

# Biography of a monument: Historical and morphological survey of the Tower of Justice (Adalet Kulesi)

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## Abstract

The Tower of Justice (*Adalet Kulesi*) in the Topkapı Palace is the most striking and visible feature of the imperial complex, defining the renowned silhouette of the Seraglio. This imperial tower, known as *Kasr-ı Adl* or *Kasr-ı Padişahi*, was a reflection of the Ottoman visual ideologies and believed to represent the power and glory of the ruler, as an embodiment of his omniscient eye, watching over his subjects to distribute justice. This paper is an attempt to document the architectural and symbolic evolution of this significant monument and scrutinize the changing meanings attributed to it from the 15th century until the 19th century. The date of construction and the patron of the latest Tower of Justice –as we see it today– is not yet documented. Under the light of visual sources and morphological analysis, this research sheds light on the period, in which the latest neo-classical pavilion surmounting the tower was built. Archival documents from the Ottoman State Archives and Topkapı Palace Museum Archives, together with inscriptions, engravings, paintings, and photographs are used in this research to demonstrate the transformation and continuous renovation of the Tower of Justice throughout the Ottoman era.

## Keywords

Tower-kiosk, Bursa, Edirne, Istanbul, Topkapı Palace, Tower of Justice.

## 1. Introduction

The Tower of Justice in the Topkapı Palace is one of the major landmarks of Istanbul, defining the celebrated skyline of the Seraglio with its elevated height and assertive morphology. The royal pavilion surmounting the tower, crowned with a pointed lead cap, emphasizes the imperial significance attributed to the structure and amplifies its height and significance. The Tower of Justice is perceived as an iconic architectural representation of the palace and the Historic Peninsula. Yet, the history of the tower, its physical transformations, and symbolism in the Ottoman context have not been studied in detail.

This paper will scrutinize the history and the evolution of the idea of the tower-kiosk, starting from the Seljukid period, and explores the Ottoman ideology behind this architectural typology. The aim is to shed light on different phases of the Tower of Justice in the Topkapı Palace based on visual, textual, and archival documents. This monumental structure, as an architectural embodiment of imperial power and justice, went through various alterations since it was first constructed by Mehmed II during the second half of the 15th century. The tower, and the belvedere pavilion on top, took on various meanings and functions throughout the centuries, and when it finally took its current neoclassical form, it stood as an emblem of the modernizing reforms of the late Ottoman era.

## 2. Tower-kiosk typology

Vertically elongated edifices—whether military, religious, or royal in purpose—are often strong symbols of power, prosperity, and grandeur and can be found in many architectural styles across many time periods. Tower-like structures not only confirm the visibility and audibility of power but also were used for watching over enemies, fires, and potential threats. Throughout history these towers sometimes functioned as treasures or prisons and were also utilized for defensive purposes, as they could be difficult to penetrate.

In the Turkic context, in addition to bastions for military purposes and minarets for religious buildings, tower-like

structures were also included in royal palaces. Palatial structures, as the center of the government and the house of the ruler, represented the concept of the state and the government as institutions and were emphasized architecturally with elevated structures surrounded by walls (Gülsün, Öner and Yılmaz, 1995). This formula, adopted by the Seljukids for the Alaaddin Palace of Konya, which included a masonry royal kiosk surmounting a strong, square-based tower. The concept of elevated royal pavilions was later developed by the Ottomans and an architectural typology, defined as “tower-kiosk” (*kule-köşk*) emerged (Tanyeli, 1988, 188). This Ottoman typology included an imperial kiosk surmounting the tower, which was an architectural representation of the power and authority of the ruler and a statement of his virtual existence. For Nebahat Avcıoğlu, the kiosk, in the Ottoman context not only symbolized the royal presence of the rulers, but also emphasized the relationship of the palace with the city by synthesizing “several formal features of Ottoman palatial architecture into an ideal signifier” and “to disseminate it within the constantly evolving urban fabric” of the city (Avcıoğlu, 2008, 196).

Even though not much is known about the early Ottoman palaces or imperial residences, Ottoman sources confirm the existence of palace-like structures since the 14th century (Sözen, 1990). After the conquest of the Byzantine city of Prousa in 1326, the Ottomans declared the city as their capital and renamed it Bursa. The Byzantine Tekfur Palace, located on the acropolis of Mount Olympus (Uludağ), became the palace of the Ottoman rulers and was referred to as *Bey Sarayı* (Kuban, 1996, 144; Çağaptay, 2020). Although not much is known about its original form, the palace was gradually expanded during the reigns of different Ottoman sultans. The inner citadel, with “fourteen round towers on three sides and three square towers on the remaining (north) side,” sitting on a sheer cliff, served as the Ottoman palace (Çağaptay, 2020), and some additions were made during the times of Murad I (r.1362–1389) and Bayezid I (r.1389–1402) (Ayverdi, 1976, 117;

Çağaptay, 2011; Yenal, 1996). Evliya Çelebi described the Palace of Bursa as a sumptuous structure at an elevated location surrounded with walls (*Cümleden mükellef sarây-ı azîm ve âlî yukarı iç kal'ada pâdişâhlara mahsûs sarây-ı kebîrdir*) (Çelebi, 1998, 11). The elevated location of the citadel at the promontory of the mountain and the visible position of the palace from the lower-city are emphasized by Pancaroğlu, who states that the Bey Palace offered vistas of newly conquered and prospective Ottoman lands as a “vantage point” (Pancaroğlu, 1995, 43).

The palace, apart from holding the rich treasures of the Ottomans, carried a ceremonial role as well (Gabriel, 2010, 28; Keskin, 2014). For instance, the weddings of Orhan Gazi and Bayezid I, the circumcision of princes, and the enthronement of Mehmed I and Murad II were conducted within the Bursa Palace (Sözen, 1990). During the time of Bayezid I, in particular, ostentatious feasts and celebrations were hosted in Bursa Palace; it was also stated that Bayezid I climbed up to a high dungeon (*ali-burç*) every day to listen to his subjects and their petitions (Keskin, 2014, 893). This concept of high-tower as a symbol of sovereignty, justice, and the sultan's gaze over his subjects would become a common architectural typology in succeeding Ottoman palaces.

After the conquest of Edirne in 1365 by Murad I, a palace, known as *Saray-ı Atik* (Old Palace), was erected in the inner city in 1417 (Atasoy, 2005); in the meantime both Bursa and Edirne were used as capital cities (Sözen, 1990). The similarity of the Bursa and Edirne palaces, in terms of their urban placement, central locations, and walled configurations, is emphasized by Aptullah Kuran (1996). The Old Palace of Edirne was abandoned during the reign of Murad II (r. 1421–1444, 1446–1451), who commissioned the construction of the New Palace (*Saray-ı Cedid*) outside the city, <sup>1</sup>which would later be completed by his son Mehmed II, who established its main architectural configuration (r.1444–1446, 1451–1581).

