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Curators: Şeyda Çetin and

Ebru Esra Satıcı; *On the*

Spot: Panoramic Gaze on

Istanbul, a History. Pera

Museum. October 26, 2023

–August 18, 2024.

Curators: Çiğdem

Kafescioğlu, K. Mehmet

Kentel, and M. Baha

Tanman

Seeing the City Panoramically

Istanbulites genuinely enjoy the wide-angle vistas of the city offered by the city's waterways and hilly topography. Three exhibitions that opened in Istanbul in 2023 featuring panoramic views of the city demonstrate the long history of this enjoyment for a diverse range of actors, including residents, long-term visitors, and travelers who made and consumed the city's scenic images.¹ Of these, *Istanbul as Far as the Eye Can See: Views across Five Centuries* at Meşher and *On the Spot: Panoramic Gaze on Istanbul, a History* at the Pera Museum are very similar in scope. And yet, having been realized by different design teams and by teams of curators with different fields of scholarly expertise, they present considerably divergent spatial experiences. When seen together, the juxtaposition is stimulating for visitors from an exhibition-design perspective and puts into relief the creativity in each project and within each team. Inevitably, there is some overlap in content, and seeing how curators frame this shared content is instructive. While the exhibitions will be over by the time this review essay appears in print, it is still possible to visit them virtually via Matterport scan on the institutions' websites.² Furthermore, the beautiful exhibition catalogues reproduce the artworks in the same order they were displayed in the physical exhibitions, while also gathering together critical scholarship

and paving the way for new research.³ Each of the hundreds of displayed items lends itself to new historical investigation and expanded explorations about circulation and audience.

Whose Perspective?

Meşher's curatorial team states that the views on display in its exhibition were produced predominantly by outsiders, Westerners, with different political, aesthetic, and military agendas. The curators of the exhibition at the Pera Museum, however, argue for a "multiplicity of agents involved in the making and use of" panoramic imagery (p. 13). Most of the artists who produced the images in the exhibitions may have been European, but most of them also spent time in the capital, temporarily joining shared spaces and networks with Constantinople-based actors. Neither exhibition displays much information on these networks, since the focus is not the artists but the artifacts (though visitors learn little about how those circulated either). Explanatory texts reveal that some of the artists whose works are on display (e.g., Antoine-Ignace Melling, 1763–1831; Gaspare Trajano Fossati, 1809–1883) made the city their home, while others visited on short trips. Henry Aston Barker (1774–1856) visited the city in 1799–1800 to prepare a panorama painting of Constantinople for the business enterprise of his father, the Irish itinerant painter Robert Barker (1739–1806). As widely recounted in the scholarship on panoramas, Robert Barker coined the term "panorama," combining the Greek words "pan" (all) and "horama" (view), and he patented the exhibition building he designed with a rotunda as a medium for displaying 360-degree panoramic views of cities and war scenes.

Some of the artists in the two exhibitions created panoramic, wide-angled views of the city without ever actually visiting it (e.g., Georg Matthäus Merian produced a gothicized image of the city in 1638), relying on previous artists' prints and a great deal of fantasy. Some of the works in the exhibition are by locals (e.g., Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano, 1749–1814; or the Abdullah Frères/Brothers). One

of the few women artists featured in both exhibitions, Clara Barthold Meyer, is an excellent example of the multiplicity of agency. Born in Switzerland in the late eighteenth century, she resided in Constantinople because of her father's work as a dragoman, or interpreter, for the British ambassador. She met her future husband and partner, Luigi Mayer (ca. 1750/55–1803), an artist from Rome, while he was in residence in the city from 1776 to 1792, also working for the same ambassador. The couple settled in London after 1795, and after Luigi Mayer died in 1803, she continued to produce and publish views of Constantinople, most of them versions of her husband's compositions. While only a few other women artists are included in the exhibitions—Alicia Blackwood (1818–1913), Evelyn Gorkiewicz (1878–1963), and Mayken Verhulst (1518–1599)—this does not mean there were no others, but rather points to possibilities for new research into how members of traditionally underrepresented groups viewed the city.

