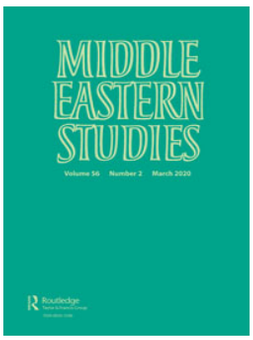

Middle Eastern Studies

ISSN: 0026-3206 (Print) 1743-7881 (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/fmes20

The new visual culture in eighteenth-century Istanbul: building up new shore kiosks and gardens on the outskirts of the royal palace

Ahmet Erdem Tozoglu

To cite this article: Ahmet Erdem Tozoglu (2020) The new visual culture in eighteenth-century Istanbul: building up new shore kiosks and gardens on the outskirts of the royal palace, Middle Eastern Studies, 56:2, 165-192, DOI: 10.1080/00263206.2019.1686361

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2019.1686361

MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES
2020, VOL. 56, NO. 2, 165–192
https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2019.1686361

The new visual culture in eighteenth-century Istanbul: building up new shore kiosks and gardens on the outskirts of the royal palace

Ahmet Erdem Tozoglu

Faculty of Architecture, Abdullah Gul University, Kayseri, Turkey

> (While residing) in the palace of the grand vizier at Beşiktaş, when stunning tulips showing the virtue of divine prosperity faded, summer got closer, and the spectacle of candles of the mosques and masjids became charming like a spectacle of charming lights, the Sultan, the refuge of the universe – may God make him endless and eternal – decided to move to his royal palace and he was pleased to receive the glorious presents of his grand vizier and also his generous son-in-law and reciprocated by bestowing a sable. On the twenty-fifth day of the same month, (the sultan) moved to Eyüb Palace, and on thirtieth day he honored the royal palace with his arrival.
>
> (h.) Şa'ban 1138 (April 1726), by Çelebizade Asım Efendi

At first glance the quotation above seems to be a typical example of a court chronicle, which keeps a record of the daily routine of the sultan. It illustrates the days in Sultan Ahmed III's court shortly before arrival of the holy month of Ramadan in 1726.[1] As Çelebizade, the royal chronicler, noted, the sultan preferred to stay in his royal palace throughout Ramadan, despite the fact that the royal family resided in shore palaces when the weather became more pleasant in spring. Before leaving Ibrahim Pasha's shore palace, in which he used to stay for long periods, he received prestigious presents from his grand vizier and he reciprocated by bestowing on him a sable (*hil'at-ı semmur*). These ceremonial events apparently signify the peculiar relationship between the sultan and his son-in-law, the grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha. In a critical interpretative manner this short passage reveals details about the changes in civic life before the arrival of the holy month and the physical changes in nature. It depicts scenes from the cityscape, with a special emphasis on the charming lighting of the mosques prepared before Ramadan, which the author considered to be spectacular events, as well as the seasonal changes in the marvelous gardens of the city.

Numerous similar records kept in the chronicles of the eighteenth-century court historians and eyewitnesses made the modern historians conceptualize the last decade of Ahmed III's (r.1703–1730) reign as a period of excessive extravaganza and enjoyment. Furthermore, the period roughly corresponding with the grand vizierate period of İbrahim Pasha of Muşkara (later Nevşehir), was called the 'Tulip period' and became one of the most known tenets of Turkish historiography. It was the well-known book of Ahmet Refik (1881–1937), which originally assigned the term 'Tulip Period' to the years of h.1130–1143 (1718–1730).[2] Soon after being published in his book series on *Ottoman Life in Previous Centuries*, it became one of the established sources of inspiration for modern Turkish historians to address an important threshold in terms of the periodization of Ottoman history in the twentieth century. Since the 1940s, starting with Enver Ziya Karal,[3] many modern historians had the tendency to signify the preliminary influences of the West by deriving this new phenomenon from the 'Tulip Period'. The positivist and progressive historical approach posited the 'Tulip Period' as an internal response of the Ottoman royal court

CONTACT Ahmet Erdem Tozoglu Ahmet.tozoglu@agu.edu.tr

to stop unavoidable decline and decadence following a long period of Ottoman progress and stagnation. In historiography, the Tulip Period was utilized as a peaceful period in Ottoman history to catch up its Western counterparts and to transfer the necessary knowledge and expertise from the West. This narrative pointed out several consecutive events, which took place in the 'Tulip Period', to demonstrate the preliminary steps of Western influence and transfer of necessary expertise to the empire. Among them, appointing Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi and his entourage as the temporary Ottoman ambassador to France (1722), the foundation of the Ottoman official court printing office (1726), the building of kiosks on the shores of Istanbul and the design of the human-made landscapes in a completely new fashion were shown to represent typical examples of Western influence.[4]

Consequently, the new architectural elements were transferred to Ottoman building practices by the introduction of new spaces and they were blended well with the traditional building techniques to create new syntheses. In architectural historiography, the introduction of these new elements was interpreted as a new stylistic epochal turn, namely Ottoman baroque and rococo.[5] Some recent scholarly works criticized this stylistic reading by referring to baroque as a radical change in the European conceptualization of space, mostly characterized by the continuous play of light and shade in a space where the human eye has to move all around constantly to grasp its perplexing details and visual manipulations. It also implies an epistemological rupture in Europe breaking the ties with normative ways of producing and appraising architecture.[6] Being strongly engaged with the revolutionary changes happening in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, Ottoman architecture had almost nothing to transmit from Europe within this context, therefore the architecture of the eighteenth century was not an Ottoman baroque experience even though it possessed an 'irresolute' attitude towards spatial and mental change.[7]

Since the 1990s, some recent studies have opened up new paths for the readership to figure out the historical context and changing paradigms of the period by challenging the 'decline' and 'decadence' concepts as the cause and 'Westernization' as the shortcut result of the inevitable change.[8] The new scholarship enables us to have a better understanding of the lives of ordinary people, the emerging landlords and their patronage in the provinces, the changes in domestic culture and the rise of the patronage of female members of the royal family in Istanbul. Besides, they also provide holistic frames to reinterpret the historical phenomenon in a wider and sometimes cross-geographical context. Even though the revisionist scholarship provided insightful interpretations for the changing features of the eighteenth-century royal court and society, there is still a long way to go to substitute the long-reigning positivist historiographical canon.

In this article, I aim to propose a frame based on the central role of visuality to examine the shifting paradigm of eighteenth-century royal patronage. For this, I introduce a less-known building complex: the construction and expansion of Topkapı Palace from the period of Ahmed III to Selim III at Sarayburnu (promontory point). It is also known as the summer harem, or Sarayburnu Shore Palace, which was located in the exterior gardens of the Royal Palace. By doing this, I aim to add a new layer to the historiography of the shore kiosk building fashion of the royal family members and court elites. So far, the change in the royal domestic culture in the eighteenth century has been examined through the shore palaces and kiosks located near the Golden Horn and Bosporus. The literature emphasizes that the royal households tended to stay less in the Royal Palace after the construction of new alternative residences near the shores. Here, I examine the construction of the new harem complex located in the exterior gardens of the royal palace complex near the Cannon Gate (Top Kapısı) to demonstrate that the residence patterns of the royal household were much more complicated than has been assumed so far. Based on my thematic introduction and examination of many primary sources, I state that it is necessary to utilize a set of tools to examine the spatial and practical changes and to explain this multi-layered phenomenon to all its extent. In other words, the frenzy of building up shore-kiosks, privy gardens, and the establishment of new fetes and rituals would bring up new conceptual frames to understand the inevitable change in the eighteenth century. For this, I emphasize the emergence of a new

visual culture in the city, which also affected the physical structure and visibility of the royal residential units in this period. Therefore, the new harem complex enables us to discuss how the new visual culture was exercised in and around the royal palace gardens in the eighteenth century.

The royal Palace complex, which has been named Topkapı Palace since the nineteenth century, has already been spatially examined in detail. Recent scholarship adds depth to the cultural and social history of the complex by examining gender relations, ceremonial practices, the daily life of the lower-rank staff and the role of the female members of the royal court. It is important to note that the new harem complex at Sarayburnu has been mostly neglected or overlooked in the academic literature so far, since research tended to examine the spaces and spatial practices of the main quarters and courtyards of the upper palace complex more. In this article, I utilize a wide range of primary sources from royal chronicles and the witness of foreign visitors to Istanbul, to building registry records and visual materials to examine the mechanisms of change in spatial practices of the royal household and carefully blend them with the secondary sources to set the findings within the current academic scholarship.

As a basis of my exploration, I reevaluate two important historical phenomena of the eighteenth century. The first one is about the conscious and coercive shift of royal patronage from Edirne to Istanbul and the second is about the immediate effects of travel between cultural domains.

Understanding the change: royal patronage, travels, consumables and objects of curiosity

The turn of the eighteenth century marked a radical change in the urban history of Istanbul. For decades, despite being the *de jure* capital city of the empire, the city lost its political power against Edirne, which became the empire's *de facto* capital especially in the second half of the seventeenth century. At this period, the increase in civic patronage in Edirne and the physical expansion and repair of the old palace complex emphasized that the sultans preferred to stay longer outside Istanbul. An important political incident, which was a consequence of social unrest in Istanbul, marked the paradigm change in Ottoman history. It was the Edirne Incident (1703),[9] which broke out as a consequence of Istanbulians' anger towards Sultan Mustafa II's (1695–1703) decision to reside in Edirne and utilize the Edirne palatial complex as the official governing body of the empire after the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699). For more than fifty years, Istanbul remained physically intact and lost its prominent position vis-à-vis Edirne. The gradual loss of its influence upset the religious scholars, soldiers and men of arms residing in Istanbul, and the desolation created a political and economic conflict between these two capital cities.[10] The Edirne Incident ended the internal conflict and terminated the period of binary capitals. Istanbul could regain its political superiority when Sultan Mustafa II had to renounce and let his younger brother Ahmed III ascend to the throne and the new sultan decided to move his court permanently to Istanbul in 1703. Soon after the restoration of the peace, Ahmed III started a remarkable campaign to change the physical outlook of the city and convert it to what he dreamed of for his capital city.[11] He was supported by Ibrahim Pasha, who encouraged the sultan in such substantial patronage and Ibrahim Pasha became the sponsor of many public projects in Istanbul. The change went beyond the built environment. The transformation of the cityscape inevitably brought about a change in spatial practices as well. Since then, civic life and its public spaces acquired new means of appreciation never experienced before. This period marked the opening of the royal court to the social landscape of Istanbul and resulted in inevitable changes in how imperial patronage was presented and how citizens appropriated and appreciated it.

Another important feature of this period was the increasing curiosity towards the things outside the Ottoman world. The encounter of the Ottomans with Europe had a long background before the eighteenth century. The historical accounts recorded the Ottoman practical interest in European technology and innovation especially in the fields of mining, metallurgy, map-making and warfare machines since the fourteenth century and the Ottomans had no doubt about transferring the necessary know-how for practical use in daily life.[12] Thus, the Ottomans were acquainted with the technology and the agents transferring this expertise for centuries.[13] Furthermore, European culture, customs and cityscapes were also accessible to an Ottoman readership through the travel book of Evliya Çelebi, the famous Ottoman traveler of the seventeenth century;[14] the European city was therefore not terra incognita for the Ottomans, at least for a limited readership. In fact, Çelebi's travel records include some physical descriptions of central European cities. Given this, how can we interpret the change of attitude of the Ottomans towards the world outside them? In what ways did the Ottoman manner or attitude differ in the eighteenth century from earlier times?

The long war period stretching from the late seventeenth century to the early eighteenth century caused the Ottoman economic system to collapse and its social consequences must have stimulated the Ottomans' curiosity towards the world outside them. They did not mean to emulate new things without questioning, rather, the Ottomans preserved the categorical exclusion of cultural outsiders. Here, the urge partially derived from the European military and tactical equality or even superiority to defeat the Ottomans; and mostly stemmed from the European artifacts and commodities which were becoming increasingly available in the Ottoman markets. The economic capitulations enabled foreign merchants to convey European objects of curiosity into Ottoman ports. It became a fashion for the local Ottoman elite and the royal household in Istanbul to possess commodities such as eyeglasses, telescopes, binoculars, clocks, and high-quality imported textiles.[15] Besides, some notable women of the harem had an obsessive curiosity driving them to collect European and Chinese novelties, such as table sets, porcelain bowls and crystal-ware.[16]

In this context, rather than interpreting his mission as an indicator of the preliminary phase of Westernization in addition to his military and economic negotiations with the French government, the travel of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi to France should be read as having a task to obtain well-ordered, first-hand information about the objects of curiosity, which included buildings.[17] Therefore, Mehmed Çelebi was not an agent of Westernization as an Ottoman subject, but a messenger transferring up-to-date information to the Ottoman court.[18] Furthermore, the objects of curiosity and luxury that he delivered, and the further orders from France after his return manifested the expected outcome of his mission.

The curiosity and craze of the Ottoman court members did not remain limited to European artifacts and built environments; they were also able to follow up the architectural commissions of Shah Abbas (r.1588–1629) and his successors for the creation of the new Persian capital city, Isfahan.[19] Furthermore, the curiosity for objects of daily life and architecture was not a one-sided phenomenon: the European elites were also keen to collect commodities coming from the East, and fell into a craze for Turkish things, and reproduced a romanticized version of being Turkish by commissioning paintings in Turkish dress, and even patronage of kiosks, public baths, or follies in *Turquerie* style.[20]

I believe that the changes in the Ottoman court's architectural patronage and their verbal appraisals by the court poets and chroniclers emphasize a new attitude towards the appreciation of their presence, their difference from their predecessors. It also emphasizes a conscious effort to reveal the new and unique qualities of the architecture and the landscape, which had never been observed in this way before. By saying this, I do not mean that appreciation of the master builder and his work was institutionally structured in the way in which architectural treaties published during and after the European Renaissance to glorify the deeds of the architects were or in how connoisseurs appraised the uniqueness of artworks in Europe. In a period when the

commission of religious complexes which were majestic in scale diminished, the House of Osman and other court members had to find new ways to display their ostentatious grants to the city. It also coincided with a new self-esteem and sensory awareness in the minds of the Ottoman court members that could dramatically change the way they demonstrated their existence. The Ottomans had their peculiar patterns of appreciation and I believe that the way the written records depicted the new city and architecture require further examination.