The New Palace of Edirne was a manifestation of an emerging imperial order and a more established and hierarchical state organization (Ayverdi,

1976; Osman, 1989; Eren, 1995; Özer, 2014).<sup>2</sup> Saray-ı Cedid was composed of three successive courtyards, which had different functions, ranging from ceremonial to residential. The Second Court of the palace, located between the publicly accessible *Alay Meydanı* and the secluded living quarters of the sultan, known as the *Kum Meydanı*, was dedicated for state affairs (Osman, 1989). At the center of this court stood the most significant and notable structure of the palatial complex, the *Cihannüma Köşkü* (Belvedere Kiosk). Even though the inscription of the edifice (1451–1452) dates it to the reign of Mehmed II, it is believed that the initial kiosk built by Murad II had a tower-like form as well (Arel, 1996, 103; Özer, 2014, 30). A similar tower-kiosk existed at the Manisa Palace of Murad II; it functioned as the private library and reading room of the sultan (Tanyeli, 1988, 193; Kontolaimos, 2016).

The Cihannüma Kiosk of the Edirne Palace, which was also known as *Kasr-ı Padişahi*, *Fatih Kasr-ı Ali*, *Hane-i Hassa*, *Taht-ı Hümayun Kasrı*, and *Mabeyn-i Hümayun*, was composed of seven stories and reached up to thirty meters after consecutive additions (Ünver, 1953; Özer, 2014). The enormous height of the tower dominated the architectural layout of the palace and made itself visible both for the European envoys approaching Edirne and for the ones visiting the palace proper (Kontolaimos, 2016). According to Ayda Arel (1996, 103), these tower structures, namely “dungeon-kiosks,” in addition to providing a secure space for keeping the treasury and valuable items of the sultan, also carried a symbolic function, manifesting the sovereignty of the ruler and his supremacy.

Having several rooms at each floor and carrying multiple functions, the tower was surmounted with a privy kiosk for the sultan's private use. The word “*cihannüma*,” which means pinnacle or world-exhibiting, communicated the function and peculiarity of the structure. The throne room of the Cihannüma Kiosk was placed above the square-based tower and had an octagonal plan, with windows opening to each direction. Paved with marble flooring and embellished with a central

pool, the privy kiosk was decorated with *çini* tiles and rich engravings emphasizing its royal significance (Eldem, 1969, 21–57; Ayverdi, 1973, 235; Akçıl, 2009, 126–128; Özer, 2014, 27). The conical lead cap of the imperial kiosk emphasized the visibility and monumentality of the edifice. Cihannüma Kiosk, as the treasury, library, and privy chamber of the ruler, represented his physical and symbolic existence and sovereignty. The tower, according to Kontolaimos, placed at the center of the palace grounds, symbolized the Ottoman social and cosmic order, as the “world’s balcony,” which “allowed the Ottoman ruler to see the world and perceive it as a reflection of its own mental and cognitive understanding of things” (Kontolaimos, 2016, 26).

Another tower-kiosk at the Edirne Palace was built, a century later, by Süleyman I (1520–1566) in 1561 and was known as the Tower of Justice (*Adalet Kulesi*) (Ayverdi, 1973, 235) (Figure 1). This three-story structure, located by the bridge that connected the city to the main entrance of the palace (Kontolaimos, 2016, 24), was composed of a sherbet house (*şerbethane*) on the first floor, the Council Hall (*Divanhane*) on the second, and a privy chamber of the ruler (*Hass Oda*) at the top floor. The imperial chamber, surmounting the tower, included a centrally positioned pool and was capped with a pyramidal roof that accentuated its height and visibility (Ayverdi, 1973, 235; Akçıl, 2009, 126–128). The architects of this tower must have taken the Tower of Justice (*Adalet Kulesi*) at the Topkapı Palace in



**Figure 1.** Tower of Justice (*Adalet Kasrı*) and Belvedere Kiosk (*Cihannüma Kasrı*) in Edirne Palace, late 19th century (*Vieux Sérail d'Andrinople*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, Yıldız Albümleri).

Istanbul as a model—it was also built during the reign of Süleyman I, during the early 16th century. In fact, towers became an imperial leitmotif of the Ottoman capital during the 16th century, as similar edifices were erected at sultan’s summer palace in Kavak and at his grand-vizier Ibrahim Pasha’s palace at the Hippodrome as well (Arel, 1996, 105; Tanyeli, 1988, 199).

### 3. The New Palace of Istanbul (*Saray-ı Cedid-i Amire*)

After the conquest of Constantinople, Mehmed II inaugurated a grand reconstruction campaign to rebuild his new capital (Kafescioğlu, 1998). His first palace, built over the Forum of Theodosius and known as the Old Palace (*Saray-ı Atik*), was also believed to include a tower structure (Tanyeli, 1988, 199). Mehmed II then commissioned a New Palace (*Saray-ı Cedid*) at the tip of the Seraglio, on the Byzantine acropolis. This New Palace established the core of the Ottoman ruling system and was an architectural embodiment of Mehmed II’s Code of Law (*Fatih Kanunnamesi*) (Necipoğlu, 1991). Similar to that of the Edirne Palace, the New Palace in Istanbul was composed of successive courtyards that opened into each other through monumental gates. The First Court (*Alay Meydanı*) was partially accessible to public and composed of service structures such as ateliers, depots, imperial mints, hospital, and bakeries. The Second Court, accessed through a monumental gate flanked by two towers (*Bab-üs Selam*), is known as *Divan Meydanı*. This administrative court, where the state ceremonies were held, opened up to the Enderun Court of the palace, where the sultan lived with his male and female servants, who resided within segregated sections known as the *Enderun-i Hümayun* and the *Harem-i Hümayun*.

The Second Court of the palace, namely the Divan Court, was the administrative center of the Ottoman Empire and included buildings in which state affairs were held. The architectural composition of the Second Court, which was set during the time of Mehmed II, was monumentalized and remodeled during the time of



Süleyman I, between 1525 and 1529 (Necipoğlu, 1991, 53). In addition to the External Treasury (*Dış Hazine*), Imperial Kitchens (*Matbah-i Amire*), and Royal Stables (*Has Ahırlar*), the centerpiece of the Divan Court was the Council Hall (*Divanhane-i Hümayun*), with the Tower of Justice (*Adalet Kulesi*) attached to it. The Council Hall, known as *Kubbealtı* or *Divan*, is located at the North side of the Second Court and is composed of two domed chambers surrounded by an L-shaped portico.