Istanbul as Far as the Eye Can See

Meşher's *Istanbul as Far as the Eye Can See*—by resident cocurators Ebru Esra Satıcı and Şeyda Çetin, and designed by Meşher's director, the architect Nilüfer Konuk—is organized in three broad themes, each with its own floor. Comprising rare works from the Ömer Koç Collection, the exhibition spans from the fifteenth century to the first quarter of the twentieth, bringing together more than a hundred works, some of which are being exhibited in Istanbul for the first time. These include engravings, rare books, paintings, and photographs, including panoramic and wide-angle representations of the city.

The first floor presents the earliest woodblock print, the earliest photographic panorama, and the earliest panorama painting of a panorama building. Visitors enter this floor from an elevated access point half a story above street level, then descend into an elongated exhibition space that opens onto the room at the front of the building and the one at the back. The first works encountered include



Figure 1: Barker panorama from Meşher's first floor. Courtesy of Meşher. Photograph: Ilgin Erarslan Yanmaz, 2023.

an eclectic group of pictorial artworks from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as seen from the point of view of arrival by sea, in media such as paintings, drawings, and maps, including illustrations in rare books protected in glass cases. Paintings and drawings on the wall—Girolamo Gianni's (1837–1895) *Panoramic View of Constantinople from Beyazit* (1868) is followed by Lucien Lévy-Dhurmer's (1865–1953) nocturnal view *Constantinople* (1906), Rudolf Hellgreve's (1860–1935) *The Golden Horn at Dusk* (1900), Edward Lear's (1812–1888) *Constantinople from the Sea of Marmara* (ca. 1850s), the *Carte generale de Constantinople et du canal de la Mer Noire, levée dans le voyage du Conte de Choiseul-Gouffier au Levant en 1776* attributed to the French cartographer and engineer François Kauffer (~1751–1801), and others. These signal right away that the range of the artworks is not limited to panorama paintings but includes the panoramic as an attribute of the visitors' gaze.

To the left of this elongated exhibition space, on the street-side of the floor plan, is a more defined, room-size space, at the center of which is the oldest work in the exhibition, displayed in a glass case on a pedestal: Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum* (1493). This volume is known as the first secular book to include the style of extensive illustrations previ-

ously reserved for liturgical works. It is on display, open to a famous image of the city before 1453 (reproduced in the exhibition catalogue as a double-page spread on pages 56–57). The walled-in defensive Byzantine city with freestanding monuments, looking distinctly depopulated compared to the dense Galata district across the Golden Horn, resembles in its aerial point of view Giovanni Andreas di Vavassore's 1520 woodcut *Byzantium sive Constantineopolis*. The second room-size space to the back of the building displays Henri Aston Barker's (1774–1856) panorama of Constantinople. This famous view, painted from the Galata Tower, is known as the earliest representation of a foreign city in the “panorama exhibitions” operated by the Barkers in London's Leicester Square and was in fact one of the two views simultaneously presented there.⁴

The letterpress title page and the eight plates are displayed behind a glass screen.⁵ Second, an enlarged version of the circular keyplate is displayed on the wall. A rounded, backlit wall that defines the room presents the plates at eye level and in continuity, thereby providing visitors a sense of the display in the rotunda of the Leicester Square Panorama over two hundred years ago. This room is most impressive because it allows viewers to understand affectively and intel-

lectually the multiple and overlapping ways in which Barker's panorama of the city would have been experienced at the time of its initial circulation.

The second floor's theme is “city planning and urban mapping, fires, and flourishing diplomatic relationships” (p. 122). While the pictorial works the exhibition features are predominantly by European artists, it pairs these with short literary extracts drawn mostly from local authors of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Especially poignant is Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's commentary on the artist Melling in his famous *Five Cities* (1946):

Melling was not the only European painter who lived in Istanbul, and several other books and albums were published at the same time as his. Before him and after, there were many illustrations that depicted typical scenes from our lives. It was a century of large folios, of carefully prepared publications with wide-set print, recalling the paved courtyards of mansions of another age. ... What distinguishes Melling ... is the fact that he lived among us, researching neither ancient Greece nor the Eastern Roman Empire. The architect of Hatice Sultan's palace and garden loved Istanbul for its own sake, like a true native of the city.

This quote accompanies a display of letters from Melling's correspondence with Hatice Sultan (1768–1822) circa 1795–1802, reinforcing the idea of Melling as an embedded actor and challenging the potential ascription of a uniform positionality to the European artists whose works are on display. Still, in her essay in the exhibition catalogue exploring the “dialogue between the artistic productions of outsiders and the local writing culture,” Zeynep Çelik concludes, “Even though both [European artists and local literary artists] included Istanbul and vignettes from everyday life, Europeans fell into Orientalist tropes, whereas locals confronted realities and hardships” (pp. 32, 40).

