

DISPLAYING THE EMPIRE: A SEARCH FOR SELF REPRESENTATION OF  
THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS OF THE  
NINETEENTH CENTURY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

ECE ÖZÇERİ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE  
IN  
THE PROGRAM OF MIDDLE EAST STUDIES

AUGUST 2014

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **DISPLAYING THE EMPIRE: A SEARCH FOR SELF REPRESENTATION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**

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M.S., The Program of Middle East Studies

Supervisor: Asst. Prof Dr. Selçuk Dursun

August 2014, 142 pages

The aim of this thesis is to examine the participation of the Ottoman Empire to international exhibitions in the nineteenth century. The international exhibitions were the outcomes of the radical changes in economic, social and political structure brought out by the revolutions of the eighteenth century. Although, exhibitions are generally evaluated as commercial centers, they were, at the same time, spheres in which the nineteenth century states' entire power relations were displayed. In the international exhibitions, the world of the nineteenth century was divided into two parts. According to this two-parted world, it is considered that the concepts like technology, science and industry belong to the West; on the other hand, the East was associated with backwardness, superstition and manufacture. In the exhibitions, the Eastern participants answered the West's sense of wonder about the East and they were involved in the amusement part of the exhibitions.

In this study, I examine the motives of the Ottoman Empire, which cannot be classified under these binary categories, in participating the international exhibitions. In this regard, I focused mainly on the transformation of the exhibitions towards the platforms, where the states displayed their cultural identities with the impact of the peace period, the material progress and colonialism, all of which surpassed their initial commercial agenda. The aim of the Ottoman Empire to participate in the exhibitions was emphasized as an attempt to display an accurate Ottoman representation in the international public by benefiting from the transformation of the

exhibitions. I argue that the Ottoman mind realized that the international exhibitions were not only commercial centers but also arenas for self representation.

Keywords: International Exhibitions, Self-Representation, Cultural Representation, Ottoman identity.

## ÖZ

### İMPARATORLUĞU SERGİLEMEK: ONDOKUZUNCU YÜZYIL ULUSLARARASI SERGİLERİNDE OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĞU'NUN TEMSİLİ

Özçeri, Ece

Yüksek Lisans, Orta Doğu Araştırmaları Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Yöneticisi: Y. Doç. Dr. Selçuk Dursun

Ağustos 2014, 142 sayfa

Bu tezin amacı Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun on dokuzuncu yüzyıl uluslararası sergilerine katılımını incelemektir. Uluslararası sergiler, on sekizinci yüzyıldan itibaren başlayan devrimlerin ortaya çıkardığı ekonomik, sosyal ve politik alanlardaki radikal değişiminin ürünü olarak görülebilir. Sergiler genellikle ticari merkezler olarak değerlendirilse de aynı zamanda on dokuzuncu yüzyıl devletlerinin bütün güç ilişkilerinin de gözler önüne serildiği alanlardır. Uluslararası sergilerde, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl dünyası Batı ve diğerleri şeklinde iki parçaya ayrılmıştı. Bu iki parçalı dünyaya göre, uluslararası sergilerde teknoloji, bilim ve sanayi gibi kavramlar Batı'ya ait kavramlar olarak kabul edilirken; Doğu ise geri kalmışlık, batıl ve mamul üretim ile ilişkilendiriliyordu. Sergilerde, Doğulu katılımcılar Batılıların Doğu'ya ilişkin merak duygularını gideriyor ve sergilerin eğlence kısmında yer alıyordu.