The Council Hall, in which the council of the grand vizier met four or five times per week to discuss state affairs and issue laws and decrees, functioned as the high court of justice. The concept of justice was one of the pillars of the Ottoman state; therefore the Council Hall was referred as “iwan of the council of justice” (*iwan-i divan-i adl*), “the arena of justice” (*saha-i adalet*), and “the arena of the great house of justice” (*saha-i darül-adale-i muazzama*) in 16th-century texts (Necipoğlu, 1991, 58). In this respect, the Tower of Justice (*Kasr-ı Adl*), adjacent to the Council Hall, was a monumental manifestation of the idea of justice as proclaimed by the sultan and his courtiers.

The Council Hall featured a latticed window overlooking the Divan, behind which the sultan could watch and listen the council meetings without being seen. This window opened into a small chamber that was located within the Tower of Justice; it represented the omnipresence of the ruler, who ceased to attend the council meetings starting from the reign of Mehmed II. The latticed-window epitomized the ruler’s sovereignty and his ability to govern his domains through his invisible gaze. Necipoğlu describes this effect: “the Council Hall’s curtained royal window and the tower paradoxically signified the absent sultan’s omnipresence in the administration of justice” (Necipoğlu, 1991, 59). This latticed window has been defined as a “panopticon,” through which the sultan could “see without being seen” (Thys-Şenocak, 2008).<sup>3</sup> In a number of 16th-century miniatures, the sultan was depicted inside this imperial

chamber within the tower, observing the council meetings, which demonstrates the significance of the tower in Ottoman court decorum.

#### **4. The Tower of Justice (*Adalet Kulesi*): A monument of power**

The Tower of Justice in the Topkapı Palace not only dominates the spatial configuration of the Divan Court but also marks the physical and symbolic adobe of the royal compound. The tower, which was used as a treasury during the time of Mehmed II, was constructed of brick and masonry sitting on a square plan (Eldem and Akozan, 1982, 71). It is not known whether the building was crowned with a royal pavilion in the 15th century. The edifice underwent major renovations during Süleyman I’s extensive remodeling of the Divan Court, between 1527 and 1529 (Necipoğlu, 1991, 85). With the construction of a new Council Hall and a new External Treasury, the function of the tower as the state treasury came to a halt. Located next to the Council Hall, the Tower of Justice held a more symbolic role in court rituals and decorum by the 16th century. Strategically located at the intersection of the Divan Court and the Harem quarters of the palace, the tower was positioned as a vertical threshold between the two royal domains: public and private, outer and inner, male and female, the ruler and his subjects.

During the 16th-century renovations, a royal belvedere pavilion was added to the tower, augmenting its visibility and monumentality. The timber privy chamber, surmounting the masonry tower, was a continuation of the tower-kiosk architectural tradition, representing the virtual existence and the sovereignty of the ruler. With its pyramidal cap and amplified height, the Tower of Justice could be seen from all around Istanbul, Pera, and Scutari, as depicted in Melchior Lorichs’s panorama of Istanbul, dated 1559 (Westbrook, Rainsbury Dark, and Meeuwen, 2010). The latticed window shutters of this privy chamber, overlooking the capital, represented the all-encompassing gaze of the ruler over his subjects, confirming

and legitimizing his rule and omnipotence. The new and amplified Tower of Justice of Süleyman I dominated the skyline of the Seraglio and confirmed his epithet: the Lawgiver (*Kanuni*).

Hans de Jode's 1659 painting, *View of the Tip of the Seraglio with Topkapı Palace*, clearly depicts the red belvedere kiosk of Süleyman, with its pyramidal cap (Figure 2). It is known that the Tower of Justice went through restorations in 1667–1668, during the time of Mehmed IV (r. 1648–1687), as part of the extensive renovation of the palace after the Harem fire of 1665 (Necipoğlu, 1991). The hadith inscription at the Harem entrance to the Tower of Justice at Şadırvanlı Sofa served as a reminder of the sultan's justice (Kocaaslan, 2010, 134).<sup>4</sup> Apart from decorative remodeling, it appears that the architectural configuration of the tower remained unchanged from the 17th to the 18th century (Figure 3).

#### 4.1. The tower during the 18th century

During the second half of the 17th century, the Ottoman Empire faced several military and economic hardships, and for almost fifty years the sultans of this period preferred to reside in the Edirne Palace, leaving the capital neglected and dilapidated. With the return of Ahmed III (r. 1703–1730) to Istanbul, a rejuvenation campaign was inaugurated to rebuilt the capital and restore its former glory. Strengthened with a new visual ideology that promoted the visibility of the ruler, Ahmed III and his grand vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, adorned the city with numerous monuments, fountains, pleasure gardens, kiosks, and waterfront palaces and encouraged the Ottoman elites to do so as well. Architecture and landscaping was used as a tool for representing the presence of the sultan and celebrating his return to the capital (Hamadeh, 2008). As a reflection of this emerging visual ideology, Ahmed III renewed the Topkapı Palace as well. The works he commissioned within the palace grounds, such as the Library of Ahmed III in the Enderun Court or the reading room known as *Yemiş Odası* (Fruit Room), reflected the new artistic vocabulary of the era. The construction of a mon-



**Figure 2.** The Tower of Justice with the red Belvedere Kiosk during the 17th century (detail from *View of the Tip of the Seraglio with Topkapı Palace*, Hans de Jode, 1659, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien).



**Figure 3.** Detail from Cornelius Loos panorama of Seraglio, showing the Tower of Justice at the top left, 1712 (Cornelius Loos *i det osmanska riket – teckningar för Karl XII 1710–1711*, Stockholm Nationalmuseum).

umental freestanding fountain across the Imperial Gate (*Bab-ı Hümayun*) and the building a new waterfront palace at the Seraglio Point by the Topkapı Gate signified the sultan's intent to proclaim his presence beyond the walls of the palace and to make himself visible to the public eye (Uğurlu, 2012, 12; Ünver, 2019).

The Council Hall was also remodeled during the time of Ahmed III as a part of the comprehensive renovation of the Topkapı Palace. Unfortunately no decorative details remained from this artistically significant era, except for an inscription and two tughras (calligraphic monogram of the ruler) bearing the name of Ahmed III on the wall of the Divan hall. The inscription of the Proclamation of Unity (*Kelime-i Tevhid*) and one of the tughras were inscribed by the sultan himself (Database for Ottoman Inscriptions), which indicates the importance attributed to the renovation of the Council Hall.<sup>5</sup>

While the inscriptions do not mention the renewal of the Tower of Justice during this period, an archival document from 1715 (h.1127) indicates that the privy chamber within the

Tower of Justice and the chamber of the grand vizier were renovated (BOA MAD.d.4274). According to this register, written in *siyakat* script, the renovation took ninety-eight days, between December 22, 1714 and March 8, 1715, while the sultan was on a campaign for the Ottoman-Venetian war. The Tower of Justice, the columned portico of the Imperial Chamber, the chamber of the grand vizier, and the chamber of the deputy governor were all re-decorated (*berây-ı nakş-kerde-i Kasr-ı Adalet ve sütunha-i Daire-i Hümayun ve Dâire-i Hazret-i Sadr-i Ali ve Hazret-i Vezir-i Mükerrrem Kâim-makam Paşa*). According to the detailed cost of each item, frescoes (*Kasr-ı Adalet nakş*) and columns of the Tower of Justice and the portico of the Council Hall were remodeled; the total cost of the construction was 92,912 qurush. Another document from the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives (TS-MA.d.3126) mentions the renovation of the Tower of Divan (*Divan Kulesi*) in 1780 (h. 29.12.1194), during the time of Abdülhamid I. According to this document, the lead roof of the tower and the Council Hall were replaced at the cost of 10,302 and 5,916 qurush, respectively.

