Article

Journal of Urban History
2024, Vol. 50(3) 629–655

DOI: 10.1177/00961442221099831
journals.sagepub.com/home/juh
SAGE

Addressing the Modern Regimes of Urban Spectacle: Revisiting the Ottoman General Exhibition of 1863 in Istanbul

Ahmet Erdem Tozoglu[1]

Abstract
One of the most spectacular events of the Ottoman experience of modernity was the inauguration of the Ottoman General Exposition in Istanbul in 1863. The ancient Hippodrome, which is one of the most prominent venues of the city and the setting of memorable celebrations and festivals for centuries, hosted the event and provided the visitors with the opportunity to become part of the modern regimes of gaze and spectacle. This article posits three observer roles to reveal the multilayered structure of urban spectacle in mid-century Istanbul, namely the sultanic gaze, spectacle of the ordinary citizens, and the mediated experience of the foreigner. To understand the particularities of each position, I utilize several visual and textual documents about the exhibition event. Though just a single case in Ottoman urban history, the exposition enables us to understand how the new manner of modern urban spectacle emerged during a spectacular public event in Istanbul.

Keywords
Ottoman General Exposition of 1863, Exposition Buildings, Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture, Urban Spectacle in Istanbul, Hippodrome of Istanbul

Introduction

The first and unique national exposition of the Ottomans was inaugurated on February 27, 1863 (lunar/Hijri 9 Ramadan 1279) with a pompous official ceremony in the presence of the Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861-1876); Ismail Pasha, the viceroy of Egypt; grand vizier Fuad Pasha and other high-rank officials. The official motive in organizing such an event was to promote domestic products in place of export commodities when the empire was in financial deficit. The event was aligned with the new protocols and policies of the imperial family and was scheduled to occur after the Friday (congregational) prayer at Hagia Sophia Mosque. The sultan and the imperial cortege visited the Hippodrome nearby the mosque for the ceremony. The sultan was pleased with the organization and stayed there for a long time to see different sections of the exposition and then spent some time in his private hall located nearby the exposition space. The exposition

[1]Abdullah Gul University, Kayseri, Turkey

Corresponding Author:
Ahmet Erdem Tozoglu, Assistant Professor, Department of Architecture, Abdullah Gul University, Kayseri 38080, Turkey.
Email: ahmet.tozoglu@agu.edu.tr

was open to the public for five months, and thousands of people visited it. The building was described as a "new style" by the eyewitnesses. Even though it was preliminarily intended to be used for consecutive public expositions, in the long run, it was dissembled in 1865.

The narrative above serves as a backbone for the many texts which were written about the Ottoman General Exposition (*Sergi-i Umumi Osmani*), with the formal aspects of the exposition space and the historical background of the event constituting the main themes for the majority of the literature. However, international exposition historiography has shifted its focus from formal aspects of the events to their roles as agents in shaping modern societies in the nineteenth century. That is, the recent literature conceives of such exhibitions as a backdrop for sophisticated political–institutional and social themes, such as nation-building, imperialism, industrialization, consumer culture, East–West encounter, and related social conflicts.[1] In addition, theories borrowed from other disciplines, such as visuality, power, and agency have been adopted by historians to provide new insights for historical research in recent years.

As frequently cited, Walter Benjamin conceptualized international expositions as "the sites of pilgrimages to the commodity fetish" in his Arcades Project and established a direct connection between the exposition, consumer society, entertainment, and representation.[2] His theory of exposition was inspired by Charles Baudelaire's vision of Paris and the experience of new public spaces in the nineteenth century.[3] In his seminal book, Discipline and Punish (1975), Foucault interpreted expositions, museums, and other spaces of the exhibition as places through which to exercise power and discipline upon society through the organization of the space. He introduced the principle of panopticism to explain the disciplinary surveillance mechanism in exhibition spaces.[4] Later, Tony Bennett criticized Foucault's panoptic society theory and instead argued that the expositions were also the "sites for sight". He underlined the educative and ethical role of the sites of spectacle by referring to Gramsci, and termed expositions, museums, and other spaces of sight "exhibitionary complexes."[5] Jonathan Crary also examined the new visual experience in modernity. According to him, the modernizing world necessitated a new viewer, an "observer" in his words, responding to ever-increasing signs and images of the nineteenth century. To explain the difference between premodern and modern observers, he examined the difference between photography and the camera-obscura and underlined the discontinuity between classic and modern vision. Therefore,the new images were free from their original context and could be abstracted.[6] Since the 1990s, there has been a remarkable corpus of academic publications about the relationship between public spaces, particularly the exposition buildings, the observers, and the problem of spectacle.[7] In this respect, theories of visual culture and visuality also significantlyimpact architectural historiography. Critical examination and re-reading of primary sources and exploiting the potential of visual materials enable contemporary readers to have a better understanding of the multifaceted nature of publicity and public space.[8] Recent studies have blended with the theories of visuality and they shed light on public life in the eighteenth and nineteenth-century civic life experiences with particular interest in the experience of modernity in Ottoman Istanbul.[9]

In this respect, the Ottoman General Exposition has been undertaken as a subject of inquiry by different owing to its status as a spectacular event and a versatile case through which to discuss many themes of modernity. Additionally, the participation of the Ottoman Empire in many universal expositions ssince 1851 in London and the capacity to constitute a national, Ottoman one in a relatively short time -by 1863- has been comprehensively discussed elsewhere[10]

The primary undertakingof this article is to understand in what ways the urban spectacle existed in the General Ottoman Exposition and how the event enabled the presence of several observer roles in its venue. In this context, this article aims to unfold the multilayered structure of modern regimes of visuality with an examination of new social practices and urban spectacle through the lens of the national exposition. For this, I posit the General Ottoman Exposition of 1863 allows us to examine the different ways of seeing and beingseen that existed among different observers in the public space. I conceptualize a network of agents to facilitate the investigation to reveal how multiple ways of seeing were present simultaniously. These are: the sultanic gaze, the observation of the citizen, and the mediated experience of the foreigner. The first theme aims to scrutinize how the visual relationship between the sultan and the citizens reformulated in the nineteenth century through public events, whereas the second deals with the educative and entertaining role of the exposition for individual exhibition goers. The third theme brings foreign participants into the frame and questions how mass media produced public opinion about the event. In other words, it is about how the exposition was presented (or distorted) in the mass media, particularly in the European newspapers, by means of textual and visual representations. To provide a contextual basis, I analyze the preliminary preparations, the exposition space and its location in the city, and the aftermaths of the event to demonstrate the multifaceted nature of the public spectacle in mid-century Istanbul.

The Emergence of the Idea of the National Exposition

The universal expositions were the brainchild of the national precedents. The first modern national exhibition was held in Paris in 1798 to promote national products and create a sense of unity and solidarity among the citizenry following the revolution. Several national expositions were held in the nineteenth century in different parts of the world, but they were often overshadowed by the international ones in historiography. Nevertheless, domestic expositions were notable, especially for tracing different trajectories of non-European experiences of modernity. Almost concurrent with the Ottomans, Tsarist Russia[11] (first in 1870) and Meiji Japan (first in 1877)[12] pursued their own domestic industrial expositions; therefore, the Ottoman General Exposition of 1863 is not a unique case as a non-European example. Such exhibitions were practical for the host countries to assure their citizenry of theirindustrial production and modern competitiveness. Accordingly, such events were to promote solidarity and national identity, and thus part of the nation-making process. In this respect, the organization of such events in the Ottoman Empire, Russia, and Japan had different agendas than the international ones, and each possesses peculiar aspects worth examining.

Although the idea of modern exposition goes back to the early years of the French Revolution, London hosted the first universal exposition in 1851. Due to friendly relations with the British and French governments, the Ottoman Empire participated in the first one in London and its successors, Paris (1855) and London (1862), respectively. The number and variety of Ottoman products regularly increased from one exposition to the another. The significant thing is that the Ottomans were diligent enough to adapt the exposition format for a local scale. The motive to organize a local exposition in 1863 is connected to the economic and political context of the early 1860s, and can be understood in relation to remedy policies to stop the growing fiscal deficit.[13] In this context, as Ahmet Ersoy pointed out, the Ottoman government "hoped to promote consciousness among the urban consumers about the virtues of 'buying Ottoman but, as he also underlined, "reversing the wide-ranging effects of western commercial penetration on the changing consumption patterns and tastes of the Ottoman public was a precarious task."[14] Here, the remarkable thing is that instead of following a formal and bureaucratic approach by collecting statistical data from provinces and its examination through rigorous reporting, the government opted for organizing a spectacular event, a medium of public observation, and an unusual physical experience.

There were local exhibitions that had traditionally been held in the holy month of Ramadan in Istanbul, where they were organized inside the courtyard of imperial mosques . The commodities sold in these exhibitions were transported in advance, and the vendor booths were leased in public auctions. Other than local products, one could encounter Persian textiles and even Chinese porcelains at these events.[15] In this context, the government's new aim was to organize this custom in a central place in the city instead of organizing several independent exhibitions in different mosques and repeating them every Ramadan.[16]

It was therefore necessary to lay the groundwork in advance to ensure flawless production. One of the fundamental tasks was drafting a particular regulation[17] about the exposition by an organization committee[18] and initiating an empire-scale search for the highest quality items by employing an imperial decree. Concurrently, similar to what was present in international expositions, the committee would organize the event in thirteen thematic sections covering broadly agriculture, forestry, mining, textile products, military industry, and fine arts. However, the committee had to decide about the venue and form of the exposition space as soon as possible.

The Site of the Urban Spectacle in Istanbul: The Old Hippodrome

The first task was to decide whether the exposition should be organized in an existing building or a new purpose-built structure. Therefore, the committee immediately began searching for an appropriate place in Istanbul. The first option considered was the garden of the Imperial High School (*Bezm-i Âlem Valide Sultan Mektebi* or *Mülkiye-i Şâhâne*), founded by the mother sultan to train students for university-level education.[19] However, given the limited space available there, the committee reviewed the decision and ultimately to host the event in the Hippodrome area. After all, the Hippodrome had been an important urban space of spectacle for centuries, and therefore, was a remarkable site of memory for generations.

