enclosure of canvas] is an Arabization. It has been arabicized from the Persian "sara-pârda" [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 furu'udamân" [alighting place, stopping place] in Persian, by "inçek 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.

Buk's [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 "çhâdar" [tent]. In Turkish, as in Persian, by they say "çâder" [tent].

Fustât [large tent] is Arabic. It is rendered by "çhadar-i buzûng" [large tent] in Persian, by "bâyık çâder" in Turkish.

Kubbâ [domed structure, circular domed tent] is Arabic. In Persian they say "khîrkhâh" [large tent, state tent, pavilion, movable Turkoman tent formed by flexible poles and covered with felt], in Turkish "kümbed" [circular domed tent] and the vulgar term "oba" [large nomad tent] which is a corruption of "kubba."

Khârkâhâ [large tent, state tent] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian "khîrkhâh" [large tent, state tent, pavilion]. In Turkish they say "otâk" [large and luxurious tent, state tent, pavilion].

[74v] Hammâm [bath, bath house] is Arabic. In Persian they say "karmâbâ" [hot bath, bath house], in Turkish, as in Arabic, "hammâm. Karmâbâ" is rendered by warm water.

Mastakh [changing room] is Arabic. It is rendered by "jây-i jâmâ kandân" [changing room] in Persian, by "geysi çkaracak yer" [changing room] in Turkish. Now they say "câmekân" [changing room of a Turkish bath].

Mustahâm [private chamber in a bath house] is Arabic. In Persian they say "khalvat-i kermâbâ" [single room or private chamber in a bath house]. In Turkish they now use the Arabic word "halvet" [private chamber in a bath house].

Şahârî [tank, basin] is Arabic. In Persian they say "akhâdur" [basin], in Turkish "kurna" [basin of a bath or fountain]. Şahric is also a word [used for this in Turkish].

Mîbâz [spigot, tap, cock, faucet] is Arabic. In Persian they say "lula" [pipe, spout] and "nâyijâ" [spout, faucet], in Turkish, as in Persian, "lüle" [spout, pipe]. It is a shared term.

Attân [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 "külhan" [furnace for heating a bath]. It is a shared term.

Dâkhîna [chimney] is Arabic. In Persian they say "dâdâhang" [chimney for a kitchen or a bath]. In Turkish, the vulgar corrupting it, they say "dâheng" [chimney for a kitchen or a bath] for the chimney of a bath furnace ["külhan"] and an oven ["ocâk]."

Kanîf [toilet] and "khâlâ" [toilet] and boyât al-fârâg [toilet, privy] and "mustarâh" [lavatory, privy] are Arabic. In Persian and Turkish they say "kadem-gâh" [privy] and "âbânâne" [water closet, privy] and "memsâ" [privy].

Kîrîyâs [privy on the roof of a house] is an arabicization. It is rendered by "âbkhâhâna bar bâm" [privy on a roof top] in Persian, by "ûst kütâda olam memsâ" [roof privy, top-floor privy] and "çar-daḵ hâlâ" [penthouse privy] in Turkish.

Mutawwâzas [place for performing ablutions, water closet] is Arabic. It is rendered by "âbdast-khâhâna" [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-khâhâna" [place where uncleanness is bathed away, a place of ablution] in Persian, by "gusl idecek yer" [place where canonical uncleanness is bathed away, a place of ablution] in Turkish.

Bâlîza [drain] and "bîlîzâ" [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], şiflik makulesi [agricultural estate, farm], milk [real estate] and əkār [real estate, landed property] in Turkish.

Akār [real estate, landed property] is Arabic. It is rendered by saray u zamīn u dirakht [house and land and tree] in Persian, by ev ve yer ve bagçe ve şiflik ve tarla [house and land and garden and arable field, i.e., landed property] in Turkish.

Anbār [storehouse, storeroom, granary] is Arabic. It is rendered by jāy-i ğalla [granary] in Persian, by şarbūn [silo] in Turkish. Also, they say anbār [storehouse, granary] as in Arabic.

Istabl [stable] is Arabic. In Persian they say əkāhūr [stable], in Turkish, as in Persian, by əhār [stable].

Matban [place for storing straw, hay loft] is Arabic. In Persian they say kāhūdān [place for storing straw, hay loft], in Turkish şamanlisk [place for storing straw, hay loft].

Mazra'ā [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 khisayd [a part of a sown field] and yak takhtā az zamīn [a part of a sown field], in Turkish, among farmers, evlek [a furrow, a quarter of a dönüm] and kānšt [furrow].

Jārib [a unit of land measurement] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian garišt [a unit of land measurement]. In Turkish they say dönüm [a unit of land measurement].

Karūn [vineyard, garden, orchard] is Arabic. In Persian they say bāq [vineyard, garden, orchard] and raz [garden, vineyard], in Turkish, as in Persian, bāq [vineyard, garden, orchard].

Khān [caravanserai, inn, khan] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian khāna [house, room]. They also say əhan [caravanserai, inn] in Persian and Turkish.

Ribāt [inn] is Arabic. In Persian they say kārbān-sarāb [inn, caravanserai]. In Turkish, the vulgar corrupt it and say kervan-saray [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, dükkān [shop]. Dükkān is arabicized from Persian.

Razdaḵ [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 ərāste [a row of shops with the same trade].

[75r] Maṣṭaba and miṣṭaba [out-of-doors bench of stone or wood] are Arabic. In Persian they say jāy-ı garībān [stranger’s place, guest place, hence a bench where strangers rest]. In Turkish, using Arabic terms, they say taht al-kašā [lit. beneath the fortress]. It is rendered by the seats [neşîmene] which are called əeki [stone seat] and sed [barrier, rampart, fence]. They are found in places like coffee houses [kahve-şâne] and between some large gateways.

Sābāt [marketplace covering] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian sāya-bān [covering, canopy]. It is rendered ər-ṣū ortūsū [marketplace covering] in Turkish.

Kal'a [fortress] and ʰišār [fortress] are Arabic. In Persian they say diz [fortress], in Turkish, as in Arabic, ʰišār. 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 büyûk şokak ve ḥişār ve maḥalle kapus [gate of a large street, a fortress and a quarter or ward] in Turkish.

Burj [tower, bastion] is Arabic. It is rendered by kusaha-i bārū-yi diz [tower corner of a fortress, bastion of a fortress] in Persian, by ḡişār divārī bedenī [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 divārī ve bārūsī [city wall and rampart] in Turkish.

Faṣṭil [entrenchment, wall, rampart, space between ramparts, intervallum] is Arabic. It is rendered by divār darpisch-i khandaḵ-ı diz [wall before the moat of a fortress] in Persian, by şehir divārīn mmūne olan hendeq divārī [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.

Khandaḵ [moat] is Arabic. In Persian they say jāy-i kanda [moat]. In Turkish, some of the vulgar corrupt it and say hendeq.

Rahā [mill stone, mill] is Arabic. It is rendered by əš [mill stone, mill] in Persian, by degirmen [mill stone, mill] in Turkish.

Degirmencilik [water mill] is Arabic. It is rendered by *khras* [water mill] in Persian, by *şin värâ* [ruins or traces of a building] in Turkish. It means *degirmen* [mill].

Degirmen [mill, water mill] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kharâs* [donkey mill], in Turkish *degirmen* [horse mill]. It [also] is rendered by the miller’s trade *degirmencilik*.

*pecified [flourishing, prosperous, cultivated] as in Turkish.

They also say *macmur* [flourishing, prosperous, cultivated, inhabited] as in Arabic.

Abandoned place], in Turkish *barâb* [uninhabited, abandoned place] and shared with

It is rendered by *barâb* [uninhabited, abandoned place] and *yurd yerî* [site of a house] in Turkish.

Stable, in Turkish

Abandoned place], in Turkish *barâb* [uninhabited, abandoned place] and shared with

It is a shared term.

Persian, that is the mark and trace of a thing.

Persian, by

Persian,

Persian, in Turkish, they say

Persian, they say

Persian.

Persian.

Persian they say *bâzûk* [broken, ruined, part of a demolished building] are Arabic. In Persian they say *shikasta* [broken, ruined], in Turkish *esn¹k* [broken] and *bozûk* [broken] and *yeŠk yer* [dilapidated building, ruined place].

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 *maŠmûr itmek* [to make flourishing, to make prosperous] in Turkish.

To repair, to mend] is Arabic. In Persian it is rendered by *işl¹h kardan* [to repair, to mend], in Turkish *halet bulmuş nesnî *işl¹h itmek ve onarmak* [to repair and mend a broken thing].

Broken] in Arabic. It is rendered by *vîrân suda* [broken] in Persian, by *vîrân olmîf* [broken] in Turkish.

It is rendered by *nîşân-i sarây* [trace of a building] in Persian, by *şarâb ve ya muhîrîk olan ev egerî* [trace of a ruined or burned house] in Turkish.

Rasm [trace] is Arabic. It is rendered by *nîşân-i bunyâd-i sarây* [trace of the foundation of a house] in Persian, by *ev temeli egerî* [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 yerî aŠîn ve niŠânî* [traces and remains of a house] and *yurd yerî* [site of a house] in Turkish.

75v Fustât [Cairo] is Arabic. In Persian they say *Mişr-i kâhirâ* [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 *bûyûk şehir* [a large city].

Medina [Medina] is Arabic. It designates in Persian the *shahr-i Rasûl-Allah* [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 *rausa-i mušâhara* [the Tomb of the Prophet] and *bûyûk 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.

Kâra [district, rural district, small town, village] is Arabic. It is rendered by *khawza* [district] and *shahr* [town] in Persian. In Turkish it is rendered by *il* [region] and *vilâyêt* [province] and *sancak* [subdivision of a province]. This also, as *balad*, means şehir [city].

Kasaba [small town, district of a city] is Arabic. It is rendered by *shahr-i kâçak* [small city, small town] and *miyân-i shahr* [district of a city] in Persian, by *kuçük 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, *kôy* [village] from Persian.