Another major renovation took place during the reign of Selim III (r.1789–1808) in the end of the 18th century. This sultan is known for his reforms that aimed at establishing military and sociocultural associa-

tions with the West that are known as *Nizam-ı Cedid* (New Order). The inscription placed at the entrance portico of the Council Hall and composed of forty-two verses, confirms that the Council Hall was restored in h.1207 (1792–1793) and praised the New Order introduced by the ruler (Ayık, 2012, 42).<sup>6</sup> The architectural program of Selim III was a reflection of his New Order (*Nizam-ı Cedid*), and the inclusion of Baroque and Rococo elements in the decorative program of the Council Hall manifested his plan to build a “new, powerful and modern empire” that shared an architectural vocabulary with its European competitors (Uğurlu, 2012, 315). The diplomatic role of the Council Hall, where the foreign ambassadors were hosted before they were received by the sultan in the Audience Hall, supports this argument.

According to Necipoğlu (1991, 85–86), the renovation of the Tower of Justice took place during this period as well. The inscription of Selim III does not make any reference to the tower, and the renovation register from 1792–1793 (h.1207) does not mention the renovation of the Tower of Justice (TS-MA.d.3127).<sup>7</sup> Still, under the light of archival and visual sources, one can conclude that the Tower of Justice went through a modification (or series of modifications) during the course of the 18th century. Antoine Ignace Melling’s



**Figure 4.** The Tower of Justice during the early-eighteenth century (*Vue de la Seconde Cour Interieur du Sérail*, Melling, *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople*, 1819).



engraving from the late 18th century depicting the Seraglio and the Second Court of the Topkapı Palace portrays the renewed Tower of Justice, with an enlarged and more visible belvedere pavilion and larger windows on either side (Melling, 1819) (Figure 4). Ottoman sultans of the 18th century, while embellishing their capital with numerous fountains, pavilions, palaces, gardens, barracks, and religious monuments, also enhanced their main imperial residence, the Topkapı Palace, marking their presence and prominence in the heart of their capital via vertical monumentality of the tower.

#### 4.2. The amplified tower of Mahmud II

By the early 19th century, the Council Hall and the Tower of Justice went through another comprehensive renovation, this time during the reign of Mahmud II (r.1808–1839). A reformist ruler, he utilized architecture significantly to manifest his authority and also to legitimize his groundbreaking reforms. As demonstrated by Darin Stephanov (2018), Mahmud II employed his physical and symbolic visibility in the public sphere as a political tool to reinforce his popular belonging. After his enthronement, Mahmud II commissioned large-scale renewal programs for both his palace and the capital. It is not an exaggeration to state that Mahmud II transformed the cityscape of Istanbul by renovating significant monuments and erecting new ones; in particular, after he abolished the Janissaries in 1826, he wanted to glorify and commemorate this “pious event.” Some of the most significant edifices include the Beşiktaş and Çırağan waterfront palaces, the Sublime Porte (*Bab-ı Ali*), military headquarters (*Seraskeriyat*) in Beyazıt, the Nusretiye Mosque, Hayratiye Bridge (crossing the Golden Horn), and the Kuleli, Topkane, Davudpaşa, and Rami barracks (Özgüven, 2009; Yılmaz, 2010).

The remodeling of the Topkapı Palace was completed during the early years of his reign, between 1808 and 1826.<sup>8</sup> A total of twenty-four tughras and inscriptions belonging to Mahmud II, adorning the major halls, gates, and spaces of the Topkapı Palace, attest to the scope of his renovations, which

included the Imperial Gate (*Bab-ı Hümayun*) of the palace, the Middle Gate (*Bab-ı Selam*), the Gate of Felicity (*Bab-üs Saade*), imperial mints (*Daphane-i Amire*), the Privy Chamber (*Hass Oda*), the Kiosk of Osman III, the Apartments of the White Eunuchs (*Babüssaade Ağaları Koğuşu*), the Chamber of the Chief Black Eunuch (*Darüssade Ağası Dairesi*), the Alay Kiosk, the Topkapusu waterfront palace, and many rooms and chambers in and around the Harem (Özlü, 2018; Özlü, 2020). In addition to remodeling the entire palace, Mahmud II reformulated the traditional institutional mechanisms of the Enderun as well (Ata Bey and Arslan, 2010; Uzunçarşılı, 1945). Therefore, this reformist ruler thoroughly reconfigured both the physical and institutional character of the palace, ushering in a new era in the Ottoman realm.

As a part of his renovation program of the palace, the Council Hall and the Tower of Justice were also remodeled and reconstructed in 1819–1820 (h.1235), as is verified by a forty-four-line inscription located at entrance portico of the Council Hall (Şimşirgil, 2005; Ayık, 2012, 38).<sup>9</sup> The inscription emphasizes the importance of justice and positions the sultan and his council as the sole protectors of justice. The tower is believed to symbolize the justice of the unseen ruler, and its extended height and elaborated architecture emphasized the virtual presence of the sovereign (Necipoğlu, 1986, 305). Mahmud II, who took the epithet “the just” (*adli*) after his name, used architecture to advertise his judicature (Necipoğlu, 1991, 84). The inscription confirms this connection and declares Mahmud II’s fairness and his protection over his domains by associating the tower (*vâlâ kuleyi bünyad idüb*) with justice and the mythical Mount Qaf (*kule-i kâf-ı adalet*) and defining it as an imperial locus of justice (*adalet-gah-ı hakani*) (Ayık, 2012, 39).