A paradigm shift: visual appropriation of the cityscape

The curiosity triggered by the circulation of the luxury objects in the eighteenth century was strongly associated with a new visual culture. The ownership of these artifacts was accompanied by the exhibition of these possessions. This marked a fundamental change in the attitudes of the Ottoman elites in Istanbul and caused unprecedented changes in favor of increasing their visibility in their cityscape. New spatial practices replaced or transformed the archaic ones. Since then, possession of artifacts (including buildings) and showing a conscious effort to make them visible brought about a new regime of spectacle (*temâşa*) in the cityscape. As Shirine Hamadeh suggested, this new cultural epoch featured by a new mode of visual sensibility opened up a new path to understand the secular architecture patronage in Istanbul.[21] In other words, the eighteenth century marked a new sensibility towards visuality and visual culture in the Ottoman world. This awareness enabled the existence of new regimes of spectacle via new intermediators and patronage patterns.[22] A new spatial and visual consciousness became rooted in the city by the royal ceremonies that took place regularly in different parts of the city.

The royal ceremonial practices of early modern Istanbul were mostly confined inside the walls of the *Saray-ı Cedid-i Âmire* or *Saray-ı Hümayûn*[23] (the new palace or the royal palace), and they were mostly far from the gaze of the citizens. Furthermore, the architecture of the palace complex, in which a variety of spaces clustered around courtyards, featured a physical and visual isolation in daily routines and ceremonies.[24] Even though it was located on the crown of the first hill of Istanbul, which offered an impressive silhouette from a distance, the palace was a complex secluded from the outsider's gaze and its architecture provided limited visual contact with the outside. Until the eighteenth century, except for the scenic loggia of the Treasury built during the reign of Mehmet II, the massive exterior walls provided a limited view of the outside world and pushed most the openings to face internal courtyards and gardens.

The new visual regime drove the new built environments forward by many sensual features: the primary concern was to make them available for spectacle, visually perceivable in a controlled way. Hence, spatial decisions such as allocating the kiosks to the shores of the Bosporus, elevating them from the ground level, projecting the *piano nobile* toward the sea were the spatial measures to increase their visibility. A timber frame mixed construction system provided flexibility of fenestration, and as a result the interiors became lofty, spacious, airy and well illuminated. This space layout also enabled a view of the city, its people and their daily practices from the built-in sofas. As already introduced by Shirine Hamadeh, this was the spatial opening up of Istanbul in the eighteenth century. It is 'an opening up between different cultural traditions and practices, the changing nature of the interface between court and the city, and a greater porosity in the sensibilities of different social groups'.[25] Therefore, what she called 'opening up' could be only experienced in the physically untouched and visually welcoming Bosporus shores and around the Golden Horn contrary to the densely populated and visually short-sighted districts of Istanbul.

Another feature of the new visual regime was its discovery of the power of the perspective view for the command and appropriation of physical space. The potential of natural landscape arrangements was insufficient to express the new visual desires of the patrons. It could be only achieved by pushing the eye of the observer to the center of perception and designing the

landscape by considering the vanishing points and creating vistas to manipulate the vision of observers. It provided a prolific regime of vision for a cartesian subject performing on a normative stage. Thus, the privy gardens designed by geometrical orders and the appropriation of natural landscape at the Sâdabâd complex in Kağıthane by diverting the riverbed to an artificial channel, differences in ground levels, and using cascades to provide a visual and auditory fascination with water were the new design tools introduced to meet the changing tastes of the Ottoman court and elites.[26]

Finally, the representation of the space also considerably changed in Ottoman court art. Miniatures providing multi-angle views of a scene by incorporating the time dimension in its visual depiction were gradually replaced by the static expressions of one-point perspective images. The change was gradual. It was not as visually 'realistic' as their European counterparts and reflected a hybrid character: a sense of perspective depth on a miniature drawing layout. The landscape drawings covering the interior walls or corniches in many residences including the Royal Harem were painted with images of perspective technique reflecting this new way of seeing. Moreover, some of the landscapes were of imaginary places rather than real ones, and indicated idealized or dreamed environments.[27] In summary, the eighteenth century witnessed not only a new regime of visuality in the built environment, but also endorsed a flowering of hybrid techniques of representing landscapes.

Transformation of the royal palace outer gardens: additions and alterations before the eighteenth century

After conquering the Byzantine capital, one of the first orders of Mehmed II (r.1444–46 and 1451–81) was to construct a palace complex on the site of the ancient Forum Theodosius, or Forum Tauri, and soon after it was completed, the ambitious sultan ordered a newer one. The new palace was built on the uppermost terrace of the hill overlooking the tip of the peninsula. The spatial organization of the palatial complex was influenced by the Edirne Palace, which was commissioned by Mehmed II's father Murad II (r. 1421–44 and 1446–51). The spatial layout is characterized by spaces of various sizes and functions, which are scattered around courtyards. Three main gates, namely the Imperial Gate (*Bâb-ı Hümâyûn),* the Gate of Salutation (*Bâb-üs selâm*), and the Gate of Felicity (*Bâb-üs saâde*) provide access to four major courtyards and these gates emphasize the degree of control and hierarchy among the inhabitants and visitors of the palace. The palatial complex is encircled by seawalls remaining from Byzantine times and the new landside walls (*Sur-i Sultani*) were commissioned by Mehmed II (completed in 1478). The palatial complex witnessed a gradual physical expansion with the addition of many kiosks and gardens by the successors of Mehmed II until the nineteenth century. The outer palace consisted of many gardens and vineyards, which steadily cascaded down to sea level.[28]

Even though most of the daily routine took place in and around the courtyards and their adjacent spaces of the upper royal palace, the exterior gardens located at the northern and eastern slopes of the palatine hill were also actively used before the eighteenth century. Being in harmony with the sloping terrain descending to the seaside, the exterior gardens were designed on terraces supported by retaining walls. Walking paths and stairs with gentle slopes were the means of access through different levels. The gardens were adorned with colorful flowerbeds, bushes, trees and rare flower species at many spots, and the court poets depicted them as heavens on earth. In addition, gardens were also important for their daily functions: there were vegetable gardens for the royal kitchen, where the royal corps of gardeners (*Bostancı*) were responsible for growing fruits and vegetables. Furthermore, the exterior gardens accommodated rare animal species, which were kept for hunting and leisure purposes. As the miniatures and written records suggest, there was also a menagerie and an aviary. The gardens were used to organize sport games such as horseback archery and mace throwing on certain days throughout

the year.[29] Beyond their gardening task, the corps of royal gardeners was formed as a distinguished unit which held the responsibility for the security and maintenance of the gardens.[30]

Since Byzantine times, there had been gates in the garden walls bordering the sea. After the devastating earthquake of 1509, Sultan Bayezid II (r.1481–1512) ordered the restoration of the ancient ones and the opening up of new gates; after that, the sultans and their entourage used to leave the palace complex for visits by embarking on royal boats near the gates on the sea side of the complex.[31] The best-known example of these gates was the Cannon Gate near the promontory point (*Sarayburnu*) of the peninsula. In many visual depictions, it was a symmetrical structure easy to identify by two marble turrets covered by conical caps flanking the gate. Originally, it was the site of the old St Barbara Gate and the Ottomans repaired the walls and renewed the gate.[32] The gate was secured by the corps of royal gardeners. Between the gate and the shore, there was a small platform used to accommodate the ceremony of royal visits (*biniş-i hümayûn*) to the privy gardens and kiosks, which were scattered around the Bosporus and the Golden Horn. The name Cannon Gate (*Top kapısı*) derived from the cannons located outside the gate, which were used to salute the navy during their maneuvers, their official departure from or arrival in Istanbul.[33] The exact date of construction of the turrets is not clear. It appeared with its turrets and conical caps in Scorella's panorama of the Royal Palace (1685).[34] Before that, in the Hünername miniature (1588),[35] the gate exists with the turrets but without caps.[36] The original date of their construction is not clear, but as Gülru Necipoglu refers to Antonio Menavino,[37] who was taken into slavery in Sultan Bayezid's court, and who described the gate in its place, so that construction of the Cannon Gate may date to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

As it had a favorable location, Selim I's (r.1512–1520) secretary of the Treasury (*hazinedâr*), Abdüsselam Çelebi, commissioned a kiosk near the Cannon Gate, outside the seawalls and presented it to the sultan as a gift in the final period of his reign.[38] It was commonly known as the marble kiosk (*mermer köşk*) or the stone kiosk (*taş köşk*), which was famous for its twelve *verde antico* columns brought from Egypt for the construction.[39] Originally, it was a single-story building which was used by the sultans as a place of repose, for taking the air, and watching sailing ships at sea.[40]

There were other kiosks built after the Marble Kiosk on and around the seawalls. On the west side, one finds the Basketmaker's Kiosk (*Sepetçiler Köşkü*), which was elevated on the walls. Despite a variety of opinions, its original function has not yet been clearly identified.[41] Farther away, near the corner where the sea side walls met with land walls, the Shore Kiosk (*Yalı Köşkü*) was a distinguishing element of the panoramic vision. It was initially commissioned during the reign of Bayezid II,[42] then rebuilt several times by his successors. It was used by the sultan to salute the Ottoman navy before its departure.[43] It was also used as a reception hall for the sultans to receive their audiences.[44] Rising on the eastern side of the seawalls and standing partially cantilevered, another remarkable building was to serve the sultan as a reception hall. It was recorded as Sinan Pasha Kiosk in historical accounts but it was popularly known as the Pearl Kiosk (*İncili Köşk*). As the name suggests, it was commissioned by grand-vizier Sinan Pasha for Murad III (r.1574–1595) around 1590;[45] and the name 'pearl' originated from the 'exquisite pendant globes with clusters of pearl-strung tassels that hung from its dome'.[46] It was a lavish gift to the sultan and it became one of his favorite spots for leisure and repose.[47] In the eighteenth century it underwent extensive renovation and continued to be one of the ceremonial places in the sultan's daily life.[48]

As Necipoglu puts it so well, the shore kiosks of the sixteenth century were built in accordance with the ceremonial codes of the classical period. Thus, compared with the Royal Palace of impenetrable walls and its secluded landscape and interior organization, it was obvious that these shore kiosks granted new possibilities for a visual communication with the outside world. In this sense, these private kiosks 'provided an ideal private space for the secluded sultan, who could watch both the gardens and the sea from behind a latticed window, without being seen'.[49]

Building up newer kiosks near the Cannon Gate in the eighteenth century

In the eighteenth century, stimulated by the new visual culture and concurrent with the construction of many new pavilions or kiosks near the Bosporus, the Ottoman sultans made a deliberate effort to redesign the harem and the exterior gardens of the royal palace. It seemed to be stimulated by the spatial qualities of the royal palace: the Ottoman court historian Râşid emphasizes the dissatisfaction of the royal family with the archaic architecture of the royal palace as:

> The structure of the royal palace is made of masonry and covered with lead. It does not possess the qualities of Istanbul houses (*İstanbul hâneleri binâsında olan anda olmadığından*), so that the Sultan desired to have new kiosks and rooms in the city building style (*şehir binâsı tarzında*), after their completion, he visited the (new) Sublime Kiosk (*Kasr-ı âli*) and elevated apartments (*buyût-ı refi'*) constructed at *Sarayburnu*.[50]

This short historical account of an imperial commission raises a few questions for the reader: what was the desire of the sultan about? What was the motivation behind it? What were the qualities of old and new architecture? This passage reveals several details about the desires of the Sultan regarding the new visual regime: he had a new set of measures for the architecture of ideal royal residences. The massive structure of the royal palace tradition no longer met his expectations. He desired to have apartments similar to the ones in the city, giving rise to the next question: what did the city houses look like in the eighteenth century? It is not very clear what the court historian Râşid meant by mentioning a city building style (*şehir binâsı tarzında*) in his chronicle. However, based on archival sources recent studies revealed the physical properties of the spaces and their furnishings for Istanbul middle- and upper-class residences, which enable us to imagine their physical properties.[51] Beyond the physical distribution of numerous spaces, they were quick to build, airy, lofty and provided well-lit interiors, whereas the existing palace was mostly made of thick masonry walls providing limited visual access. In this context, the desire of Ahmed III mentioned above was a eulogy to the kiosk building practice characterized by spacious and flexible interiors as an abode for pleasure with its lofty interiors and pleasant scenic view.