Mahalla [street, quarter, district] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kôy* [alley, lane, quarter], in Turkish, as in Arabic, mahalle. It is a shared term.

ZaŠîga [lane] is Arabic. In Persian they say *kôy* [lane, alley]. In Turkish, this is also mahalle [street] as in Arabic.

Marginal note reads, "It [Fustât] refers to a meeting place of the people of a city and a district in a specific location."


Târîk [road] is Arabic. It is rendered by râh [road] in Persian, by yol [road] in Turkish, whatever type of road it is.

Shâhri [highway] is Arabic. It is rendered by shäh-râh [king’s road, highway] in Persian, by buyûk yol [large road] in Turkish. It means the king’s road.

TWELFTH CHAPTER

It describes and discusses the terms bînâ‘ yeri, and temel konacak yer, and temel döşemesi, and temel taşları, and kinedlerki, and zuwâna, and temel ʿaraksî, and ʿaşîn enva‘î, and kezzî, and moloz, and divâr, and divâr gedîgi, and balıkk, and ʿiva balıği, and kirec, and alıt, and divâr kenârî, and divâr bucağî, and mermer, and direk, and dayak, and yâşîdê, and hâtî, and mertek, and kusak, and kemer, and peleçîje mertekleri and tâbân, and kirîs, and ev ʿoks, and demren, and gelîk, and ońûrga, and the mazû called mähîye, and mağaş, and mağaşîn yanlarî, and mağaş ayağî, and mağaş ayağınînî gezi and şâtî mertekleri, and şâtînî kendîsi ve ʿörtîsî, and ekseri and tahta, and tugla, and keremedî, and olûk, and şât döşeme ada, and düz ve slik döşeme taş ve tugla, and nerdibddân, and nerdibddân ayağî, and yükaran taşakka başamak, and ayaça inececek başamak, and köpri, and buyûk köpri, and kapu, and kapu çerçevesî, [76r] and buyûk kapu, and buyûk kapunuñ içînde oyma küçük kapu, and mušläk küçük kapu, and kapu kanâdi, and kapunuñ üst ve alt epiği, and kapu binîşî, and kapu öçesiî, and öçe delâği, and zuwânasî, and kûllâbi reze, and bendêşe, and kapu aralîş, and reze, and üst reze, and alt reze, şifte reze, and kapu halkast, and çiğrâşust, and kapu zenciri, and kapu sünesi and mîtes, and demir kilid, and mandal, and miţişh, and all things related to house-building materials in the Arabic language and the Persian language and the Turkish language.

ʿAraka [building site] is Arabic. It is rendered by jây-i sarây [building site] and miyân-i sarây [building site] in Persian, by ev yeri [building site] and ev ortasî [building site] in Turkish.

Khîpta [plan, layout of a building site] is Arabic. And it is rendered by nishân-i jây-i sarây [layout of a building site] in Persian, by ev yeri çizisi [layout of a building site] in Turkish.

Hufra [ditch, trench, moat] is Arabic. It is rendered by jây-i kanda [ditch, trench, moat] in Persian, by kâzîmûs yer [ditch, trench], and çukur [pit], and hendeik [moat] in Turkish.

Watîd [a wooden stake] is Arabic. It is rendered by mîkh-i kûp [mallet for driving stakes] in Persian, by tokmak [mallet] in Turkish.

Bisâr [bed for a wall, footer] is Arabic. It is rendered by pishtarî bunyâz [foundation bed, footer] in Persian, by temel döşemesi [foundation bed] and döşeme [footer] in Turkish.


Kâ‘ida [base, foundation] is Arabic. It is rendered by bunyâz-i bînâ ve juz-i ʿû [foundation of a building and the like] in Persian, by yapunuñ ve gayrunuñ temeli [foundation of a building and other things] in Turkish.

Hajîar [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 miyân-i dî shâhî [clamp that binds a joint together]. In Turkish, the vulgar corrupt it and say kined [metal clamp for binding a joint].

Lisân al-ḥajârayn [latch bolt] is Arabic. In Persian it is zuwâna [latch bolt] and zubâna, and zufâna. In Turkish, as in Persian, it is zuwâna [latch bolt].

Musht al-lauhanîyîn [?, lit. comb of two planks/plates] is Arabic. It is rendered by shânâ-i dî takhta [?, lit. comb of two planks/plates] in Persian, by tahîta tarâkî [?, lit. plank/plate comb] in Turkish.

Sûfa [course of masonry] is Arabic. It is rendered by yak rasta [one course] in Persian, by bir kâr [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 vâlîd-i yak rasta [one course of masonry] in Persian, by bir şıra kür [one course of masonry] in Turkish.

Ṣâkhrâ [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.


Jalımd [large rock, boulder] is Arabic. It is rendered by sang-i bızurg [large rock] in Persian, by büyük taş [large rock] in Turkish.

Kadda [flint] is Arabic. It is rendered by sang-i ătash-zana [flint] in Persian, by șakmak taş [flint] in Turkish.


Sašvān [slate] is Arabic. It is rendered by sang-i láqzan [? slate] in Persian, by kâyğan taş [slate] in Turkish.


Şafih [flag stone] is Arabic. It is rendered by sang-i pahn [flat stone] in Persian, by șası taş [flat stone] in Turkish.

Jandal [mill stone, large rock, boulder] is Arabic. It is rendered by sang-i kird [millstone] in Persian, by değirmi taş [millstone] in Turkish.

Hasbā [gravel] is Arabic. It is rendered by sang-i rıza [gravel] in Persian, wook taş [gravel] and şakil taş [gravel] in Turkish.

Khashram [limestone] is Arabic. It is rendered by sang-i gaj [limestone] in Persian, by kirec taş [limestone] in Turkish.

Şafā [large, flat, white stones; slate, schist] is Arabic. It is rendered by sang-i şafid va pahn [flat, white stone] in Persian, by șası beyaz taş [flat, white stone] in Turkish.

Khashaba [a piece of wood] is Arabic. It is rendered by chüb [wood, timber] in Persian, by ağac [wood, timber] in Turkish. Now, they also say kerăstē [timber, lumber].

Libna and lubn [sun-dried brick, adobe] are Arabic. In Persian they say khisht-i khām [sun-dried brick, adobe], in Turkish kerpīs [sun-dried brick, adobe].

Malāt and milāt [mortar] are Arabic. In Persian they say ăjan [plaster, mortar, cement]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt malāt and say moloz [?, lit. rubble].

Jidār [wall] is Arabic. In Persian it is dūvār [wall], in Turkish, as in Persian, dūvār [wall]. It is a shared term.

Hā'īf [wall, partition] is Arabic. In Persian it is dūvār [wall] and pās kunanda [partition], and in Turkish dūvār [wall] and şaklāyısı [partition].

Sadd and sadda [wall, rampart, dam; to wall, to fortify] are Arabic. They are rendered by dīvu'r [wall] and ustwūr 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 rakhna-i dīvār u juz-i ī [breach in a wall and such things] in Persian, by dīvār gedīği [breach in a wall] and simply geduk [breach] in Turkish.

Ţin [clay] is Arabic. It is rendered by gıl [clay] in Persian, by balşt [wet clay] of whatever sort in Turkish.

Siyā [clay mixed with straw for plastering] is Arabic. It is rendered by kāhkil [clay mixed with straw for plastering] in Persian, by samantu suva balışği [clay mixed with straw for plastering] in Turkish.

Jasā [gypsum, lime plaster], and ğasā [lime wash], and shīd [lime wash] are Arabic. In Persian they are gec [lime plaster], in Turkish kire (lime).

Kawkab al-ărī [talc] and kilis [lime plaster] are Arabic. In Persian they are āhak [lime plaster], in Turkish alçı [lime plaster].


Rukn [corner] is Arabic. It is rendered by kūsha [corner] in Persian, by bucek [corner] in Turkish. They also say kāse [corner] as in Persian.

Zāwira [angle] is Arabic. In Persian they say kunj [angle] and payגיל [angle]. And in Turkish this is bucek [angle]. It means the interior of an angle.

Rukham [marble] is Arabic. In Persian they say marmar [marble]. In Turkish, as in Persian, they say mermer [marble]. It is persianized from the Arabic marmar [? pebble, flint].

Imād [pillar, pole, column, support, buttress], șamūd [pole, column, pillar, post], rişāma [pillar, post, buttress, support], sāriya [column], ustwūn [column], sısa [tent pole, column], kăwām [support], ăşiya [column], and şatk [tent pole], şakab [tent pole] are all Arabic. They are rendered by suťān [pillar, column, support] in Persian, by direk [pillar, column, post] in Turkish.

[77r] Šanad [support] and masnad [support] are Arabic. They are rendered by pushibān [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 yeşdîk [cushion, column capital] in Turkish.
Söja [beam, joist] is Arabic. It is rendered by himan [beam, joist] in Persian, by ḥattel [beam, joist] in Turkish.

Minṭaka [brace] is Arabic. It is rendered by kamar [brace] and miyān-band [brace] in Persian, by kemar [brace] and orta kūsak [middle brace] in Turkish.

Nīṭāk [brace, ring] is Arabic. In Persian they say kamar [brace], in Turkish kūsak [ring, brace] and kemar [brace], as in Persian.

Ṭāk [arch, vault] is arabicized from the Arabic nīṭāk after it has been lightened and persianized. It is rendered by binā kemeri [vault or arch of a building] in Turkish.

‘Arīda [joist] is Arabic. It is rendered by palvāza (?) joist in Persian, by divārdan taṣra ṣiṣan kīrīs 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 kīrīs in Turkish, with the meaning rafter of a house.

Sahm [beam of the roof of a house] is Arabic. It is rendered by tir-i khāna [beam of the roof of a house] in Persian, by ev oks in Turkish, with the meaning beam of a house.

Miṭbala [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.

Fūlāz [steel] is an arabicization of the Persian pālād [steel]. It is rendered by ẓeltik [steel] in Turkish.