While some sources date the current neoclassical tower to the reign of Mahmud II, under the light of recent visual evidence, this argument proves to be invalid. The Tower of Justice, as reconstructed by Mahmud II in 1819–1820, included a timber belve-



dere pavilion that does not exist today. The photographs of James Robertson and Claude-Marie Ferrier, which were taken during the 1850s, clearly portray Mahmud II's remodeling of the tower (Figure 5). A new masonry level was also added to the brick infrastructure of the tower, augmenting its height. While Necipoğlu dates this masonry extension of the tower to the 16th century, (Necipoğlu, 1991), Sedat Hakkı Eldem suggests that the addition of the sandstone level took place during the 18th century (Eldem and Akozan, 1982, 70–71). Yet, based on visual sources, one can suggest that this notable amplification of the tower, with the addition of a new masonry level, was executed during the extensive and ambitious renovations of Mahmud II, during the early 19th century. Mahmud II displayed his inclination towards vertical monuments by decorating the city with these visible emblems of his rule (Özgüven, 2009). The Beyazid fire tower, the Kuleli Barrack, the slender minarets of Nusretiye Mosque, the addition of corner towers to the Selimiye Barracks, various memorial stones (*dikilitaş*) and the renovation of the Galata Tower and the Maiden Tower are among the most well-known examples of Mahmud II's emphasis on verticality.

The ostentatious timber belvedere pavilion that surmounted the Tower of Justice and its amplified dimensions created a monumental impact. The new



**Figure 5.** The Tower of Justice of Mahmud II seen in a photograph by Claude-Marie Ferrier, 1857 (Léopold, *Voyage à Constantinople*, 141).

tower visually and spatially dominated the Divan Court, as well as the skyline of the Seraglio, thanks to its increased elevation, conical lead cap, and imposing morphology. Three large, arched windows on four sides of the royal kiosk had latticed shutters up to a certain level. This configuration, while providing substantial panoramic vistas of the city, concealed the spectator and communicated the omnipresence of the ruler. The tower is an embodiment of Mahmud II's visual ideology that promoted the visibility of the ruler to legitimize his rule and his reforms in the eyes of his subjects. Not much physical evidence is left of Mahmud II's grandiose tower, which was demolished then reconstructed a few decades later, by the second half of the 19th century.

### 5. The neoclassical tower

The Tower of Justice, as seen today, is the product of the mid-19th century (Figure 6). Although it is one of the most significant and emblematic structures of the Topkapı Palace, neither its construction date nor its patron or architect have been documented so far. Additionally, the characteristic architectural morphology of the tower has not yet been explored in depth. The last section of this article is an attempt to answer some of these questions, if not all, and to contextualize the tower in the Ottoman architectural tradition.



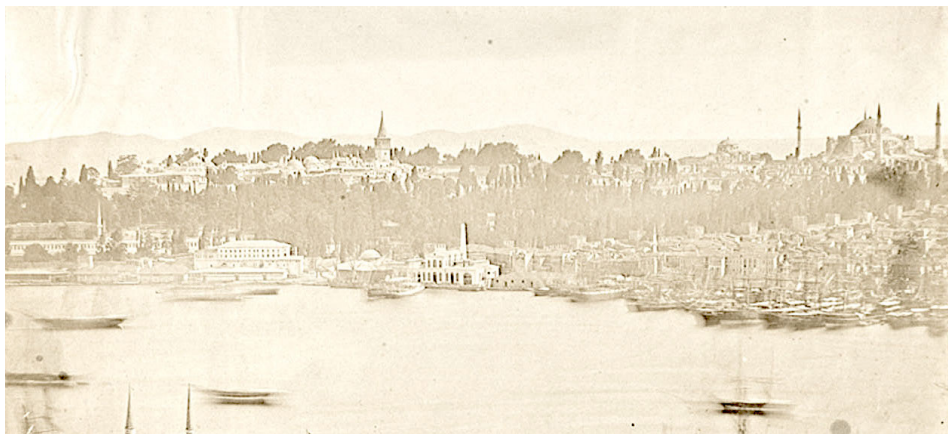
**Figure 6.** The new Tower of Justice with its neo-classical tower (Abdullah Frères, late 19th century).

As mentioned above, some scholars attributed the current Tower of Justice to the era of Mahmud II, largely due to the 1819–1820 inscription located at the entrance portico of the Council Hall. It is also true that the neoclassical features of the tower reflected the dominant imperial style of Mahmud II's era. However, a closer investigation of the architectural morphology of the pavilion connects it to a later period. Furthermore, the aforementioned visual sources prove that Mahmud II's timber belvedere kiosk had been replaced with the neoclassical one during the course of the 19th century. Yet, no archival records, inscriptions, or construction documents could be found so far regarding the demolition of Mahmud II's timber pavilion and the construction of the masonry kiosk.

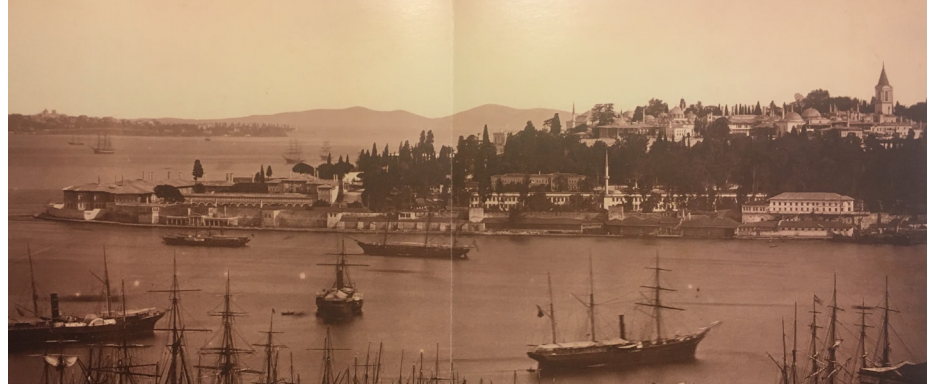
Given the lack of archival evidence, a careful investigation of visual sources can provide clues about this significant modification. Photographs from the period that show Mahmud II's timber kiosk can help shed some light on the date of its demolition. Major sources, in this respect, are the James Robertson's panorama of Constantinople, dated 1855, and Claude-Marie Ferrier's photograph of the tower, published in 1857. Famous French photographer Claude-Marie Ferrier (1811–1889) visited Istanbul during 1850s and documented the major monuments and the modernizing face of the city with series of photographs. Robertson also came to Istanbul in 1851, at the request of Abdülmecid,

to serve as the chief engraver of the Ottoman Imperial Mint; early in his forty-year career at the mint (around 1853), he developed a passion for photography and began to take photographs of Istanbul—panoramas in particular (Figure 7). Most of his photographic works date to the reign of Abdülmecid, and they were exhibited around Europe between 1853 and 1860 (Öztuncay, 2003). Both photographers documented the recently newly constructed Dolmabahçe Palace of Abdülmecid, together with other monuments of the city, which prove that Mahmud II's tower remained intact up until the mid-19th century.