Despite abandoning the chariot races, which were among the most favored and spectacular public events of ancient times, the Ottomans respected Hippdrome for its significance as a public place.[20] They utilized the open area for different public events, including imperial circumcision and wedding ceremonies, and celebration of religious festivals until the eighteenth century. Those glorious events were diligently depicted in albums dedicated to the imperial family by court artists.[21] Çiğdem Kafescioğlu has scrutinized primary sources and claimed that the hippodrome area was, as central public space of Istanbul, the place of gaze and spectating, policymaking and justice, and imperial ceremony for centuries.[22] As a convention, the Ottoman court artists depicted the sultan in his private place in Ibrahim Pasha's mansion overlooking the hippodrome area. As for the artisans and craftspeople of Istanbul, they were depicted in an order, frame by frame, taking part in a pompous parade to demonstrate their highest skills and products in order. The visual emphasis in these illustrations points strikingly to the different social circles of society from top to bottom in a notably scenic fashion. Unlike a modern exhibition, the imperial parade is performed motion for one, limited time and is entirely temporally and spatially specific. Furthermore, scaled models of artisan ateliers and shopping places on wheels were also part of the event and, therefore, different forms of other public spaces intertwined with each other and were superimposed on this new central urban space.[23]

In any case, these events endeavored to present the best skills and products and receive both public and royal approval. The sultan was not the sole observer of the events; the citizens became a part of this interplay, and they viewed the event, along with the sultan and his entourage from a certain distance. Again, as Kafescioğlu addressed, it is essential to remember the reciprocal relationship between viewer and the viewed : it is not one way and hierarchical. For her, this spectacle is a performative, constructed activity, constituted layer by layer and knitted together by both the spectators and the ones being spectated, but the bold lines between the sultan, other dignitaries, and the layperson are always visually highlighted.[24] Those ceremonial illustration books have already been assessed by many authors in terms of their representation of civic life, urban spaces, and the power of the sultan and his image in the pre-modern times.[25] In short, the royal ceremonies have been foregrounded as the primary means of sensorial interaction between the sultan and his subjects for centuries and there were many premodern royal ceremonies hosted at the Hippodrome in Istanbul. The secular and religious festivities were

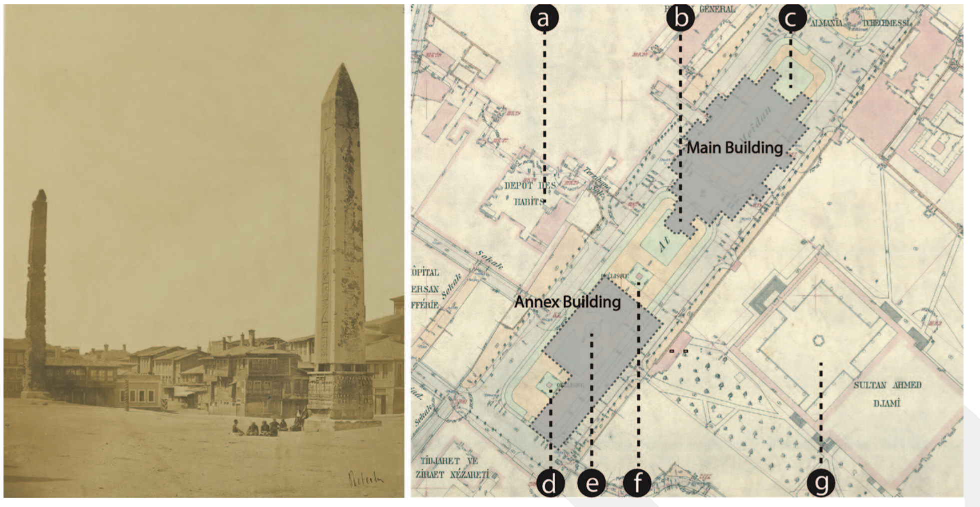

Figure 1. Left: One of the earliest photographs of the Hippodrome, c. 1850s. Right: the Hippodrome in the early twentieth-century map with location of the exposition buildings.
Source: Left: James Robertson, Hypodrome [sic] or Atmeydan [sic], 1853, salted paper print. 84.XA.619.71. Courtesy of the J.Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Right: Sultanahmet Map in 1:500 scale, (H6-4) in İrfan Dağdelen (ed.) *Alman Mavileri* 1913-1914. I. *Dünya Savaşı Öncesinde İstanbul Haritaları*, v.I-III. Istanbul:2007.
Legend: a: Old Ibrahim Pasha Palace, b: Imperial Room of the Exposition, c: Main Entrance Gate, d: Walled Obelisk, e: Serpent Column, f: Theodosian Obelisk, g: Sultanahmet Mosque.
Note: The size and location of the exhibition buildings are proportionally inserted by the author. The landscape design shown on the base map was not present during the time of the exposition.

meant to be as times of generosity and served as occasions for the imperial family to become publicly visible in front of their subjects in a restricted environment.[26]

Beginning in the eighteenth century, those spectacular imperial events shifted their scope and locus, however, moving to the shores of the Bosporus, banks of the Kağıthane Stream (*Les Eaux douces d'Europe*). In addition, the imperial family moved to Dolmabahçe Palace, on the Bosporus shore, in the mid-nineteenth century, and the old Imperial Palace complex (Topkapı), near to the Hippodrome area, lost its ceremonial and representative image and fell into abandonment. Consequently, despite its continued use as an open public space, the hippodrome area gradually became neglected and physically worn down and was never used for such spectacular imperial events since the mid-eighteenth century.[27]

The first photographic images of the Hippodrome dating to the 1850s document the physical deformation of the area (Figure 1, left): there was almost nothing remaining from the images of the Hippodrome depicted in Byzantine chronicles or sixteenth-century illustrations. The construction of Ibrahim Pasha's mansion, for example, concealed the ruins of the ancient tribunes, the accumulation of the excavated soil during the construction of the Sultanahmet Mosque (1609-17) significantly increased the ground level, the hospice and other auxiliaries of the mosque complex were located on the round-shaped sphendone, and the three obelisks were remained partially buried under the soil. The terrain remained uneven and rough. Later, Ibrahim Pasha Palace functioned as an official registry (*defterhane*) and storage of old Janissary musician bands (*mehterhane*) (Figure 1, right).

Yet, despite its diminished popularity, the Hippodrome and its surroundings were ready to become revived as new spaces of visuality and modernity in the nineteenth century through different events. The first instance in this regard was the inauguration of the old Hagia Iriene Church, located near the Hippodrome, as the Magazine of Antiquities and Weaponry (*Mecmua-i Asar-ı Âtika; Mecmua-i Esliha-i Âtika*) in 1846.[28] Although it was far from establishing a museum for public display in contemporary terms, it provided a new medium between the observer and objects of curiosity to communicate historical narratives in a restricted and physically controlled encounter.

Likewise, the second attempt was also centered on ancient heritage. This time, though, it was the excavation of the ancient Hippodrome by British archeologists after receiving imperial permission to do so in 1856.[29] The strong ties between the British and Ottoman empires during the Crimean War (1853-1856) enabled permissions to conduct a partial excavation of the original base of the Hippodrome around the obelisks. Though the British archeologists were unable to achieve what they initially imagined, their excavation of the obelisk bases brought about serious questions regarding the protection of these ancient monuments. The archeologists proposed building protective walls with metal fencing around the bases to prevent pedestrian trespassing, and the Ottoman authorities approved it[30] in an act that would physically distance the monuments from Istanbul's citizens. Where they were once a tangible, integral part of the setting of everyday life , they were now objects of exhibition behind metal bars.[31] The physical isolation generated a new model of social relation: restricted physical access and controlled and organized objects of observation.

One can argue that the search for a suitable place for an exposition hall coincided with these significant changes in and around the Hippodrome area. The Hippodrome's advantages as a central location with an abundance of open space and, more importantly, its history as a site of memory production, specifically via the stories of old imperial ceremonies must have compelled the committee to select Hippodrome as the most appropriate place for the event in late 1862. This inevitably engendered new changes in and around the area; the main artery connecting the Hippodrome to the Istanbul port at Sirkeci was refurbished, and the Ministry of Commerce paved the sidewalks to prepare the area for the upcoming event. Furthermore, the ground of the walking paths around the area was leveled and paved with stone by the Ministry.[32]

The Exposition Building

The exposition committee initially planned to have a total area of 4,000 piks square (2083 m^2) for the exhibitions, but the space requirement multiplied and reached 6,000 piks square (3,124 m^2), with length of 1,000 piks (71 m) and width of 60 piks (42.6 m) and 25 piks (17.75 m) at the highest point.[33] Considering the colossal scale of its contemporaries, the size of the exposition space is quite humble, but it should be remembered that the exhibition is arranged at the national level, and its building costs were to be financed by the revenue collected from entrance tickets.

After the official approval of the project and site, the only remaining obstacle was the question of financing the costs. There was neither a public resource dedicated to funding the construction costs nor a sufficient imperial treasury. Therefore, the resolution was, -the first of its kind in the Ottoman Empire- that an exclusive consortium would finance it, and later be compensated by the revenues of the event. If the revenue provided insufficient, then the private treasury (hazine-i hassâ) would pay the remainder after the event. A consortium was settled by Mustafa Fazıl Pasha, who was the president of the organizing committee; Kevork Bey, an Egyptian moneylender; Eremyan Efendi and Oppenheim of Istanbul. They submitted the lowest bid in a public tender.[34] At this time, several Ottoman capitalists placed funds in this speculation, aiming to give Ottoman trade and industry an "energetic impulse."[35]

Besides the organizing committee and the funding company, some notable people were also committed to the timely and seamless inauguration of the exposition. They were primarily notable figures in the intellectual circles with strong connections with the palace. The building was principally designed by a Levantine architect called Mr. Bourgeois,[36] and his French colleague, Leon Parvillée[37] handled the interior design of the exposition. There are other high-profile figures worth mentioning. Pietro Montani, a Levantine artist, wore many hats in the organization

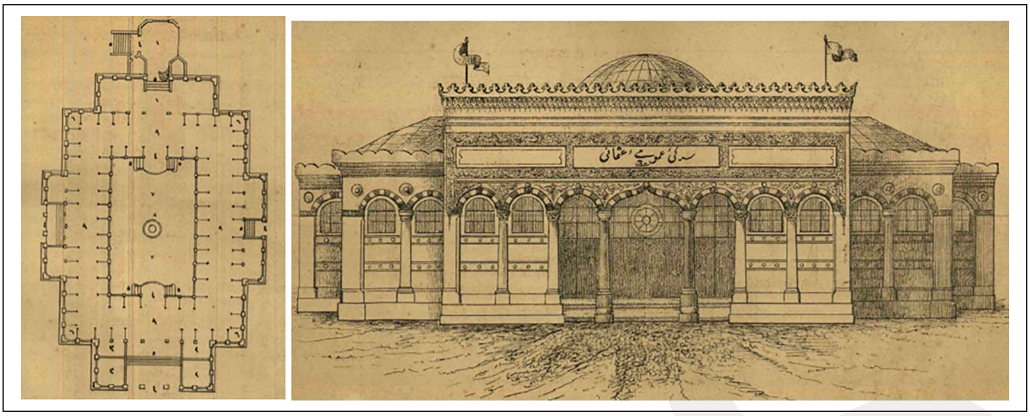

Figure 2. Plan (left) and principal elevation (right) drawings of the exhibition building.
Source: *Mir'at* (issue no. 1, Ramazan 1279/February-March 1863).

that of the interior designer, overseeing the design of the royal hall near the exposition hall, that of the illustrator, rendering perspective drawings of the exposition which were printed in many newspapers in Europe, and that of the artist, exhibiting a selection of his paintings in the fine arts section of the exposition.[38] Amadeo Preziosi and Jean Brindesi were also among the notable artists who contributed to the event with their artworks on display. Finally, Victor Marie de Launay was also involved. Besides being one of the painters of the fine arts section, he and his wife regularly wrote in *Journal de Constantinople*—a bilingual newspaper in the city—about the event, informing the readers of developments at every stage. After the of the event, the texts were edited as a single volume and published in a booklet format.[39]

The drawings of the exposition building were published in *Mir'at* (The Mirror), one of the short-lived illustrated magazines of the period (Figure 2). The planimetric organization of the exposition space was a typical example of its kind. The plan was a rectangle, which was expanded by projections for the entrance halls on three sides. On the southern (upper part in the drawing) side of the plan, there was an imperial room, whose interior was designed by Pietro Montani for the official visit and stay of the sultan. The main entrance was on the northern façade (Figure 2, right), and there were secondary entrances on the longer façades. There was a rectangular courtyard located at the center of the building. It was covered by a glass roof, which is higher than the rest of the building. In the middle, there was a jetty fountain and flower pots located around them. The level of the courtyard was lower than the rest. The exhibition stands, and unique display rooms were on the aisles around the courtyard.