Makâs [roof truss] is Arabic. It is rendered by kāz-i khāna [truss of a house] in Persian, by çât makâs [roof truss] in Turkish. Makâs is a term shared with Arabic.

Rākida [pillar, main beam, post] is Arabic. It is rendered by faršab [main beam] in Persian, by mertek [beam, pier] in Turkish, whatever type of beam it might be.

Fard [notch] is Arabic. It is rendered by rakhna-i zih [notch in a rafter] in Persian, by kīrīs gedūgi [notch in a rafter] in Turkish. It is the place which is the foot of a truss.

Fuwak [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.

Jīdhī [small beam in a roof] is Arabic. It is rendered by farvāz-i ẓumānā [small beam in a roof] in Persian, by çât mertegi [roof balk, roof beam] in Turkish.

Fiṭra, fakāra [peak timber of the roof] are Arabic. They are rendered by mhrā-i khānā [peak timber of the roof of a house] in Persian, by nūrgā [peak timber of a roof] in Turkish, that is the peak timber of a roof.

Ṣub [ridge pole, ridge beam] is Arabic. In Persian they say māṣū [ridge pole, ridge beam]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt māṣū to māhiye [ridge pole, ridge beam].

Diṭ [side, rib] is Arabic. It is rendered by pahlā [side] in Persian, by eyekā [side, rib] and yān [side] in Turkish. And it means the side timbers of a truss.

Masāṭṭah [flat-roofed] is Arabic. It is rendered by bām [flat roof] in Persian, by ẓam [flat roof] in Turkish. Now, ẓam being little used, they usually say ṣawān [flat roof].

Sakf [roof, ceiling] is Arabic. It is rendered by ẓumānā [roof] in Persian, by çat [roof] in Turkish. If it is flat they say ṣawān, and if it is peaked they say sakf.

Ghimā and ghamā [wood and clay or earth roof of a house] is Arabic. In Persian they say kāzuūn [clay roof of a house], in Turkish pārdā [clay roof of a house]. It is a term shared with Persian.

Waitd and wadd [wooden peg, pin.] are Arabic. They are rendered by miḥk-i ūṣāpin [wooden pin] in Persian, by kāzīk [wooden peg, pin] in Turkish.

Sakk and sakki [iron nail, iron pin] are Arabic. They are rendered by miḥk-i ẓanīn-buzurg va dīrāz [big and long iron nail/pin] in Persian, by biyūk uzun ekseri [big, long nail] in Turkish.

[77v] Mismār [nail, peg] is Arabic. It is rendered by miḥk [nail, peg] in Persian, by ekseri [nail, spike] in Turkish, whatever sort of nail it be.

Laḥ [board, plank] is Arabic. In Persian they say takhta [board, plank], in Turkish, as in Persian, tahta [board, plank]. It is a shared term.

Alwāh [boards, planks] is Arabic. It is rendered by takhtahā [boards, planks] in Persian, by tahtalar [boards, planks] in Turkish, because alwāh is the plural of laḥ.

Ājur [fired brick] and tūb [fired brick] are Arabic. They are rendered by khisht-i yukhta [fired brick] in Persian, by tugla [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 oluk [gutter] in Turkish.

Mīḥāb [gutter] is Arabic. It is rendered by nāvdān [gutter] in Persian, by oluk [gutter] in Turkish. But in Turkish, as in Persian, by they also say mizāb [gutter].
Balâ [floor pavement, floor tile] is Arabic. It is rendered by kustardan-i sang-i khâne [stone pavement of a house] in Persian, by evîn taʃ doşemesi [stone pavement of a house] in Turkish.

Rasâf [pavement] is Arabic. It is rendered by kustardan-i ustuvûr va hamovîr [firm and level pavement] in Persian, by dür ve pek doşeme [firm and flat pavement] in Turkish.

Sullam [ladder, flight of stairs] and mi'raj [ladder] are Arabic. In Persian they say nardubân [ladder, flight of stairs]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt the Persian and say merdiveon [ladder, flight of stairs].

Rutha [step of a ladder, stair] and martaba [step, stair] are Arabic. They are rendered by pâyâ [step, stair] in Persian, by baʃamak [step, stair] and nerdubân ayağî [step, stair] in Turkish.

Mîrktû [step, stair] is Arabic. It is rendered by pâyâ-i khâshi u sang [stone or brick step] in Persian, by taʃ baʃamak [stone step] in Turkish.


Jir [bridge] is Arabic. It is rendered by pûl and pûl [bridge] in Persian, by köpri [bridge] in Turkish.

Kantara [arched bridge] is Arabic. It is rendered by pûl-i buzurg [large bridge] in Persian, by bûyük köpri [large bridge] in Turkish.

Bûb [door, gate] is Arabic. It is rendered by dar [door, gate] in Persian, by kapû [door, gate] in Turkish.

Millam [door frame] is Arabic. In Persian they say châr-chiṭa-i dar [door frame]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt this and say çer-i çûb [door frame].

Ritûj [gate, gateway] is Arabic. It is rendered by dar-i buzurg [large gate] in Persian, by bûyük kapû [large gate] in Turkish.

Itîj [large iron door] is Arabic. It is rendered by dar-i ahanîn [iron door] in Persian, by demûrlu kapû [iron door] in Turkish.

Khawkha [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 kûşkû kapû [peep hole and small cut-out door] in Turkish.

Mişrâ [leaf of a double door] is Arabic. It is rendered by lat-i dar [leaf of a double door] in Persian, by kapû kanadî [leaf of a double door] in Turkish.

Fî'iz [lintel] is Arabic. It is rendered by âşîâni-zivarîn [lintel of a door frame] in Persian, by üst eştik [upper lintel] in Turkish.

Uskûfîa [threshold, doorsill] is Arabic. It is rendered by âşîâni-zîrîn [doorsill] in Persian, by alt eştik [doorsill] in Turkish.

Ataba [threshold] is Arabic. It is rendered by âşîâni [threshold] and âşîâna [threshold] in Persian, by simply eştik [threshold] in Turkish. Some have called it üst eştik.

78r Zafîr [lath overlapping the edge of a door leaf] is Arabic. In Persian they say bîni-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 burunlık [lath overlapping the edge of a door leaf].

Najrûn [the pivot of a door on which it turns] is Arabic. It is rendered by chûb-i zuvâna [pivot post] in Persian, by zuvâna âgasî [pivot post] in Turkish. Zuvâna [pivot] is Persian. It is rendered by suvî [pivot post].

Rijî al-bûb [pivot hinge] is Arabic. It is rendered by pâyча-i dar [pivot hinge] and pashîna-i dar [pivot hinge] in Persian, by kapû ayağî ve ökesî [pivot hinge] in Turkish.

Jarûra [socket of pivot hinge] is Arabic. It is rendered by surâkh-i pâshîna-i dar [socket of pivot hinge] in Persian, by kapû ökesi delûgi [socket of pivot hinge] in Turkish.

Kullûb [hinge pin of a door] is Arabic. They say raza-i chankâl [hinge pin of a door] in Persian. In Turkish they say kullûb [hinge pin of a door] as in Arabic, and çengel reze [hinge pin] as in Persian.

Râbiţa [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].

Şir al-bûb [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 kapû yaruşî ve aralîşî [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 mûra [brace and pintle of a hinge] in Persian, by dişî ve erkek reze [brace and pintle of a hinge] in Turkish.
Halğa [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 toka [buckle].

Maşına [knocker] is Arabic. It is rendered by zangi dar [door bell] in Persian, by kapu çüreküs ve őldaręcegi [door bell and knocker] in Turkish.

Silista [chain] is Arabic. It is rendered by zanjir-i dar [door chain] in Persian, by kapu zencerti [door chain] in Turkish.

Idāda [door post] is Arabic. It is rendered by básı-yı dar [door post] in Persian, by kapu sövesi [door post] in Turkish.

Mirtas [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 have corrupted it, they say mitres.

Ghalak [lock, bolt of a door, latch] is Arabic. It is rendered by fadrag [bolt of a door] in Persian, by mandal [latch, bolt of a door] in Turkish.

Mığláka [latch, bolt] is Arabic. It is rendered by pashkulla [latch] in Persian, by anahtır ile açlan mandal [a bolt or latch which opens with a key] in Turkish.

Millet [catch, hook latch, door hook] is Arabic. It is rendered by chankal-i dar [door hook] in Persian, by cengel mandal [hook latch] in Turkish. It is nailed to the lintel.

Mızlaj [sliding bolt on a door] is Arabic. It is rendered by sarnakand [sliding bolt] in Persian, by el ile açtur sürme mandal [a sliding bolt opened by hand] in Turkish.

Küf [lock] is Arabic. In Persian they again say küf from the Arabic. In Turkish, it is kilid [lock] from Persian.

Iklid [key], mıkild [key], mıkład [key] mıkład [key], miftäh [key] are Arabic. They are rendered by kilid [key] in Persian, by anahtar [key] in Turkish.

THIRTEENTH CHAPTER

It describes and discusses the terms mâ'ür, and múhendiz, and tahtın, and şam, and muhterif, and snaat, and hurjat, and őştät, and mâhir, and hâzık, and ölüm, and sâkird, and henna, and âlet, and edät, and âlät, and evedät, and haccar, and neccar, and nessâr, and cecâr, and kâr, and kerâsteci, [78v] and ışık, and kirecî, and mühere dîwar yapucu, and kerciçi, and swace, and badanaci, and keser, and balla, and iki yudzî balla, and keskin âlet, and yünke âlet, and sâb, and sâb deliği, and fâz kesecêk küllünk, and hâs küllünk, and destere, and bışk, and buçkâç, and mengene, and sendere, and mişkab which they corrupt as matkab, and mişkab demüri, and burx and iy demüri, and renede, and yekeste, and the rende demüri which they call tiq, and mäklâb, and dorpi, and iyge, and gönve, and endâze, and őrsün ile ölmek, and terâzü, and makara, and yapu nişâ, and rüzen ipi, and sâkül, and pergel, and cedvet, and mançilçî, and ip, and őrün, and tokmak, and çeküc, and the large çeküc called verve, and kisi, and saykal, and çarp al, and yunmis olmak, and mâla, and kerpişi kalbi, and kazma, and çapa, and lağm, and őr yold, and suyun ehl-i vuküfî, and su muflaka, and su âkduyi yer, and çeçme, and su kuyusus and çîrcis, that is dolabi, and künk, and kams, and havz, and sâz-revân, and muşük, and lüle, and havozu ve sâz-revânün lüleleri, and lükün, and kürsün, and tüc, and birinc, and bakr, and kâlay, and lehîm, and demür, and kara demür, and çelik, and chever-dâr demüleri, and gümüs, and altun, and things connected with these in the Arabic language and the Persian language and the Turkish language.