Bu çalışmada, bu iki parçalı temsilde iki kategoriye de tam olarak oturtulamayan Osmanlı Devleti'nin uluslararası sergilere katılma amacı incelenmektedir. Bu bağlamda sergilerin on dokuzuncu yüzyılda ortaya çıkan barış dönemi, maddi gelişme ve sömürgeciliğin etkisiyle ticari ilişkiler için organize edilen alanlar olma amacını aşması ve devletlerin kültürel kimliklerini sergiledikleri alanlara dönüşmeleri üzerinde durulmuştur. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun sergilere katılım amacının, sergilerin bu dönüşümünden yararlanarak, uluslararası kamuoyunda doğru bir Osmanlı temsili ortaya koymak olduğu vurgulanmıştır. Osmanlı zihniyetinin

uluslararası sergilerin yalnızca ticari merkezler olmadığı aynı zamanda temsiliyet alanları da olduğunun farkına varması üzerinde durulur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Uluslararası Sergiler, Temsiliyet, Kültürel Temsiliyet, Osmanlı Kimliği

To my beloved family,  
Mustafa, Tlay and Elif zeri



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my greatest gratitude to the people who have helped and supported me throughout my thesis.

I would like to express my thanks to my supervisor, Asst. Prof. Dr. Selçuk Dursun, for his very kind support, encouragement and guidance throughout my research. I also thank to the thesis committee members. I am thankful to Dr. Ş. Akile Zorlu Durukan for her support from the very beginning of my undergraduate education until the end of the thesis and her valuable comments for my thesis. I am also very grateful to Prof. Dr. Ceylan Tokluoğlu for her careful readings and constructive criticisms which improved this thesis.

I want to thank TUBİTAK BİDEB for its financial supports which made it possible for me to continue my academic life.

My friends were always around me with their support, encouragement and patience during this hard period. I would like to express my gratitude to them. I have to express my thanks to Burçin Akın, Aysun Güneş and Gülbin Şengül for never letting me feel alone even they were experiencing the same challenging process. I am grateful to Burak Başaranlar for his friendship and support from the very beginning of my METU years. I also thank to Yalın Kılıç for his encouragement and support throughout my undergraduate and graduate years.

My special thanks go to Sevgi Ünel, Aysu Akcan and İlke Akvarup. I feel very lucky to have Sevgi, Aysu and İlke in my life. They have always been there for me at good and bad times. Without their motivation and patience in listening to me, I would be unable to finish this thesis. Their everlasting support and love are well beyond appreciation.

I am indebted to all members of the Parlaslılar, Özçeri and Özmergen families for their support. Especially, I thank to Bahriye Parlaslılar and Ömer Özçeri for their never ending support in the every moment of my life.

The last but not the least, I owe my deepest gratitude to my dear family, Tülay Özçeri, Mustafa Özçeri, Elif Özçeri and Can Yüce. I want to thank to them for their unconditional love and support in the every step of my life. Unsurprisingly, they were also quite generous in showing their love and trust in me during the last stressful and desperate two years.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| BOA       | :Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Ottoman Archive of Prime Ministry) |
| A. AMD    | :Sadaret Amedi Kalemî Evrakı                                    |
| A.DVN     | :Sadaret Divan Kalemî Belgeleri                                 |
| A.MKT.MHM | :Sadaret Mektubi Mühimme  |
| A.MKT.MVL | :Sadaret Meclis-i Vala Evrakı                                   |
| BEO       | :Bab-1 Âli Evrak Odası  |
| HR.MKT    | :Hariciye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemî                               |
| HR.SYS    | :Hariciye Nezareti Siyasi Kısım                                 |
| İ.DH      | :İradeler Dahiliye  |
| Y.A.HUS   | :Yıldız Sadaret Hususi Maruzat Evrakı                           |
| Y.A.HUS   | :Yıldız Sadaret Hususi Maruzat Evrakı                           |
| Y.MTV     | :Yıldız Mütenevvi Maruzat Evrakı                                |
| YA.RES    | :Yıldız Resmi Maruzat   |

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the social, cultural, and economic aspects of the international exhibitions, which were one of the hallmarks of the nineteenth-century state and society, and the participation of the Ottoman Empire in the international exhibitions. This thesis examines the social, cultural, and economic aspects of the international exhibitions, which were one of the hallmarks of the nineteenth-century state and society, and the participation of the Ottoman Empire in the international exhibitions. International exhibitions are generally evaluated as commercial centers. On the other hand, the exhibitions were also spheres in which the nineteenth century states' entire power relations were displayed. In the international exhibitions, the world of the nineteenth century was divided into two parts. According to this two-parted world, it is considered that the concepts like technology, science and industry belong to the West; on the other hand, the East was associated with backwardness, superstition and manufacture. In the exhibitions, the Eastern participants answered the West's sense of wonder about the East and they were involved in the amusement part of the exhibitions. In this thesis, the participation of the Ottoman Empire which cannot be classified under these binary categories is examined.