The second and third floors of the exhibition feature panoramic views of the city from increasingly diverse vantage points, as well as artifacts of material culture, including porce-



Figure 2: Wall of cabinet plates. Courtesy of Meşher. Photograph: Hadiye Cangökçe, 2023.

lain plates and trays with decorative panoramic paintings of the city. The catalogue entry for “Cabinet Plates” (decorated by Boyer in Paris, ca. 1850, p. 200) explains that the drawings on the plates were likely based on the widely circulated drawings of Melling, demonstrating the influence the artistic works on display had on popular and material culture. However, the exhibition offers no information about the demand for such artifacts, who purchased them, how they were used, and what they may have meant or signified—all questions that represent promising avenues for future research. A puzzle from the early twentieth century and mass-produced, tourism-oriented paraphernalia (such as souvenir albums and posters advertising railroad travel and cruises) on the third floor of the exhibition document how the panoramic gaze transformed the journey to Constantinople under early twentieth-century mass tourism.

The exhibition eschews contemporary multimedia applications such as immersive glasses or AI-powered hyperrealistic renditions, but it creatively employs screens on all three floors in several distinct ways. In addition to the curved wall-screen that displays Barker’s panorama on the first floor, multiple small screens on the third floor are arranged to resemble a family photo wall displaying selected details of (human and animal) habitation in various panoramas. And finally, the glass-case display of Pieter Coecke van Aelst’s (1502–1550) *Moeurs et façons de faire*

de Turcz (1553, ten adjoined plates totaling 32.6×452 cm) is complemented by a subtly animated display of the last plate on a large screen.

On the Spot

In contrast to the resident or in-house curators of Meşher, the Pera Museum’s *On the Spot* was curated by a team of three curators with academic appointments: Çiğdem Kafescioğlu (Boğaziçi University), K. Mehmet Kentel (Leiden University), and M. Baha Tanman (Istanbul University). Kafescioğlu is known for her award-winning book *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*; Kentel is an urban and environmental historian of the late Ottoman

Empire; and Tanman is a professor of Turkish and Islamic art and the head of the scientific committee at the Suna and İnan Kiraç Foundation’s nearby Istanbul Research Institute, the exhibition organizer. These curators make a more concerted effort to show how images of Istanbul convey the historical evolution of the cityscape as an artistic and cultural form. Sections correspond to essay contributions in the exhibition catalogue, which in turn illuminate both the exhibition’s thematic and chronological arrangement and Istanbul’s history of modernization. The “on the spot” in the exhibition’s title is a reference to the Barkers’ advertisement of their panoramas as opportunities for audiences to see the exhibited cities as if they themselves were “on the spot” (p. 11). The design of the exhibition was undertaken by an external bureau, PATTU Architecture.

At the entrance, the title display, in the form of a large, layered, wood cut-out collage, greets visitors with the impression of viewing landscapes and buildings through the clouds, from the air, foregrounding the content of the exhibition and its interpretative aspect. This exhibition is a history of the “Panoramic Gaze on Istanbul,” its subtitle clarifies, and not a history of panoramas or the city’s topography. Next to the title display is an anonymous three-and-a-half-meter-long Istanbul panorama (ca. 1805), as viewed from the Galata



Figure 3: Title wall of *On the Spot* at the Pera Museum. Photograph: Engin Şengenc, 2023.

Tower. This 2018 acquisition of the Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation, the curators explain, generated the impetus for the exhibition. Across the wall, early modern renditions of the city, including Hartmann Schedel's (1453) and Georg Matthäus Seutter's (1730, based on previous works such as Giovanni Andreas di Vavassore's 1520 aerial view of Constantinople), present an aerial but static point of view; these are contrasted with Melchior Lorck's eleven-meter-long *Prospect of Constantinople* (1559–1566), which presents a moving subject and thus a mobile gaze. A map diagram on display shows that the Lorck panorama portrays the city with shifts in the point of view along a horizontal axis, meaning that the viewer is in motion across the city on the hills on the other side of the Golden Horn overlooking Constantinople.