To meet his desires, as court historian Râşid mentioned, a new kiosk in the city house style was erected near the Cannon Gate (*Top Kapusu*) of the Royal Palace complex in 1709.[52] The new building was elevated and most probably standing partially on the seaside walls of the palace complex so that the building had a majestic scene of the mouth of the Bosporus, Üsküdar shore and the Prince Islands. Being exposed to the scenic view, the sultan was also able to observe the maneuver of the navy, sailing of merchants' ships, and all aspects of daily life with a closer visual interaction. The construction of this kiosk in 1709 marked the beginning of a new tradition and the inception of a period of 150 years of continuous construction and physical expansion and the uninterrupted use of this spectacular location by the Harem members. In the earlier years of his reign, Ahmed III revived the annual moves of his harem (*nakl-i hümâyun*) to other palaces and daily royal shifts (*biniş-i hümayun*) in Istanbul. In accordance with the construction of a new kiosk near the Cannon Gate, the sultan ordered the maintenance of Karaağaç Garden near the Golden Horn and extensive reconstruction of the shore palace at Beşiktaş in 1704 to use them as his temporary residences.[53] Therefore, soon after the completion of this small kiosk, there began a craze for new shore kiosks and the construction of the Silver Canal (*Cetvel-i Sim*) at Kağıthane and numerous kiosks and gardens on the banks of the Bosporus and the Golden Horn in the eighteenth century. They were about to meet a visual experience centered on appreciation of the cityscape.[54] This is not a far-fetched interpretation based on reading between the lines of primary sources, since the contemporary chroniclers or poets themselves did not refrain from expressing the codes of the new ways of seeing and appreciating the cityscape. They were quite conscious of having something new and different (*nev-icât*) and they liked to underline the change in their poetic works.[55]

The eighteenth century witnessed an unprecedent level of construction activity on the exterior gardens of the palace complex by means of building newer shore kiosks and new style gardens. The construction of newer kiosks turned the promontory point (*Sarayburnu*) and its surroundings into a secondary palace complex: a harem for the Sultan's family members, their obedient servants and many spacious halls for official receptions. Sultan Ahmed III's successor continued the tradition; his nephew, Mahmud I (r.1730–1754) turned the small kiosk at Cannon Gate into a permanent residence step by step. First of all, to constitute its residential core, he commissioned several new apartments and an elevated (*fevkâni*) bath (*hamam*) along with a courtyard garden. Elhac Ahmed Efendi was appointed as the construction custodian (*binâ emini*). A construction registry book (*müfredât defteri*) recorded materials purchased for construction of an elevated (*fevkâni*), and a lower (*tahtâni*) kiosk and the bath (*hamam*), and it cost 92,486 *kuruş* (piaster) including workmanship for twelve weeks.[56] Şem'dani-zade Süleyman Efendi, who recorded its inauguration date as h.1148 (1735) and described the new kiosks as new style (*nev-târz*) in relation to their predecessors.[57] Later on, the complex was physically extended by the addition of a private apartment for the Mother (*valide*) Sultan, which was called *Mahbubiye* (beloved) in h.1154 (1741).[58] This extensive construction was maintained by Elhac Hüseyin Efendi. The registry book kept during the construction covers the addition of the new apartments to the Harem, reconstruction of some existing parts of the royal apartments, repair and maintenance of the infrastructure for apartments and bath facilities. The works conducted cost 52,791 *kuruş* in total.[59] Many imperial decrees sent from the imperial court to deputy (*nâib*) of Marmara for the quarrying and delivery of the white marble from Marmara Island.[60] To increase the capacity of the harem apartments, newer blocks were added to the complex after few years. Treasury official (*Muhasebeci*) Ali Efendi was appointed to this task and it was completed in 1749 (h. *evâil-i rebi'ulâhir 1162*) and the royal family moved to the new kiosks in a few days.[61] Court historian Süleyman İzzi extolls the physical properties of the palace in his chronicle. He depicts it as a charming place (*resim-i dîl-firib*) with a mixture of a bizarre tastes (*tarz-ı acaib-üt terkibde tarsin ü tertib olundu*).[62] He does not hold back from making comparisons between the old upper palace (the royal palace) and this one. For him, the upper palace was a work of old masters and reflected their old style (*kâr-pişin ü târz-ı mütekaddimin*), which was characterized by its sobriety (*rezânet*) and moderateness (*vezânet*). For him, the new court gardens were also quite remarkable. He acclaimed the beauty of the gardens by analogies. For him, the gardens expressed a sense of enchanting novelty (*nev-peyda riyaz-ı dilâra*); its pools refreshed the soul (*hiyaz-ı ruh-efza*), delightful tulip gardens (*lâle-zâr-ı behçet-âsâr*); colorful flowerbeds, ornate rosaries (*üşkûfe-i gûna-gûn ile müzeyyen gülşen-i gülbin*). Canopies, jet fountains and water cascades were other things he praised (*fırka fırka neşimen-i bi-'adil ve taraf taraf fevvâre ve selsebiller*).[63] The leitmotiv of this narrative is the conscious effort of the author to highlight the visually distinguishing character of the new environment that he observed. By doing this, İzzi emphasized how his contemporaries swiftly adopted the new visual regime of spectacle.

During these extensive construction activities, the old marble kiosk (*mermer köşk*) should have been rebuilt. Until the eighteenth century, it was depicted as a single-story building, however, since then it has been transformed into a two-story one. During its reconstruction, the *verde antico* columns were to be reused on the façade exposed to the sea. The ground floor was at the height of the seawalls and the upper floor was extended towards the leveled wall top. The upper floor was physically connected to the harem complex by means of a semi-open gallery.[64] Carbagnano described the complex as a great apartment added by Mahmud, who liked to rest in the kiosk for a couple of days before and after going to his 'villegiatura'. The building had more than sixty rooms arranged in good order and symmetry. Among them, a kiosk, which was called 'Valide-jeri' (Mother sultan's place), was notable with its twelve columns of exceptionally fine quality marble.[65] Joseph von Hammer, in his seminal Ottoman history, described the hall located on the upper floor of the new Marble Kiosk:

> There is an inscription band in gold letters on a field of azure all around the main hall, describes the beauty of the mirrors that adorn the walls, crystals, windows and carvings that represent flowers and foliage, as infinitely superior to the best works of *Senamar*, the famous architect of the palaces of *Sidir* and *Khawrnak*.[66]

Unlike İzzi, who highlighted the originality and uniqueness of the works undertaken, Hammer, instead, had an analogical approach and compared it to the glory of ancient works. He went on by referring to the inscription of the building by Ni'met Efendi, which 'teaches us that Mahmud I wished, by this construction, to erase the glory of Alexander with two horns [*Zül'karneyn*], and of Khizr, the guardian of the source of life and the one that is the master of the requests'.[67] The eighteenth-century observer Pars Ğ. İnciciyan also noted that there were more than sixty rooms in total. According to him, Sultan Mahmud would like to reside here during the summer, especially by observing the sea and full moon from its wide windows.[68]

An expense registry book (*müfredât defteri*)[69] of 1749 prepared to keep the record of orders for the decoration of many rooms during the third expansion of the complex specifies the name of many spaces, their physical proximity to each other and some of their basic architectural features such as level, size, orientation, and façade details. The first of the major building blocks, the *divânhane*, where the sultan received his visitors, had many private rooms. The registry book records the spaces and furnishing list in each space in this section as follows:

- the furnishing of the middle throne room in the assembly hall (*Divânhanede vâki orta taht-ı hümayûnun mefruşâtıdır*);
- the furnishings flanking the middle throne in the assembly hall (*Divânhanede* orta *taht-ı hümayûnun iki taraflarında olan mefruşâtıdır*);
- the furnishing of the sofas flanking the staircase in the assembly hall (*Divânhanedeki merdivenin iki taraflarında olan sedirlerin mefruşâtıdır*);
- the furnishing of the royal hall facing the sea in the assembly hall (*Divânhanede vâki deryâya nâzır camlı kasr-ı mâlikânenin mefruşâtıdır*);
- the furnishing of the two sofas facing the royal hall above (*Kasr-ı hümayûn karşısındaki iki sedirin mefruşâtıdır*);
- the summer bedroom facing the sea, which is joined to the royal hall above (*Camlı kasrı hümayûna muttasıl deryaya nazır yaz yatak odasının mefruşâtıdır*);
- the furnishing of the two sofas located in the room having a hearth (*Bacalı oda tabir olunur odanın iki sedirlerinin mefruşâtıdır*);
- the furnishing of the small room adjoined to the summer bedroom above (*Yaz yatak odasına muttasıl sâğir odanın mefruşâtıdır*).

The other major building block was the mother sultan's block, called *Mahbubiye* as mentioned above. The registry book did not include any record of new furnishing for this part. Its existence was implied by the description of other rooms due to their proximity to *Mahbubiye*. The third one was the sultan's wives' quarter. In this section there were four adjacent rooms ranking from the first wife's (*baş kadın*) to the fifth one (*beşinci kadın*) places and four other rooms for the sultan's favorites (*ikbâller*).[70] In addition, the sultan's private apartment should have been here since there was a room furnished with a hearth, which was called the principal room (*baş oda*), in which the order of new drapery required for a throne was listed. In this block, some rooms had peculiar architectural features and the naming of the rooms reflect this. For instance, one of the rooms was described with a painting of a wheel of light (*çerâğ-felek*) on its ceiling and another was named by its size (*beş arşun odası*), which was described as a wide room facing both seaside and courtyard (*deryâya ve meydana nâzır*). There were also baths (*hamam*) and changing or resting spaces (*camekan odası*)[71] near the private units. Finally, the registry recorded another part of the complex, which was described as an elevated kiosk facing the sea. It had three sofas (*denize*

nazır üç sedirli fevkâni kasır), and may have corresponded to the newly built Marble Kiosk's upper-level reception room. The registry book includes 58 spaces or subspaces in total.

The registry of purchased items implies both the continuity of old tradition and borrowing new tastes in terms of furnishing elements. There was still no furniture in the European manner on the list (such as a chair, table or cabinet). The main seating element was a sofa. To furnish the sofas, they ordered furs and pillows with various patterns and colors. Some of the fabric patterns were described as either French style (*Frengi*) or British style (*İngiliz*), which imply the demand for import goods and demonstrate the desire for new styles in the palace.[72] A list of typical decorative items help us understand the physical setting of a space. For instance, the first space listed in the document (the middle throne room in the assembly hall block, see above) was decorated by:

- four olive-colored velvet pillows with white and flower strip and olive-colored French-style (European) satin underlining (*zeytuni atlas astarlı Frengi çiçekli beyaz şeritli zeytuni kadife yastık*);
- an olive-colored velvet seat with flower patterned French-style white strips and yellow cotton cloth underlining (*Sarıca bez astarlı çiçekli Frengî beyâz – şerîdli zeytûnî katîfe mak'ad*);
- four tassels with red silk strips (*Al harîr şerîdli püskül*);
- a white cotton seat cushion (*Penbe – beyâz bez minder*);
- red cotton cloth (*Beyâz bez pûşîde*);
- a small blue velvet dining cloth with red woolen underlining (*Al çuka astarlı mâ'î katîfe sağîr nihâlî*);
- two small pink velvet pillows with yellow French style strips (*Sarıca Frengî şerîdli penbe katîfe sağîr yüz yasdığı*).

As Şürkiye Pınar Özyalvaç has demonstrated, the furnishing of the summer harem seems to have a reciprocal relation with the houses and seaside mansions of the administrative elite of the nineteenth century. In the same period, the upper administrative court members decorated their living and working spaces with similar items.[73]

To visualize the spaces defined so far, I will refer to the engravings and paintings remaining from the eighteenth century. They help us to understand the physical features of the harem complex. Luckily enough, Sarayburnu shore and the terraced hill behind it were among the favorite spots of foreign visitors to depict both verbally and visually. The common station points of observation were the Galata Tower, and gardens of the embassies at Pera, and Üsküdar shore.[74] The first modern map of Istanbul, which was drawn in the last quarter of the eighteenth century by François Kauffer, also included the seaside palace complex.[75] Kauffer's map is the oldest modern cadastral record showing the royal palace and its exterior gardens (Figure 1).[76]

The map dated 1786, compromised the seaside walls, gates on the walls, gardens, and the shore kiosks. The author also indexed some of the places and buildings.[77] Unlike the upper royal palace, the harem near Sarayburnu was not precisely drawn in terms of the geometrical forms of the buildings and their roof structures. This might have been due to not having the opportunity to conduct a site survey in this private location. Therefore, the author probably had to rely on visual observations and estimations from a certain physical distance. The most significant architectural feature was the formation of two adjacent courtyards formed by several buildings around them. The larger courtyard was near the Cannon Gate. The dashed rectangles in the middle of the courtyard was to illustrate the geometrically designed gardens. The Marble Kiosk and the turrets of the Cannon Gate were not illustrated with their distinguishing physical features. However, it is not hard to spot their locations on the drawing. Here, it is a question of deciding whether the number of units, their geometrical form and their proximity to neighboring units were accurate or not. Since Kauffer's map provided little spatial information about the harem complex near the Cannon Gate, we should refer to his contemporaries, who drew three-dimensional images of the seaside complex. Comte Choiseul-Gouffier's travel accounts

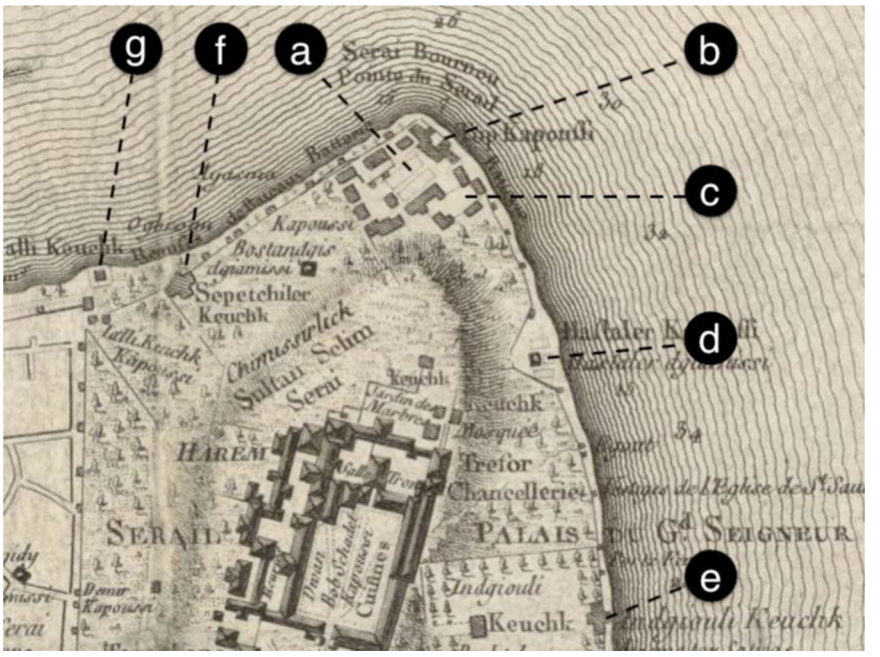

Figure 1. Detail of Sarayburnu from Kauffer's Map of Istanbul.
Legend: a: Larger Courtyard, b: The Cannon Gate, c: Smaller Courtyard, d: Hospital of Corps of Royal Gardeners, e: Pearl Kiosk f: Basket makers' Kiosk, g: Shore Kiosk.
Source: F. Kauffer, 'Le Plan de la Ville de Constantinople et de ses Faubourgs' in Comte M.G.F.A. Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*, vol.2, Paris, J.J. Blaise Librairie, 1822, between pp.452–53.