The international exhibitions, predecessors of the Expos in twentieth century, are thought to be economic organizations which encouraged international free trade. On the other hand, the studies of leading scholars from different disciplines guided us to think about the various aspects of these universal gatherings because of their multifaceted features. For example, the historians who have focused on the impact of the exhibitions on modernism, materialism and consumerism;<sup>1</sup> the art and architectural historians who have addressed the role of exhibitions in the genre of art and architecture in the nineteenth century;<sup>2</sup> the anthropologists and ethnographers

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<sup>1</sup> For a general review see Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988) and Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984)

<sup>2</sup> For the effect of international exhibitions to the art see Patricia Mainardi's *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: the Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867*, (New Haven : Yale University Press,



who have examined the exhibitions through a postcolonial critic by taking colonialism and orientalism at its center,<sup>3</sup> emerges to be different approaches to understand these multifaceted nature of the nineteenth-century international exhibitions.

Despite methodological differences, the common point of all these studies is that they evaluated exhibitions of the nineteenth century as “microcosms” which reflected all economic, cultural and political peculiarities of the time. All of these features which exhibitions reflected were related with the dynamism of the nineteenth century against stagnation. The nineteenth century was marked by radical and rapid transformation of state and society at the national and international level than any other earlier period. The transformation was unprecedented in terms of its extensiveness in every field of public and private life. First aspect is that thanks to the Scientific Revolution and the Industrial Revolution the idea of “progress” in science, production and technology became a catchword of the century. There are several examples reflecting the notions of “change” and “progress” of the century. For instance, the new organization of economic structure, which is an outcome of industrial and mechanized production methods and technological advancement, and economic growth are significant fields which transformation can be observed in. The faster economic growth can be seen in per capita Gross National Product (GNP) of Europe. It increased by 120 per cent between 1830 and 1913.<sup>4</sup> In addition to economy, the world encountered a huge population growth over a century, as well.

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1987), for the architectural representation of the Islamic cultures in the international exhibitions in the nineteenth century see Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, c1992)

<sup>3</sup> Anne Maxwell's study *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' and the Making of European Identities*, (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1999) and Burton Benedict's *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915*, ed. Burton Benedict et al. (London and Berkeley: Lowie Museum of Anthropology in association with Scholar Press, 1983) are two important anthropological and ethnographic works.

<sup>4</sup> T.C.W. Blanning, “Introduction: The End of the Old Regime” in *The Nineteenth Century: Europe, 1789-1914*, eds. T.C.W. Blanning (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.1

Between 1800 and 1900, Europe's population raised from 187 million to 401 million, while North America's increased to 106 million from 16 million.<sup>5</sup>

The second significant feature of the nineteenth century is related to the political developments of the century. For example, emergence of mass politics and beginning steps of analyzing politics in a systematic way of thinking such as socialism, liberalism, conservatism and feminism were observed in the first decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> The emergence/spread of modernity and nation-state consciousness also began to increase dynamically in this century. In other words, nineteenth century, can be characterized as a historical process representing a substantial change which reshaped the established structures of economic, political, social, technological and cultural patterns of human society. Eric Hobsbawm labels these radical developments by coining the term of the “long nineteenth century” to define the century.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, Karl Polanyi depicts the several changes as a “great transformation.”<sup>8</sup>

International exhibitions appeared under such historical circumstances. The material and political developments of the period produced its own original sets of political and economic institutions, like international exhibitions, which is the main concern of the present thesis. As I mentioned above, exhibitions were commercial centers which were outcomes of the material progress of the century. On the other hand, they were also political institutions which were created by the modern nation-state.