Mî'şîmâr [architect] is Arabic. It is rendered by aðâdan kunanda [builder] in Persian, by mâ'ür idîci [builder] in Turkish.

Muhandiz [engineer, geometrician, architect, surveyor] is an arabicization. It has been arabicized from the Persian andâza [measure]. It is rendered by gaz-kunanda [measurer, surveyor] in Persian, by arsun aölçüci [one who measures in arsun, surveyor] in Turkish. Muhandiz [engineer, geometrician, architect, surveyor] is an arabicization. The original of this was muhandiz. The letter zâ was changed to sin. Both have the same meaning.

Takhrim [an estimating] is Arabic. In Persian they say bagumân u hosh-guñtan [estimating and guessing with reason], in Turkish əçel ile söylemege [to explain with reason]. It is rendered by oranlamağ [to measure, estimate].

Şânîî [craftsman] is Arabic. It is rendered by kâr-i nik kunanda [one who does good work, craftsman] in Persian, by eyi is idîci [one who does good work, craftsman] in Turkish.

Muhtarif [skilled artisan] is Arabic. In Persian they say pishwar [artisan]. In Turkish, the common people have corrupted pishwar and say peçaşer [artisan].

Şinâî [craft, art] is Arabic. In Persian they say pisha [craft, art]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt it and say peça [craft, art].

Hirfat [art, craft] is Arabic. In Persian they say pîsha [craft, art], in Turkish pîse [craft, profession] and sanat [art, craft]. As to pîse, it is Persian, and sanat is Arabic.
San'at [art, craft] is Arabic. In Persian they say dastkārī [art, craft]. In Turkish, again as in Arabic, they say san'at.

[79r] Ustād [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 khisā [one skilled in his own work] in Persian, by ḫişā [one expert in his profession] in Turkish.

ハウス [highly skilled, an expert, talented] is Arabic. It is rendered by ustād-i zayrak [highly skilled master] in Persian, by anlayşlu usta [knowledgeable master] in Turkish.

Mutahādhiḵ [one who feigns or pretends skills] is Arabic. It is rendered by bādāfara [boaster, bluffer] and nā-sāz [unskilled, untalented] in Persian, by ʿolūm [a person who overestimates himself, is vain] in Turkish.

Tilmīdī [apprentice] is Arabic. In Persian they say ṣaḥiḍī [apprentice], and in Turkish, the common people corrupt it and say ṣakīdī [apprentice].

Bannā [builder] and ḥājirīyy [stone worker, builder in stone] are Arabic. They are rendered by bināgar [builder] in Persian, by yapūcī [builder] in Turkish.

Ālat [tool, implement] is Arabic. In Persian they say dast-afzār [hand tool, implement], in Turkish, the common people corrupt it and say halaš [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.

Ālat [tools, implements] is Arabic. It is rendered by dast-afzārhwā [tools, implements] in Persian, by āletler [tools, implements] in Turkish, because it is the plural of ālet.

Adavāt [tools, implements] is Arabic. In Persian they say dast-afzārhwā [tools, implements]. In Turkish, the common people corrupting ālat and adavāt, they say aādāntīḵ [an artisan's set of tools].

Hajār [stone cutter] is Arabic. It is rendered by sang-tirāsch [stone cutter, mason] in Persian, by taš yōnici [stone cutter, dresser] and tašci [stone mason, quarryman] in Turkish.

Nājīr [carpenter] and fatīḵ [carpenter] are Arabic. They say durūgar [carpenter] and durūgar [carpenter] in Persian. In Turkish, the common people corrupting them, they say délger [carpenter].

Farzūm [carpenter's workshop, carpenter's workbench] is Arabic. It is rendered by dastgāh-i durūgar [carpenter's workshop], dastgāh-i ṭezgāh [carpenter's workshop, carpenter's workbench] in Persian, by délger teẓgāh [carpenter's workshop, carpenter's workbench] in Turkish.

Khāshshāb [lumber merchant] is Arabic. It is rendered by chāb-furūš [wood seller, lumber merchant] in Persian, by āgāzī [wood seller, lumber merchant] in Turkish. They also say kerāsteccī [wood seller, lumber merchant].

Kharāt [turner] is Arabic. In Persian they say ḫoḵka-gar [a turner of cups and balls] and ʿaṛsī [lathe operator], in Turkish ʿtarkīʃ [turner].

Jāyāz [plasterer, lime burner] is Arabic. They say gajfaz [lime burner] and gağiğ [plasterer] in Persian, kirāşī [plasterer, lime burner] in Turkish.

Rāyāz [tin, tin smith] is Arabic. It is rendered by dāzrān [plasterer] in Persian, by mūhre dīva-yapucī [builder of rough walls] in Turkish.

Mulašī [one who covers something with a substance, hence plasterer] and ṣayyān [a plasterer with clay or mud] are Arabic. They are rendered by andān-gar [plasterer] in Persian, by ṣaʿaṣī [plasterer] in Turkish.

Mulabbīn [brickmaker] and labbān [brickmaker] are Arabic. They are rendered by khāšht-zan [maker of sun-dried bricks] in Persian, by kerpişī [a maker of sun-dried bricks] and kerpiş kesici [brick cutter] in Turkish.

Muboḍīn [whitewasher] and baddān [whitewasher] are Arabic. They are rendered by badānā kashanda [whitewasher] in Persian, by baddānacī [whitewasher] in Turkish.

Kadūm [adze, hatchet] is Arabic. It is rendered by ṭiša [adze] in Persian, by keser [adze] in Turkish.

Fa’s [axe, pick ax] is Arabic. It is rendered by tabar [axe] in Persian, by bača [axe] in Turkish.

Hadād [two-sided axe] is Arabic. It is rendered by tabar-i dū sarī [two-edged or two-sided axe] in Persian, by iki yüzli balta [two-sided ax] and nakak [a large ax with a hammer at the back] in Turkish.

Hadīd [sharp] is Arabic. It is rendered by tīz [sharp] in Persian, by keskin [sharp] in Turkish, that is kesici [sharp].

Kalâl [dull, blunt] is Arabic. It is rendered by kund [dull, blunt] in Persian, by şöng [dull, blunt] in Turkish, that is kesmez [dull].

[79v] Khurt [hole] is Arabic. In Persian it is rendered by surāk+i tabar va tiša [hole (for the handle) of an ax and adze], in Turkish by šab deluğ [handle hole].

Yad al-fa’s [axe handle] is Arabic. It is rendered by dasta [handle] in Persian, by šab [handle] in Turkish.

And they also say balta šab [ax handle].

Nišâb [handle] is Arabic. In Persian they say dasta
In Turkish, the common people corrupt niş̱āb and say şab [handle].

Miḥbāda [handle, haft] is Arabic. In Persian and Turkish they again use the Arabic kābīzā [handle].

Jus̱ā′at [knife handle] is Arabic. It is rendered by dasta-i kārd [knife handle] in Persian, by bış̱āq şapī [knife handle] in Turkish.

ʾItrat [handle, big lever] is Arabic. In Persian they say dasta [handle] and bāzū [lever], in Turkish köl [handle, lever]. It means a large handle [büyük şab].

Mi̇'wāl [large pick ax, mattock] is Arabic. In Persian they say kulunk [pick ax, mattock], in Turkish, as in Persian, küllīṉk [pick ax, mattock]. It is a shared term.

Miṅkār [small pick] is Arabic. In Persian they say kulunk [pick, pick ax]. It is also has the meaning of mi̇'wāl [pick]. In Turkish it is rendered by küllīṉk [pick ax].

Sākūr [mason’s hammer, stone pick] is Arabic. It is rendered by mīṭīn [stone pick, mason’s chisel] in Persian, by büyük küllīṉk [large pick] in Turkish. They also say hās küllīṉk [large pick].

Mi̇şkār [saw] is Arabic. They say dastarra [saw, hand-saw] in Persian. In Turkish, again as in Persian, they say destere [saw].

Miṅshār [saw] is Arabic. They say dastarra [saw, hand-saw] in Persian. In Turkish they also call this destere [saw] as in Persian.

Mi̇ḵtal [large saw, buck saw] is Arabic. It is rendered by ara-i buzurg [large saw, bucksaw] in Persian, by büyük bûḵī [large, two-handled saw, bucksaw] in Turkish.

Hazzāz [a sawyer] and hazzāz [? sharpener] and jizzāz [? wool shearer] are Arabic. They are rendered by arra-kash [a sawyer] in Persian, by bīṣ̱īzī [sawyer] in Turkish.


Mi̇ẖḵāb [drill, gimlet, auger] is Arabic. They say māhā [auger, drill, gimlet] in Persian. In Turkish, the common people corrupting it, they say maṭkāb [drill, gimlet, auger] with a tā.

Miṅkāb [punch, perforator] is Arabic. It is rendered by dast-afzār-i sūrakh-kardan [hand tool to make a hole] in Persian, by delecek alet [piercing tool, hole-making tool] in Turkish.

Mi̇ṣ̱āda [drill bit] is Arabic. It is rendered by sar-i māhā [drill point, auger point] in Persian, by mi̇ṣ̱āb uc̱ ve demūrī [drill point and bit] in Turkish.