Here, one should keep in mind that, like its predecessors in 1855 Paris and 1862 London, it was a mixed construction building whose upper structure was carried by iron trusses, beams, and columns, and the exterior walls were made with masonry techniques. Since the inauguration of the first universal exposition in 1851, the exposition halls were designed as single spaces that accommodated the event in a single united volume, with the interior space divided into zones according to thematic stands and country pavilions through circulatory roads. The 1851 London remained unique in terms of the expression of rationality, progress, and machine aesthetics, but its successors in 1855 and 1862 were historicist in façade design. Similarly, the façade composition of the Ottoman exposition was also historicist and eclectic in manner, so, in this way, it was analogous to its contemporaries.

The site works beganstarted in early December 1862, and, in order to finish it before the deadline (mid-February of the following year), bands of workers advanced construction progressively so that the entire metal frame was completed by the end of December. The roof of the interior space (both glazed and solid parts) and the upper coverings of the entrance porticos were completed in the first days of January,[40] and it took only 65 days to complete the entire construction.[41] Thanks to the rational and modular approach and provision of prefabricated structural elements from imperial factories, the pace of construction was remarkable. Finally, on 18 February, the palace of the Ottoman national exhibition was ready for the official inauguration.[42]

Architectural historians interpreted the building as a typical example of a historicist approach, which gradually became prevalent in the second half of the nineteenth century. Notably, many have found the front façade to typify a local, orientalist, or Islamicist approach.[43] However, it should be noted that this approach was considered the modern or contemporary in its time and was eventually called the new style (tarz-ı cedid) by those who wrote of it.[44] In his booklet, Victor Marie de Launay explicitly stated that he drafted the exhibition plan so that the entrance façade would be historicist like its European counterparts, but the early Ottoman period architecture had heavily influenced it.[45] As previously noted by many scholars, the principal façade of the exposition looks similar to the front façade of the Tiled Kiosk (Çinili Köşk), which was not far from the exposition area. This begs the question: why was it the Tiled Kiosk that inspired?[46] Here, it may be beneficial to refer to the symbolic significance of this building accrued since its construction in the fifteenth century. As Gülru Necipoğlu has written, this pavilion was an extraordinary case in Ottoman architectural history, and its unique character went beyond its formal style (historically refered to as a Persian style kiosk) or its elaborate tile quality. As the only existing one of the three pavilions commissioned by Mehmed II (r. 1451-1481), the pavilion, located within the outer gardens of his new imperial palace, celebrated his enthusiastic leadership and universal sovereignty from the Adriatic Sea to the empire's Persian borders.[47] Montani, who was one of the contributors to the exhibition, did not refer to Mehmed II's ambitious building campaign, did mention, however, that Bourgeois was influenced by the architecture of the Mehmed II era and considered it the most appropriate one for his design.[48] Moreover, Montani claimed that Sultan Abdülaziz was also pleased with the architectural style of the building, and according to him, when Mustafa Pasha, president of the Exhibition Committee, presented Bourgeois to his majesty, Abdülaziz expressed his satisfaction with the distinguished manner in which Mr. Bourgeois had executed his work.[49] A less-persuasive connection to the Tile Kiosk relates to the work of Leon Parvillée. Before being invited for the restoration of many monuments in Bursa after a devastating earthquake, he worked on the restoration of the Tiled Kiosk in Istanbul;[50] yet, since Parvillée was only responsible for the interior design of the exposition, this claim remains doubtful.

From the historiographical point of view, whether the building façade was attached to the historical symbolism of an earlier period or not, it has been read as Islamicist, Orientalist, or any other form of revivalist or eclectic architecture of the nineteenth century. The remarkable thing is that the exposition building signifies a modern context by means of its material, technique, and function and became the setting of urban spectacle for the citizens to perform modernity in a multifaceted web of relations.

Later, the organization committee decided to extend the scope of the exposition by inviting the renowned producers of agricultural machinery from England, France, and Austria to the exposition. Since there was no available space in the main hall, they decided to build an annex building to host the foreign participants on the southern side of the exposition. The secondary building was completed around forty-five days after the inauguration.[51] Compared with the scale and stylistic elaboration of the previous one, the annex building was mediocre and did not possess any significant historicism and can hardly be distinguished from an ordinary warehouse building.[52]

The Layers of Urban Spectacle

As Crary has already noted, the nineteenth century witnessed the transformation of the individual from spectator to the observer, from passive onlooker to an active participant during prolific dissemination of visual signs and symbols.[53] Considering the involvement of several individuals in the exposition, it is necessary to define observer roles to explain the plurality of visual confrontation. In the following section, I will discuss the formation of the modern visual regime by analyzing intertwined relations of three agent groups: the sight of the sultan, the sight of the ordinary visitor, and the mediated observation of the foreigner.

The New Image and the Gaze of the Sultan

One of the primary motives behind undertaking such a spectacular event was strengthening the association of these public ceremonies with the image of the monarch in the society. The nineteenth-century monarchies, as Hobsbawm and Anderson discussed in their seminal books,[54] witnessed a gradual transformation in terms of their process of legitimization, shifting from the mandate of heaven to a more secular basis, i.e. receiving public opinion. Therefore, the public events, official ceremonies, and invention of national days, in which the monarchs actively participated were crucial to garnering public approval. Particularly, the rigorious task of promoting the consumption of local products could also be comprehended as an operational tool for manipulating the sultan's image, representing him as the caretaker of local artisans, craftspeople, and national industry.

The nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of new ceremonies and imperial imagery which were incorporated into the existing ones since the reign of Mahmud II (r. 1808-39).[55] The invention of the modern Ottoman coat of arms, making of a national jacket, "*Istanbulin*" and a hat "*fez*," the composing of imperial anthems, and the visibility of official portraits of sultans in state buildings were among the attempts to constitute the new culture of imagery.[56] The old imperial ceremonies, such as enthronement (*cülus*), homage (*bîât*), and sword girding (*kılıç alayı*), were also updated by adding modern visual details and withdrawing outdated ones. The physical territories attached to these events were also considerably expanded,[57] since the beginning of the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861-76), the birth and accession day festivities were recognized official holidays.[58]

The official ceremonies were also utilitarian in terms of increasing mobilization in society. Aiming to transform the masses gathered in the public places into self-conscious citizens of the modern state, the public squares of the city would become the stage of the modernity especially during the last years of the empire.[59] Like his predecessor Abdülmecid (r. 1839-1861), Abdülaziz undertook domestic travels across the empire and would eventually became the first Ottoman sultan who made the first international journey to Paris to attend the inauguration of the international exposition of 1867. Later, the Friday prayer parades (*Cuma selamlığı*) became the routine and most spectacular event of the sultan's public visibility during the reign of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909).[60] Without a doubt, it was impossible to conduct such modern ceremonies within the traditional topography of the city and such remarkable events in the public sphere were only possible after a series of urban reforms in the nineteenth century.[61]

The imperial family was not, however, unfamiliar with exhibition events. Long before the inauguration of the General Exposition, the former Sultan Abdülmecid visited the grand gallery, which temporarily facilitated the exhibition of the items collected from Ottoman provinces to ship to London before the Universal Exposition in 1851. But this event was exclusive to the imperial visit and was not for the citizens.[62]

Considering the evolution of the Ottoman royal ceremonies during the nineteenth century, the participation of the sultan in the inaugural ceremony was a good opportunity for his public display. 27 February 1863 was the second Friday of the holy month of Ramadan, and the sultan arrived at the Hippodrome along with the new viceroy of Egypt, Ismail Pasha, the grand vizier, and other high-rank officials in the afternoon. After participating in the religious and official inaugural ceremony, the sultan eagerly visited the Ottoman exposition and received an official brief about different sections. Impressed with the commodities and the general organization of the space, he conducted a second visit. The women of the imperial palace also participated in another visit on a separate day.[63] Unlike his premodern predecessors, who were observing the spectacular events from seclusion of the royal balcony of Ibrahim Pasha's Palace overlooking the Hippodrome, Abdülaziz was physically present in the place as other spectators and actively participated in the public event, expressing his pleasure in his time spent there. The royal hall attached to the main exposition space also facilitated the stay of the sultan during his visit, and as explicitly expressed by de Launay, it was designed to allow the sultan the option of observation without being observed.[64] (Figures 2 and 3 below). In this way, I argue that there is a multifaceted and reciprocal relationship between the sultan and the visitors in the exposition. First, a modern monarch figure appeared who was visually accessible to his people through public ceremony, and second, the sultan's image was present before the eyes of the visitors, thanks to the strategical positioning of the royal room. Third, the visitors might not be sure whether they were under royal surveillance or not since the architectural design of the room restricted visual contact: the hall was elevated above the rest of the exposition, and the sultanic gaze was hidden behind the curtains.

Designed by Pietro Montani, who was another prominent figure of the Abdülaziz's reign, there was no visual material available for the interior design of the imperial room. Based on the schematic plan (Figure 2) and an exterior photograph (Figure 3), it can be gathered that the hexagonal room is rather ordinary space in terms of scale which possessed an elevated independent entrance from the southern side. Despite the lack of visual materials, de Launay depicts the interior space in a lively manner claiming that it was characterized by the harmonious collection of many imperial signs. For him, it reflects the contemporary taste (tarz-ı cedid) and congruent with the rest of the exposition; thus, it carried the historicist burden to the interior space. According to de Launay's narrative, one of the most significant elements of interior decoration was a sixfold hexagonal composition on the ceiling, which was constituted by triangles framing landscape views of the vicinities of Istanbul. Such still life paintings had been prevalent in royal patronage, especially since the eighteenth century, but their inclusion within this hall is quite striking. One possible explanation can be drawn from the function of the space: considering the proposal that space was utilized permanently for different exhibitions throughout the year, this space can be conceptualized as a royal pavilion, which the sultan would frequent on different occasions; therefore, it would be designed like any of the permanent kiosks which the sultans used to rest, take leasure, or received an audience. In this context, I suggest that the form and characteristics of the space were an adapted for the continuation of a premodern tradition: the use of royal tents, tent-like kiosks or pavilions with a single space and roof structure built around the royal palaces such as Yalı Kiosk near the imperial palace (Topkapı) and Çadır Kiosk at Kağıthane.[65]

Observing Other Citizens and the Exhibition Items

The exhibition provided several occasions to tame the curiosity of citizens, as well as entertain and amaze them. Several objects on display were either rare or precious, and the written information provided for each item on display followed a scientific manner; and thus, the wandering through the exposition was also quite an educative experience.