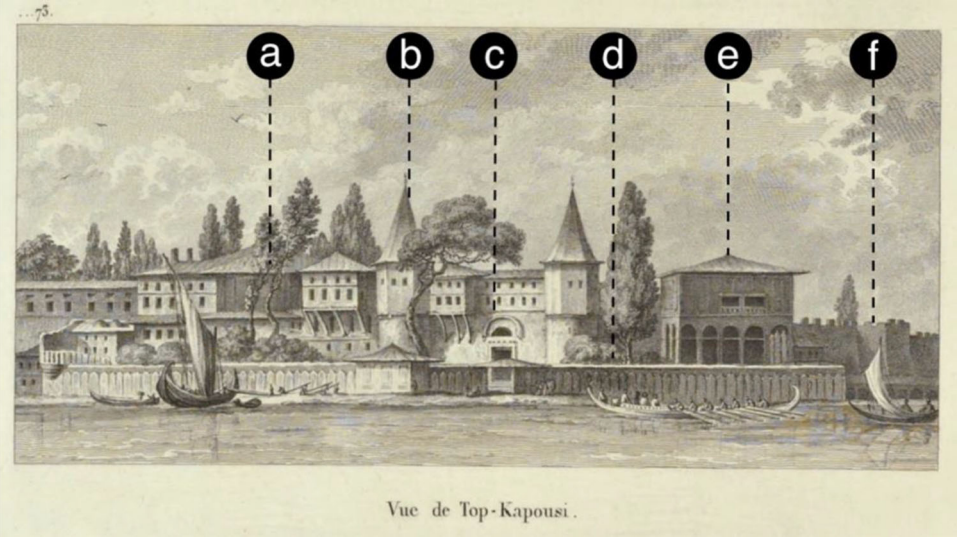

Figure 2. The view of the Cannon Gate and Harem Buildings drawn by Jean Baptiste Hilaire.
Legend: a: Harem Apartments, b: Turret of the gate, c: The Cannon Gate, d: Boarding platform, e: Marble Kiosk, f: Seaside Walls.
Source: J.B. Hilaire, 'Vue de Top-Kapousi', Comte M.G.F.A. Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*. vol.2, Paris, J.J. Blaise Librairie, 1822.

compromising Kauffer's map, also included a panoramic view of the Cannon Gate from the sea side, which was drawn by Jean Baptiste Hilaire (Figure 2).[78]

Hilaire's engraving depicted the Cannon Gate, the marble turrets and their conical caps, the Marble Kiosk, the apartments of the harem facing the sea. The platform in front of the gate was

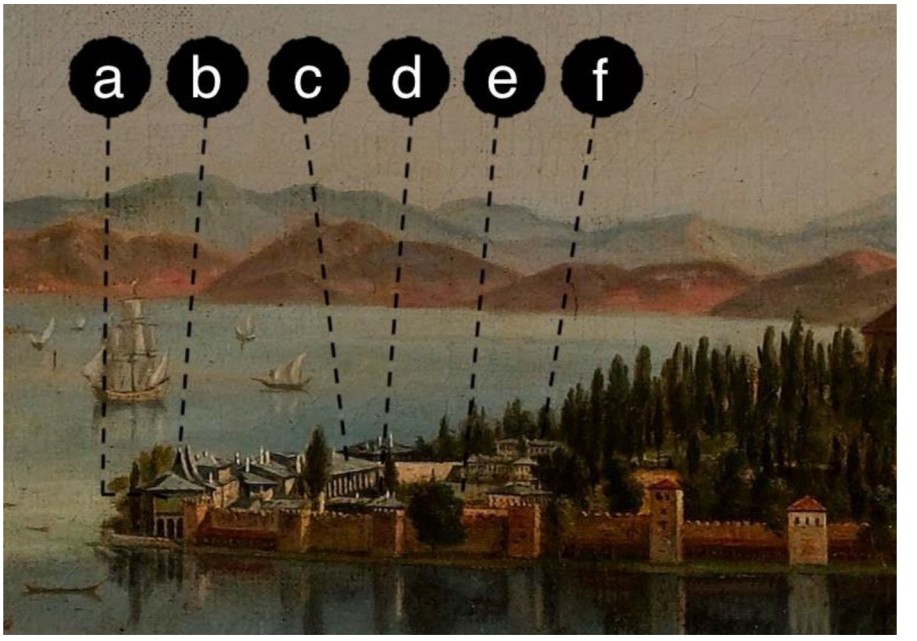

Figure 3. Detail from Antoine de Favray's *Panorama of Istanbul*, 1773.
Legend: a: Marble Kiosk, b: Turrets of the Cannon Gate, c: Apartments on the West Side, d: Apartments on the North Side, e: Courtyard, f: Hasan Pasha Kiosk.
Source: Istanbul Pera Museum collection.

enlarged and partially used as a garden. A secondary wall encompassed the platform for security reasons. Despite some visual distortions,[79] it released some significant features of the façades of the summer harem to view: there were building blocks with different heights and covered with independent roofs, which support the accounts of physical extensions and additions at different times. The upper floors were made of timber and they were cantilevered structures projecting to the sea. They had double fenestration, and some pieces had blinds for heat and light control. From this viewpoint, this engraving did not show anything of the courtyard and the buildings behind, therefore, one should refer to other depictions of the complex. To observe the summer harem's courtyard and the kiosks remaining behind, Antoine de Favray's panorama (1773) depicting the Royal Palace and its gardens from Pera heights help with this (Figure 3).[80]

This painting depicts the Marble Kiosk, turret caps of the Cannon Gate, apartments attached to the gate, and a longitudinal rectangular building with a colonnaded cloister facing the courtyard at the seaside. Just behind the walls, there were also a group of buildings, whose roofs were barely visible. These buildings aligned at the north side of the larger courtyard. A single building with a pitched roof was at the eastern side. The southern side of the courtyard was demarcated from the rest by a high wall and another building attached to it. Farther away, two buildings were also in sight: one was near the sea and the other one was on a higher terrace. The last one would be either Hasan Pasha Kiosk, which was built in the mid-eighteenth century, or another building facing the second courtyard.

At the end of the eighteenth century, during the reign of Selim III (r.1789–1807), the harem gardens underwent extensive maintenance and redesign. According to the registry books kept for this task, the site work was comprised of the building of pergolas, designation of walking paths, construction of collapsed parts of the loadbearing walls, laying of soil and fertilizers on the ground, and planting new flowers and trees. To cover all these landscaping tasks, the officials paid for workmanship for twenty-two weeks.[81] Concurrently, some of the buildings were also repaired. These repairs encompassed the replacement of the lead sheets of the roofs,

replacement of fenestration, construction of new cabinets, repair of doors and door locks, drapery renewal and replacement, and the maintenance of baths.[82]

During this period, the royal court appointed an Austrian garden designer, Jacob Ensler, to redesign and maintain the gardens.[83] He was brother of the gardener of the renowned Schönbrunn Palace. Ensler resided in Istanbul from 1794–1802. By means of his official appointment in the Harem gardens, it seems that a few distinguished foreign visitors were able to visit the gardens, when the royal court members did not reside in the lower palace. Among them, two foreign travelers recorded Ensler's generous invitation and later published their memories in detail. If we bear on their records, François Pouqueville and E. Daniel Clarke became acquainted with the gardener during their residence in Istanbul, so that they were able to visit him. The authors' observations were similar and sometimes the verbal depiction of one author complements the other.[84] Among them, Daniel Clarke's accounts were more detailed about physical features of the gardens and buildings around them, thus, a detailed examination of his observations may help us to acquire many other details about the built environment. Clarke was able to visit the site along with one of his close companions in Istanbul, a Swedish embassy official who received official permission from the royal court to visit Ensler in his place. Actually, Clarke had two visits. During their first visit, which remained relatively short, the gardener promised to do a favor for his guests by showing them the private court and apartments of the harem, if they would visit him once more during the month of Holy Ramadan, 'when the guards would be up all night and would be stupefied during the day with sleep and intoxication'.[85] Thus, Clarke's records were mostly from the second visit. By putting his detailed description into a sequence of spaces, one may uncover spatial properties of the private court and the apartments of the harem complex.

Clarke and his companions entered the royal gardens from Wood Gate (*Odun Kapısı*) near Gardeners' hospital (*Bostancılar tabhânesi*). After passing through the newly designed garden with the guidance of Ensler, they reached a 'ponderous and gloomy' wooden door standing in front of the visitors, which was primarily used to go into the courtyard of the harem. For Clarke, the courtyard looked like a small quadrangle, similar to that of Queen's College at Cambridge University. It was divided into two parts, one raised above the other, with the principal side of the court containing an open cloister supported by small white marble columns. The visitors were able to enter into the harem apartments by forcing open one of the windows at ground level and therefore started to visit different apartments in order:

1. A dormitory for the woman slaves: this was a two-story building which was depicted as a long rectangular block. On the ground floor it looked like a dormitory where a long row of wooden beds, or couches covered with mats for the reception of 'hundreds of slaves'. Passing through narrow passages, the visitors came to a staircase leading to the upper level (p.27).
2. An upper floor dormitory for the women slaves: on the upper floor, the dormitory was furnished with bunk beds, on which one half of the inhabitants slept above the other half. These units were allocated on both sides of a long corridor. After passing this corridor, the visitors reached a third corridor, which was depicted as a passage furnished with mats. Different from the previous ones, there were separate rooms on the right and left side of the corridor, and the author claimed that these were for higher-ranking female slaves.
3. Small apartments for higher rank slaves: these units were on the left side of the corridor and face the courtyard, whereas, on the right side, there were unidentified units facing the sea. By continuing along this corridor, the visitors entered a privy room for the Mother (*Valide*) Sultan.
4. The great Chamber of Audience: this was for the Valide Sultan to receive visits from the wives of the sultan, and other distinguished ladies of the Harem. For Clarke, it was a setting in which the idea of splendor, seclusion and magnificence was manifested. The walls

were covered with enormous windows, and costly decorations (p.28). One side of the room was slightly elevated to make a platform for the throne. The throne was surrounded by latticed blinds. In front of this visual separator, there were two chairs. On the right and left side of the throne, there were private apartments for the mother sultan and her principal lady. The area in front of the throne was set for the attendants (dancers, actors or musicians). This room faced both to sea and the courtyard. This was probably the one, recorded as the prime room (*Baş oda*) in the registry book, which accommodated a throne in it. Beyond this mighty room, the visitors went to another spectacular space (p.29), which was recorded as the prime room (*baş oda*) in the Ottoman registry books.

5. The Assembly Room of the sultan: according to Clarke, this was a privy room when the sultan wished to stay in the Harem. For him, the interior displayed a 'strange mixture of magnificence and wretchedness'. Like the Mother Sultan's room, mirrors covered the interior walls. Leaving the assembly room from the same door, and advancing ahead through the passage, which ran parallel to the sea-shore, they reached the royal baths (p.30) which was recorded as the elevated (*fevkâni*) bath in the Ottoman registries.
6. The Baths of the Harem: these were only for the use of the mother and the principal wives of the sultan. They were small but very elegant private units made of white marble. The interior space was lit by the ground glass above. For Clarke, 'every degree of refined luxury has been added to the work', which was necessary for the ceremonial significance of bathing. At the upper end, they found the bath for the Mother Sultan, which remained visually isolated from the rest by means of lattice-work. Leaving the bath and returning back along the passage, through which the visitors came, they entered another hall.
7. The Chamber of Repose: this was characterized by its scenic view of the city from this part of the palace. Most probably, this was Marble Kiosk, which was reconstructed as a two-story building as introduced before. Clarke described the twelve columns which could be seen from the sea side as verde-antico, that beautiful and rare breccia. According to Clarke, this was an old-fashioned room full of dusty pier-glasses, in heavy gilded frames, neglected and broken, in which the other ladies of the Harem entertained themselves by seeing and listening to comedies, farcical representations, dances, and music (p.31). He described the furniture in detail: 'Old furniture; shabby bureaus of the worst English work, made of oak, walnut, or mahogany; inlaid cabinets; scattered fragments of chandeliers; scraps of paper, silk rags, and empty confectionary boxes; were the only objects in this part of the palace.' From this room, the visitors went down to the court of the harem complex, and having crossed it, then they entered another apartment which was elevated on a terrace.
8. The last dormitory: for Clarke, the plan of this apartment was the same as the previous ones, only 'worse furnished, and in a more wretched state' (p.32). After having a short look, the visitors decided to leave the harem complex.

It is important to note that the written depictions of the interiors reveal a significant spatial difference in comparison with the registry books, which remained from the mid-eighteenth century; these mention the presence of some western-style furniture such as bunk beds, chests, cabinets, and confectionary boxes.