For example, the three important studies on the international exhibition stress the ideological aspects of these universal gatherings and evaluate them as tools of the newly emerging “middle class” elites to socialize, educate and discipline people in Europe and the United States. The first one is written by Maurice Roche, the *Mega-*

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<sup>5</sup> Peter Mathias and Sidney Pollard, “The Changing Socio- Economic Context,” in *History of Humanity: Scientific and Cultural Deveelopment*, eds. P. Mathias and N. Todorov et al. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol.vi, (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 12

<sup>6</sup> Robin W. Winks and Joan Neuberger, *Europe and the Making of Modernity, 1815-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 125

<sup>7</sup> For the trilogy of “the long 19<sup>th</sup> century” see Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: 1789-1848*, (New York : Vintage Books, 1996), Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital: 1848-1875*, (New York : Scribner, 1975), Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914*, (New York : Vintage, 1989)

<sup>8</sup> Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1944)

*Events and Modernity Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture*, which examines the connection between modernity/nation state and the mega-events, like Expos and Olympics. The author establishes a link between modernity and the universal exhibitions by referring three aspects: the personal level, the national-historical level and the history of culture in modernity. For personal level, it is significant because of the fact that mega public events like exhibitions provide people a time perception and help people to periodize their biographies in relation to these memorable events in modern large-scale complex societies.<sup>9</sup> In terms of second aspect, which is national historical level, an international mega event is also meaningful for a story of any country. Since, they were occasions where nations represent a common collective image of a nation and a common success story in the eyes of the world.<sup>10</sup> The last dimension of the exhibitions concerning modernity is about the history of a modern international culture in general. They have institutional and attitudinal effects on cultural and social environment of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The high cultural exhibitions attracted both domestic and international visitors and became popular. This popularization of high culture updated institutional structure of the time. They were in a pioneering role for establishing permanent cultural exhibitions which were publicly accessible like museums, art galleries, department stores, theme parks and more generally post-primary public education. Moreover, they have noteworthy attitudinal influence in terms of mass interest in consumer culture and tourism culture.<sup>11</sup>

The second important study is Eric Hobsbawm's article in the pathbreaking book, *The Invention of Tradition*.<sup>12</sup> In this article, he described the international exhibitions as modern nation state's invention which is ideologically charged along with other public ceremonies. Hobsbawm conceptualizes the new mode of cultural inclusion

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<sup>9</sup> Maurice Roche, *Mega-Events and Modernity Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture*, (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 5

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p.6

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6

<sup>12</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, "Mass Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914," in *Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 263-307

policies as “invented traditions.”<sup>13</sup> That is, in the thirty or forty years before the First World War, the deep and sudden social transformations of the nineteenth century obligated the states to find new methods of ruling and to find new bonds of loyalty, because new social groups, environments and social context required new tools to define and to articulate the social cohesion and identity of the nation. Furthermore, a changing society reduced the traditional ruling and social/political hierarchies and made them unsustainable. For these reasons, new cultural policies were needed to reinforce the relations of citizens and states and to give a message that they belong to a national identity.<sup>14</sup>

In France, these bounds were established to overcome political crisis of the Third Republic via the three major inventions. First one was the secular primary education which could convert ordinary peasants to Frenchmen and good Republicans.<sup>15</sup> Second one was the mass production of public monuments. The Republican monuments like Marianne were one of the most visible symbols of the Republic and reminded voters, especially in rural regions, the roots of the Republic. The last one was the invention of public ceremonies, including international exhibitions. For instance, the Bastille Day, an annual celebration of 1789, is an example of these new rituals which aimed of evoking the achievements of the Revolution and making them visible for all French people by allowing them being a part of the ceremony. On the other hand, the exhibitions were temporary and occasional ceremonies but they provided the legitimacy of prosperity, technical progress and global colonial expansion to the Republic.<sup>16</sup> To put briefly, Hobsbawm evaluates exhibitions as a device of political concerns, which can be managed through an official cultural policy by the elites. Since expositions provided a collective experience to public, they also strengthened the national identity among the society. At this point, utilizing Benedict Anderson’s concept of the “imagined community” will be useful. Since