Mi̇ḻwā [peg of a stringed musical instrument, gimlet] is Arabic. It is rendered by kārdnāy [the peg of a stringed musical instrument] in Persian, by burkā [gimlet, peg of a stringed instrument] in Turkish.

Miṅḵār [pick, chisel] is Arabic. It is rendered by sakna [auger, gimlet] in Persian, by iy [pick, point] in Turkish. It means delecek demūr [auger, gimlet, point].

ʾAtalā [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 kāchāk [small pick, small crowbar, small auger] in Persian, by kūf̱uk iy [small pick, small crowbar, small auger] in Turkish.

Miṅhāt [plane], miṅhāt [plane] are Arabic. They say randa [plane] in Persian. In Turkish, as in Persian, they say rende [plane].

Miṅbrāt [file, rasp] is Arabic. They say yak-dasta [rasp] in Persian. In Turkish, as in Persian, they again say yekėdeste [rasp].

Naşl [blade] is Arabic. They say tiğ [blade] in Persian. In Turkish as in Persian, they also say tiğ [blade].


Safān [adze, file, rasp] is Arabic. It is rendered by chūp-sai [rasp] and tīshā [adze] in Persian, by dörp̱i [rasp] and kesar [adze] in Turkish.

Mīs̱fān [large file, large rasp] is Arabic. It is rendered by chūp-sai-buzurg [large rasp] in Persian, by büyük dör-p̱i [large rasp] in Turkish.

Miṅbjud [file, rasp] is Arabic. It is rendered by sūhān [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.

Miṅhāl [rasp, file] is Arabic. It is rendered by sūhān-i durušht [course file, rasp] in Persian, by iri ege [coarse file, rasp] in Turkish.

Zāwīya [carpenter’s angle, set square] is Arabic. In Persian they say kunja [set square]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt kunja and say gōṉye [set square].

Zāwīya-i kāṟma [right-angle set square] is Arabic. It is rendered by kunja-i chār-sū [right angle set square] in Persian, by şār-sū buğağ [right 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.


Zarf [to measure] is Arabic. It is rendered by gaz-kardan [to measure in gaz or cubits] in Persian, by arsun i le emanc [to measure in arsun or cubits] in Turkish.

Mızān [balance, pair of scales] is Arabic. In Persian they say tarāzī [balance, pair of scales]. In Turkish, the common people corrupting the Persian, they say tereci [balance, pair of scales].

Bakara [pulley, block] is Arabic. It is rendered by cherkh-i hanjār [pulley, block] in Persian, by makara [pulley, block] in Turkish. Previously they said bakara [pulley, block]. Now, for the most part, they say makara.

Imām [plumb-line stake] is Arabic. It is rendered by chāb-i hanjār [plumb-line stake] in Persian, by dūzen ibi əbūgū [plumb-line stake] in Turkish, and the guideline [ib] is tied to it.

Miṭmarr [plumb line], tur [plumb line], zīj [leveling line used by masons] are Arabic. They are rendered by hanjār [plumb line] in Persian, by dūzen ipi [plumb line] itself in Turkish.

Shākāl [plumb line] is Arabic. In Persian they say shāhūl [a bricklayer’s plumb line]. In Turkish, the common people corrupting it, some say şahil [a plumb line], some say şa wład.

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].

Dawuwa [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 khaft [line] in Arabic, nishān [mark] in Persian, sizī [line, mark] in Turkish.

Manjaniṅk [block and tackle] is an arabicization. It is rendered by barāh-i dastkār-hardāshian [to move something artificially] in Persian, by san’at tarīk ile kaldırmak [to move something artificially] in Turkish.


Shaftan [rope] is Arabic. In Persian it is rendered by rasan-i dirāz [stout rope], in Turkish, by ırğan [stout rope].

Sabab [string, cord] is Arabic. In Persian they say rasan-i khard [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 tefef [tent rope].

[80v] Rumma [a piece of worn-out rope] is Arabic. It is rendered by rasan-i pāra-i kūhna [a piece of old, worn-out rope] in Persian, by eski ib pāresi [a piece of old rope] in Turkish.

Miṭada [mallet for driving stakes] is Arabic. It is rendered by mikh-i kiüb [mallet for driving pegs] in Persian, by ağac tokmak [wooden mallet] in Turkish.

Mitraka [iron or wooden mallet or hammer] is Arabic. It is rendered by guźna [iron or wooden mallet or hammer] and khāyisk [smith’s hammer] in Persian, by tokmak [mallet] and çekic [hammer] in Turkish.

Mīka’a [hammer] is Arabic. It is rendered by khāyisk [smith’s hammer] in Persian, by çekic [hammer] in Turkish.

Fiṭṭīs [large smith’s hammer, sledge hammer] is Arabic. In Persian they say pitk [large smith’s hammer] and varya [large iron hammer], in Turkish büyüşük çekic [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 kṣaṣ [pincers, pliers] in Turkish. They also say the Arabic kelibetān.

Şaykal [? polisher, smoother], saľl [? polishing, burnishing], şikāl [? one who polishes, one who smooths] are Arabic. They are rendered by zududan [to polish, to furnish] and pardakhtan [to polish, to finish] in Persian, by aşmak [to polish] and perdâh itmek [to polish] in Turkish.

Şaşkîl [a polisher] is Arabic. It is rendered by kushāyanda [an opener, hence polisher] and zudāyanda [one who cleans, a polisher] in Persian, by aşcis [polisher] and perdâh idicî [polisher] in Turkish.

Şaykala [polishing tool] is Arabic. It is rendered by dost-azfār-i pardāzf [polishing tool] in Persian, by perdâh idececk âlet [polishing tool] in Turkish.
Miškala [polishing tool] is Arabic. It is rendered by ān chīz ki be-ū zudūdand [that thing with which one has polished] in Persian, by ol nese ki ānišla ḍaraf olmur [that thing with which polishing is done] in Turkish.

Mesḵūl [polished] is Arabic. It is rendered by zudūda [polished] and ṭaradhīkha [polished] in Persian, by ṭarapha olmuš [polished] in Turkish.

Khushuna [roughness, coarseness] is Arabic. It is rendered by durushṭi [roughness] in Persian, by irī olimak [to be rough], that is, yamrī yumrī [gnarled, uneven, lumpy] in Turkish.

Malāsa [smoothness] is Arabic. It is rendered by narnī [smoothness] and laghzānī [smoothness] in Persian, by yumṣak [smoothness] and sīrgān [smoothness], that is, dūz [smoothness] and ṭaraphā olmuš [polished] in Turkish.

Mīlāt and malāt [mortar] are Arabic. They are rendered by âjand [mortar] in Persian, by helik [mortar] in Turkish. Helik is the wet mortar used in walls.

Mīloj [plasterer’s trowel] is Arabic. It is rendered by māla-i âjand [plasterer’s trowel] in Persian, by helik mālasī [plasterer’s trowel] in Turkish. Now they call it misrī [plasterer’s trowel].

Mīsya’a [plasterer’s trowel] is Arabic. It is rendered by māla-i andān [plaster trowel, cement, trowel] in Persian, by vàs mālasī [plaster trowel] in Turkish.

Milbān [brick mold] is Arabic. It is rendered by kāliβāzi khīshī [brick mold] in Persian, by kerpič kalβī [brick mold] in Turkish.

Mār [mattock, shovel] is Arabic. It is rendered by kulan[d mattock, shovel] in Persian, by kāzma [mattock, sleeve] in Turkish. They dig wet clay with it.

Miḥfār [shovel, borer] is Arabic. It is rendered by kulan[d mattock, shovel] and kalan[d mattock, shovel] in Persian, by kāzma [mattock, shovel] and şapa [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 kār kardon ki digar-ru yakin nabāshad [a working that others are not certain of (because it is underground)] in Persian, by bi r is iselemek ki āyrisi anı ḩakikatle bilmeye [to perform work which others do not really know about (because it is underground)] in Turkish. ¹

Kanna[ digger, miner, sapper], mukanii [conduit maker] are Arabic. They are rendered by laghm-kan [miner, trench digger, sapper] in Persian, by laγm kazi-

¹ 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.

Râkûû [a large earthenware jug, earthenware pipe] is Arabic. It is rendered by khum [a large jar, pithos] and mûrî [earthenware pipe] in Persian, by kub [large earthenware jar] and kûn [earthenware pipe] in Turkish.

Sârûj [plaster] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian sârûj with a sîn. It is rendered by lûkûn [putty made of lime and linseed oil] and alçî [plaster of Paris] in Turkish.

Mîrbâl [spigot, faucet, tap] is Arabic. In Persian they say lûla [spout, tap] and nâgiye [spout]. In Turkish, as in Persian, they say lûle [spout]. It is a shared term.

Sunbûr [faucet, tap] is Arabic. It is rendered by lûla-i âbûn va shâz-revûn [tap of a cistern and a fountain] in Persian, by hûz ve sâz-revûn lûlesî [tap of a cistern and fountain] in Turkish.

Ursub [lead], uruf [lead] are arabicizations. They are arabicized from the Persian ursub [lead]. They are rendered by kûrsûn [lead] in Turkish.

Anûk [lead] is Arabic. In Persian they say ursub [lead], in Turkish kûrsûn [lead]. Şirf [lead] is Arabic.

Sûr [brass] is Arabic. It is rendered by rûy [brass] in Persian, by tûc [brass] in Turkish.

Shibah [brass] and shabah [brass] are Arabic. In Persian they say birinî [brass]. In Turkish, as in Persian, they say birînc.

Nûhâr [copper] is Arabic. It is rendered by mis [copper] in Persian, by bakr [copper] in Turkish. The mineral [is found] in the province of Khorasan.

'Ullâb [tin (plural)] and rasâs [tin] and kâliyy [tin] are Arabic. In Persian they say arzã [tin]. In Turkish, the common people corrupting kâliyy, they say kalay [tin].