A view of the Dolmabahçe Palace mosque, taken from the north, provides us with an unexpected snapshot of the Seraglio. A closer investigation of this photograph shows that the Tower of Justice had been remodeled and took its neoclassical form at that time. The presence of the Topkapusu Waterfront Palace (*Topkapusu Sahil Sarayı*) at the tip of the Seraglio proves that the photograph was taken before the Seraglio fire of 1863. Sedat Hakkı Eldem credits James Robertson for this photograph in *Reminiscences of Istanbul* (Eldem, 1979, 4). Additionally, Pascal Sébah's Seraglio panorama of 1862 clearly depicts the new tower together with the Topkapusu Waterfront Palace (Öztuncay, 2003) (Figure 8). Under the light of this visual evidence, it could be stated that Mahmud II's timber belvedere pavilion crowning the Tower of Justice was demolished, and a new structure built, sometime



**Figure 7.** Detail from the Robertson Panorama of Constantinople (James Robertson, 1855, Suna İnan Kıraç Vakfı Arşivi, FKA\_001827).



**Figure 8.** 1862 Panorama of Constantinople by Pascal Sébah (Bahattin Öztuncay, 2003).

between 1855 and 1862. These dates correspond to the last years of the reign of Abdülmecid (r.1839–1861) and the first years of Abdülaziz's rule (r.1861–1876). Sedad Hakkı Eldem attributes the construction of the new tower to Abdülaziz, stating that the project was led by the architect Balyan during the 1860s, without offering solid evidence (Eldem and Akozan, 1982). On the contrary, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi notes that the latest modification to the tower took place during the time of Abdülmecid (Ayverdi, 1973b, 682).

Although no archival evidence could be found documenting the construction date of the new tower, it can be suggested that the renovation of the tower took place during the era of Abdülmecid. Abdülmecid moved his residence to the new Dolmabahçe Palace in 1856 (*Ceride-i Havadis* 791, 7 L 1272), but he commissioned an extensive renovation of the Topkapı Palace after his relocation. After the fire in the Enderun Court in 1856, the Third Court of the palace went through extensive remodeling, which included

the restoration of the Audience Hall (*Arz Odası*), the Seferli and Kilerli Wards, and demolition of the Doğançı Apartments.

Renovation registers from the Ottoman archives dating to 1856 (h.1272) provide important clues about the nature of the renovations conducted in the Enderun Court and in the Fourth Court of the palace. The first part of the document (BOA TS.MA.d.4613), dated h. 21 Ca 1272 (29.1.1856), states that the rooms around the Chamber of Sacred Relics, the first chamber of the Imperial Treasury, the apartments of the Privy Chamber corps (*Has Oda Koğuşu*), and the Enderun Mosque next to it were renovated. The second part of the aforementioned document (BOA TS.MA.d.4613), dated h. 10 Z 1272 (12.8.1856), mentions the works done in the Fourth Court of the palace, which included the demolition of the Çadır Kiosk, the Sofa Mosque, and the Sofalı Apartments. The document also mentions that the apartment of the Chief of the Enderun (*Ağa Dairesi*), previously known as the apartments of the Kilerli Corps, was also renovated within the scope of this project.

The Üçüncüyeri section of the palace gardens in the Fourth Court of the Topkapı Palace also underwent large-scale construction and landscaping. This quite prominent and visible site, where the hanging gardens and pleasure kiosks of the sultans were located, was reconfigured in line with the new imperial architectural language of the reforming sultan. Within this framework, in 1858, Abdülmecid ordered the reconstruction of Mahmud II's Sofa Mosque and the building of a



**Figure 9.** The Mecidiye Kiosk within the context of Abdülmecid's renovation of the fourth court (Author's Archive).



new imperial pavilion right next to it. The Çadır Kiosk and the Üçüncüyeri Kiosk, located in the Fourth Court, were demolished, and the New Kiosk (*Kasr-ı Cedid*), known as the Mecidiye Pavilion, was built in their place (Özlü, 2020) (Figure 9). This specific location, overlooking the Sea of Marmara, the Bosphorus, and the Asian shores of the city, constitutes one of the most visible and prominent spots of the royal complex. According to Pars Tuğlacı, the Mecidiye Kiosk, built in Empire style, was designed by Serkis Balyan (Tuğlacı, 1990).

Within the precincts of the old palace, the area and gardens around the Mecidiye Kiosk were also reconfigured to reflect the architectural style of the Dolmabahçe Palace. Üçüncüyeri Gate, which provided access from the Fourth Court to the Gülhane Gardens, was also remodeled, and two noticeable guardrooms on either side of the gate, known as the Kule Kiosks, were constructed. The morphological similarity between this gate and the imperial gate of the Dolmabahçe Palace communicated the new imperial architectural language and symbolic mark of the ruler.

Based on the aforementioned evidence, it could be suggested that the Tower of Justice in the Second Court of the palace was reconstructed as a part of the comprehensive rejuvenation of the Topkapı Palace in 1856. The new kiosk, replacing the timber belvedere of Mahmud II, was constructed with masonry and was characterized by its neoclassical style, standing as an emblem of modernization during the Tanzimat period. Three small pillars with Corinthian capitals were placed at

the corners of the pavilion, supporting the horizontal frieze overarched with shallow arches, which gave a characteristic appearance to the roof. The previous conic cap of the tower was also replaced with an angled octagonal form. Large windows, with round arches covering the entire façade, define the elongated body of the tower and give it a transparent appearance. These architectural features and transparency of the kiosk indicate that the new neoclassical addition was not built as a privy chamber for the sultan's personal use, but as a symbolic structure, representing his virtual existence, even after Abdülmecid's "abandonment" of the palace of his ancestors. The shrinking plan area and elongated height of the kiosk also confirm its emblematic role rather than actual use.

The neoclassical architectural language of the new tower was also in line with the architectural style of Abdülmecid's era—rather than the orientalist and neo-Gothic forms used during the reign of Abdülaziz (Ersoy, 2015). A closer look at the similar tower-like structures from the reign of Abdülmecid, such as the Tophane clock tower and guard towers of Dolmabahçe Palace, confirms the shared architectural vocabulary of the period. Windows with round arches, multiple columns at the corners, and shallow arches framing the windows could be observed on all these edifices, including the Tower of Justice (Figure 10). The simplified neoclassical form of the Tower of Justice, stripped from the heavy rococo decorative elements, can be interpreted as a conscious attempt by the architect to link the structure with the historical context of the Divan Court.



**Figure 10.** Details from the Tower of Justice, Dolmabahçe Guard Rooms, Tophane Clock Tower, and Üçüncüyeri Tower in the Topkapı Palace showing their shared architectural morphology (Author, 2016-2017).