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 271

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 263

<sup>15</sup> For detailed information about the relation between modernization and national unity in France in the nineteenth century see Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007, c1976)

<sup>16</sup> Hobsbawm, *Mass Producing Traditions*, p. 271

these invented traditions, including international exhibitions, were national inventions and “imagined communities” in a sense, were the target groups for these newly emerged traditions. Yet in another sense, these new rituals were invented to have an “imagined community.” For the very same reason, for Anderson, a nation was described as an artifact of modernity.<sup>17</sup>

The third study is Tony Bennett’s *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. In this book, Bennett studies the nature and role of the museums and exhibitions in the late nineteenth century society, particularly the emergence of museum in Britain.<sup>18</sup> He discusses the emergence of the “Exhibitionary Complex,” where international exhibitions were assumed as an instrument for the modern state to constitute a shared identity and to provide a collective control. Bennett examines exhibitions through Foucault’s account of development of power and knowledge relations. According to him, like other Victorian institutions, the exhibitions were also directly linked to the “institutional surveillance” and “disciplinary knowledge”, similar to Foucault’s analysis of the prison and mental asylum.<sup>19</sup> Bennett argues that the museums, exhibitions and the related disciplines like art history or archaeology emerged synchronously with those of prisons and asylums. They all served for the same functions, which were the social control of new urban working class and the ordering of the public. Therefore, he draws an analogy between these institutions. In prisons and asylums, inmates are under the control by being detained from public life and they become the object of institutional surveillance by nurse or warders, and disciplinary knowledge by medical, psychological or other such professionals. Similarly, museums and exhibitions provided a place to society, working people in particular, to contact directly with ordered and valued objects which were productions of knowledge. Their visitors were attracted and became a participant of

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<sup>17</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1991)

<sup>18</sup> Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, (London; New York: Routledge, 1995)

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59

new exhibitionary culture through a collective sense of achievement. Consequently, to control, order and influence working class and public was achieved.<sup>20</sup>

In this regard, modern society experienced a new type of power manifest, not only in the prison, asylum or clinic, but also in the form of an exhibition which aimed to educate its visitors by sharing knowledge and celebrated goods. That is to say, both the exhibition and the prison symbolize forms of power and achieved the same consequence of increasing government control of individuals and society. While the former one uses a method which was based on empowerment and motivation of society, the latter makes it through isolation and coercion.

Given the fact that theoretical framework of exhibitions, it is usual to see that the leading states of the nineteenth century both politically and economically, England, France and United States, were keen on holding an international exhibition during the second half of the nineteenth century. The major cities of the Western World, namely London, Paris, Vienna, Philadelphia and Chicago identified the genre of the international exhibitions by organizing spectacular occasions.<sup>21</sup> Each exhibition was more path-breaking than previous by virtue of organizing expenditure, architectural glory of exhibition buildings and technological inventions which were introduced for the first time in exhibitions. As a matter of fact, they became the “giant new rituals of self congratulation.”<sup>22</sup>

Here the noticeable point is explaining the “other’s participation.” Since many countries from around the world regardless of their industrial, technological and commercial capacities, participated regularly and represented their nations in these gatherings. Displaying a collective cultural image is the motive of the other nations because these exhibitions display cultures as well. They were the stages where

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 59-88 passim

<sup>21</sup> These meetings are called as World Fairs in the United States, International (or universal) Expositions in Continental Europe and Asia, and Exhibitions in Great Britain.