Lîhâm [solder] and lahâm [solder] are Arabic. In Persian they say kafshîz [solder], in Turkish lehûm [solder].

Hâdid [iron] is Arabic. It is rendered by âhãn [iron] in Persian, demûr [iron] in Turkish.

Anîth [soft iron, wrought iron] is Arabic. It is rendered by âhãn-i narm [soft iron, wrought iron] in Persian, by yumzûk demûr [soft iron, wrought iron] in Turkish. It is also called kara demûr [wrought iron].

Fûlâd [steel] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian pûlâd [steel]. It is rendered by çelîk [steel] in Turkish.

Dhakar [steel] is Arabic. It is rendered by pûlâz [steel] in Persian, by çelîk [steel] in Turkish. [And] they also say pûlâd [steel] as in Persian.

Hindûwânî is a related term. Hinduván is the name of one of the gates of the fortress of Balkh. They called the iron worked at that gate hinduvânî. Now, the common people corrupting it, they call hinduvânî iron hindî. But the correct form is hinduvânî.

[81v] Marshasîyy [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 Marshârîf [those towns and villages of upper Syria that border on the great desert].

Dimasîkî and Damasîkî [Damascus steel] are related terms. They attribute the steel worked in Noble Damascus itself to Damascus.

Ifranjî [European steel] is a related term. In Persian and Turkish it is frenî. But among the Arabs they call Frankish steel ifranji.

Kirmânîyy [Kirman steel] is a related term. It is the steel worked in the place called Kirmân. And in Persian and Turkish they say Kirmânî.

Firind [the grain or veining of Damascus steel] is Arabic. In Persian they say jauhar [the grain or veining of Damascus steel], in Turkish, as in Persian, ceceh. Firindîyy [damaskeened steel] is Arabic. It is rendered by âhân-i jauhar-dûr [steel marked with veins of damaskeening] in Persian, by cecehîlû demûr [steel marked with veins of damaskeening] in Turkish.

Fiçda [silver] is Arabic. It is rendered by sîm [silver] in Persian, by gümîş [silver] in Turkish.

Luçayn [silver] is Arabic. It is rendered by sîm [silver] in Persian. And in Turkish, this, like fiçda, is rendered by gümîş [silver].

Nukra [small piece of uncoined gold or silver] is Arabic. It is rendered by sîm-i bî-sîkka [uncoined silver] in Persian, by sîkkesî yök gümîş pàresî [a piece of uncoined silver] in Turkish.

Sabaka [to smelt] is Arabic. It is rendered by sîm-i khâmûd gudâzânîdan [to smelt unrefined silver] in Persian, by gümîş erîmek [to smelt silver] in Turkish.


Dhahab [gold] is Arabic. It is rendered by zar [gold] in Persian, by altun [gold] in Turkish.

Nafr [gold] is Arabic. It is rendered by zar [gold] in Persian. And in Turkish, this, like dhahab, is rendered by altun [gold].

Ndâr and nudâr [pure gold] are Arabic. They are rendered by zar-i pâk [pure gold] in Persian. In Turkish they are rendered by ârî altun [pure gold], that is hâlîs altun [pure gold].
5 Ayn [gold coin, bullion] is Arabic. It is rendered by dinár [Arabic gold coin] in Persian, by filori [florin] in Turkish. Dinár is a shared term in Arabic and Persian.

6 Aṣjad [gold] is Arabic. It is rendered by zar [gold] in Persian. And in Turkish, this, like dhahab, is rendered by altun [gold].

Zukirnuf [decoration, ornament, gold] is Arabic. It is rendered by zar [gold] and zar-i tilâ [pure gold, ductile gold for gilding] and ārāyish [decoration] in Persian, by altun [gold] and yaldz altuni [gilding gold, pure gold] in Turkish.

7 Ikyân [purified gold, native pure gold] is Arabic. It is rendered by zar-i rasta [native pure gold] in Persian, by āndadan be ma'didin čiškan altun uwağin [small fragment of gold from a mine or a file] in Turkish.


Ja'farîyy [the finest kind of gold, prepared by the celebrated alchemist Ja'farî] is Arabic. It is rendered by zar-i mansūb ba-vâdi-i Ja'far-ābâd [gold from the stream of Ja'far-ābâd] and zar-i khâlıf [fine gold, pure gold] in Persian, by Ca'ferî altuni [finest gold prepared by the alchemist Ca'ferî] in Turkish.

Daḥdiyy [pure, unalloyed gold] is Arabic. It is rendered by zar-i daḥdi čhûn zar-i Ja'farî [pure, unalloyed gold like Ja'farî gold] in Persian, by dehdi altuni [pure, unalloyed gold] in Turkish.

Mufjatăd [ornamented with silver, ornamented] is Arabic. It is rendered by sīmīn [silverized, encrusted with silver] in Persian, by gümîşlü [with silver] in Turkish.

Mudhahhab [ornamented with gold] is Arabic. It is rendered by zarrîn [ornamented with gold] in Persian, by altunlu [gold] in Turkish.

Kibrît-i ahmar [red sulfur, the Philosopher's Stone] is Arabic. It is rendered by zar-i kîmyâ [gold of the Philosopher's Stone, alchemical gold] in Persian, by kîmyâ altuni [gold of the Philosopher's Stone, alchemical gold] in Turkish.

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]. Sûr [trumpet] and karn [trumpet] and nākûr [trumpet], these three words are Arabic. And the three have a single meaning. Isrâqîl—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, Isrâqîl—peace be upon him—will again sound [his trumpet]. That is, he will play his trumpet and horn which they call sîr. Then, this second time, all mankind will rise to its feet. After that, listen! Yâ ayyuḥá al-nâṣû irjîsû ilâ 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-Maṣâbîh. And the Persian and Turkish meanings of these three words [for trumpet] are thus: in Persian they say bori [trumpet] and nafr [brazen trumpet] and surû [horn of an animal], and in Turkish boynuz [horn]. And in Turkish they also say sîr [trumpet] as in Arabic, and bori [trumpet] and nefîr [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!
Kuššābā [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 kāms [reed, flute].

Zammār [flute player] and kuššābā [flute player] are Arabic. In Persian they say nay-zan [flute player]. In Turkish also, as in Persian, they say ney-zan.

Mīzhar [a leather-faced short-necked lute] and ẓād [generic name for various types of lutes] are Arabic. In Persian they say barbut [lute, harp], in Turkish kopuz [lute].

Muṭrīh [musician] is Arabic. In Persian they say sāzānda [musician]. In Turkish also, as in Persian, they say sāzende [musician].

Awwād [one who performs on the lute, lutist] is Arabic. It is rendered by barbut-zaan [lutist] in Persian, by kopuz calas [lutist] in Turkish.

Nūkīr [harp, psaltery] is Arabic. In Persian they say chang [harp]. In Turkish also, as in Persian, they say şeng [harp].

Tūnbūr [a fretted, long-necked, stringed instrument] is an arabicization. It was arabicized from the Persian tanbur, with a fetha over the tā.

Jīlāza [fret on the neck of a stringed instrument, note] is Arabic. In Persian they say pardā-ī sāz [fret on the neck of a stringed instrument, note]. In Turkish also, as in Persian, they say perde [fret, note].

Rā ṣaba [a three-stringed violin] is Arabic. In Persian they say kamāncha [three-stringed violin]. In Turkish they also say kemânçe as in Persian and rebāb as in Arabic.

Watar [string of an instrument, bowstring] is Arabic. In Persian they say rūzâ [the string of an instrument] and zīh [bowstring] and tār [string of a musical instrument]. In Turkish they say kīrīzh [bowstring, string of a musical instrument] and ṭīl [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 kīrīzh [thin string] in Turkish.

Bamm [the bass string of an ʿūd] is Arabic. In Persian they say rūd-i sībbar [bass string], in Turkish bās kīlts [bass string].

Miṭūdā [tuning peg of a chordophone] is Arabic. In Persian they say kard-nāy [tuning peg], in Turkish burkī [tuning peg].

Zāmila [bridge of a chordophone] is Arabic. In Persian they say kharak [bridge of a chordophone]. In Turkish also, as in Persian, they again say ḥarek [bridge of a chordophone].

Miṣīkār [panpipes] is an arabicization of a Greek word. In Persian and Turkish they also say mūṣīkār. Mūṣīkāl [panpipes] with a lām is also a word [with a meaning] like mūṣīkār. Corrupting it, the common people say miskāl [panpipes].

Şanj [cymbal] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian zanj [cymbal]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt it and say zīc (cymbal).

Şaghānū [small cymbals attached to a tambourine] is an arabicization. It is arabicized from the Persian chaghānū [small cymbals attached to a tambourine]. Čezgāne 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.

Nakārā [kettle drum, small drum] is Arabic. In Persian they say tablak [small drum]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt it and say nakara [kettle drum] and deblek [small drum].

Jūlul [bells, sometimes attached to a tambourine] is Arabic. It is rendered by zang-i daf [tambourine bell] in Persian, by def puli [tambourine bell] in Turkish.

Iṣār [rim, hoop] is Arabic. In Persian they say chanbar [rim, hoop]. In Turkish also, as in Persian, they say ğenber.

Ṭabl [generic term for many kinds of drums] is Arabic. In Persian they say duhl [drum] and tabīrā [drum, kettle drum] and kūs [a large drum used in mehter music]. In Turkish, the common people corrupt it and say ǰavīl [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].


Miṣṭrāʾa [drumstick] is Arabic. In Persian they say chaqgān-i duhl [hooked drumstick], in Turkish čevgān [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 ğenber [hoop drum] and def [tambourine] in accord with the single line circumference of a circle. And the
bowls [?] of the various types of ʿūds 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 [müşākār] in the form of the acute angle of a triangle with an obtuse angle. And again, they conceive of their şeng [harp] and kanun [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

Fā'īlātūn fa'īlātūn fa'īlātūn fa'īlāt.

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.

If you are wise, set not foot in banquets of carousal and drink.