In sum, considering the absence of archival material or written evidence, an evaluation of the visual sources and a morphological analysis both lead to the conclusion that the last modification of the Tower of Justice, as it is seen today, took place during the reign of Abdülmecid. The large-scale renovation of the royal precincts after the sultan's relocation to the Dolmabahçe Palace, which include the reconfiguration of the Enderun Court and the erection of the Mecidiye Pavilion, together with changes to the immediate landscape, communicated Abdülmecid's symbolic presence in the Topkapı Palace. In other words, to compensate for his absence from the traditional core of the Ottoman ruling system, the ruler embedded his imperial mark at the most visible and significant parts of the Topkapı Palace and confirmed his virtual existence via architectural modifications. These architectural edifices, including the Tower of Justice, with its amplified height and distinctive morphology, represented the seeing eye of the sultan, one who grants justice to his subjects.

## 6. Conclusion

Tower-like structures crowned with imperial kiosks had been an integral element of imperial architectural vocabulary since the early Ottoman times, functioning as strong symbols of political and military power. The towers, due to their robust structure, were also used as treasuries for keeping relics and other valuable items. The elevated morphology of the tower-kiosk not only provided far-reaching vistas for the sultan to monitor his lands and his subjects but also reinforced the towers themselves as markers of sovereignty. In the New Palace of Edirne, the amplified height of the Cihannüma Kiosk dominated the landscape and pronounced the Ottoman's presence in these newly conquered domains, expanding towards the "lands of Rum." Following the conquest of Constantinople, Mehmed II included tower-like structures in both of his palaces (*Saray-ı Atik and Saray-ı Cedid*), manifesting the Ottoman rule in his new capital. The 16th century witnessed an escalation both in the number and height of the tower-like imperi-

al structures. The Tower of Justice in the Topkapı Palace was monumentalized with the addition of a timber imperial pavilion, and it reflected the grandeur and prosperity of the state and Süleyman I's fairness. The vertical morphology of the tower-kiosk dominated the skyline of the Seraglio and stood as a manifestation of the omnipresence of the ruler and his all-encompassing gaze over his subjects.

The Tower of Justice's function as a treasury came to an end during the course of the 16th century, especially with the addition of the privy chamber surmounting the masonry tower, it adopted a symbolic role. This timber pavilion, built by Süleyman I, was a manifestation of his absolute power and infinite justice. The pavilion not only provided visual access to the cityscape through latticed windows on all four sides but also provided the sultan an opportunity to monitor his viziers and ministers through an encurtained window overlooking the Council Hall. Therefore, the tower, offering direct physical access to various sections of the Topkapı Palace, also provided auditory and visual paths for the ruler to supervise his subjects and courtiers without being seen.

During the 18th century, the visibility of the tower was magnified once again, this time to reinforce the legitimacy and authority of the sultans, who were struggling with internal and external difficulties. It is known that Ahmed III, after his return to the capital, and Selim III, during his modernizing reforms, both renovated the Tower of Justice as an emblem of their sovereignties and to manifest control over the civil and military components of the empire. In a similar manner, Mahmud II amplified both the height of the masonry substructure and constructed a majestic privy chamber on top during the early 19th century. His timber imperial kiosk, in addition to his numerous other assertive architectural projects, was a bold declaration of the centralizing institutional and military reforms yet to come.

The last phase of the Tower of Justice, as we see it today, was shaped during the reign of Abdülmecid. After his relocation to the Dolmabahçe Palace, the

modernist ruler initiated an extensive renovation project in the Third and Fourth Courts of the Topkapı Palace, remodeling the palace grounds and adding a new sultanic pavilion on a visible spot overlooking the Sea of Marmara. Visual sources prove that the Tower of Justice was remodeled during this period, being given an elongated and more elegant form. The transparency of the tower kiosk eliminated its function as a privy chamber and declared the new role of the Topkapı Palace in the context of the Tanzimat. After Abdülmecid made the Dolmabahçe Palace the main residence of the Ottoman sultans, the Topkapı Palace was repositioned as a symbolic and ceremonial venue rather than the seat of the empire. The Tower of Justice, with its neoclassical morphology, became the representation of the modernizing reforms of Abdülmecid and the Tanzimat ideology that aimed at reordering the old regime and building a new order over the traditional system. These final renovations to the Tower of Justice were an attempt by the sultan to simultaneously incorporate and project a dual nature for the tower, and, therefore, the empire—old and new, continuity and change, and tradition and modernity.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The first Edirne Palace was abandoned during the reign of Murad II, and a new palace was constructed outside the city, next to Tunca River. No solid information is available to explain the reason of this abandonment; however, it has been suggested that the location of the old palace did not allow for the palace to expand and that the new palace had a more favorable climate. Later, some additions were made to the Old Palace of Edirne during the reign of Süleyman I, and it was transformed into an educational facility for 6,000 pages. Not much remains of this palace as of today, as it was demolished by Selim II for the construction of Selimiye Complex in the late 16th century.

<sup>2</sup> Edirne Palace was actively used until the 18th century and served as military quarters and a recreational hunting ground for several sultans. In particular, during the reign of Süleyman I, Edirne Palace was used extensively,

as recorded in the Mühimme Defteri of 1567–1569 (7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, No:1122). The palace was, however, abandoned after the 18th century: it had been damaged by the earthquake of 1758 and the fire of 1776 and then suffered more damage by the first invasion of the Russian army in 1826. The imperial complex was restored by Mahmud II in 1828, but unfortunately it was blown up by Ottoman officials during the second Russian invasion in 1877. After its destruction, valuable pieces of tiles were taken to the UK by the British and are currently displayed in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Lucienne Thys-Şenocak interpretes the Tower of Justice and the gilded window (kafes-i müşebbek) overlooking to the Divan Hall as a panopticon — epitomizing the seeing eye of the sultan without being seen.

<sup>4</sup> The inscription on the entrance gate to the Tower of Justice reads “One hour of justice is more auspicious than seventy years of worship.”

<sup>5</sup> It is also important to note that, these inscriptions were originally located in the first chamber (Divan-ı Hümayun) of the Council Hall, but all the decorative details were transferred to the second chamber (Defterhane) during the Republican-era restorations.