<sup>22</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848–1875*, (New York: Scribner, 1975.), p. 47

cultures could be encapsulated visually through artifacts, arts and architecture,<sup>23</sup> according to a hierarchy between the West and the East. Therefore, historian James Gilbert titled his article on the 1893 Columbian Exposition as “A Contest of Cultures.”<sup>24</sup> The emergence of the international exhibition, in which world people and cultures was divided as Western and the others, and the interest of the West concerning the Orient occurred at the same time. Especially, the Western world’s curiosity and interest relating to the “Orient” was considerable by the 1840s.<sup>25</sup> In this respect, expositions as “movable ethnographic showcases” became platforms which the curiosities of the West were answered. As Sibel Bozdoğan explains: “The international fairs and expositions of the nineteenth-century stand out as the ultimate fairground of the scenographic representation of the Orient.”<sup>26</sup>

The appearance of the “Orientalism” as a new ideology in the same period was not accidental. On the contrary, it was a result of the cultural interactions of the West, which reached its peak in the nineteenth century in the other parts of the world. Edward Said describes orientalism as an attempt to define Europe, or the West. According to him, “Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between “the Orient” and most of the time “the Occident.””<sup>27</sup> Besides, he states “European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self.”<sup>28</sup>

Nevertheless, states which were categorized under the “others”, as defined by Said, were very interested to be represented in the exhibitions. The Ottoman Empire as a

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<sup>23</sup> Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth Century World’s Fairs*, (Berkeley University of California Press, 1992), p. 11

<sup>24</sup> James Gilbert, “A Contest of Cultures,” *History Today* 42 (July 1992): 33-39

<sup>25</sup> Semra Germaner and Zeynep İnankur, *Constantinople and the Orientalists*, (Istanbul: İşbank, 2002), p. 45

<sup>26</sup> Sibel Bozdoğan, “Journey to the East: Ways of Looking at the Orient and the Question of Representation,” *Journal of Architectural Education*, 41, no. 4 (Summer 1988): p. 44, doi: 10.2307/1425011

<sup>27</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism, Western Conceptions of the Orient*, (London: Penguin Books, 1995), p.2

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 3

Muslim world empire participated in almost every exhibition starting from the 1851 Great Exhibition, where the Western world embodied the understanding of “us” and “them.” Although, Empire was experiencing a painful modernization period at that time, as a non-Western power which could not determine the rules of the world politics any longer together with its contemporaries, Habsburg Austria and Russia, the Empire insisted on its presence in these exhibitions. In other respects, the Ottoman participation in the nineteenth century exhibitions had a unique feature, because around this time, the Ottoman Empire can be classified neither as a part of the West nor a part of the “others”. To put it in another way, the Empire was not an equal to founding states in the league of exhibitions. On the other hand, it was not an accurate sample for the “others,” which generally refers to the dominions of the West. In retrospect, the British attitude towards the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century affirmed that although the Islamic nations generally represented absolute and irrevocable otherness to the British, this understanding was not correct. This is because, at the time of the Great Exhibition, Russians were the most undesirable one for the British in the political language. In the very first phase of the exhibitions, the Ottoman Empire seemed to be more “us” than Russia for the British commentators.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, the notion of “otherness” should be considered as a more fluid and complex term. The equivalent of the “other” in the political sphere was changeable according to international status quo of the era whereas regarding culture, the notion of “otherness” could be viewed as more constant and resistive to change. An article published in *the Times* illustrates this point clearly: It is said that the English people were astonished when they saw the Turks on the steamship which was carrying the Turkish mission to the Great Exhibition because of their way of dressing. In fact, none of them were wearing traditional Turkish costumes.<sup>30</sup> In this direction, the present thesis analyzes the position of the Ottoman Empire as an “other” in cultural sense in the international exhibitions.