Had he not perceived the impermanence of the temporal world, O Cafer,
Jamshid would not have renounced the cup of good cheer.³

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 ʿĪd¹ occurred. His Excellency the Ağa arrived

³ Jamshid’s cup of good cheer: the mythical cup renowned in poetry, in which Jamshid was able to see the universe. See Cl. Huarth/H. Masse, “Djamshid,” E.I.*, II, pp. 438-439.

¹ 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 Ramażān, 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-Ṣaghīr) 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 *Idiyye.* [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 Ağä 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 *Idiyye* that was mentioned.

*This *Idiyye* Kaşide Is by Way of an Apology*

The One who actualizes what is wished [i.e., God] cheering his servants with glad tidings,

Wrote the ʿayn of ʿId upon the night sky with a golden pen.
And this letter ʿayn signaled the ʿId,

Though some thought it to be a [piece of] hot steel.
Behold the kindness and benevolence of God the Creator!
He proclaimed His blessed ʿId with His ʿayn.
Yes, the shape of the new moon formed the source [ʿayn] of drinking and carousing.
That Most Glorious One [thus] expressed the meaning of the word *iftar.* 4
The ship of the crescent is a golden vessel,
Which the White Sea [Marmara] tossed to the western shores.
Because it was the ʿId, the heavens put on a curved dagger. 5
And to those of correct understanding this is not farfetched.
In the copybook of the heavens the crescent abides as a rā, 6
By which the turning sphere lifted from mankind the obligation of fasting.
With autumn 7 the leaves became yellow like gold,
And the west wind made the willow leaf a gift to heaven. 8
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 ʿId
Confer endless joy upon mankind.
And may His Excellency our honorable architect Ağä’s
ʿId 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.

2 Marginal note gives meter of the verse, mefiûlu farsištû mefiûlu farsištû
3 ʿayn: twenty-first letter of the Ottoman alphabet, it is a crescent-shaped letter in its initial form (ـ), and is likened here to the crescent moon which appears on the first of the month of ʿSevval and ushers in the ʿId. It is also the first letter of the word ʿId (وـ).
4 *iftar:* the breaking of one’s fast, either at sundown during Ramazân or at the beginning of ʿId.
5 The curved dagger is here likened to the crescent moon which appears at the beginning of ʿId.
6 rā: the crescent-shaped twelfth letter of the Ottoman alphabet (۱), here likened to the crescent of the new moon.
7 In 1023/1614 the month of Ramazân began on Sunday, October 10, and ended on Monday, November 3. ʿId thus began on Tuesday, November 4 (1 ʿSevval, 1023).
8 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 Cäfer offers a prayer:

Sincere blessings and salutations without number.

As the Ḥid 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.

Kitāb of supplication to God, the Divine Lord of the Worlds—

May His Name Be Exalted and His Being Glorified

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 Mişmar Ağâ, 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—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—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 khan 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

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9 Marginal note gives the meter of the verse, fa'îlān fa'îlān fa'îlān fa'îlān.[fe'ilān].

10 The Master, the Most Noble Apostle, Lord of the Two Worlds: Muhammad.

11 Beloved four: the four orthodox caliphs (al-khulâfâ‘ al-naṣīḥâ‘); see p. 22, note 17, above.
and residents in the abode of the greatest imperial throne,12 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 Allah 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 gazas and jihads and on buildings and edifices for God’s sake, the late warrior Köca Miş’mär Sinân 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 gazâ. Because of the high regard in which he was held when he was a Janissary in the Janissary Corps, he was made an altu sękâbân13 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.14 And subsequent to that as reward for his courage in many campaigns, he became, in terms of rank, a zenberekçi başı,15 and subsequent to that a hâşeki.16 And after that, he was honored with the rank of miş‘mar başı. And after that, he was miş‘mar 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 [çeim], and fifty-one fine small mosques [mescid], and fifty-seven medreses, and seven dâr-i kûrrâ, and seventeen exalted, noble imârets, and three dâr al-ṣifâ, and five enormous arched stone and brick aqueducts [su yols 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 [kârbân-sarây], and thirty-three baths [hammâm], and tombs [türbe] and cisterns [mahzen] and marketplaces [kabbân] and state palaces [mirî sarây] and storerooms [kilâr] and kitchens [mutba] and hâns and market halls [bezzâzistân] 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.17 And may God, whose name be exalted, give rest to [and] augment His compassion for the soul of the late Dâvûd Ağa who, as Chief Architect after that, passed from this world to the other

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12 Inhabitants and residents of the abode of the greatest imperial throne: the inhabitants of the Ottoman state.

13 altu sękâbân: 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, Dejimler, III, pp. 145-147.

14 yaya başı: commander of the infantry battalion in the Janissary corps known as Yaya; see Pakalan, Dejimler, III, p. 611.

15 zenberekçi başı: commander of the eighty-second battalion of the Janissary corps; see Pakalan, Dejimler, III, p. 652.

16 hâşeki: sergeant-at-arms of the imperial bodyguard; see Pakalan, Dejimler, I, pp. 753-754.

17 Expanded versions of this account of Sinân’s life are found in the Teşkiret al-Ebnîye and the Tuhfet al-Miş’mârîn; see p. 23, note 19, above.
world.\(^{18}\) And may God—whose name be exalted— assembling \[together\] with the souls of the martyrs the soul of the late Dâlîgîc 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 \[i.e., admit Dâlîgîc Ahmed to the highest heaven\].\(^{19}\) And out of respect for the souls of the ağas 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 \[architect\] ağas, 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, giving now to our hearts provisions of piety. May You at the last instant make faith and the Kurān, 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. \(\text{Fatîha.}^{20}\)

**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**\(^{21}\)

Being taken from more than a hundred books, this book

Put new garments on the geometric forms.\(^{22}\)

And the pure meanings are totally original.\(^{23}\)

Its words and writing are as a veil to them.

This \[book\] was betrothed to His Excellency the Ağa.

\(^{18}\) For Dâvûd Ağa, see p. 37, note 25, above.

\(^{19}\) For Dâlîgîc 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 Kalenderoğlu rebels in 1604.

\(^{20}\) \(\text{Fatîha}\) ("The Opening"): the first sura of the Kurān. The reference to its name is frequently, as here, intended to stand for the entire sura.

\(^{21}\) Marginal note gives meter of the verse, šâiliātun šâiliātun šâiliātun šâiliāt [šâiliāt].

\(^{22}\) That is, the geometric forms are presented in a new way.

\(^{23}\) The term used here is \(\text{bikr}\) 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 \(\text{beyts}\).
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 safā'-nāme,
And let its conclusion be the names of the God of the repentant sinners.

Thanks be to God, this Mi'hrābiyye is completed. 24
The year
1023 [1614]
Add up the line of poetry of grateful praise.
The date of the book will appear.

24 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 RISALE-I MİMARİYYE

Seventh Chapter

(cubit/ell) zirā'ı/andāzal/gaz/arsjun
(types of zirā'ı/arsjun:
1 ʿāmmə zirā'ı = 50 barmak = 20 boğun = 16 girih (after 1585-87/994-95)
1 ʿāmmə arşunj/zirā'ı = 100 barmak = 40 boğun = 32 girih (before 1585-87/994-95)
1 bennā' arşunj/zirā'ı = 24 boğun = 60 barmak
1 bez arşunj = 100 barmak = 40 boğun = 40 girih

(finger) içba'ı/angush/çlobe
(breadth) 2/5 boğun = 1 barmak = 10 iplik = 100 spider webs
(thumb) ibhäm/angush-i büzurg/büyük barmak
(finger tip) anmala/sar-i angush/lobe ucı
(knuckle, finger joint) 1 boğun = 2-1/2 barmak
(knot) zirih/dudak/dügün
1 zirih = 3-1/8 barmak
(dirhem) dirhem
1 dirhem = 4 əççe = 128 makhz (before 1585-87/994-95)
(wrist) bilek (see Eighth Chapter)
(span) karş (see Eighth Chapter)
(foot) ayak (see Eighth Chapter)
(pace) adın (see Eighth Chapter)
(span) kulaç (see Eighth Chapter)

Eighth Chapter

(foot) kadım/rıciç/pây/ayaq
1 ayak = 1/3 zirā'ı (canonical/black ell; see Hinz, Mass, p. 55)
(pace) khuṭwal/güm/adım
1 adım = 3 ayak
(bow knot) Ghalwa/nishān-i tür/nishan/yag-i tür partāş/ok atmi/ok nisāni
1 ok atmi = 400 zirā'ı
(mile) mîl
1 mîl = 4,000 adın
(parasang) fasakh/fersenk
1 fersenk = 3 mîl = 12,000 adın = 36,000 ayak

(stage) barid/dawazda/mîl/oniki mîl
1 berid = 4 fersenk = 12 mîl = 48,000 adın
144,000 ayak

(span) shibr/idistl/kanı
(dhirā'sevir/arş/kol/bilek/dhar)
1 dhirā' = 3 ayak

(fathom) bā'/bāz/kulaç
1 bā' = 2 arms extended

Ninth Chapter

(cerib) jarib/garib/garî/dönüm ceriβ
1 fa'um ceriβi = 4 kila
1 yir ceriβi = land necessary to produce 1 fa'um ceriβi
1 yir ceriβi/gari/dönüm = 40 adın square
1 dönüm = amount of land a pair of oxen can plow in a day = 1 faddān

types of measured dönüm:
1 dönüm = 12252 bennā' zirā'ı
(i.e., 35 × 35 bennā' zirā'ı)
1 dönüm = 20252 bennā' zirā'ı
1 dönüm = 36002 bennā' zirā'ı
1 dönüm = 122.5 square doniim:
1 dönüm = 122.5 square

(furrow) daban/mashara/takhta-i zaman/evler/karş/maraj
(subdivision of jarib)

(khassaba/chãbãl/sãkr/ta'ra
(notch, mark)
(kaçiz, dry measure of c. 250 lbs.)
1 kâçiz = 1 əççe = 8 miykāl