<sup>6</sup> The inscription of Selim III at the entrance of the Council Hall (Ayık, 2012, 42):

“Selim Hân-ı keremver kâ-m-yâb etdikde devrânı

Cihânın intizâma tutdu yüz hâl-i perişânı

Müceddid olduğu dünyâ vü dîne günden ezhderdir

Odur şâhib-ı kırân-ı nev-zuhûr-ı nesl-i ‘Osmânî

Cihânı yapıdırıp ma’mûre-i emn ü amân eyler

Yıkar a’dâ-yı dînin başına dünyâ-yı vîrânı

Nizâm-ı nev verip tecdîd eder bünyân-ı ikbâlî

Bunu ilhâf eder da’im oña tevfiğ-i Yezdânî

Keremde pehlivândır hamlesinde şîr-i garrândır

Sözünde kahramândır vaş olunmaz şevket ü şânı

Bilir tertîb-i devlet resmini baht-ı hümayûnu



Mülük-i sâlife şan bundan öğrenmiş  
cihânbanî

Kılıp ta'yîn-i hizmet fark ü temyîz  
eyledi bir bir

Gürûh-ı 'askeri ve zümre-i a'yân u  
erkânı

Bu divângâh-ı 'âliyi bu resme eyle-  
mek ta'mîr

Meger lâzım değil miydi açarsan  
çeşm-i im'ânı

'Aceb tarz-ı bülende koydu el-hâk  
eyleyip tekmi

Nizâm-ı dîni resm-i devleti nâmus-ı  
şâhânı

Mu'allâ kubbe-i eflâki gûyâ indirip  
hâke

Hariminde nümüdâr eyledi şaf şaf  
sürüşânı

Temâşasında maşşergâh-ı dehşet  
'aks eder câna

Der ü divârı nüzzâra olup mir'ât-ı  
hayrânı

Huzûra yüz süren erkân-ı devlet  
çarh-ı rıf'atden

En evvel seyr ederler hâk-büs-ı  
mihr-i tâbânı

Bu resm-i nev-ẓuhûr enmüzec olsun  
çeşm-i a'dâya

Cihâd esbâbını hem böyle tanzîm  
eyler 'irfânı

O bir şâh-ı cihân-ı rüşd ü himmet-  
dir ki el-hâşıl

Bulunmaz lâciverdi kubbenin altın-  
da akrânı

Çıkıp kânûn-ı devlet perdeden  
olmuşdı bî-âheng

Şifâ-sâz oldu ihyâ eyledi Sultân Sü-  
leymân'ı

Sükûn-ı pür-temekkündür 'âlâmet  
hamle-i şîre

Bu ârâm etdirir a'dâ-yı dîne teng  
meydânı

Tesettür kılsa topun sinesinde gülle  
aldanma

Eğer gürlerse gürlere ra'd u berķ-i  
kahr-ı Sübhânî

Ne dem endîşesi tedbîr ile başlarsa  
teshîre

Alır iklim-i gayb-ı lâ-mekânı mülk-i  
imkânı

Hemîşe zâtına iķbâl ü şevketle  
murâdınca

Mübârek ede Mevlâ yaptığı âsâr u  
'ümranı

Edip te'yîd re'yin mu'cizât-ı seyy-  
idü'l-kevineyn

Kerâmât-ı bülend-i evliyâ olsun ni-  
gehbânı

Füyûz-ı sırr-ı ilhâmiyle Gâlib geldi  
bir târîh

Selîm Hân yaptı hem-ṭâķ-ı felek bu  
cây-ı divânı

1207"

<sup>7</sup> TS.MA.d\_3127 (h. Rebiulahir 1207/ December 1792). This renovation register mentions the renovation of "the Topkapı and towers," yet, these towers, whose lead roofs were damaged due to heavy winds, must be the ones located next to the Topkapusu Sea Gate of the palace.

<sup>8</sup> After the abolishment of the Janissaries, which he viewed as a serious threat, Mahmud II spent less time behind the secluded walls of the Topkapı Palace and made himself visible in the cityscape. He virtually abandoned the palace and preferred to reside in his newly built palaces, Çırağan and Beylerbeyi, by the European and Asian shores of the Bosphorus.

<sup>9</sup> The inscription of Mahmud II at the entrance of the Council Hall (Ayık, 2012, 38):

"Şehinşâh-ı cihân Maḥmûd Hân-ı ma'delet-pîrâ

Mu'allâ cây-ı divânı mücedded eyledi ihyâ

Müşebbek revzeni zencîr-i 'adliñ bir 'adilidir

Bilâ-tahrîk eder Hâķ şâhibin ol ḥus-reve imâ

Selîm Hân-ı cinân-menzil edip ancaķ zemînin ṭarḥ

Müzeyyen etdi 'adl ü dâd ile şâh-ı zamân hâlâ

Felekler bu mu'allâ Kûbbealtı'ndan 'ibâretdir

'Adâlet olmasa olmaz sipihr-i köhne pâ-ber-câ

Vekîl-i saltanat şadreyn ü defderdâr ve tevķî'î

Olur divân günü bu asûmâna encüm-i zehrâ

Sipihr-i şevketin aḥkâmını seyr etmege gâhî

Ṭulû' eyler verâ-yı zer-ķafesden ol meh-i ğarrâ

Huzûr-ı ḥazret-i Hâķķ'a ķalır zîrâ müzevverdir

'Adâletgâh-ı ḥâķânide fayşal bulmayan dâvâ

Bu nev-câyın verâsı ķulle-i Kâf-ı 'adâletdir

Ayaĝı altına düşse nola dünyâ vü mâ-fihâ

Sipirh-i kine-cüyü mehcisiyle dāğdār etdi

‘Alem-efrāz olunca kulle-i nev āiftāb-āsā

‘Iyān etdi o vālā kulle-i bünyād edip zımnen

Nigehbān olduğun āfāka ol hākān-ı mülk-ārā

O rütbe mülke te’sir etdi ol şehden mehābet-kim

Murād etse künām-ı şiri eyler āhūvān yağmā

Dilerse mişezārı mehd eder bir peççe rübāha

Dilerse şir-i nerri tıfl-ı āhūya eder lālā

Feridūnlar o şāha ‘arz-ı hācet ey-lesün gelsin

Penāh-ı pādīshāhān eyledi dergāhını Mevlā

İki zerrin taşa saltanat tācın verirlerdi

Rikābında gelüp peyk olmuş olsa Sencer ü Dārā

Sıtablında eger Perviz olaydı bir at oğlanı

Añar mıydı cihānda edhem-i Şeb-diz’ini hāşā

Nüvid-i feth için tatar olaydı böyle hākāna

Eder miydi Hülagü ‘ömrünü ılgār ile ifnā

Açıñ dest-i niyāzı dā’im olsun dāver-i gāzi

Sözüm ger hāk ise ey sākīnān-ı ‘ālem-i bālā

O hākān sıdık ile kıldı cenāb-ı Aḥmed’e hıdmet

Kitābullāhın etdi seyf ile aḥkāmını inbā

Yine çıkdım şadedden kaldı bu cāyın biraz vaşfi

Alışmış medh-i hākāna zebān-ı hāme-i imlā

Şaded bir yana dursun şevk u şādiden gider ‘aqlım

O şāhı yād ederken mālīk olmam kendime kaṭ’ā

Bulaydım bārī bir mışrā’-ı ra’nā cāy-ı zībāya

Kuşurum olsa da ‘avf eyler ol şāh-ı kerem-fermā

Gören ser-dāde-i inşāf olur ‘İzzet bu tāri e

Mücedded eyledi divān yerin Maḥmūd Ḥān vālā

1235”

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