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<sup>29</sup> Francesca Vanke, “Degrees of Otherness: The Ottoman Empire and China at the Great Exhibition of 1851,” in *Britain, the Empire, and World at the Great Exhibition of 1851*, eds. by Jeffrey A. Auerbach and Peter H. Hoffenberg, (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub., 2008), p. 203

<sup>30</sup> Gülname Turan, “Turkey in the Great Exhibition of 1851,” *Design Issues*, vol. 25, no 1, (Winter, 2009): p.69, doi: 10.2307/20627794



To this end, this thesis is organized in four chapters. After the Introduction, the Second Chapter gives brief background information of the pre-industrial exhibiting practices before the nineteenth century with the purpose of comparing the exhibiting practices in the Industrial Era. After this overview, the historical conditions in which international exhibitions emerged will be discussed. It begins with a summary of the origins and internationalization of the events. This is followed by an analysis of the major developments of the era, which affected the nature of international exhibitions. In this sense, the peace period between 1815 and 1914, material progress and colonialism will be stressed as determinant factors showing the uniqueness of the nineteenth century exhibitions.

After the historical evolution of the international exhibitions, the Chapter Three focuses on the participation of the Ottoman Empire in the international exhibitions. The aim is to reflect the preparation process of the Empire by focusing especially on the nature of exhibitions. By examining the exhibiting materials which were sent to the exhibitions for fifty years, I intended to demonstrate the gradual transformation of the Empire's perception concerning these new and efficient channels. The experience of the Ottoman Empire in these exhibitions began with displaying agricultural products, manufactured goods and raw materials. However, after the first three international exhibitions, namely 1851 London, 1855 Paris and 1862 London, the Ottoman Empire discovered that the exhibitions were instrumental arenas for mass communication in the international society rather than spheres of publicizing economic resources. In this respect, the 1867 Paris Exposition can be evaluated as a milestone. Since, in the following five exhibitions, the Ottoman state determined a course for intertwined motivations including economic and cultural intentions. For that purpose, the state adopted various representation strategies by benefiting actively from the technological possibilities of the time. To demonstrate, even though a quite new technology, photography was used frequently as an instrument to display the Ottoman cultural identity.

In this direction, the Fourth Chapter examines these cultural representation strategies of the Empire after the Ottoman cadres observed exhibitions cautiously and learned its temperament. The major issue which will be addressed is the self expression of

the Empire via non-commercial exhibits. In addition to archival sources, with the help of selected exhibits, which were *Elbise-i Osmaniyye: Les Costumes Populaires de la Turquie en 1873* Album in the 1873 Vienna Exposition, the book of the *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani* again in the 1873 Vienna Exposition, photo albums of Abdulhamid in the 1893 Chicago Exhibition, the architectural presence of the Empire in all exhibitions and the archeological displays of the Empire. I attempt to discover how the Ottoman Empire portrayed itself and what were the key words in portraying agenda of the Empire in international exhibitions of the nineteenth century.

Methodologically, there is a reason for investigating all exhibitions rather than a monographic research of the place of the Ottoman Empire in each individual exhibition. Firstly, it is the most useful way to understand the change within the fifty years, between 1851 and 1900. Most importantly, international exhibitions are generally considered as “one off” matter for history rather than a more general, theoretical and relational subject. For this reason, in this thesis, the international exhibitions were discussed more with a general framework which depicted them as sequential events with similarities and differences rather than unique organization.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ORIGINS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS

#### 2.1 A Short Overview of Pre-Industrial Fairs

International exhibitions were among the central institutions of the social, economic and cultural developments of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the idea of displaying used to be a long-standing commercial practice throughout history. In order to understand the original organization of the nineteenth century international exhibitions, we are to look at the established exhibiting practices and its examples.

The first exhibition, which was the forerunner of the international exhibitions of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was organized in 1797 by Marquis d’Aveze and François Neufchateau in France to stimulate trade and industry in the post-revolutionary period. However, organizing commercial centers to exhibit goods was a major element of the economic life even in antiquity and the Middle Ages throughout the world. Despite the key differences about their compositions, markets, fairs and exhibitions were among the oldest forms of such commercial centers.<sup>31</sup>

In the eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, the term “exhibition” is defined as “a term, meaning in general a public display, which has a special modern sense as applied to public shows of goods for the promotion of trade (Fr.