Philipp Franz von Gudenus's (1710–1783) four-meter-long *Vue de ville de Constantinople, capitale de l'Empire ottoman* (1740), drawn from the vantage of the Swedish Palace, is presented as a book spread in a glass display case and as a series of ten framed prints on the wall. One of Corneille le Bruyn's engravings from *A Voyage to the Levant* (1702) is exploded to gigantic proportions as wallpaper to guide the visitor to move to the next section/room while evoking the feel of a panorama rotunda.⁶ The second section is framed by the reign of the reformist sultan Selim III, who invited European experts, architects, and engineers to guide the modernization of the Ottoman army and its infrastructure, all of which had an impact on the city skyline and vistas. The "Pan-Horama" section focuses on 360-degree depictions of the city by painters. In this section, Antoine Ignace Melling's and Henry Aston Barker's panorama paintings are narrated and complemented by literary travel accounts. Particularly successful is a video display prepared using the first two plates of Barker's panorama narrated through quotes from his diary read by a voice actor.⁷

This section culminates in the highlight of the exhibition: a minimalist, circular, room-size installation which presents on backlit walls an enlarged

copy of the aforementioned anonymous panorama from atop the Galata Tower. It is here that the visitor realizes that this image, first encountered in a frame on a wall at the exhibition entrance, is in fact a 360-degree view. One of the cocurators, Baha Tanman, has added details; to my count, about two hundred buildings in the anonymous and Barker panoramas are displayed together on two smaller screens inside this light-box room. Tanman's contribution to the exhibition catalogue reproduces this impressive information, presenting the comparative examination of such images as a method for urban history, especially for researching no-longer-extant or imagined environments.

In the fourth section of the exhibition, "Panorama in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," photography enters the scene. On exhibit are works by British mint engraver and photographer Robert Robertson (1813–1888), who was active in Istanbul from 1841 to 1867; Swedish photographer Guillaume Berggren (1835–1920), who arrived in 1866 and spent the rest of his life documenting the city; the Ottoman-Armenian photographers Gülmez Frères; and others. The photographs offer detailed glimpses of the industrialization of the city.

The exhibition floor at the Pera Museum consists of two U-shaped

wings, and where the first wing connects to the second, a four-piece enlarged panoramic photograph shows a post-disaster scene of the Great Fire of Pera of June 5, 1870. While Meşher's exhibition also features views and maps of past fires, this composite photograph, annotated by an insurance agent, documents the impact for forensic purposes. Complemented by a "Plan of Pera Ravaged by Fire," it points to how disasters transform cities and reminds viewers of the utilitarian (forensic, pedagogical) purposes panoramic views can serve. Given that Turkey experienced one of the most destructive and deadly earthquakes in its history in 2023, and that Istanbul is anxiously expecting its next big one, the experience of the city's earthquakes as rendered in illustrations and paintings may provide an interesting avenue for further exploration.

Moving into the second wing, visitors encounter the first engravings and paintings in the exhibition from vantage points enjoyed by residents of the city. Melling's etching *Interior of a Coffee House in Tophane* (1819) shows the panoramic views of the city enjoyed by clients from behind the windows of a coffeehouse, while at the same time demonstrating how the design of buildings sought to capture the city's spectacular views. French painter (and painting professor at the city's Fine Arts Academy) Joseph



Figure 4: Circular room-size light-box installation of 1805 panorama. Photograph: Engin Şengenc, 2023.



Figure 5: Letterhead of Hotel Bristol, Suna and İnan Kırâç Foundation (SVIKV), İstanbul Research Institute (IAE), BLG_000023.

Warnia-Zarzecki's (b. 1850) oil painting shows a man and woman enjoying the views of the city over beer from a terrace on the hills of Dolmabahçe at the turn of the twentieth century—a view today's İstanbulites today can very much relate to. Some of the impressive works in this section are human-centered, foregrounding the lives of İstanbulites as they enjoy the city's views, processions, and each other's company.

The remaining sections treat nature landscapes, map views, and "inter-medial transitions." As in the Meşher exhibition, the final space is allocated to paraphernalia for mass tourism: postcards, illustrated travel maps, advertisements, and other artifacts featuring panoramic views. Notable is the inclusion of letterhead from the Hotel Bristol (1893, converted to a museum in 2005), which now houses the Pera Museum where the exhibition is on view. On the letterhead, the figure of the hotel building is set in the foreground against a panorama of the city, reminding the visitor that this exhibition on the panoramic gaze is installed in a building offering panoramic views.