To justify the spatial layout of the harem, it may be also beneficial to examine the map of Istanbul revised by J.D. Barbie du Bocage (1819) which was printed in A.I. Melling's *Voyage Pittoresque* (Figure 4).[86] Although this map was criticized for having some distortions in the measurements of some buildings,[87] it displayed the court garden and different parts of the summer palace in detail. The plan dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century, so it can verify Clarke's spatial accounts. The map indexed some of the units around *Sarayburnu* as Lodgment of *Odalıks*, the Lodgment of the Mother Sultan, the Marble Kiosk, the Lodgment of Women and the Cannon Gate. Unlike Kauffer's map, the plan was more precise about the spatial

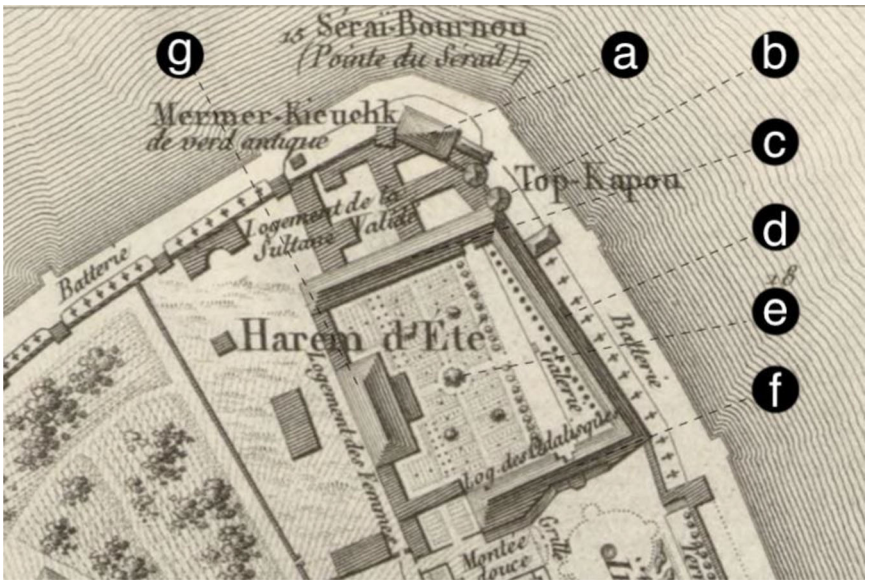

Figure 4. Detail view of Sarayburnu from J.D. Barbie du Bocage's map of Istanbul.
Legend: a: Marble Kiosk, b: The Cannon Gate, c: Mother Sultan Apartments, d: High-rank female slaves' apartments, e: Courtyard, f: Entrance of the Harem Courtyard, g: Lower rank female slaves' dormitory.
Source: 'Plan de la Ville de Constantinople et de ses Faubourgs tant en Europe qu'en Asie' originally drawn and revised by Kauffer and later enriched by du Bocage. Printed in A.I. Melling, *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople et des Rives du Bosphore*, Paris, 1819.

details and shows the roofs of the buildings, overhead canopy passages, and many elements of landscape design. It indicated the colonnaded cloister facing the court. This was probably an elevated platform and reached by the steps aligned with the circular flower bed/or pool at the center of the courtyard. Behind the cloister, the elongated part facing the sea as well would be the two-story dormitory unit described by Clarke. This drawing also confirmed the account of setting a physical connection between the harem and the Marble Kiosk with a passage. The elevated bath should be located on the Mother Sultan wing of the complex as mentioned by Clarke. Finally, the lodgment of female slaves, which was the last stop of Clarke and his companions, was shown on the drawing. An important feature of this drawing is the presence of geometrical orders in garden design, which was proposed by Ensler during the reign of Selim III.

These accounts draw a general picture of the seaside harem at the end of the eighteenth century with many personal appraisals of the physical conditions of outdoor and indoor spaces. Furthermore, during the reign of Selim III (1789–1807), a new kiosk was built and the gardens in front of the new kiosk were redesigned by Ensler in a completely new style. Barbie du Bocage's map offers a detailed image of the new kiosk rising on the seaside walls and the gardens stretching between the summer harem, the New (*Yeni*) Kiosk, and Hasan Pasha Kiosk (Figure 5).

The New Kiosk, also known as Şevkiye or Serdap Kiosk, was commissioned by Selim III for his mother in the first years of his rule (around 1790).[88] Like many other shore kiosks, it rose near the seaside on the seawalls and projected towards the sea. The entrance was from the garden side, which corresponded to the upper level of the kiosk. Pouqueville and Clarke described the physical features in detail shortly after its inauguration and Sedat Hakkı Eldem and Feridun Akozan drafted restitution plans and elevations based on their site surveys and remaining historical accounts in the early 1980s and published them. The kiosk was also visible in Melling's panoramic engraving of the royal palace complex from the seaside (Figure 6). The interior space of the kiosk was spectacular for visitors. Briefly, it was a symmetrical building with a spacious central hall covered by an oval dome, and it was flanked by two private apartments on the right and left sides. Across the entrance, on the seaside, there was an elevated platform on which a

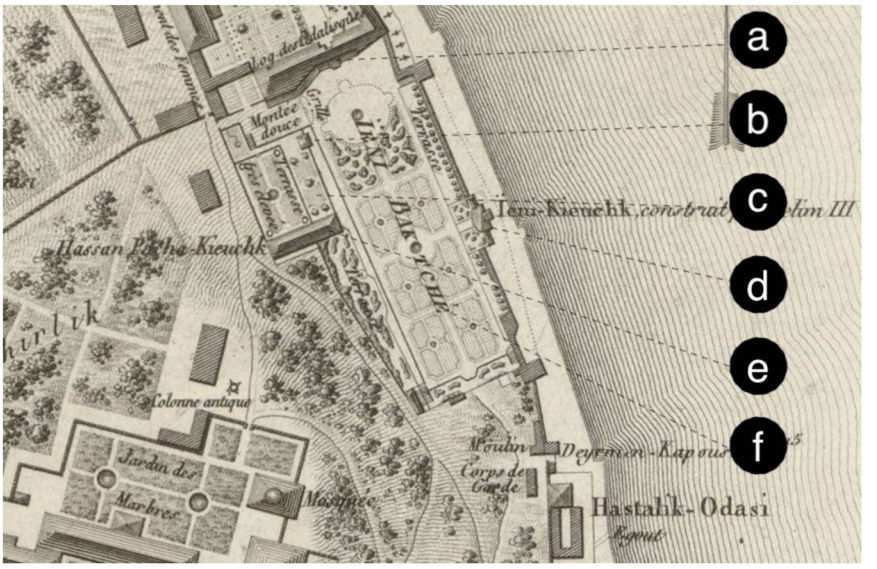

Figure 5. Detail view of the new Gardens and Şevkiye Kiosk from J.D. Barbie du Bocage's Map of Istanbul.
Legend: a: Entrance to the Harem Courtyard, b: Throne Kiosk, c: The Hyacinth Garden, d: Şevkiye Kiosk, e: Hasan Pasha Kiosk, f: The new garden.

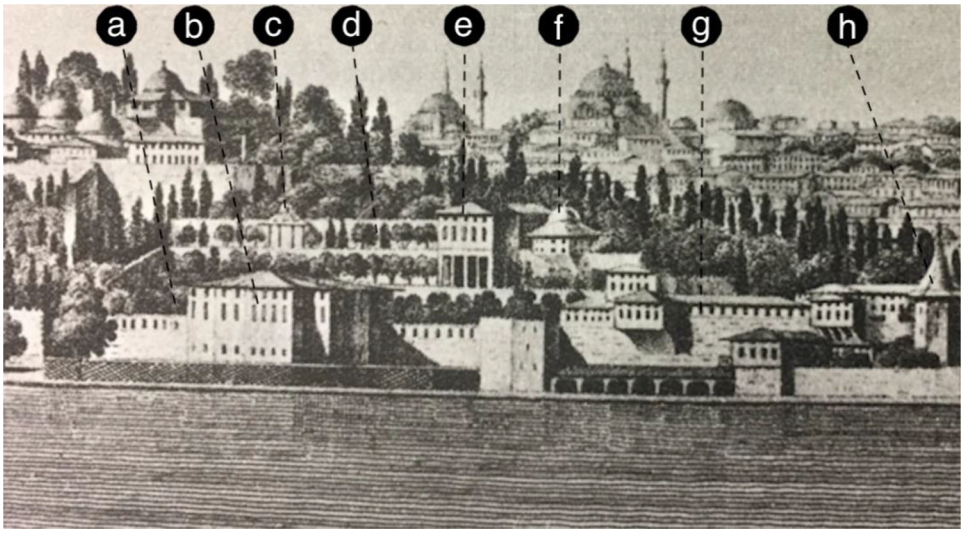

Figure 6. Detail view of Sarayburnu from Melling's *Vue Générale de Constantinople. Prise de la Tour de Léandre*.
Legend: a: Lower Garden (New Garden), b: Şevkiye Kiosk, c: Pergola at upper garden, d: The Hyacinth Garden, e: Hasan Pasha Kiosk, f: Throne Kiosk, g: Harem Apartments, h: Turret of the Cannon Gate.
Source: A.I. Melling, *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople et des Rives du Bosphore*, Paris, 1819.

sofa was placed, and it offered a pleasing view of the mouth of the Bosporus and Üsküdar shore. The interior walls were ornamented with fine quality inscriptions, floral figures and mirrors. A magnificent chandelier presented by the British ambassador was hung to illuminate the central oval hall. There was also a smaller one on the sofa side.[89] A small staircase on the right side of the central hall led downstairs. According to Clarke, there were two rooms on the lower level: the first was a sort of antechamber to the other. This was not as spacious as the main space above and it was not well-illuminated. The first room was just underneath the central hall. There was a fountain in the middle. On the seaside, underneath the sofa, there was the other room,

which had limited natural lighting due to the latticed windows. For Clarke, the women of harem probably used this room to cool down during hot summer days.[90]

Designed concurrent with Şevkiye Kiosk, the new gardens in front of the kiosk also manifested the new visual culture inspired by the rules of perspective view: straight and diagonal walking paths met at intersection points, which were marked by flower beds or fountains. Despite the fact that some secondary sources mentioned Melling as the designer,[91] this task was handled by Ensler, the royal gardener. The new gardens were designed by considering the slope of the terrain. There were leveled gardens at different heights. The lowest-level garden was an elongated rectangle, stretching from the entrance of the complex from the south side to the entrance of the summer harem at the north. Barbie du Bocage's map precisely demonstrated the walking paths, fountains, and foliage and the orangery facing the sea on the north side of Şevkiye kiosk (see Figure 5).

When we examine Barbie du Bocage's map with Melling's panoramic image together, the latter helps us to figure out the elements of the new garden from the sea side and to understand the vertical spatial relation among different spatial units. The lower garden at the level of the *Şevkiye* Kiosk connected to higher terraces with staircases located parallel to the retaining walls. The upper gardens were designed as elongated rectangles parallel to the slope and they were supported by retaining walls. The mid-level terrace accommodated bushes and orange trees planted in linear order. Above it, one could reach the highest garden, which was also known as the Hyacinth Garden (*Sümbül Bağçesi*). The name possibly derived from its dominant foliage, after the passion of planting hyacinth in the Ottoman gardening tradition. In this garden, there were two other remarkable buildings. The one at the north was a small kiosk called the Marble Throne Kiosk (*mermer taht*) or Greeting (*Muayede*) kiosk dated 1797 (b in Figure 5 and f in Figure 6). It was a cantilevered structure partially settled on the retaining wall. As the name suggests, it was used for the greeting ceremony of the Sultan during the days of Eid (*bayram*).[92] On its south side, a lofty kiosk spanned an east-west direction. Built in the mid-eighteenth century, it was known as Hasan Pasha Kiosk. The kiosk projected to the seaside so that it was partially carried by the columns projecting to the lower garden's base (e in Figure 5 and Figure 6). Clarke was impressed with the interior finishes and furniture of this kiosk. For him, the furniture and personal belongings of the sultan emphasized that it was a reception hall (*mabeyn-i hümayûn*) for the sultan.[93] The last structure is a circular canopy located on the south side of Hasan Pasha Kiosk and on the same axis as the Şevkiye Kiosk entrance (c in Figure 6).

The fundamental question here is about the role of the new complex among the other shore palaces scattered around the Bosporus, or more precisely, how did the royal family employ the new harem and other shore kiosks around the Cannon Gate throughout the year? Were they only used to stage certain ceremonies on certain days? Did they completely replace the old harem of the upper palace?

Referring to the palace chroniclers may shed partial light on these questions. The patron of Şevkiye kiosk and its gardens, Selim III inherited the royal practices from his ancestors and therefore he had similar shifts of royal visits and residences throughout the year. The chronicles demonstrated that there was a yearly cycle of royal residences in the eighteenth century. Based on the weather conditions, the royal family resided in the Royal Palace and its complementary spaces at Sarayburnu from mid-October to the end of April. It seems that the harem at Sarayburnu became gradually more popular alongside the upper harem and it went beyond its initial function of providing short term stays before royal moves to the shore palaces. Thus, the people of the harem preferred to stay for longer periods there thanks to its gradual physical expansion and renovation in the eighteenth century. During the residence at Sarayburnu, there were also short-term ceremonial visits (*biniş-i humâyûn or tebdil-i humâyûn*) to other palaces and gardens and mosques on a daily basis. When the weather became pleasant in May, at 'an auspicious day and time' specified by the royal soothsayer (*müneccimbaşı*), the royal court moves to the palace at Beşiktaş with an ostentatious ceremony called the royal move (*nakl-ü hümâyûn*).[94]

Special days and events may interrupt this rhythmical cycle, such as the holy month of Ramadan. In his *Rûznâme* (record of daily events), Ahmed Efendi described Selim III's Ramadan routine in detail. In the year of h.1205, (1790–91), even though Ramadan (May 1791) coincided with the regular seasonal move time, Sultan Selim III preferred to stay at the Royal Palace. The reception of religious masters, visits to the royal mosques, fast-breaking dinners, ceremonial visits to the prophetic robe hall (*hırka-i şerif*) were regular tasks in his official calendar during Ramadan. Religious preaching and sermons were received at Şevkiye Kiosk or Hasan Pasha Kiosk in the lower gardens. Selim III preferred to rest either in the upper palace or in his harem apartment near the Cannon Gate. He visited his sisters' palaces for fast-breaking dinners and received his official audiences in the upper palace or shore kiosks and went out of the palace on daily visits. After participating in the Eid (*bayram*) celebrations, the people of the harem moved to the Beşiktaş Palace in June.[95] It is interesting to note that the daily routine was more about mundane leisure events in the Sarayburnu complex, except in the holy month of Ramadan. For instance, in the winter of h.1207 (1792–93), the royal family resided at the seaside harem and the records of Ahmed Efendi reflected many patterns of leisure activities.