The committee used the preparation period to receive a high quality and variety of products from the provinces. The provincial participation was encouraged by the issue of official regulation which was meant to ease any burden for participators. Among its stipulations were free transport of products to Istanbul and guarantee of the reinbursement of costs following the event. The official regulation ordered the establishment of provincial committees to manage affairs at the local level, which were responsible for registering display items, their producers, and technical specifications and prices. More than 10,000 items were prepared and shipped to Istanbul for display in the exposition.[66]

Figure 3. The rear side of the main exhibition hall. The hexagonal royal hall and its private staircase are visible behind the monolithic obelisk. Please note that the obelisk and serpent column were protected by a metal fence.
Source: "Dikilitaş ve Sergi-i Umum-i Osmani Binası,"Eski Istanbul, accessed on 10 April 2020, http://www.eskiistanbul.net/5250/dikilitas-ve-sergi-i-umumi-i-osmani-binasi

The doors of the exposition were open to the citizens following the completion of the royal visit. De Launay expressed public curiosity and enthusiasm about the event as follows:

> "The doors were immediately opened, and the huge building was filled with a large crowd, eager to contemplate the productions of the soil and industry of the vast Ottoman Empire. The interior of the palace offered a look that was as pleasant as it varied, and everything is for the success of this exhibition, which has all the charm of novelty for the inhabitants of our capital."[67]

The admission fee was three piasters on weekdays and six piasters on weekends, with special discounts for the military officers and students.[68] Wednesdays and Saturdays were reserved as special days for women visitors.[69] In order to receive more visitors, the ferry company also issued reduced prices for exhibition goers. The imperial band organized public concerts at the Hippodrome, and there were many temporary stands for dining and relaxation around the exposition hall. In time, the entrance fee was also reduced to attract more visitors.[70] A modern invention of control and surveillance—a turnstile— was installed at the entrance to count the number of visitors. According to a newspaper article, there were around 54,000 visitors in the first twenty-one days.[71] The exposition was open for more than four months and was officially closed on 1 August. According to estimations, there were 100,000 to 150,000 visitors—primarily men—yielding a total revenue of 450,000 piasters. This was only one-fifth of the initial costs, resulting in financial problems soon after.[72]

When approaching the main exhibition, visitors entered the main exposition space by passing through a threefold portico. The subsequent hall was covered by a glazed roof, almost 17.5 m high from the ground level. In contrast with the lightweight upper structure, the arched windows were inserted into masonry walls above eye level, making visitors feel visually isolated from the exterior. The easy and instantaneous visual apprehension of the space along with its spacious interior made visitors comfortable in the exposition. Münif Bey, a correspondent for Mecmua-i

Fünun (the Journal of the Sciences), expressed his satisfaction with and public approval of the allocation of sections, display stands, and spatial qualities of the exposition, saying that the exhibited items were found two or three times elegant than they were.[73] Interstingly, Münif Bey's text also refers to the 1851 exposition hall, Crystal Palace, and its architecture to explain the impact of the glazed roof structure covering the central courtyard and the aisles during the design of the 1863 exposition building.[74]

As Abbattista has pointed out, one of the prominent social aspects of universal expositions of the nineteenth century was the feeling of a tour of the world within a limited time and controlled space. An exposition was a living, moving experience bringing together a wide range of visual impressions and sensorial or emotional knowledge. Therefore, exhibitions were part of the practice of delivering public education through myriad ways of observing the world from technological viewpoints.[75] In this regard, the 1863 exposition was a compilation of several items of curiosity collected from different parts of the empire that provided the visitors with a unique opportunity of observing, learning about, and experiencing several things at a time, in a designated order and along a predetermined path.

Of course, the items on display were not equally eye-catching for everyone. A correspondent reported that most of the visitors spent their time in front of a large display case containing "rugs of İzmir (Smyrna) remarkable in their colors and designs; exemplary, rich silks of Bursa (Brousse); jewelry, precious stones, and an assortment of exquisite saddles, bridles, and harnesses."[76] The author also noted that these jewelry and other precious stones were temporarily brought from the imperial palace to the hall for exhibition, which was likely a historic first in Ottoman history. The sultan was so impressed with the exhibition space and order of the displays that he ordered his servants to temporarily make a part of the royal jewelry collection and some historical objects of significance ready for display during the exposition as well. A collection of 42 gorgeous and invaluable artifacts were exhibited in a special vitrine, among which were historical armor, knives, and swords.[77] Unlike contemporary tourists, who can only visit these pieces on display within the confines of Topkapı and other imperial palaces today, the 1863 Exposition was an extraordinary occasion for citizens to observe the precious pieces of the imperial collection in a public space. So, what was the motivation behind the imperial decision to include these works? I argue that besides the physical presence of the sultan within the space and provision of a royal room nearby the exposition hall, the sultan attempted to consolidate his image through the use of objects of historical significance for the Ottoman dynasty and the inclusion of his private treasury. These objects of admiration and curiosity would reinforce the positive public opinion about the new, young sultan and, ultimately, would remind visitors that there was a long-standing historical tradition behind the sultan. The impact of this display was so significant that a sketch of it was published in *Le Monde Illustré* (Figure 4), and the collection was depicted in many newspaper articles. Finally, it is interesting to note that the sultan handed over all these objects to Bogbos Bey, the chief jeweler of the palace, and they were transported during the morning to the Exhibition hall and returned each evening to the Imperial Treasury (*Zarbhane*) under his immediate supervision.[78]

Objects to amaze observers were scattered along the exposition corridors. Some were clearly selected to prove the level of Ottoman modernization to domestic and international visitors. This is especially true of the state-of-the-art weaponry collection. At the entrance, artillery cast in the imperial factory welcomed the visitors. Inside, a lightning rod and a model locomotive designed by Said Bey were among the innovative designs.[79] There was a fountain of white marble in the central courtyard, composed of several superimposed basins from the middle of which a jet of water sprung up with the intention of refreshing visitors during the hot summer days. Around it, canons stood on display, produced in the same imperial factory.[80] In the exposition, the narrative of Ottoman modernization was made tangible through the use of the scientific method and the modern sciences of taxology and taxonomy by the Ottomans, who classified biological

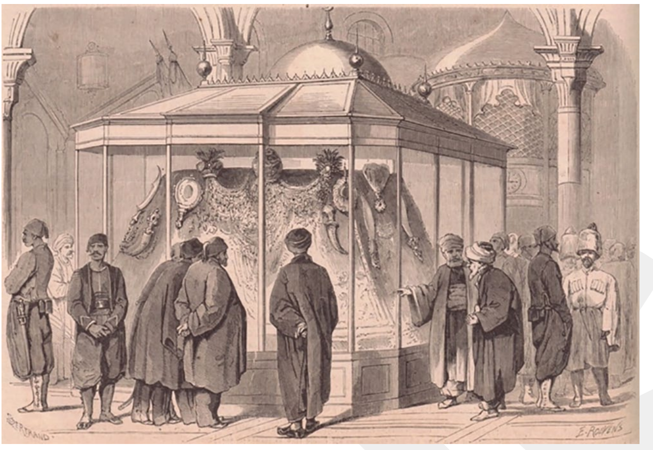

Figure 4. The display case containing the imperial collection sketched by Amedeo Preziosi.
Source: *Le Monde Illustré* (11 April 1863), no. 313: 228.

specimens collected from different provinces. For instance, a collection consisting of 10,000 copies and 2,000 species of shells and beetles was exhibited with exceptional care and attention to detail, a testament to 35 years of research.[81] Additionally, research and expertise in botanical and medical sciences were also presented to visitors in different displays and stands. De Launay wrote about the reaction of the public to these scientific displays as follows:

> "It had hitherto been supposed that in Turkey, interest in the natural history sciences had not yet risen to the point of making them appreciated by the public. The facts show the opposite and prove that it lacked only an initiative because we see the place at the exhibition where these collections are located: it was always crowded with spectators who admire the magnificence of nature in the smallest creations."[82]

For him, public curiosity ought to be crowned by the inauguration of a natural history museum like European cities soon. As Sibel Bozdoğan has pointed out, many philosophers addressed how the scientific method and instrumental reasoning have "enframed" nature as an objectified, representable and calculable entity since the sixteenth century for human domination.[83] Thus, these displays were meant to underline that the Ottomans were following the path opened by Bacon and systematized by Carl von Linneus to acquire and systematize the knowledge of nature.

Another noteworthy section of the exposition was dedicated to the fine arts, with a rich collection ranging from paintings to architectural drawings and lithographic images. The exposition was, in other words, one of the earliest public exhibitions of art in the modern sense organized in Istanbul. The paintings of Amadeo Preziosi, Pietro Montani, Victor Marie De Launay, and Jean Brindesi were among the notable works displayed.[84] Apart from them, de Launay described a sizeable allegorical painting by an Armenian artist. According to him, the theme of this painting is Turkey, which was represented as a figure on the chariot of progress which was leaping forward for the conquest of the future. The central object was surrounded by other allegorical figures representing commerce, industry, and the arts. These were preceded by the frame that teaches history and the facts she must record, placed on the bottom side of the canvas.[85] This allegorical painting summarizes the episteme and dilemma of the imperial quest for modernization: between past and future, tradition, and innovation. Another educative artwork was the bas-relief imagining the Battle of Varna (1444), which historically sealed the permanent settlement of the Ottomans in the Balkans and eventually opened up new paths of expansion into eastern central European territories.[86] Despite recalling the crusades and Ottoman territorial expansion, it also suggests that Turkey had been an integral part of Europe for centuries.

The modernization of the Ottoman world was also manifested through the design proposals for new buildings. A set of drawings for an imperial residence on the Bosporus drafted by Henry-Antoine Révoil (1822-1900), an architect whose works are found among the Historic Monuments of France, was among the objects on display. Even though the project was never realized, it demonstrates that the extent of imperial architectural patronage in the mid-nineteenth century was vast in content when many architects visited the Ottoman capital to receive notable commissions.[87]

The Foreigner's Eye: International Appreciation of the Exposition

Besides the sultan and the ordinary visitors of the exhibition, there exists a third agent which reveals another layer of visual conduct: the outsider or the foreigner. Unlike the first two, foreigners' impressions of the exposition were indirect, and it was conducted by the intermediaries. They came into contact with the exposition predominantly through texts and, more importantly, by the images in circulation in mass media. The first-hand mediators of this interaction were therefore the local correspondents of European newspapers and the illustrations of artists who shaped the way the outsiders interacted with the exposition.

News about the exposition first appeared in European media about a month after the official inaugural ceremony. There were two common themes in the textual depiction of the event. One was subjective and speculative, and often took the form of the correspondent's astonishment at or appreciation of the organization and space as an exceptional moment for the "East". The headlines, in particular, emphasize the significance of the event for the "Eastern" world and described it as an essential step towards modernization. They also underlined the public function of the organization.

For instance, the local correspondent of Le Monde Illustré, whose pen name was I. de P. wrote:

> "This fact, quite natural among Westerners, who are accustomed to it today, is for Orientals a most extraordinary and important event, because it is the first exhibition that has been made in the East, and of moreover, it is a great step towards industrial and agricultural progress held in such high esteem by the most civilized nations."[88]

The second theme is more objective and descriptive: to describe formal features of the exposition and exhibited items. For instance, the same correspondent wrote of the Sultan's satisfaction after visiting the exposition and provided the readers with some technical information about the event, including its size and sections. Thereafter he expressed his observations about visitors and their objects of interest in different sections. According to him, the weaponry collection of the Ottoman arsenal and the rugs and carpets from different provinces were well worth mentioning. Similarly, the anonymous correspondent of Illustrated London News described the official inaugural ceremony, the organization of the exhibition, and the formal features of the exhibition building, recommending the event to readers as "well worth visiting."[89]

The correspondent of Illustrated London News, who was possibly a foreign resident of Istanbul, wrote about the question of the style of the exposition building as well. For him, "no one style has been adhered to; but as in the columns and arches of the interior, a kind of composite Mauresque predominates." He also appreciated the architect's innovative approach as well, albeit by expressing his negative opinion about Ottoman's willingness toward change:

> "Taken as a whole, the building contrasts most favorable with the heavy structure of the mosque of Achmet, near which it stands, and great praise is to Monsieur Bourgeois, the architect, for the good taste he has displayed in rearing this interesting little temple of industry, especially when it is remembered that the Turks are most provokingly opposed to anything in the form of innovation, even in the way of improvement."[90]

In addition , Pietro Montani sent a descriptive letter to publish in the newspapers. He also attached two of his sketches of the exposition building to his letter. Similarly, Preziosi's sketches were also received by the European mass media. Nevertheless, these images were not immediately printed in the newspapers and magazines: the common fate of these drawings was intensive editing of these images by European illustrators by adding extra details that were not present in the original drawings. These were likely to make the images livelier and create a more "persuasive" opinion about the exhibition building and official event. Being more than a reliable editing service, I argue that these edits reflected imaginary scenes, often mixing European conceptions of public space and public life with biases, prejudices, or premises about the daily life in the Ottoman capital.