(bushel) kil/açil/miykâl
1 miykâl = 1/8 kaçiz

Tenth Chapter

( dönüm) Three type of dönüm:
1) Istanbul
1 dönüm = 35 bennā' zirā'ı × 35 bennā' zirā'ı
= 1225 square bennā' zirā'ı
1 dönüm = 10 şıbiğ × 100 şıbiğ = 100 square şıbiğ (where 1 şıbiğ = 3.5 bennā' zirā'ı)
1 dönüm = 10 niyân (1 niyân = 10 square şıbiğ = 122.5 square bennā' zirā'ı)
2) Rûm-îlî, The Islands

1 dönüm = 45 bennâ? zirâ‘î × 45 bennâ? zirâ‘î
   = 2025 square bennâ? zirâ‘î
1 dönüm = 10 çikîk × 10 çikîk = 100 square çikîk (where 1 çikîk = 4.5 bennâ? zirâ‘î)
1 dönüm = 10 ni‘ân (1 ni‘ân = 10 square çikîk = 202.5 square bennâ? zirâ‘î)

3) Egypt, Baghdad, Basra, Kufa, Samarkand, Bukhara (canonical dönüm/jari‘î)

1 dönüm = 60 bennâ? zirâ‘î × 60 bennâ? zirâ‘î
   = 360 square bennâ? zirâ‘î

1 dönüm = 10 çikîk × 10 çikîk = 100 square çikîk (where 1 çikîk = 6 bennâ? zirâ‘î)
1 dönüm = 10 ni‘ân (1 ni‘ân = 10 square çikîk = 360 square bennâ? zirâ‘î)
1 dönüm = the area which in sowing takes 4 kila of grain

(architect’s bennâ? zirâ‘î)
1 bennâ? zirâ‘î = 24 barmak
1 square bennâ? zirâ‘î = 576 square barmak

(tailor’s ell) 1 derzi arşuni/derzi zirâ‘î
1 derzi arşuni = 20 barmak
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لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة المقدمة.
اکنون فرصتی برای دستگاه‌های آلات موسیقی و همچنین
اوزارهای تازه و خشک، همگی از پادگان‌های
هیبردی و متفاوتی در نظر گرفته شده است.

در این صورت، این الگوها و روش‌های مختلف
به‌عنوان یکی از مهم‌ترین عوامل
برای بهبود وضعیت فعلی مطالعه و بیانگیر
در این ناحیه استفاده می‌شود.
اِمّال المَهْمَهّم، دِیْلِی یِسحَارَهُا وَنَحَیْنِ یَتَحَمَّلُ نَعُمَهُا، یَا بَلَاء.

واَبْعَثْنِی بَنِی اَسْمَعَیْلَ بِمَعْلُومَة مِنْهُ یَا سَلَمَانَ الیَتْکُوِّنُ یَا بَلَاء.

عَلِیْهُمَا، یَا بَلَاء، یَا بَلَاء، یَا بَلَاء، یَا بَلَاء.

وَسَأَلْنِی مَصْطَفَانَ نَعُمَهُا یَا بَلَاء، یَا بَلَاء، یَا بَلَاء، یَا بَلَاء.

وَكَفَیْنَی مَعْلُومَة مِنْهُ یَا بَلَاء، یَا بَلَاء، یَا بَلَاء، یَا بَلَاء.
ثبت‌نگ‌نامه‌های دوره صفویه در مورد سالن‌های استخر و لانه‌ها،

اصلی‌ترین نقش‌های فقهی و حاکمیتی در حین مسابقه و ورزش‌های شنا و شوکه‌برداری،

به‌طور کلی، مذاهب آقایان و داوران اولین جشنواره‌های شنا و شوکه‌برداری,

به‌طوری‌که ایران، از آن‌ها به عنوان رئیس‌جمهور جهان مطرح می‌شود.

علاوه بر این، در جنوب‌شرق ایران، علت‌هایی از لحاظ سیاسی و اجتماعی,

به‌طوری‌که این سیاست‌ها به‌عنوان ایجاد هماهنگی و تعویض سیاست‌های تاریخی,

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مقدمه مذهبان: مقدمه مذهبان: مقدمه مذهبان: مقدمه مذهبان:

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دوستانی که در این آموزش زبان فارسی هستند،

سند مربوط به یک انسان و یک بیمار می‌باشد.

کلمات و ضمیمه‌های دردسرهای مربوط به یک انسان یا بیمار می‌باشد.

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بین خرداد ماه سال ۱۳۸۲ تا زمان امضاء این عقد، پرتردد در امور مالی و امور رسمی انجام می‌گیرد. در این مدت، مالکان مورد استفاده می‌شوند و مبلغ‌های مورد نیاز را دریافت می‌کنند.

اولین جمع‌撮ب در تاریخ ۱۳۸۳/۱/۱ به‌دست می‌آید که شامل مطالعه و تحقیق دربارهٔ اوضاع مالی و حقوقی است. در این جمع‌شریک، مطرح می‌شود که به‌عنوان مالکان، باید به‌طور مداوم مالیات و حسابرسی را به‌دست آورده و آنها را در بازاریابی و تبلیغات انجام دهند.

در تاریخ ۱۳۸۳/۵/۱ در جمع‌شریک دوم، مطرح می‌شود که به‌عنوان مالکان، باید به‌طور مداوم مالیات و حسابرسی را به‌دست آورده و آنها را در بازاریابی و تبلیغات انجام دهند.

در تاریخ ۱۳۸۳/۹/۱ در جمع‌شریک سوم، مطرح می‌شود که به‌عنوان مالکان، باید به‌طور مداوم مالیات و حسابرسی را به‌دست آورده و آنها را در بازاریابی و تبلیغات انجام دهند.

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در تاریخ ۱۳۸۴/۳/۱ در جمع‌شریک پنجم، مطرح می‌شود که به‌عنوان مالکان، باید به‌طور مداوم مالیات و حسابرسی را به‌دست آورده و آنها را در بازاریابی و تبلیغات انجام دهند.

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نزد شیرین و خواهرانش روز و شبانه زیست و می‌خورند.

دربارهٔ برخی نکاتی که برای شیرین و خواهرانش ضروری می‌باشد، به آن‌ها به طور دیگر گفته می‌شود.

یکی از مهم‌ترین اموری که برای شیرین ضروری می‌باشد، بررسی و تخمین روی قرار گرفتن خودش در محیط وارها، هزاران میلیون تیم‌های مختلفی می‌باشد.

در بخش دیگری از این متن، اشاره‌ای به ضرورتی که برای شیرین و خواهرانش به طور کلی ضروری می‌باشد، ارائه می‌گردد.

در ادامه متن، اشاره‌ای به ضرورتی که برای شیرین و خواهرانش به طور خاص ضروری می‌باشد، ارائه می‌گردد.

در نهایت، در این بخش، ضرورتی که برای شیرین و خواهرانش به طور عمده ضروری می‌باشد، به وضوح ارائه می‌گردد.
داراب ذو جملة رغبة في بناء داراً كبيراً، وتزويدها المثلى.

هكذا وهي، فنجعلها إلهامًا للآخرين بعد أن نغطيها في ذكرى الله.

وقد صارت هذه النقطة المهمة في تاريخنا الحضاري.

أصبحت علامة على التزامنا فيما يتعلق بإنشاء الأبنية المثلى.

ومن هنا، نأمل أن نكون نموذجًا للآخرين في هذا المجال.
كِيَمِيَّةٌ لاَ يَأْكُلُهَا شَيْءٌ فَأَعْلَمُ أَنَّ نَبِيَّاً هُوَ فَلَا تَعْبُدُنَّ كُلَّ شَيْءًا يَمِيتُهُ. 

وَإِنَّ نُورَهَا لَفِي رَحْمَةٍ مَّثْنَىٰ.
بَشْرٌ أَوْلِيَاءِ الْقُرْءَانِ نَالْهُ،
سَلَامٌ عَلَيْهِ الْأَرْضُ وَالْخَيْبَةُ
بِفَيْضِهِ قَدْ بَلَغَ قَدَّمَهُ
وَكَانَ كَأَنَّهُ مَغْفُورٌ
وَمَرَّتْ عَلَيْهِ حَقَّ الْجَهَمِ،
وَأَوْرَادُهَا أَسْتَقْلِيَ دُوَاهُ
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
لا تام علی، هوشیار، ویژن یک ویژن دیگر که نمی‌توانست به‌طور کامل بررسی شود. در نتیجه، راه‌های جدیدی برای راهبرد و واحدها را ارائه داد. در این راستا، به‌طور خودکار آنها را با همین روش درون‌درختی به‌طور کامل بررسی کردند.

ورودی‌ها و خروجی‌ها با هدف کاهش نیروی خطا و دقت بررسی‌ها ارائه شدند. به‌طور کامل بودن صفحه‌های اصلی برای ارائه پایان‌نامه‌های درون‌درختی، با هدف کاهش نیروی خطا و دقت بررسی‌ها ارائه شد.

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پایان‌نامه‌ها با درون‌درختی بررسی شدند.
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
الواجباً علیه ده خشک، مثلاً آسانی، فی نیازی،

دانش‌آموزان همچنین در علوم عربی، نیز از این پیام را دریافت می‌کنند.

اگر یک دانش‌آموز در سطح عربی در سطح دو هفته نمی‌تواند دریافت کند،

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لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة المقدمة.
چین، خانم راهی شد و مینه‌شان به گفتگو آمدند. تخلیه‌کننده‌ها، در حالی که در حال حمله به مردم بودند، به کارگران درمان و درمان لازم را می‌کردند و به آنان اطمینان می‌دادند. 

بی‌نتیجه، کارگران به بهترین شرایط می‌رسیدند و حیات زنده‌مانده را نشان دادند. 

به‌عنوان نتیجه، کارگران در حال حمله به مردم بودند و به کارگران درمان و درمان لازم را می‌کردند و به آنان اطمینان می‌دادند. 

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النص بالنص:

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