> On the first day of Cemaziyel-evvel [15 December], Saturday, arrival at the Cannon Gate, encountering joy at Şevkiye and Stone [Marble] Kiosk and return to the Royal Harem. On the following day, Sunday, experiencing joy and pleasures in the same way. On the following day, Monday, arrival at the Cannon Gate, with joy (*ârâm*) at Şevkiye kiosk to honor Esma Sultan [sultan's sister] and enjoy watching dancers (*çengi and tavşan plays*) while it was snowing outside; and they watched musical performances (*musiki faslı*) until midnight and the sultan stayed at the royal harem (*iffetsaray-ı hümayun*) at night. On the following day, Tuesday, arrival at Şevkiye kiosk again, watching *çengi* and *tavşan*[96] plays until midnight, and return to the royal harem.[97]

The rest of the month went on in a similar manner with spectacular events in different kiosks of the seaside complex. To the end of the month, on the twenty-eighth day (Friday), the sultan visited Ayasofya Mosque for Friday prayers and returned to the Cannon Gate. In the evening, he participated in the *Helva* gathering[98] of Darüssaade Agha (the chief of the harem servants) at Şevkiye Kiosk, in which musical performances (*serhengân ve müsabihân musiki fasılları*) took place until late. Finally, the sultan moved to the upper palace to rest. On the following day, the sultan went to the Cannon Gate and rested with joy (*ârâm ve istirahat*) until the evening.[99] On some evenings, there were foreign dancers (*frenk rakkaslar*) invited to Şevkiye kiosk for their spectacular performances. When the weather was favorable, the gardens became the place of enjoyment near the Şevkiye Kiosk. They were illuminated by candles fixed at many points to the ground.[100] The spectacle of the outside world through the projections of seaside kiosks was also quite frequent in those days. For instance, the royal chroniclers recorded that the sultan would like to view the sea, ships, the imperial foundry and the navy with his binoculars when he stayed at the Marble kiosk.[101]

As the chronicles suggest, the new kiosks, their gardens and courtyards were the platforms where many spectacular leisure activities were practiced. By this, I do not mean that the site was directly exposed to the outside. The old privacy codes were still prevalent, but proximity to the shore made the kiosks proper places to observe the outside world. It provided one of the best spots for surveillance without being publicly observed.

On the other side, the partial visibility of the courtyard of the Sarayburnu harem would have turned it into an object of interest for Istanbulians as well. As Antoine de Favray's 1773 painting implied, it was possible to see part of the Harem courtyard and gardens at Sarayburnu from the higher terraces and gardens of Pera. Therefore, unlike the upper Royal Palace crowning the acropolis hill with its visually impermeable configuration and providing nothing more than its silhouette, the Sarayburnu location at sea level could provide some sights for outside observers. This scenic view was also available from the interiors of ordinary people's mansions. For instance, Melling's drawing of a coffeehouse at Tophane provides eloquent visual material (Figure 7). In addition to many invaluable details he inserted in his drawing of interior furnishings, clothes and

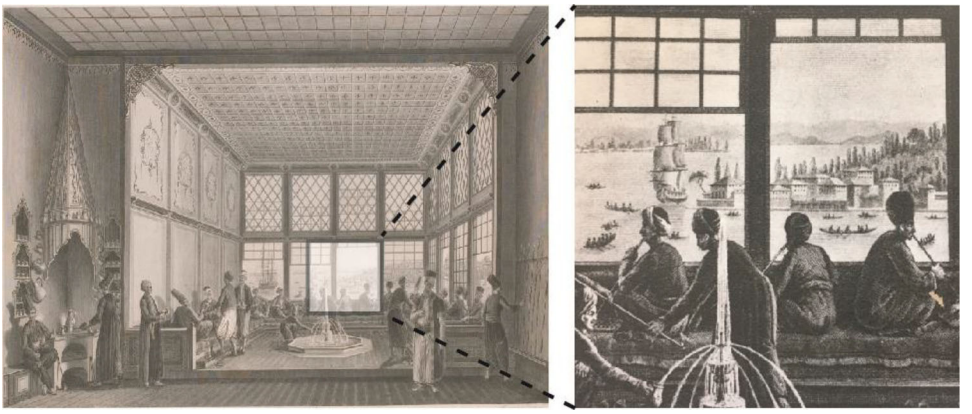

Figure 7. Detail from Melling's *Interieur d'un café public sur la Place de Top-Hané* framing the view of the Sarayburnu Complex.
Source: A.I. Melling, *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople et des Rives du Bosphore*, Paris, 1819.

daily practices, he depicted ordinary people in a coffeehouse smoking their pipes. The ones seated on the sofa near the window were cautiously watching the ships and people crossing the Golden Horn by boat. It also framed the view of the seaside harem at Sarayburnu, that would arguably also win the attention of the observers. That means the bilateral exposure regime offered unequal opportunities: on the one hand, a free unobstructed view of the city and its people from the royal kiosks and on the other hand, an obstructed view of a harem providing minor details. Later, in the nineteenth century, the regime of new visuality would gradually make the royal palaces and its people more exposed to outsiders.

The aftermath

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Sarayburnu harem complex had its last major transformation. After the completion of Şevkiye kiosk and its gardens, Selim III would have probably wished to rebuild the harem part where some apartments remained in poor condition. He did not have time to realize it and it was his nephew, Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839), who undertook this major patronage. In the first years of his reign, the summer harem complex was completely torn down; this included the renowned Cannon Gate, its marble turrets and the Marble Kiosk. He commissioned a new masonry shore palace, which was in the style of the one at Beşiktaş shore. Soon after its inauguration in h.1231 (1816), it became one of the places of pleasure for the sultan and he stayed there for several days before and after the royal move (*nakl-i humâyûn*).[102]

There are many visual accounts documenting the new look of the complex. Among them, British naval officer Montagu B. Dunn's *Panorama of Istanbul* (1855) presents a detailed image of the new palace[103] (Figure 8). Furthermore, after the arrival of the technology of photography, the new palace was framed by photographers in the mid-nineteenth century. However, due to the radical change in the spatial organization of the nineteenth century palaces, the construction and occupation of the new palace in the nineteenth century remains outside the frame of this article.

After its complete reconstruction, the fate of the summer harem in the second half of the nineteenth century was tragic. After the permanent move of the royal court from the Royal Palace complex to the one rebuilt for the same purpose at Dolmabahçe in 1856, the harem at Sarayburnu remained less populous and physically intact. A few years later, a devastating fire broke out in the harem and turned it into ruins in 1862.[104] The ruins were cleared but the old gardens and terraces remained unattended and gradually left to their fate. However, the worst had not yet come. This happened after a major urban transformation which changed the

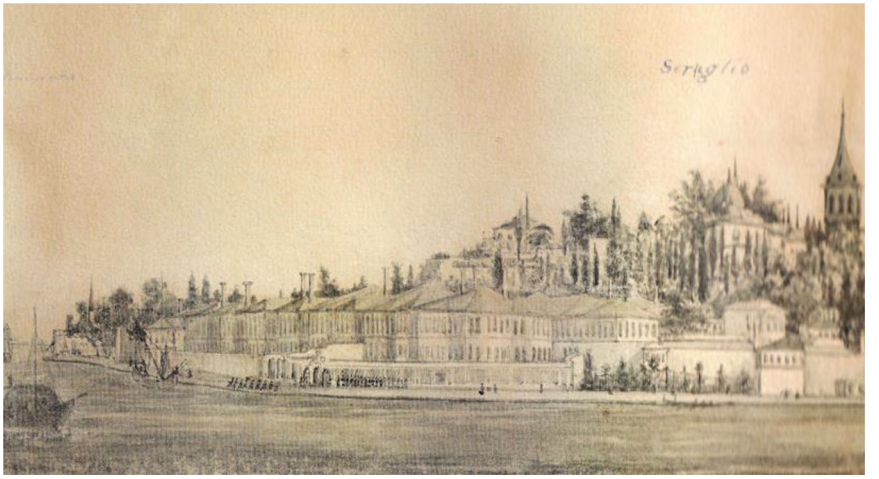

Figure 8. Detail from Montagu B. Dunn's Panorama of Istanbul detail, c.1855.
Source: Istanbul Research Institute Collection.

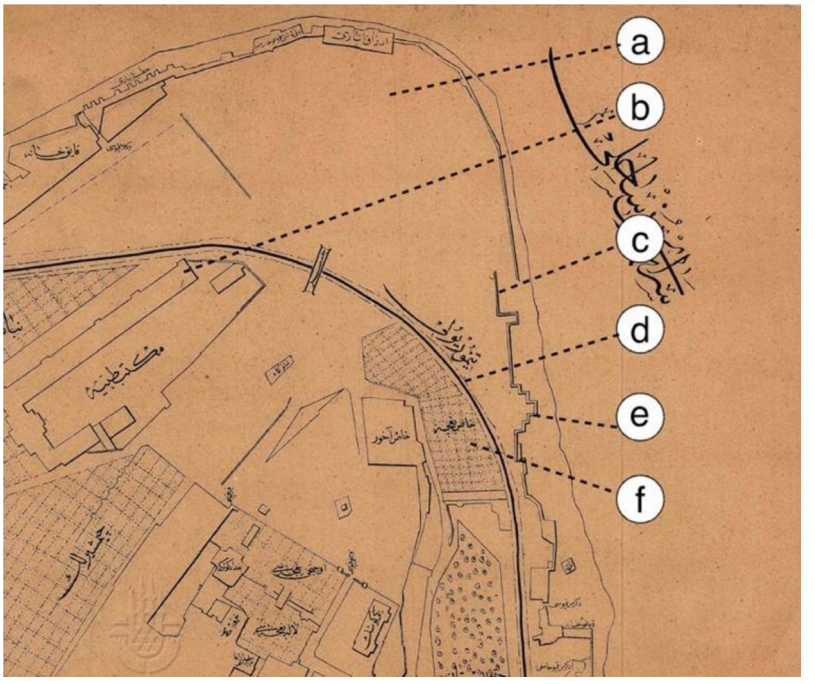

Figure 9. Detail from an anonymous Map of Istanbul, c.1870s.[108]
Legend: a: the site of Sarayburnu harem after the fire, b: the School of Medicine, c: remaining retaining walls of the gardens, d: railroad track, e: the place of Şevkiye Kiosk, f: the privy garden.
Source: Taksim Atatürk Library Cartographic Materials Section, #HRT_003143.

physical outlook of the intra-muros city at the beginning of the 1870s: the arrival of railroads to the commercial heart of Istanbul.

In 1869, Belgian entrepreneur Baron Maurice Hirsch received the concession to build a railroad line from Istanbul to the Austrian border to connect the Ottoman capital to the European network. Originally, the terminus station was planned to be built at Yedikule (Seven Towers), which was far from the city center.[105] In order to increase its revenues, the concessionaire company obtained another imperial decree from Sultan Abdülaziz (r.1861–1876) to extend the line to

Sirkeci pier in 1871.[106] To facilitate this extension, it was necessary to lay the railroad tracks through the exterior gardens of the old royal palace, where the traces of the summer harem and its gardens remained. Therefore, necessary excavation and leveling operations to create a suitable base for the line erased the last traces of the palace and its gardens.[107] A partial map of Sarayburnu demonstrates the route of the railroad and the current condition of the exterior gardens, in which, apart from some parts of the seawall, nothing remained from the long-lasting tradition of dwelling at Sarayburnu (Figure 9) The irreversible destruction of the physical environment closed a chapter in the palatine tradition of the Ottoman Court. Today, the only remaining thing from the seaside place is the name Topkapı, which was later attributed to the entire palace complex.

As discussed here, the new visual culture stimulated by the flow and circulation of objects of curiosity opened up a new channel to a better understanding of the changing building culture in Istanbul and gradually changed the patterns of patronage of the Ottoman royal court. The residential commissions of the royal court have been examined in the frame of shore palaces near the Bosporus and the Golden Horn. However, as shown in this article, there was also a significant attempt to transform the old palace complex by the construction of new kiosks on the exterior gardens of the complex near Sarayburnu. Therefore, disregarding the construction and maintenance efforts taken in the Royal Palace would only reflect a single-sided and narrow examination of the new patronage. The continuous effort performed at Sarayburnu helps us to have a better understanding of the complex web of patronage activities in the eighteenth century and, in addition, the examination of these less-known examples will enable readers have a better understanding of the complex web of patronage activities in relation to the new visual culture, which became prevalent in the eighteenth century.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Ahmet Erdem Tozoglu http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8434-7882

Notes

1. Çelebizade Asım Efendi, *Tarih-i Çelebizade* [History of Çelebizade] (1722–29) in *Tarih-i Raşid ve Zeyli Raşid Mehmed Efendi ve Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi (1071-1141/1660-1729)* [History of Reşid and Its Addendum], v.3, Abdülkadir Özcan, Yunus Uğur, Baki Çakır et. al. (eds), (Istanbul: Klasik, 2013), p.1488.
2. Ahmed Refik, *Lale Devri* [The Tulip Period], (Istanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1915).
3. Enver Ziya Karal, *Tanzimat'tan Evvel Garplılaşma Hareketleri, 1718-1739* [Movements of Westernization before Tanzimat, 1718-1739] in *Tanzimat I: Yüzüncü Yıldönümü Münasebetiyle* [Regarding the Centenary of Tanzimat] (Istanbul: Maarif Vekaleti, 1940), pp.13–30.
4. For instance see Bernard Lewis, 'Some Reflections on the Decline of the Ottoman Empire', *Studia Islamica* Vol.9 (1958), pp.111–27; and Ayda Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci* [Westernization in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Architecture] (Istanbul: ITU Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, 1975), pp.20–45.
5. The earliest account of an Ottoman baroque went back to Doğan Kuban's *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında Bir Deneme* [An Essay on Turkish Baroque Architecture] (Istanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1954). Later, he was followed by many scholars: Ayda Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mimarisinde*; Günsel Renda, *Europe and the Ottomans* in Elisabeth Liskar (ed.), *Europa und die Kunst des Islam 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, Hermann Böhlaus Nachf.,1985), p.18; Serim Denel, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul'da Tasarım* [The Building of Istanbul during the Period of Westernization], (Ankara: ODTÜ, 1982), pp.18–21, Ülkü Bates, *European Influence on Ottoman Architecture* in Abraham Ascher, Tibor Halasikun and Bela K. Kirali (eds), *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern*, (New York: Brooklyn College Press, 1979), pp.178–9;

Ali Uzay Peker, 'Western Influences on the Ottoman Empire and Occidentalism in the Architecture of Istanbul', *Eighteenth-Century Life* Vol.26 (2002), pp.145–53.