To speculate about the manipulation of visual materials, I would like to draw on the work of Timothy Mitchell and Ali Behdad to demonstrate how illustrations were versatile tools to disseminate a sense of reality about the "East." Their arguments about orientalist photography may provide us with the necessary themes to explore the problem. Mitchell states:

> "The problem for the photographer or writer visiting the Middle East was not only to make an accurate picture of the East, but to set up the East as a picture. One can copy or represent only what appears already to exist -representationally- as a picture. The problem, in other words, was to create a distance between oneself and the world, and thus to constitute it as something picture-like-as an object on exhibit. This required what was now called a "point of view": a position set apart and outside."[91]

According to him, this brought about a sense of alienation or exclusion for the European observer, and paradoxically, it led to the constitution of the world as a distant imagery object, which he/she wanted to experience as if it were real.[92] It is in this sense that Behdad claimed that the photographs of the "East" in the world expositions provided a "glimpse of the Orient," in order to tame the European observers' desire for the Orient. Beyond that, he adds that Orientalist photography "was constitutive of the "Oriental" real that made the traveler's encounter with the reality of "the Orient" more meaningful, albeit somewhat déjà vu."[93]

Considering these two positions, I propose that, similar to the function of Oriental photography, the newspaper editors utilized the illustrations of the exhibition to provide a glimpse of Istanbul, but beyond that, to create an alternative reality of the city and the public event. An in-depth analysis of visual materials would help us understand how the visual messages were conveyed to the European readership and how the intermediaries had an active role in this indirect communication. A typical example of such visual manipulation appears in two different newspapers seen below: (Figure 5).

The two figures above frame the entrance façade of the exposition hall almost from the same angle. The one on the left is based on Preziosi's, and the one on the right is based on Montani's illustrations. After a glimpse, the eye can catch significant differences between those buildings and the built environment. Apart from formal differences, such as different arch types (circular versus pointed) above the porch, ornamental compositions in various parts, friezes, and eaves; there are significant differences in spatial proportions and volumetric order. Also, the difference in spatial features of the Sultanahmet Mosque, which was just behind the exposition building, is quite noteworthy. These look distinctively different from each other and from the actual mosque. It is not clear whether these formal differences appeared in the original illustrations or they were the

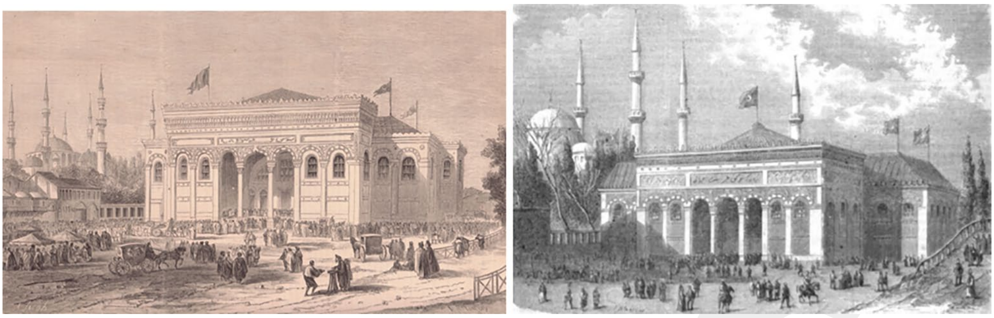

Figure 5. The general view of the exposition building, published in *Le Monde Illustré* (left) and *L'Illustration* (right).
Source: left: *Le Monde Illustré*, (4 april 1863), no. 313 ; right : *L'Illustration*, (11 April 1863).

post-productions of the newspaper illustrators, but it is evident that there is one common element in both: the crowds in the Hippodrome and in front of the exposition building. One can assume that Preziosi and Montani drew them before the inaugural day and sent their letters soon after since the letter of Montani to *Le Monde Illustré* dates 27 February (the inauguration day) and, therefore, it would have been impossible to observe such crowds during the event. Hence, I argue that European illustrators carefully inserted the crowds and details about groups of people to give a sense of European reality or create a particular image of the enthusiasm of the inaugural events.

Different versions of the same image in circulation reveal significant differences in the way European illustrators were capable of manipulating the visual experience through editing. For instance, an unusual image printed in the *Illustrated London News* (Figure 6, left) eliminates several visual manipulations. The angle of the frame is slightly different from the previous ones, but the composition is quite similar: the exhibition building is in the background, and readers quickly notice the crowds of men and women in the foreground. The fundamental difference is the scale of the building. Here, one can compare the smaller size of the building compared to humans around it. When this image is juxtaposed with another one (see the image on the right), the scale difference becomes even more evident, and it is apparent that the size of this image is more realistic than the others. So, what is the reason behind the difference? Could it be mere negligence of the European illustrators, or perhaps the eagerness of the editors to present a spectacular exposition building to their readers like the ones they used to have in Europe? In any case, there is a visual message delivered by the newspapers to their readership about the event: an exposition is a public event in European terms anywhere in the world, even if it is organized in Istanbul.

How about the interiors? The visual materials reveal a similar attempt to create manipulated images of the interiors through similar editing procedures. Here, again, I analyze the visual materials to understand how the European illustrators reconstructed the visual materials.

The illustration of the interior space sent by P. Montani to *L'Illustration* was published after heavy editing to achieve an impression of a vibrant and crowded space (Figure 7). Like his outdoor illustration, it was probably drawn before the inaugural day; hence, the interiors were probably empty. At first glance, the scaling problem persists: for instance, the display cases (on the right side) were normally at waist level. In the image, they take on a distorted scale after the inclusion of human figures and were elevated to eye level or even higher. Therefore, the mediocre scale of the interior space inflates, reaching a monumental one after this manipulation. Aside from this, the women in both eastern and western costumes were framed together to give a sense of "Eastern taste". They are presented in these images looking at each other even as the male gaze is synchronously on them. The European illustrators seemed to ignore an essential fact about the event in producing such images: there were different days reserved for men and women visitors

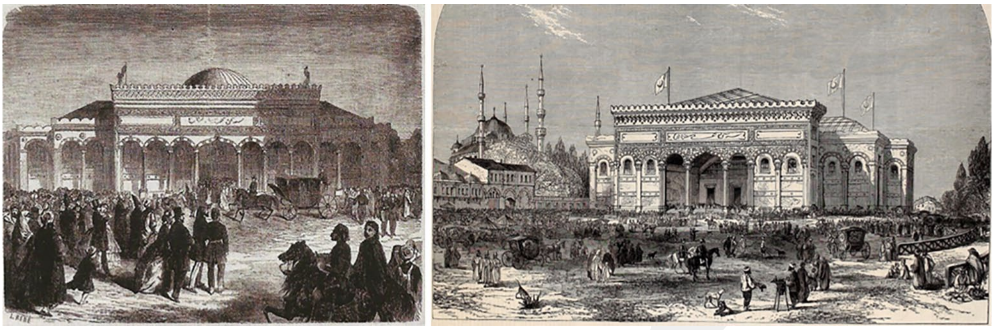

Figure 6. The general view of the exposition building, published in Illustrated London News (left) and L'Univers Illustré (right).
Source: left: *The Illustrated London News*, (11 April 1863), right: *L'Univers Illustré,* (16 April 1863).

Figure 7. The interior space of the exposition, initially drawn by Montani and published by *L'Illustration*.
Source: *L'Illustration,* (11 April 1863).

throughout the week; hence, it was inaccurate to render men and women within the space, as the illustrators imagined.

To judge the authenticity of these visual materials, it is beneficial to refer to similar images drawn by the same artists and published in Turkish newspapers. This may reveal the external editing to a certain extent. The two images below (Figure 8) capture the interior space from two angles: the main entrance and the central courtyard. The images were published in two consecutive issues of *Mir*' at (the Mirror). The artist names are not available; however, according to the name appearing on the lower-left corner, they were printed and circulated by Emilie Mandouce Studio of Grand Rue de Pera, which was also the source of many other images of the exposition in European newspapers. The emergence of this agent indicated another layer in the network of relations between the local artists and the newspaper readers. Was Emilie Mandouce studio the author of extensive editing and post-production?

Notably, the way in which the interiors were depicted here is different from the one published in l'Illustration before. The one on the left is an interior setting without visitors; the other one

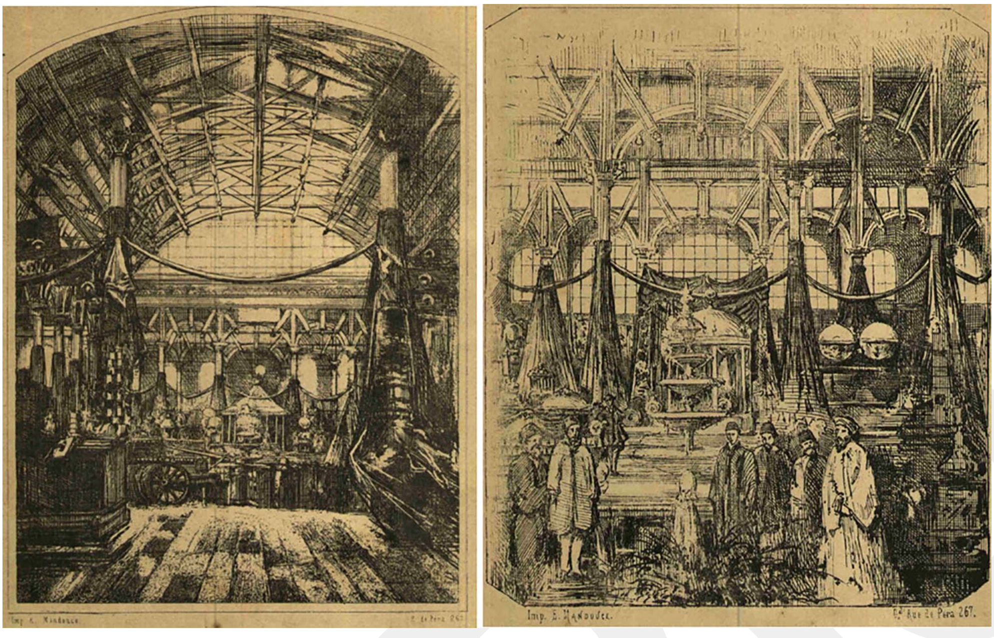

Figure 8. The view of the interior space from the entrance (left) and the central courtyard (right). Source: *Mir'at* Magazine, issue no 2, 3, 1863.

captures a group of figures, but they are males standing near the fountain in the middle. Besides, instead of capturing/ presenting an image of motion, like those published in France, the artist seems to frame still images of ordinary visitors: all males in traditional Ottoman costumes. The scale of the figures looks proportional concerning space and height. So, how can one understand the differences between these visual materials? Were the ones published in *Mir' at* exclusively about emphasizing the space and the items on display, rather than the publicity of the space? Was there any kind of post-production by Mandouce Studio or magazine editors? These questions seem to remain obscure, but it is clear that the sketchy style of the latter looks less realistic, and the perspective drawings tend to emphasize the depth of the space through the absence of the crowds.