Location and Time Matter

It is impossible not to notice that all three exhibitions with historical panoramas of İstanbul on show simultaneously in 2023–2024 were devel-

oped by institutions—the Sadberk Hanım Museum, Meşher, and Pera Museum—separate in management but operating under the patronage of the same family, the Koç family. In the final paragraph of the catalogue introduction to *On the Spot*, the cocurators themselves raise this point: "What does it mean that three of İstanbul's cultural institutions founded and funded by major business groups have invested, within the same time space, in exhibitions that engage with the history of the city's views and their cultural dissemination?" While purportedly coincidental, this still means something. Like the cocurators who left their question hanging, I will also refrain from answering it, at least directly.

The Pera Museum and Meşher are located close to each other, set apart by only 250 meters, on two parallel avenues in the district of Beyoğlu. The Pera Museum was founded by the Suna and İnan Kırâç Foundation (Suna Kırâç was the daughter of the family patriarch, Vehbi Koç), and Meşher by the Vehbi Koç Foundation. The Pera Museum's *On the Spot* took up an entire floor of the museum building on Meşrutiyet Avenue, converted from the former Bristol Hotel, with panoramic vistas of the Golden Horn and Historic Peninsula, while Meşher's *İstanbul as Far as the Eye Can See* extended over three floors of a building formerly known as

Friedmann Apartment Building and later as Meymenet Han, and which formerly housed the exhibition space Arter on İstanbul's pedestrianized İstiklal Avenue (formerly Grande Rue de Pera). The urban locations of these institutions in Pera and the buildings they have transformed into cultural institutions through adaptive reuse suggest an alignment in terms of the self-image of these affiliated institutions.

What is not included can be as revealing as what is. Curiously, neither of the two exhibitions includes any significant reference to or image from İstanbul's very popular and populist Panorama 1453 History Museum (2008). This is Turkey's first panorama building and features, as its name implies, a fictionalized rendition of the battle that led to the Ottoman army's conquest of the city.⁸ The immersive, 360-degree view is painted on a spherical dome, breaking convention with the rotunda format. The view is depicted from the perspective of the invading Ottoman army, from a point roughly where the building housing the painting is located (Topkapı), right outside the city walls of the Historic Peninsula. This is not a location that offers scenic views of the city with its hills and waterways. The appeal of this particular panorama exhibition is partly that it offers time travel. Visitors arrive, see the city walls, step in, and voilâ: they are transported to approximately the same place five centuries ago.

The cocurators' introduction to the catalogue of *On the Spot* does make a passing reference to the 1453 Panorama (p. 17), in the same breath as contemporary works by photographers Murat Germen and Kerem Uzel and filmmaker Zeynep Dadak, who use the panoramic as a feature of their works. The exhibitions, however, do not even do that. Such exclusion is not limited to that specific panorama: there is not much to be learned about the visual culture of republican İstanbul in these exhibitions, as their period of attention ends with the end of the Ottoman Empire. Given that 2023 was the centenary of the Republic of Turkey, and that many exhibitions and books commemorated and reflected on the past century

of the republic, the timeframe of these independently developed yet simultaneously executed exhibitions does invite further reflection. While my review here does not dwell on these questions, they were the questions that lingered in my mind after seeing the exhibitions in July 2024. The “Why now?” of the exhibitions is not addressed in the curatorial statements or the catalogues, except for references to institutional priorities vis-à-vis the artifacts in the collections.

Although the line between them can be blurry, there are effectively two spheres of cultural institutions in Istanbul: those that fall under the jurisdiction of various municipal and state-level entities, and private institutions and foundations established by the country’s major industrial families. The former give preference to the Turkish and Muslim world in their pedagogical and ideological approach, as in the example of the 1453 Conquest Panorama, and minimize the break between the Ottoman past and contemporary times. Meanwhile, the museums, galleries, and festivals established by the major industrial families converge in the Beyoğlu district, connected to transnational markets and consumer influences and historically home to non-Muslim residents of and visitors to the city. This general context may be helpful for understanding certain choices regarding the framing and scope of the two exhibitions, as well as visitors’ appreciation of them. Beyoğlu/Pera, perched on a hill with commanding views of the Golden Horn, the Historic Peninsula (Constantinople), and, across the Bosphorus, Üsküdar and Kadıköy, has always offered panoramic vistas of the city. For visitors, stepping in and out of the exhibitions to catch the views across the waterways approximates (immersive) time travel—without the spatially immersive ambitions of the 1453 Panorama.