6. A recent book which is available in Turkish brought forward a number of critical themes about the conceptualization of Baroque and its historiography. See Mehtap Serim, *Bir Modernlik Zemini-Barok Aşırılık* [*A Basis of Modernism*, *Baroque Extremism*] (Istanbul: Akın Nalça, 2017).
7. I borrow this definition from Uğur Tanyeli, who coherently interpreted the ambivalent condition of eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture as an irresolute attitude towards change.
8. Among many sources I would like to cite Cemal Kafadar, 'The Myth of the Golden Age: Ottoman Historical Consciousness in the Post-Süleymanic Era', in Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar (eds), *Süleyman the Second and His Time* (Istanbul: ISIS publications, 1993), pp.37–48; Bruce McGowan, 'The Age of Ayans, 1699-1812' in Halil Inalcık and Donald Quataert (eds), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.637-758; Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.37–53; Albert Hourani, 'Culture and Change: The Middle East in the Eighteenth Century' in A. Hourani (ed.), *Islam in European Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.136–63; İlber Ortaylı, '18. Yüzyıl ve Modernleşme Düşüncesi' [The Eighteenth Century and the Idea of Modernization], in *Türkiye Teşkilat ve İdare Tarihi* [Institutional and Government History of Turkey], (Istanbul: Cedit Neşriyat, 2007), pp.389–97. For a critical analysis of decline and fall narrative in architectural historiography in Turkey, see Uğur Tanyeli, 'History of Ottoman Architecture and Historiographical Model of Decline and Fall' in A. Batur, S. Batur and N.Ö.Akın (eds), *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture: A Supra National Heritage* (Istanbul: YEM, 2000), pp.43–50.
9. For a detailed account of the Edirne Incident, see R. Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics* (Leiden: Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1984), p.3; Yılmaz Öztuna, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi* [Great Ottoman History], vol 6, pp.227–36; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* [Ottoman History] vol 4, pp.24–45; for the rivalry between Edirne and Istanbul, see Metin Kunt, *Siyasal Tarih, 1600-1789* [Political History, 1600-1789] in *Türkiye Tarihi III, Osmanlı Devleti, 1600-1908* [History of Turkey III, Ottoman State, 1600-1908], Metin Kunt, Sinan Akşin, Ayla Ödekal et. al. (eds) (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1997), pp.50–1.
10. Mehmed IV (r.1648–87), known for his passion for hunting, also spent most of his dynastical period in Edirne. His successors Süleyman II (r.1687–91), Ahmed II (r.1691–5) and finally, Mustafa II (r.1695–703) preferred to stay in Edirne throughout their dynasties. For developments in seventeenth-century Edirne, see Gürer Karagedikli, '*Bir Payitahtı Yeniden Düs¸ünmek: 18. Yüzyıl Bas¸larında Edirne S¸ehrinin Sosyal ve Mekansal Yapısı Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler* [Rethinking a Capital: Observations on the Social and Spatial Characteristics of Edirne at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century] in Ü. Ekin (ed.) *Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenc¸'e Armağan* [A Tribute to Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç] (Istanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2013), pp.221–31.
11. After suppressing the revolt and taking control of the city, Ahmed III had to wage two consecutive wars with Russia, Austria and Venice. They were sealed by the Treaty of Prut (1711) and Treaty of Passarovitz (1718) consecutively.
12. For an account of Ottoman transfer of technology see Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: University of Oxford Press, 1962), pp.40–44; Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Science, Technology and Learning in the Ottoman Empire* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum Collected Studies, 2004); Vedit İnal, 'The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Ottoman Attempts to Catch up with Europe', *Middle Eastern Studies* Vol.47 (2011), pp.725–756 and for architectural encounters before the eighteenth century see, Uğur Tanyeli, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Öncesinin Türk Mimarlığı'nda Batı Etkileri: 14-17. Yüzyıl* [Western Influences in Pre-Westernization Period Turkish Architecture: 14th-17th Centuries] in G.Tanyeli and M. Saçlıoğlu (eds), *Türk Kültüründe Sanat ve Mimari: Klasik Dönem Sanatı ve Mimarlığı Üzerine Denemeler* [Arts and Architecture in Turkish Culture: Essays on Art and Architecture of the Classical Period], (Istanbul: Yirmibirinci Yüzyıl Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı, 1993), pp.157–188.
13. For instance, during the sixteenth century, many of the navy admirals were Christian in origin; they were either captured during the naval battles or joined the royal service by their will.
14. For the impressions of Evliya Çelebi's visit to Vienna in the seventh book of his travelogue: Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, Topkapı Saray Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmasının Transkripsiyonlu Dizini* [Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi, A Transcribed Edition of the Topkapi Palace Bağdad 308 Manuscript], edited by Yücel Dağlı, S.A.Kahraman and R. Dankoff, vol.7, (Istanbul: YKY, 2003).
15. Suraiya Faroqhi and Gilles Veinstein (eds), *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* (Paris: Peeters, 2008).
16. Tülay Artan introduced Hatice Sultan, the elder, and Hatice Sultan, the younger, who lived at the beginning and end of the eighteenth century consecutively, as notable collector figures of the royal household. Their passion to collect porcelains from Europe and China seems impressive. See Tülay Artan, 'Eighteenth Century Ottoman Princesses as Collectors: Chinese and European Porcelains in the Topkapi Palace Museum', *Ars Orientalis* Vol.39 (2010), pp.113–47.

17. Şevket Rado (ed.), *Paris'te Bir Osmanlı Sefiri, Yirmisekiz Mehmet C¸elebi'nin Fransa Seyahatnamesi* [An Ottoman Ambassador in Paris, Book of Travel by Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi], (Istanbul: Türkiye Is¸ Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2006).
18. Rhoads Murphey interpreted the sending of early eighteenth-century ambassadors to Europe, as limited engagement with European culture and society. For him, the establishment of permanent embassies in European capitals marked a significant difference for the immersion of knowledge; to be more precise, it was after the establishment of the Translation Office (*tercüme odası*) in the Sublime Porte that a meaningful social intercourse could take place. Rhoads Murphey, 'Westernization in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire: How Far, How Fast?', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* Vol.23 (1999), p.123.
19. Shirine Hamadeh, 'Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the "Inevitable" Question of Westernization', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* Vol.63 (2004), pp.40–3.
20. For a detailed account of the European craze for Turkish artefacts see Haydn Williams, *Turquerie: An Eighteenth-Century European Fantasy* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2014) and Nebahat Avcıoglu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation, 1728–1876* (London: Routledge, 2011).
21. In her influential article Shirine Hamadeh provides new themes, 'obsession and spectacle' to elaborate the patronage of public fountains, which were commissioned by Ottoman court members and Ottoman officials of different ranks. See Shirine Hamadeh, 'Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul', *Muqarnas* Vol.19 (2002), pp.123–48.
22. For a detailed account of the discussion of spectacle in the public places of Istanbul in the eighteenth century, see Shirine Hamadeh, 'Splash and Spectacle', pp.123–48.
23. The Royal Palace which had many names in Ottoman history, including *Saray-ı Cedid* (the new palace) with reference to the first palace complex ordered by Mehmed II shortly after the conquest of the city. It was only in the late nineteenth century that the whole palace complex was called Topkapı Palace. However, as this article introduces, Topkapı Palace was another royal pavilion complex at the Sarayburnu location of the outer gardens of the royal palace. After a devastating fire in 1862, the Topkapı Palace complex was no longer in use and the name 'Topkapı' became the name of the whole royal complex. In this article, the name Topkapı Palace only refers to the royal kiosks at Sarayburnu and Saray-ı Hümayûn or upper palace refers to the royal palace itself.
24. Gülru Necipoğlu examined pre-modern palatial ceremonies and the concept of imperial gaze and spectacle in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See Gülru Necipoğlu, 'Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces', *Ars Orientalis* Vol.23 (1993), pp.303–42.
25. Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, p.75.
26. Even though I do not mention it here, public fountains were among the favorite objects of new patronage patterns of the eighteenth century. For a critical reading of the commissions, see Shirine Hamadeh, 'Splash and Spectacle', pp.123–48.
27. Günsel Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı, 1700-1850* [Turkish Painting in the Westernization Period, 1700-1850], (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1977), pp.80–8; and Nurhan Atasoy, *Hasbahçe: Osmanlı Kültüründe Bahçe ve Çiçek* [The Royal Garden: Garden and Flowers in Ottoman Culture], (Istanbul: Mas Matbacılık, 2002), pp. 264–7.
28. For a detailed account of the physical expansion of the palatial complex in English, Gülru Necipoğlu's monographic work on spatial and ceremonial practices of palatial complex still remains unrivalled. See Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: MIT Press, 1991).
29. Gülru Necipoğlu examines the physical conditions of the outer gardens from fifteenth to the eighteenth century in detail. See Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power,* pp.200–9.
30. For detailed information about the corps of royal gardeners, see Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun-Topkapı Sarayı* [The Royal Palace – Topkapı Sarayı with its History, Spaces, Inscriptions and Memories], (Istanbul: Denizbank Yayınları, 2002), pp.215–21; and Abdülkadir Özcan, *Bostancı* [The Royal Gardener], *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi [*TDV Encyclopedia of Islam], vol.6, pp.308–9.
31. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, p.191.
32. Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion-Konstantnupolis- Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1977), p.314, Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri*, pp.40–5; and Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, pp. 200–1.
33. Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri*, pp.40–5, Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Topkapu Sarayı* [Topkapı Palace] (Istanbul: İstanbul Ansiklopedisi ve Neşriyat Kol. Şti, 1960), pp.236–37.
34. Vienna, *Österreische Nationalbibliothek*, NB8690c, NB8619c.
35. Seyyid Lokman, *Hünername* I, TSM H.1523, 231b–232a.
36. Ekrem Işın argued that it was constructed concurrent with the Iron Gate (*Demir Kapu*) in 1524–25 during the reign of Suleyman I, the lawgiver. See Ekrem Işın (ed.), *Long Stories: Istanbul in the Panoramas of Melling and Dunn* (Istanbul: Istanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2008), pp.60–1.
37. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, pp.200–1.

38. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, p.201. See also Godfrey Goodwin, *Topkapi Palace*, p.205; Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri*, p.40; and Hülya Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi* [Archaeology of Topkapı Palace and its Environs during the Byzantine Era] (Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1989), p.43.
39. Sedat H. Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, vol.1, pp.93–98; Antoine Ignace Melling, *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore* [A Picturesque Journey to Istanbul and the Banks of the Bosporus], (Paris: Chez Les Editeurs, 1819), no page numbers. A schematic plan was drawn by Sedat H. Eldem.
40. Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri,* p.40.
41. The Basketmakers' Kiosk is the only remaining shore kiosk of the Royal Palace even though the physical form changed a lot over the centuries. For some general remarks on its history see Sedat H. Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, vol.1, pp.329–357; Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, pp.240–1; Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri*, pp.38–9; Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Topkapu Sarayı*, pp.232–3; Godfrey Goodwin, *Topkapi Palace*, p.205; Fanny Davis, *The Palace of Topkapı in Istanbul* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), pp.278–9.
42. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, pp.231–2. However Ekrem Koçu claimed that it was designed by Sinan the Architect. See Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Topkapu Sarayı,* pp 230–1. I believe that Gülru Necipoğlu's account is more accurate.
43. For a general account of the history of Yalı Kiosk, see Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri*, pp.36–7; Godfrey Goodwin, *Topkapi Palace*, pp.206–7; Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Topkapu Sarayı,* pp.230–1; and Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, pp.231–40. Sedat H. Eldem drew restitutions based on their extensive research of primary sources. See Sedat H. Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, vol.1, pp.173–207.
44. Gülru Necipoğlu *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, p.239.
45. Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri*, p.46; and Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Topkapu Sarayı,* p.227.
46. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, p.226.
47. Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri*, p.46; and Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Topkapu Sarayı,* p.227–30.
48. For a general account of Pearl Kiosk, see Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, pp.226–31; Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri*, pp.45–8; Ekrem Işın, *Long Stories*, pp.40–1; Godfrey Goodwin, *Topkapi Palace*, pp.202–4; Fanny Davis, *The Palace of Topkapı*, pp.272–4; Hülya Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin*, pp.43–4. Sedat H. Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, vol.1, pp.143–71. The last source includes the elevation and planimetric reconstruction of the building as well.
49. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, p.241.
50. Raşid Mehmed Efendi, *Tarih-i Râşid ve Zeyli*, Abdülkadir Özcan, Yunus Uğur, Baki Çakır, et al., (eds), vol.3, (Istanbul: Klasik, 2013), p.826.
51. The registers document three major living units, namely *hariciye, harem, dahiliye,* which possess various sub-spaces in each upper-class house. They also reflect different levels of privacy and public use. There would be also independent functional units in the garden or courtyard of the residences. For furnishing and physical properties of the spaces in many upper-class Istanbul houses based on confiscation registries (*muhallefât defterleri*) of the eighteenth century, see Şürkiye Pınar Özyalvaç, 'İstanbul Konut Mimarisinde Lüks ve Konfor' [Luxury and Comfort in the Residential Architecture of Istanbul] (PhD. Diss., Yıldız Technical University, 2015). Furthermore, Hatice Gökçen Özkaya traces the physical properties of middle-class residences which were owned and rented by pious endowments (*vakıf*) in her dissertation based on property exchange registry books (*istibdâl defterleri*) of Istanbul. See Hatice Gökçen Özkaya '18. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Barınma Kültürü ve Yaşam Koşulları' [Domestic Culture and Living Conditions in Eighteenth-century Istanbul] (PhD Diss., Yıldız Technical University, 2011). Her dissertation was later published by Istanbul Research Institute, see H. Gökçen Akgün Özkaya, *18. Yüzyılda Istanbul Evleri: Mimarlık, Rant, Konfor, Mahremiyet* [Istanbul Houses in the Eighteenth Century: Architecture, Income, Comfort and Privacy] (Istanbul: Istanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2015).
52. The dates in the primary sources appear in the Islamic lunar calendar (hijri). I will keep both lunar dates (h.) and their solar (Gregorian) equals in parenthesis hereafter. Râşid recorded the exact date as h.29 Şa'ban 1121 (3 November 1709).
53. Tülay Artan, *Architecture as a theatre of life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus*, (Unpublished Diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989), pp.37, 49.
54. It is interesting to note that many art historians interpreted the extensive construction activity at Kağıthane as an evidence of Western influence in building practice. For instance, Semavi Eyice, 'XVIII. Yüzyılda Türk Sanatı ve Türk Mimarisinde Avrupa Neo-Klasik Üslubu' [European Neo-classical Style in Eighteenth-Century Turkish Art and Architecture], *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı/Journal of Art History* Vol.9–10, pp.167–8; Serim Denel, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde,* p.19; Ayda Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mimarisinde*, pp.20–45; Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, 'Western Influences on Ottoman Architecture in the Eighteenth Century', in Gernot Heiss and Grete Klingenstein (eds), *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1883 bis 1789: Konflikt, Entspannung und Austausch* [The

Ottoman Empire and Europe 1789 to 1883: Conflict, Relations and Exchange] (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1983), pp.157–60.