Hence the final question is, why was it essential for European editors to "correct" the drawings and "fill-in" the space? Or, in other words, how can we interpret the extensive editing and distortion of the images received from Istanbul?

There was a substantial gap between what occurred, what was experienced, and what the editors would like to see and narrate in their columns, concerning the scope of the event and the volume of the space. It can be claimed that the European readership, and the newspaper editors would have liked to view a spectacular public event in an alternative reality; a venue like the ones they used to have in their capital cities. Therefore, the editors would probably have assumed that an exposition would be more evocative if it occurred in a European style, with European customs. This would make the exposition an event of curiosity and, consequently, worth reading about. Here, one should remember that the curiosity of this event was somehow different from any other news from Istanbul in an Orientalist sense because the exposition in Istanbul was modern or "European," and here, the temporary role of the reader was to determine whether to appreciate this effort or not. In this respect, I argue that the role of the European illustrators was to make the exposition more accessible for the general European readership by appealing to a sense of the reader's reality.

Despite the intensive editing of the illustrations, it is evident that these are substantially different than the timeless, frozen image of the “East” in orientalist painting. The “vice of idleness,” a common feature of Orientalist art that Linda Nochlin has pointed out, and the scenes of work and industry were absent.[94] The exposition illustrations are contemporary and even more Occidental than they really were. The context is purely modern, and the depiction of public life and individuals can even be seen as westernized.

A final word must be added regarding the Exposition catalog, which I have cited many times thus far. This catalog was designated to be another medium to communicate with the foreigner audience, and constituted a controlled medium, different than the European media. It was a reprint volume of articles published regularly before and during the event in the Journal of Constantinople written by Mr and Mrs de Launay. According to the journal editor, the reason for this publication was the lack of a comprehensive catalog or follow-up brochure for the event dedicated to foreigner readership, beyond the one published in Turkish before. This publication reflected up-to-date, first-hand information from Turkey to the European public. Considering the lack of official publication about the exposition, the journal committed itself to feeding European readers beyond the scope of daily articles. However, the de Launays claim that their approach was neither to emphasize the importance of the event nor to exaggerate it.[95] The leitmotiv of this ambitious was explicitly underlined by the editor as follows:

> “Those who speak of the slow progress in Turkey are therefore showing injustice or ignorance. We have just outlined the results obtained in a few months; the contrast between the present and the past would be even more striking if a pen better versed than ours in questions of political and social economy analyzed the situation of the empire before the Crimean War and compared it to that in which today the wisdom of his majesty, the devotion of his enlightened statesmen and the sympathy of Europe on this.”[96]

The author of the volume, Mr. de Launay, received a royal medal later due to his ambitious service in 1865,[97] and he, along with many other names within this exposition, led the official preparations of the Ottoman delegation to the Universal exposition, which was held in Vienna in 1873.[98]

The Aftermath: What Remained of the Exhibition?

When the idea of a national exposition was first proposed, the organization committee aimed to have similar events in other major cities soon and repeat the same exhibition every year in Istanbul to boost the local economy. In the beginning, everyone was optimistic about the future of the exposition and claimed that it would serve as an Ottoman bazaar for the city.[99] However, the implementation was different from the projections. In the following year (1864/ h.1280), rather than having independent events in the courtyards of royal mosques, there was a central shopping fest organized during the holy month of Ramadan in the exposition building.[100] However, according to archival sources, there was no evidence of a similar organization, and the fate of the exposition building became obscure. It was not efficient for the statesmen to invest 30,000 British pounds, or 2.5 million Ottoman piasters, for a building used only once for a significant event. Therefore, there were some other proposals for new organizations, but they merely remained on paper. Despite the optimism of the organization committee, the structure was used only once for a general nationwide event. This is not unique, as the universal exhibition buildings in Europe had the same destiny of single or limited use, as in London (1851), Paris (1863), Vienna (1867), Paris (1878 and 1889). Though the request went unfulfilled, the Council of Building in Istanbul (*Ebniye Komisyonu*), submitted a petition in 1865 through Nikoğos Kalfa, the royal architect, to disassemble the building and transfer its materials to the construction site of the new general staff office (*seraskeriyat*) building near the Bayezid square.[101]

It took around 30 years revive the idea of a new exhibition building in Istanbul. In 1893, the official architect of the International Exposition held in Turin, Raimondo d'Aronco, was invited to Istanbul, where he designed an exposition complex on the city's northern outskirts. However, this project was never implemented due to financial crisis following the devastating earthquake experienced in the city in 1894.[102] Despite the unexpected failure of his exposition proposal, he had an impressive career in Istanbul, including many royal commissions, the design and repair of several public buildings, and the title of Royal Architect for sixteen years until the deposition of the Sultan Abdülhamid II in 1909.[103]

In addition to the ill-fated end of the exhibition building, the dispute about the compensation of the costs of the building remained unsolved for a long time; since the private treasury of the sultan was not sufficient to meet the sum. The state treasury took over the responsibility, though the payments to the consortium headed by Mustafa Pasha could not be realized until 1870.[104] The notable participants of the exposition were involved in some other significant events of representation later. Owing to the success of the General Exposition in Istanbul, de Launay, Montani, and Parvillée were all involved in the organization, design, and publication of consecutive expositions in Paris (1867) and Vienna (1873).

Despite failing to continue this event with any regularity, the apparent impact of this event was its reinforcement of the idea of a national industry in Turkey. Shortly after the event, a committee for the reform of industry (*ıslâh-ı sanayi komisyonu*) was established, and, soon after, several schools of the industry were inaugurated in different parts of the empire for the training of the necessary human resources. Course on drawing, carpentry, surveying, tailoring, and architecture were designed according to the pedagogical formation of the Ecoles d'arts et métiers of France and Kunstgemerbeschule of Germany.[105] It is interesting to note that the School of Industry (*Sanayi Mektebi*) in Istanbul was later located nearby the Hippodrome in 1868 and soon after became one of the engines of Ottoman attempts at industrialization. Additionally, the Hippodrome was the subject of many urban planning project and interventions since then. One of Istanbul's first modern recreational parks (*millet bağçesi*) was built at the northern edge of the area between 1871-2. A public fountain, the gift of the German Emperor Wilhelm II, was placed on the northern side of Hippodrome in 1901 to commemorate the friendship of the Turkish and German empires after his official visit to Istanbul. One of the utopian urban design proposals of Alexandre Bouvard in Istanbul was for the Hippodrome and its surroundings in 1902. The neighborhood between the Hippodrome and St. Sophia Mosque was demolished in 1914 and designed as a recreational area to make the area more appealing. During the republican period, the Hippodrome was considered a place of historical significance. There were archaeological surveys in the 1927-28 period to unearth the remaining parts of the ancient structure. Its historical significance and memory value were an essential concern for the planners as well. Finally, Henri Prost, the French planner, proposed the revival of the historical ceremonial value of Sultanahmet Square and the Hippodrome area by displaying the remnants of the old Roman imperial palace in an open-air park of archeology and building a monument at the southern end of the square on the sphendon walls to represent the Roman, Ottoman, and Republican periods together.[106]

Conclusion

This article investigates the Ottoman General Exposition through the configuration of public space and the visual experience of exhibition goers and the reading public. Taking the idea of the exposition and its space as the inventions of modernity, this article examines how the Ottomans adopted these concepts shortly after attending the universal expostions in 1851, 1855, and 1862. Modernity brought about a new viewer, or, in Crary's words, a transformation from spectator to observer to convey and receive a multiplicity of visual signals. Like its European counterparts, this temporary public space was a venue of public spectacle which facilitated encounters between and for different spectators. To examine the multilayered nature of the urban spectacle during the event, I conceptualized three observer roles: the sight of the sultan, the ordinary citizens, and the foreigners. The sultan was an active participant in this new visual regime. Among several public events organized to facilitate his visibility in the public space, his role was not merely attending the inaugural ceremony. There was a private royal room attached to the exposition hall from where he could observe the others without being seen, which established a hegemonic visual relation between him and other exhibition goers. Secondly, this article examined how the exposition was a place of urban spectacle, constructing a place of curiosities and astonishment by referring to the spatial configuration of the building, its exhibited objects, and the reports of the newspaper correspondents. Finally, I extended the discussion towards the visual experience of the international readership through mass media. These images were in global circulation thanks to the dissemination of printing and communication technologies in the nineteenth century. There were reports printed in European newspapers about the event along with illustrations, which have been considered, here. Based on the critical examination of the visual and textual content, I questioned how an alternative sense of reality was interwoven by the journalists and illustrators in the mind of the foreign readership.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

ORCID iD

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

Notes

1. Guido Abbattista, *Concepts and Categories in the History of World Expositions: Introductory Remarks* (Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2014), 11-12.
2. Walter Benjamin, "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century," in *Arcades Project*, ed. Walter Benjamin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 17-18.
3. Walter Benjamin, "Paris", 7.
4. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. A. Sheridan (London: Vintage Books, [1975] 1995), 111, 128, 211.
5. Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," *New Formations*, no. 4 (Spring 1988): 73, 76, 99.
6. Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992).
7. I would like to cite some of the seminal sources like, Burton Benedict, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (Scolar Press, 1983); Burton Benedict, "International Exhibitions and National Identity" *Anthropology Today* 7, No. 3 (June 1991): 5-9; Robert W. Rydell, *All The World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).
8. On visuality, urban spectacle, and power relations, see Paul A. Tencotte, "Kaleidoscopes of the World: International Exhibitions and the Concept of Culture-Place, 1851-1915," *American Studies* 28, no. 1: 5-29; Tony Bennett, "The exhibitionary complex," *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, no. 127 (2004): 521-547. David Martin, "Commodifying the world: Space, gaze, discipline and resistance at the Universal Expositions," *Australian Journal of Art* 14, no. 1 (1998): 61-70; Maria Helana Souto, "The 19th Century World Exhibitions and Their Photographic Memories between Historicism, Exoticism and Innovation in Architecture," *Quaderns d'Història del'Enginyeria*, no. 8 (2012): 57-80.