What is exceptional, even perhaps unique, about these exhibitions is that their overlapping schedules and themes means that one encounters some of the same objects in both, which creates a strong sense of familiarity (“Did I see this view/work in the other exhibition?” “I swear

I just saw a version of this.”), even as the encounter with the modern city outside the exhibitions creates an uncanny feeling of *jamais vu*, an impression of experiencing it for the first time. Undoubtedly, these exhibitions contribute much to the study of urban visual culture and Istanbul. The combined curatorial effort makes a strong case for an Istanbul Museum where the materials on exhibit may find a permanent home and where students, enthusiasts, and researchers of the city can access them to ask new questions.

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1 This review concerns two of these exhibitions, *Istanbul as Far as the Eye Can See: Views across Five Centuries* at Meşher and *On the Spot: Panoramic Gaze on Istanbul, A History* at the Pera Museum, and excludes a discussion of the third exhibition, *Cherished Istanbul*, at the Galata Greek Primary School. This third exhibition featured ecclesiastical objects used in Greek Orthodox Churches from the collection of the Sadberk Hanım Museum, and it incorporated panoramic paintings from the collection of the Athanasios and Marina Martinos Foundation as background images. A virtual version of the *Cherished Istanbul* exhibition can be viewed online on the Matterport platform at <https://galatarumokulu.org/en/sergi/cherished-istanbul/>.

2 *On the Spot* can be reached via this link: <https://www.dreamreality.com.tr/3d-model/tam-yerinden/fullscreen>. *Istanbul as Far as the Eye Can See* can be reached via this link: <https://www.dreamreality.com.tr/3d-model/gozalabildigineistanbul/fullscreen>.

3 In addition to curatorial introductory texts, the Pera Museum’s exhibition catalogue features contributions by Erkki Huhtamo, Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, Hilal Uğurlu, M. Baha Tanman, Ahmet A. Ersoy, K. Mehmet Kentel, Namik Günay Erkal, and Tarkan Okçuoğlu. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, K. Mehmet Kentel, and M. Baha Tanman, eds., *Tam Yerinden: İstanbul’a Panoramik Bakışı Tarihi / On the Spot: Panoramic Gaze on Istanbul, a History* (Istanbul: Pera Müzesi and Suna and İnan Kıraç Vakfı, 2023). Meşher’s catalogue features contributions by Sven Becker, Zeynep Çelik, Briony Llewellyn, Bahattin Öztuncay, and Claude Piening. Bahattin Öztuncay, Ebru Esra Satıcı, and Şeyda Çetin, eds., *Istanbul as Far as the Eye Can See: Views across Five Centuries / Göz Alabildiğine İstanbul: Beş Asırdan Manzaralar* (Istanbul: Vehbi Koç Foundation, 2023).

4 On early panoramas and the display of two different views of Constantinople in the Leicester Square Panorama, see Denise Blake Oleksijczuk, *The First Panoramas: Visions of British Imperialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

5 Henry Aston Barker, *A Series of Eight Views, Forming a Panorama of the Celebrated City of Constantinople, and Its Environs, Taken from the Town [i.e., Tower] of Galata* (London: Thomas Palser, 1813).

6 Corneille le Bruyn, *A Voyage to the Levant; or, Travels in the Principal Parts of Asia Minor, the Islands of Scio, Rhodes, Cyprus, &c. with an Account of the Most Considerable Cities of Egypt, Syria and the Holy Land*, translated by W. J. (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, within Gray’s Inn-Gate in Gray’s Inn-Lane; and Thomas Bennet, at the Half-Moon in St. Paul’s Church-Yard, 1702).

7 Henry Aston Barker, 1813 (1800), British Library; Henry Aston Barker’s diary, National Library of Scotland.

8 For an in-depth analysis of the Panorama 1453 History Museum in the context of the history and comparatively recent return of the panorama building as a viewing medium, see chapter 6, “An Immersive View,” of my book *Istanbul Open City: Exhibiting Anxieties of Urban Modernity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), 132–161.