55. As a concrete example, it was clearly expressed by the witnesses of the construction of Nuruosmaniye Mosque, which was inaugurated in 1755. The construction custodian (*bina emini*) Derviş Mustafa Agha described the edifice as 'such a work of a new and beautiful style' (*böyle bir eser-i nev-tarz-ı cemîl*).
56. Presidential State Archives of Turkey, Ottoman Archives Section (OA hereafter). OA, TS.MA_d-803 h. 08 Cemaziyelevvel 1148 (26 September 1735).
57. Münir Aktepe (ed.), *Şem'dani-zade Süleyman Efendi Tarihi* [History of Şem'dani-zade Süleyman Efendi], vol.1, (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1976), pp.38–9.
58. *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Rehberi* [Topkapı Palace Museum Guide], (Istanbul, Devlet Matbaası, 1933), p.13; and Joseph von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours* [History of the Ottoman Empire, from its Origins to the Present Day], vol.14, (Paris: 1839), pp.307–8.
59. OA, TS.MA_d -1141. h.22 Cemaziyelahir 1154 (4 September 1741).
60. h. Evâil-i Şevval 1154. (10 December 1741) Ahmet Refik, *Onikinci Asrı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı* [Daily Life in the Hijri Twelfth Century Istanbul] (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988), pp.154–5.
61. İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *İzzi Tarihi (Osmanlı Tarihi 1157-1165/1744-1752)* [History of İzzi Süleyman Efendi, 1744-1752], Ziya Yılmazer (ed.), (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2019); pp.672, 676–77.
62. Ibid, p.672.
63. Ibid, p.673.
64. Sedat H. Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, vol.1, pp.96–7.
65. Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica dello stato presente di Costantinopoli arricchita di figure* [Topographical Description of the Current State of Istanbul, Enriched with Figures], (Bassano,1794), p. 24 cited in Tülay Artan, *Architecture as a Theatre of Life,* p.55.
66. Joseph von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol.15, Paris, 1839, p.202.
67. Ibid, p.202. The word in parenthesis is my insertion.
68. Pars Ğ. İnciciyan, *XVIII. Asırda İstanbul* [Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century], (Istanbul: İstanbul Matbası, 1956), p.22; Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri*, p.41.
69. OA, TS.MA_d- 5554. h. 13 Safer 1162 (2 February 1749).
70. According to the registry book (*müfredât defteri*), the third and sixth wife's rooms were in other parts of the harem.
71. *Camekân* or *camekân odası* is an antechamber for the bath (*hamam*) in the residences which was used for dressing or having short rests after bathing. See Hatice Gökçen Özkaya, '18. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Barınma Kültürü', p.205; and Şürkiye Pınar Özyalvaç, 'İstanbul Konut Mimarisinde Lüks ve Konfor', pp.289–95.
72. The interest in European goods extended to the import of various building materials from Europe. Deniz Mazlum has documented the import of ceramic tiles, marbles, color pigments, door locks, glass and textiles for the construction and repair of seaside palaces of Istanbul in the eighteenth century. See Deniz Mazlum, 'Osmanlı Arşiv Belgeleri Işığında 18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mimarlığında Avrupa Kökenli Malzeme Kullanımı' [Based on the Archival Documents the Use of European Materials in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Architecture], *14th International Congress of Turkish Art* (Paris: 19–21 September 2011), pp.503–8.
73. Şürkiye Pınar Özyalvaç, 'İstanbul Konut Mimarisinde', pp.301–588.
74. Throughout the eighteenth century and in the first half of the nineteenth century, Sarayburnu engravings and paintings were published in many sources, such as J. Velazquez's drawing printed in José Moreno, *Viage à Constantinopla en el Año de 1784* [Travel to Istanbul in the Year of 1784] (Madrid, 1790); Jean Baptiste Hilaire's and Fauvel's engravings in Comte Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce* [Picturesque Travel to Greece], vol.2, (Paris: J.J. Blaise Librarie, 1822); Arthur B. Hawes's drawing in Nassau W. Senior, *A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece* (1859). James Robertson took the picture of Sarayburnu in the 1850s; it is among the few remaining photographic records of the complex before it burned down.
75. Kauffer visited Istanbul for the first time at the invitation of his friend Choiseul-Gouffier on his long travels to Greece and Turkey. Later, Choiseul-Gouffier returned to Istanbul as French ambassador and invited Kauffer to Istanbul along with several engineers in 1784. For a biographic record of Kauffer and his works in Istanbul, see Frédéric Hitzel, 'François Kauffer (1751?-1801): Ingénieur–cartographe français au service de Selim III' in Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu and Feza Günergun (eds), *Science in Islamic Civilisation* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2000), pp.233–43; F. Hitzel, *Un ingénieur français au service de la Sublime Porte: François Kauffer (1751?-1801)*[A French Engineer in the Service of the Sublime Porte: François Kauffer, 1751?-1801] in *Observatoire urbain d'Istanbul, Lettre d'information*, n° 6, June 1994, pp.17–24; and Mitia Frumin, 'François Kauffer (∼1751–1801): Le Destin d'un cartographe franc¸ais au service de l'étranger' [François Kauffer, the Destiny of a French Cartographer Serving Abroad], *CFC*, no. 207 (2011), pp.95–106. http://www.lecfc.fr/new/articles/207-article-8.pdf (accessed on 24 August 2019) The title of the map is 'Plan de la Ville de Constantinople et de ses Faubourgs' [Map of the City of Istanbul and Its Suburbs]. It was originally drafted in 1776 and later revised in 1786.

76. For a contextual examination of Kauffer's map and his cartographical service, see Mary Pedley, 'Enlightenment Cartography at the Sublime Porte: François Kauffer and the Survey of Constantinople', *Journal of Ottoman Studies* Vol.39 (2012), pp.29–59.
77. Printed in Comte M.G.F.A. Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*. vol.2, Paris, J.J. Blaise Librarie, 1822.
78. Ibid.
79. Sedat H. Eldem pointed out the exaggerated distance between the turrets and the false projection above the gate. See Sedat H. Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, vol.1, pp.96–97.
80. Istanbul Pera Museum collection.
81. OA, TS.MA_d-9917, h. 09 Ramazan 1209 (30 March 1795).
82. OA, TS.MA_d-9917, h. 29 Ramazan 1209 (19 April 1795) and TS.MA_d-9917, h. 29 Zilhicce 1209 (17 July 1795).
83. During his stay in Istanbul, Hammer recorded Ensler as the gardener of the Topkapı Palace. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Briefe, Erinnerungen, Materialien* [Letters, Memories, Materials], edited by Walter Höflechner, Alexandra Wagner and Gerit Koitz-Arko. (Graz: University of Graz, 2018), p.284. However, in some secondary sources his name appears as Jacob Ernsle, for instance Fanny Davis, *The Palace of Topkapı*, p.264; and Deniz Esemenli, 'Harem/3. Bölüm: Türk – İslam Mimarisinde Harem' [Harem: Part 3 – the Harem in Turkish Architecture] *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol.16, p.145.
84. Pouqueville recorded Melling's personal participation in the visit. See F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, *Travels through the Morea, Albania*, (London: Bernard & Sultzer, 1806), pp.159–169; and Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries* Vol.3, 1810, pp.15–36.
85. According to Clarke, such privileged visit became possible through the secretary and chaplain of the Swedish mission, a friend of Clarke and the gardener, who received an official allowance to visit the gardener. Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries* Vol 3, p.19.
86. 'Plan de la Ville de Constantinople et de ses faubourgs tant en Europe qu'en Asie' [Plan of the City of Constantinople and its Asian and European Suburbs], originally drawn and revised by Kauffer and later enriched by du Bocage. Printed in A.I. Melling, *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople* along with two detail maps: Partial maps for the royal palace and Seven Towers (*Yedi-Kule*).
87. Printed in Sedat H. Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, vol.2, p.333.
88. Sedat H. Eldem and Feridun Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı: Mimari bir Araştırma*, p.13; and Sedat H. Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar* Vol.2, pp.329–36.
89. Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries,* vol 3, p.23; and F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, *Travels through the Morea, Albania*, pp.161–2.
90. Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries,* vol 3, pp.24–5; and F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, *Travels through the Morea, Albania*, pp.161–2.
91. For instance, Ekrem Işın *Long Stories*, pp.52–3.
92. Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri*, pp.43; and Ekrem Işın, *Long Stories*, pp.56–7.
93. Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in various countries of Europe, Asia and Africa*, pp.33–4. Rûznâme (Diary) of Selim III explicitly referred to this building as the 'mabeyn-i hümayûn' or 'mabeyn kiosk'.
94. Çelebizade Asım Efendi, *Tarih-i Çelebizade* (1722–29) depicts the yearly routine of royal visits of Ahmed III. See Abdülkadir Özcan, Yunus Uğur, Baki Çakır, et al. (eds), *Tarih-i Raşid*, vol.3. For his successors, Şem'dani-zade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi's chronicle covering 1730–1755 was edited and published by M. Munir Aktepe in 1976 and Ahmed Efendi's *Rûzname*, which mostly covers the incidents of Selim III reign was edited and published by Sema Arıkan. In addition, the chronicles for the reigns of Mustafa III and Abdülhamid I were studied in Masters theses by Yunus Irmak and Süleyman Göksu respectively.
95. Ahmed Efendi, *Rûznâme*, pp.12–18 (7–11), the numbers in parenthesis for this source show the pages in the original edition.
96. *Tavşan*, *Köçek*, *Matrak*, and *Kalyonça* were among the favorite games to watch in the Ottoman harem. For an account of the royal palace games, see Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem II* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi: 1992), pp.154–7.
97. Ahmed Efendi, *Rûznâme*, pp.107–8, (63–4) the words in parenthesis are my insertions.
98. *Helva Sohbeti* was one of the common means of social gathering among Ottoman court members especially on winter evenings.
99. Ahmed Efendi, *Rûznâme*, pp. 110–11, (65).
100. Ibid, p.126 (73–4), h. 4-5-6 Şevval 1207.
101. Ibid, pp.113, 114, 115, 119,121.
102. *Şani-zade Tarihi*, vol.2, p.738. But Hafız Hızır İlyas Ağa recorded that the inauguration took place in h.1232. See *Tarih-i Enderun*, p.124.
103. Montagu B. Dunn was a British Navy officer, who stayed in Istanbul during the Crimean War of 1853–56. His Panorama is stored in Suna and Inan Kıraç Foundation Istanbul Research Institute. Dunn's panorama was published by Ekrem Işın and M. Baha Tanman (eds), *Uzun Öyküler: Melling ve Dunn Panoramalarında İstanbul*

= *Long Stories: Istanbul in the Panoramas of Melling and Dunn*, (Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute, 2008) after the eponymous exhibition.

104. Abdurrahman Şeref Bey, *Topkapı Saray-ı Humâyûnu* [Topkapı Royal Palace], published in Sedat H. Eldem and F. Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı*, p.13.
105. 'The Roumelian Railway Scheme' in *Levant Herald*, 6 September 1869, Basil Gounaris, *Steam over Macedonia, 1870–1912: Socio-Economic Change and the Railway Factor* (New York: Boulder, East European Monographs, 1993), pp.42–43; Ahmet Tozoglu. 'When the Railway Reached Istanbul: The Making of Sirkeci Terminus, 1870–1888', *Planning Perspectives* Vol.33 (2018), pp.205–28.
106. OA, İ.MMS 41/1659, 27 Zilkade 1287 (18 February 1871).
107. The site plan redrawn by Sedat H. Eldem and F. Akozan is based on du Bocage's map. It showed the route of the railroad tracks. Hülya Tezcan's book introduced the archeological surveys conducted before the laying of the rail tracks. See S.H. Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar,* vol2, p.331; and Hülya Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin,* pp.24–5.
108. Although there is no date, this piece of a map would have been drawn in the 1870s. It was later published, examined and indexed by Ekrem H. Ayverdi in 1958. See Ekrem H. Ayverdi, *19. Asırda Istanbul Haritası* [A Nineteenth Century Map of Istanbul] (Istanbul: Şehir Matbaası, 1958).