9. Shirine Hamadeh explores the new methods of public donation of the imperial family by looking through the lenses of urban spectacle. She focuses on the new gardens, public fountains, public parks, and new palaces of the eighteenth century. See Shirine Hamadeh, "Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul." *Muqarnas*, no. 19 (2002): 123-148, and The *City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008). For the nineteenth century, the list can be extended with the valuable contributions of many scholars. For instance, see Mary Roberts. *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* (University of California Press, 2015); Mustafa Özen, "Visual Representation and propaganda: Early Films and Postcards in the Ottoman Empire, 1895–1914." *Early Popular Visual Culture* 6, no. 2 (2008): 145-157.
10. For 1863 Ottoman General Exposition, see Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (University of California Press, 1992), 139-142; Yeşim Duygu Ergüney, and Nuran Kara Pilehvarian. "Ottoman Representation in Nineteenth Century Universal Expositions." *Megaron* 10, no. 2 (2015): 224-240. Rifat Önsoy, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Katıldığı İlk Uluslararası Sergiler ve Sergi-i Umumi-i Osmani (1863 istanbul Sergisi)" [The First International Expositions and the 1863 Ottoman General Exposition] *Belleten*, no. 185 (January 1983): 195-235; Semra Germaner, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Uluslararası Sergilere Katılımı ve Kültürel Sonuçları." [The Participation of the Ottomans in the International Expositions and its Cultural Impact] *Tarih ve Toplum* 16, no. 95 (1991): 33-40; Afife Batur, "19. Yüzyıl Sanayi Sergileri ve Osmanlı Sergi Yapıları," [19th Century Industrial Expositions and Ottoman Exposition Buildings] *Yapı*, no. 225 (August 2000): 67-72; Nurcan Yazıcı, "The First Ottoman Exhibition Building in Atmeydanı and the Collaboration of Architects Bourgeois—Parvillée—Montani" in *Hippodrom/Atmeydanı: İstanbul'un Tarih Sahnesi-Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Pera Museum Publication, 2010), 128-151.
11. The first polytechnical exposition was held in St. Petersburg in 1870, then it was followed by Moscow in 1872. They were designed to promote science and education and functioned to disseminate civic pride, patriotism and Russian identity. For an examination of modern Russian domestic expositions, see Joseph Bradley, "Pictures at an Exhibition: Science, Patriotism, and Civil Society in Imperial Russia," *Slavic Review* 67, no. 4 (Winter 2008): 934-966. Alexander Ortenberg, "Russian Domestic Expositions, 1829-1896: Through the Lenses of Domestic Critics " in *A History of Russian Exposition and Festival Architecture: 1700-2014*, ed. Alla Aronova and Alexander Ortenberg (Routledge, 2018), 113-130.
12. For Japanese national expositions, see P. F. Kornicki, "Public Display and Changing Values. Early Meiji Exhibitions and Their Precursors," *Monumenta Nipponica* 49, no. 2 (Summer, 1994): 167-196; and John L. Hennessey, "Moving Up in the World: Japan's Manipulation of Colonial Imagery at the 1910 Japan–British Exhibition," *Museum History Journal* 11, no. 1 (2015): 24-41.
13. Önsoy, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu": 207; Vedit Inal, "The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Ottoman Attempts to Catch Up with Europe," *Middle Eastern Studies* 47, no. 5 (2011): 742.
14. Ahmet Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary: Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernizing Empire* (London: Routledge, 2017), 60.
15. Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul* [Once upon a Time in Istanbul] (Istanbul: Tercüman, 1970), 147, 160.
16. Presidential Archives of Turkey Ottoman Section (OA hereafter) İ.DH. 49633608 (h. 24.02. 1279 / 21 August 1862). According to the imperial decree submitted by the Ministry of the Interior, a special commission of experienced officials headed by the Minister of Commerce would deal with the organization of the event.
17. The regulation of the exhibition was published in newspapers and cited frequently by the contemporaries. See Victor Marie de Launay, *Coup d'oeil général sur l'exposition nationale à Constantinople—Extraits du Journal de Constantinople* [General View of the National Exhibition in Constantinople – Excepts from the Journal de Constantinople] (Istanbul, 1863), 3-9; and *Mir'at*, issue no. 1, Ramazan 1279/February-March 1863 no. 1. The orders sent to the provinces also included the preparation of a label about each item, including its producer, price, and technique (if necessary), and a request that local governors ship items as soon as possible so that the event would be inaugurated on time.
18. Headed by Mustafa Fazıl Pasha, the Minister of Finance; the members are Kamil Bey, the commissar of 1855 London Exposition; Nazım Bey, the commissar of 1862 London Exposition; Server Efendi, the

undersecretary of the Ministry of Commerce; and Agaton Efendi, an Armenian-Ottoman Agriculture specialist and statesmen. See Batur, "19. Yüzyıl": 68; Önsoy, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu": 208.

19. The imperial order dated November 19, 1862, refers to the empty plot nearby the school. OA, A.} MKT.MHM. 247/90 (03.06. 1279/ 26 November 1862), the same reference also published in *Tasvir-i Ekfar* (10.06.1279 / 3 December 1862), no. 46. See also de Launay, *Coup d'oeil général*, 16.
20. Eventually, the Ottomanized name of the place, *At Meydanı*, also refers to its ancient function, the chariot races.
21. There are substantial academic studies on the use the Ottoman miniature albums to understand pre-modern Ottoman regimes of visuality and publicity. See Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Scrutinizing Gaze in the Aesthetics of Islamic Visual Cultures: Sight, Insight, and Desire," *Muqarnas* 32 (2015): 24-61; Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Indiana University Press, 2013), Tülay Artan, "Contemplation or Amusement? The Light Shed by Rûznames on an Ottoman Spectacle of 1740-1750." Edited by Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *Entertainment among the Ottomans* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 22-42.
22. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Sokağın, Meydanın, Şehirlilerin Resmi: On Altıncı Yüzyıl Sonu İstanbul'unda Mekân Pratikleri ve Görselliğin Dönüşümü" [The Picture of Street, Square and Citizens: The Transformation of the Patial Practices and Visuality at the end of the Sizteenth Century Istanbul] *YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies*, no. 1 (2019): 8, 18-19.
23. Kafescioğlu, "Sokağın, Meydanın": 28, and Fetvacı, *Picturing History*, 178-179.
24. Kafescioğlu, "Sokağın, Meydanın": 26.
25. For the subjectivity of the spectacle and its representation through arts, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Scrutinizing Gaze": 24-61. For the urban spectacle in the Hippodrome of Istanbul during the Ottoman period, see Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Sokağın, Meydanın": 7-43; Gülru Necipoğlu, *Sinan Çağı: Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Mimarî Kültür* [Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire] (Istanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2013), 140-153; Cigdem Kafescioğlu. *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, İmperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (Penn State University Press, 2010), 130-142.
26. Primary sources such as chronicles and miniature albums are beneficial for explaining the content of the images and providing invaluable information about the temporary and permanent buildings erected to facilitate these events. Necipoğlu (1991) examines the order of royal ceremonies in the urban space between the great mosques, tombs, and the royal palace by focusing on religious festivities, sword girding, and enthronement ceremonies. The volume edited by Faroqhi and Öztürkmen, *Celebration, Entertainment and Theater in the Ottoman World*, dwells on the same topic by focusing on the performative dimension of the events. Kaya Şahin explains how urban space became an active participant in the royal circumcision ceremonies and how the urban space became a basis of legitimization for the royal family in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture*; Suraiya Faroqhi, and Arzu Öztürkmen, *Celebration, Entertainment and Theater in the Ottoman World* (London: Seagull, 2014); Kaya Şahin, "Staging an Empire: An Ottoman Circumcision Ceremony as Cultural Performance," *American Historical Review* 123, no. 2 (2018): 463-92; and Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, "The Depiction of Ceremonies in Ottoman Miniatures: Historical Record or a Metter of Protocol," *Muqarnas*, no. 27 (2010): 251-275.
27. For a valuable source on the new practices of urban visuality and public spectacle in Istanbul, see Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*.
28. Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 83. For this reason, Pınar Aykaç traces back the "musealization" of the hippodrome until the first half of the nineteenth century. See Pınar Aykaç, "Musealization as an Urban Process: The Transformation of the Sultanahmet District in Istanbul's Historic Peninsula," *Journal of Urban History* 45, no. 6 (2019): 1249.
29. A group of British archeologists headed by Charles Thomas Newton executed the archeological excavation in 1856. His notes about this survey were later printed in his travel records. See Charles Thomas Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, vol. 2 (London: 1865), 26-28.
30. OA, İ.DH. 341-22429 (17.07.1272- 24 March 1856).
31. Göksun Akyürek, "Tanzimat Döneminde Değişen Mimarlık Bilgisi; Fenn-i Mimari, Gazeteler ve Diğerleri." [The Changing of Architectural Knowledge during the Tanzimat Period: The Science of

Architecture, Newspapers and Other Resources] *Talid Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 7, no. 13 (2009): 112.

32. OA, A.}MKT.MHM. 251/10 (02.07. 1279/24 December 1862) and A.}MKT.MHM. 252/58 (21.07.1279/ 13 January 1863). The estimated cost of the entire construction was 74,453 piaster. It was paid after the proposal of the cabinet and the approval of the sultan. OA, İ.MVL. 491/22235 (h.18.03.1280/ 2 September 1863).
33. One pik is equal to 0,71 meter, so the plan of the building fits into a rectangle of 71 m x 42,6 m (=3024 m^2). However, Afife Batur wrote about a rectangle of 107x 36 meter by mistake. See Afife Batur, "19. Yüzyıl": 69.
34. *Tercüman-ı Ahvâl* (h. 03.061279 / 26 November 1862), no. 623; See also Yazıcı, "The First Ottoman," 133.
35. Marie de Launay, *Coup d'oeil général*, 16.
36. In many sources the architect of the exposition has been recorded as Auguste Bourgeois, such as Zeynep Çelik (1992) and Nurcan Yazıcı (2010). However, based on French consulate in Istanbul immatriculation registries, Miyuki Aoki claimed that it was Louis Seraphin Bourgeois, hence there was a possibility of two Mr. Bourgeois active in Istanbul at that time. Louis Seraphin Bourgeois was the designer of the Ottoman General Staff Building in Istanbul in 1865. See Miyuki Aoki, "Léon Parvillée: Osmanlı Modernliğinin Eşiğinde Bir Fransız Sanatçı" [Léon Parvillée: A French Artish at the Treshold of Ottoman Modernization] (PhD Dissertation: Istanbul technical University, 2002): 82.
37. Léon Parvilée (1830-1885) was a French architect actively involved in many design and restoration projects in the 1860s and 1870s in Turkey. He was known for his extensive studies in Bursa for the restoration of Ottoman monuments after the devastating earthquake of 1855. He was the co-designer of the Ottoman pavilions, including a mosque, a Turkish house, and a Turkish bath for the 1867 Paris Exposition, along with Italian architect Barborini.
38. Pietro Montani (1829-1887) was known as a skilled decorator, rather than an architect, in Istanbul. He studied Ottoman monuments in the 1860s. After dealing with the local exposition in Istanbul, he was also associated with the other expositions: a member of the Ottoman delegation in Paris (1867); and then responsible for the design of the Ottoman pavilion for the Vienna Exposition (1873).
39. Victor Marie de Launay was born in Paris (1822 or 1823) and traveled to Istanbul during the Crimean War. He was an exhibitor, an amateur artist, and a collector. Without a doubt, like Pietro Montani, he was a renowned figure in Istanbul's intellectual circles in the 1860s and 1870. He was involved in expositions after the domestic one in Istanbul through notable publications along with Pietro Montani. He authored *La Turquie à l'éxposition universelle de 1867* (Paris, 1867) with Selahaddin Bey, the director of the Ottoman commission during the 1867 Paris exposition. He was the co-author of the *Usul-i Mi'mari-i 'Osmani/ L'Architecture ottomane* [Fundamentals of the Ottoman Architecture] (Istanbul, 1873), - a substantial collection of texts and images on the evolutionary transformation of Ottoman architecture- which was exclusively published for the 1873 Vienna Exhibition. For the same event, he also co-authored the photographic album of traditional Ottoman dress entitled the *Elbise-i Osmaniyye: Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie* [The Ottoman Cloths: the Popular Costumes of Turkey] (Istanbul,1873) along with Pietro Montani.
40. Marie de Launay, *Coup d'oeil général*, 17-18.
41. Ibid., 13.
42. Ibid., 22.
43. Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 141; Afife Batur, "19. Yüzyıl": 69; N. Yazıcı, 146. Later, a similar approach was utilized by the designers of 1867 and 1873 expositions. Nurcan Yazıcı, "Uluslararası Sergilerde Osmanlı Mimarisinin Sunumu," *Arkitekt*, no. 500 (January-February 2004): 23.
44. To correspond "new style and common taste" (*tarz-ı cedid ve müstahsene uygun*). This concern was emphasized in many places. For instance, see *Tasvir-i Efkar* (30 November 1862).
45. Marie de Launay, *Coup d'oeil général*, 13.
46. For 1867 Paris international exposition, the design inspiration was derived from the early Ottoman architectural types, particularly the ones in Bursa.
47. Based on primary sources, Gülru Necipoğlu claims that there were also two other pavilions built concurrently in "Turkish" and "Greek" styles in the same area. Tiled Kiosk was the only surviving one among them. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, ceremonial, and power: the Topkapi Palace in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries* (Boston, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 269-274.

48. "C'est M. Bourgeouis qui a conçu et execute le plan de ce bel édifice, style de l'époque de Mahomet II." Pietro, Montani, "Exposition à Constantinople," *L'Illustation* (4 April 1863): 228.
49. Ibid.
50. Ergüney and Pilehvarian, "Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl": 229.
51. Önsoy, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu": 230; see also Yazıcı, "The First Ottoman": 134. It was inaugurated on 13 April 1863.
52. *Mir'at* illustrated journal published the plan and front façade of the annex building as well.
53. Jonathan Crary, Techniques of the Observer, 5-6.
54. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Books, 1983), and E. J. Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (Eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1983).
55. Cengiz Kırlı, "Surveillance and Constituting the Public in the Ottoman Empire," in *Publics, Politics and Participation: Locating the Public Sphere in the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Seteney Shami (New York: Social Sciences Research Council, 2009), 177-203.
56. Selim Deringil, Simgeden Millete II. Abdülhamid'den Mustafa Kemal'e Devlet ve Millet [State and Nation: From Symbol to Nation from Abdülhamid II to Mustafa Kemal] (Istanbul: İletişim, 2007), 24-27.
57. Hakan Karateke, *Padişahım Çok Yaşa. Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Yüzyılında Merasimler* [Long Live the Sultan; The Ceremonies in the Last Century of the Ottoman State] (Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015), 56-61, 80-94.
58. Darin Stephanov, *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2018), 145-46.
59. George L Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses* (London: Cornell University Press, 1991), 4, 8.
60. One of the most remarkable royal ceremonies of the late Ottoman period was the jubilee days of Sultan Abdülhamid. Several charity events, the inauguration of public services, and official celebrations coincided with the 20th, 25th, and 30th years of his reign. Photographic albums documented all these events. Among them, the 25th anniversary was the busiest. See Alev Erkmen, "Osmanlı Türkiyesi ile Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nin Anı(t)ları: Timsal ve Temsil Üzerine Notlar," *Cumhuriyet'in Mekânları Zamanları İnsanları*. Edited by Elvan Altan Ergut, and Bilge İmamoğlu (Ankara: Dipnot Yay, 2010), 31-51. One of the invented traditions of the Abdülhamid era was the Friday parades between Yıldız Palace and the royal mosque nearby. These recurring events became a platform of urban spectacle in modern terms, and perhaps it was the only means for ordinary citizens to witness the presence of the sultan. See Deringil, *Simgeden Millete*, 57-58.
61. The making of the modern cityscape as an essential feature of the modernization of the state had been on the agenda of Ottoman statesmen since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The earliest regulations issued and implementations took place during the reign of Mahmud II. His successors were also keen on changing the physical outlook of the city. Despite the fact that many of the planning attempts remained at the local level, the last century of the empire witnessed remarkable changes in the cityscape: enlargement of old streets, demolition of the city walls, the opening of new harbor facilities, arrival of the railroad lines, the introduction of modern mayoral institutions, and the establishment of ferry and tram services. Among many urban monographies on Istanbul, see Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (University of California Press, 1993), Murat Gül, *Emergence of Modern Istanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009); and Fatma Cana Bilsel, "Geç Osmanlı Döneminden Cumhuriyet'e Çağdaş Şehir Düşüncesi ve İstanbul Planlaması." [The Concept of Contemporary City and Planning of Istanbul from the Late Ottoman to the Republican Period] *Antik Çağdan XXI. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, vol. 8 (Mimari) (Istanbul: İBB Kültür A.Ş. 2015), 496-534.
62. Gülname Turan, "Turkey in the Great Exhibition of 1851," *Design Issues*, 25, no. 1 (Winter, 2009): 68.
63. Marie de Launay, *Coup d'oeil général*, 24.
64. Ibid., 26.
65. Among many seaside pavilions and kiosks, Yali Kiosk was introduced in Necdet Sakaoglu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun-Topkapı Sarayı* [Topkapı Palace with its Spaces, Inscriptions, and Memories] (Istanbul: Denizbank Yayınları, 2002), 36-37; Necipoğlu, *Architecture*,

206-207; Sedat H. Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi, 1969), 173-207.

66. *Mecmua-i Fünun* (h. Ramazan 1279, February-March 1863).
67. Marie de Launay, *Coup d'oeil général*, 23.
68. Ibid., 20.
69. *Ceride-i havadis* (h. 05.08.1279 / 26 February 1863), no. 1128 and Önsoy, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu": 232.
70. *Ceride-i havadis* (h. 11.09.1279/ 2 March 1863), no. 1133, and Önsoy, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu": 233.
71. *Mecmua-i Fünun* (h. Ramazan 1279, February-March 1863).
72. Münif Bey, *Mecmua-i Fünun* (h. Şevval 1279, March-April 1863); Marie de Launay, *Coup d'oeil général*, 189. Tercüman-ı Ahvâl (h. 10.02.1280/ 27 July 1863), no. 364.
73. Münif Bey, "Sergi-i Umûmî-i Osmanî'nin Vukû-ı Küşadı," [the Inauguration of the Ottoman General Exposition] *Mecmua-i Fünûn*, no. 9 (1863): 362-367.
74. Ibid., 363.
75. Abbattista, "Concepts and Categories," 14.
76. I. de P. "Exposition nationale de Constantinople." *Le Monde illustré*, no 312 (4 April 1863): 215.
77. Marie de Launay, *Coup d'oeil général*, 27-28. Ali Rıza lists forty-two pieces of objects displayed in imperial showcase. See Ali Rıza, *Bir Zamanlar*, 43-44. An official registry in Topkapı Palace archive lists twenty-four pieces of objects assigned to Begos Bey by Hacı Emin Pasha, the imperial treasure chamberlain. OA, TS.MA.e 613/45 (h. 10.09.1279/ 1 March 1863). The reason for the quantitative difference was about duplication of some objects since they have many pairs.
78. Marie de Launay, *Coup d'oeil général*, 29.
79. Marie de Launay, *Coup d'oeil général*, 26-27.
80. Ibid., 33.
81. Ibid., 34. The author believes that the foundation of a National Museum like its European counterparts should crown this extensive research.
82. Ibid., 34.
83. Sibel Bozdoğan, "Journey to the East: Ways of Looking at the Orient and the Question of Representation," *Journal of Architectural Education* 41, no. 4 (1988): 39. The emphasis appears in the original text.
84. For the contribution of Preziosi and Brindesi in Turkish art, see Semra Germaner and Zeynep İnankur, *Oryantalizm ve Türkiye* [Orientalism and Turkey] (Istanbul: Türk Kültürüne Hizmet Vakfı, 1989).
85. Marie de Launay, *Coup d'oeil général*, 30.
86. Ibid., 32.
87. Ibid., 30. This project was never realized, but the details of this connection wait for further research.
88. I. de P., "Exposition nationale de Constantinople," *Le Monde Illustré*, no. 312 (4 April 1863): 215 (emphasis added).
89. "The Ottoman Exhibition, Constantinople," *The Illustrated London News* (11 April 1863): 416.
90. "The Ottoman Exhibition, Constantinople," *The Illustrated London News* (11 April 1863): 416.
91. Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1, no. 2 (April 1989): 229.
92. Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition": 231.
93. Ali Behdad, *Camera Orientalis: Reflections on Photography of the Middle East* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 27-28.
94. Linda Nochlin, *The Politics of Vision* (New York: Routledge, 2018): 38-39.
95. Marie de Launay, *Coup d'oeil général*, xiii-xiv.
96. Ibid., xvi.
97. OA, A.}MKT.MHM.329/21 (h. 15.11.1281/ 11 April 1865).
98. For Ahmet Ersoy, the Ottoman pavilion in Vienna was less assertive than the imagery and textual materials drafted exclusively for the exposition. For a detailed account about them, see Ahmet Ersoy, "A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism: The Elbise-i 'Osmāniyye Album." *Muqarnas* 20, no. 1 (2003): 187-207; and Ersoy, *Architecture*, 29-90.
99. Marie de Launay, *Coup d'oeil général*, 16.

100. The official reason was the seasonal conditions: since the Ramadan coincided with the harsh winter months, it would be safer to organize this public event within an indoor space. There was an admission fee of forty paras (one piaster) for the visitors, which is lower than the previous event. OA, A.}MKT.MHM. 292/21 (h. 02.09.1280/10 February 1864).
101. OA, A.}MKT.MHM. 329/85 (h. 22.11.1281/ 18 April 1865).
102. Hatice Adıgüzel, "Bir Tasarimin İzinde: Yeni Bulgular Işiğinda Raimondo D'aronco'nun İlk İstanbul Projesi Dersaadet Ziraat Ve Sanayi Sergi-i Umumisi" *METU JFA* 36, no. 1 (2019): 57-182.
103. For a detailed account on the life and career of D'Aronco in Turkey, see D. Barillari and E. Godoli, *Istanbul 1900. Art Nouveau Architecture and Interiors* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996).
104. OA., İ.MMS 39/1604, 6-7 (h.03.04.1287/ 3 July 1870). The major reason for late compensation was about the dispute between the company and the Ministry of Finance. The sultan promised to pay from his private treasure (*hazine-i hassa*) if the collected revenues would not meet the cost of the organization. Still, there was no imperial decree to formalize this condition. The document of 1870 notes 376,609 piasters, remaining payment after years.
105. Ersoy, *Architecture*, 60.
106. Cana Bilsel, "Remodeling the Imperial Capital in the Early Republican Era: The Representation of History in Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul." *Power and Culture: Identity, Ideology, Representation*, ed. Jonathan Osmond and Ausma Cimdiņa (Pisa: Plus-Pisa University Press, 2007), 109-110. For a detailed examination of Prost's master plan for Istanbul, see Cana Bilsel and Pierre Pinon (Eds.), *From the Imperial Capital to Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul* (Istanbul: Istanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010).

Author Biography

Ahmet Erdem Tozoglu received his BA degree from Bilkent University in 2005 and his MA degree from 2007, respectively. He received his PhD degree from Middle East Technical University Architectural History program in 2013 with his dissertation titled "Actors of Change: Railway Projects and Urban Architecture of Balkan Cities in the Late Ottoman Period." He was granted ARIT (American Research Institute in Turkey) fellowship (2011) and TUBITAK fellowship (2007-2012) for his PhD research. He has been working in Abdullah Gul University, Faculty of Architecture, since 2014. He was in the University of Chicago as a visiting researcher with the financial support of TUBITAK (Scientific and Technical Research Council of Turkey) international postdoctoral research scholarship to conduct his research project in 2018-2019 academic year. He is the author of many national and international articles, book chapters, and conference papers.