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<sup>31</sup> As noted above market and fair are two divergent types of commercial centers in which idea of displaying is a primary part of economic relations. This variation is needed to understand the originality of fairs which distinguishes them from other business centers even in pre-industrialist phase. The reason to hold a market was to provide provisions necessary for daily consumption of population in the district. Therefore a weekly organization was adequate for a certain region. They were also restricted with their capacity in such a way that markets conduct small retail commercial activities. Conversely, fairs were periodical places which were founded for exchange and particularly for wholesale exchange. They could be organized once or twice a year in the same place due to the preparation. Above all pre- industrial fairs can be correlated with international exhibitions in terms of their capacity to welcome all participant people and production regardless of their country. To put it more simply, they aims to attract the maximum possible number of people and goods like international exhibitions therefore the fairs were independent from all local considerations.

*Exposition*).<sup>32</sup> In the modern editions of the Encyclopedia, fairs are defined as follows “An exhibition or exposition is an organized display of works of art, science and industry for the purpose of stimulating of public interest, promoting manufactures, expanding trade and illustrating the progress and accomplishments of one or a wide variety of productive activities.”<sup>33</sup> The definitions shows that the terms “fair” and “exhibition” lost their distinctive meanings and used interchangeably today.

Historically, fairs, which stem from the Latin word *feriae* meaning feasts, were set up to resolve problems of distribution and redistribution. Basically, the primary function of a fair was to promote trade. They provided a circle for the demonstration of skills and crafts, for the exchange of ideas and for bartering products. They brought together both supply and demand in certain places at certain times, generally in warm seasons and the beginning of harvests. Fairs arose in times when good communications and security essentials could be attained easily. Therefore, special areas, where these two necessities were available and special times such as religious festivals became hosting places of fairs. To illustrate, in the ancient world the autumn and spring celebrations of Isis and the religious festivals in Syria, Egypt and Mesopotamia were examples of such places, where security and communication needs could be met at the same time.

According to Henri Pirenne, fairs were among the most remarkable features of the economic organization during the Middle Ages. They were abundant nearly in all countries and they were essential to the social and economic conditions of European states and societies.<sup>34</sup> For example, in the early medieval period, the Fair of St. Denis, which was established under the patronage of the monks of St. Denis by King Dagobert in the seventh century, was one of the oldest fairs in Western Europe.<sup>35</sup> The

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<sup>32</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11<sup>th</sup> ed., s.v. “Exhibition”

<sup>33</sup> *The Encyclopedia Britannica, A New Survey of Universal Knowledge*, 1966 ed., sv. “Exhibitions and Fairs”

<sup>34</sup> Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*, trans. I. E. Clegg, (New York: Harvest Books, 1937), p. 96

<sup>35</sup> Internet History Sourcebooks Project, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/629stdenis.asp>

Easter fairs at Cologne were popular meetings and exchange places in the eleventh century. The Byzantine elites Thessalonica, Antioch and Trebizond, also held important medieval fairs. Among the fairs in the Middle Ages, the Champagne fairs are to be mentioned particularly, because they were granted privileges by authorities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in a milieu where the number of fairs increased dramatically due to the increase of trade activities.<sup>36</sup> For instance, in thirteenth century nearly 3,000 markets gained similar privileges<sup>37</sup> and Champagne fairs were the most typical sets of fairs in medieval Europe because of their geographical location. However, protection and security offered by the counts of Champagne were the key reasons behind their apogee. At the time of these fairs, an exceptional law, this provided a privileged position to fairs and insured the peace by imposing punishments for every violation of the law. Moreover, all people visiting these fairs were under the *conduit*, protection, of special guards.<sup>38</sup>

These Champagne fairs were annual rotations of trading fairs in Champagne and Brie regions of France in the Middle Ages. They retained their dominance in Europe until the 14<sup>th</sup> century as an “veritable nerve centres” in the rising economy of Europe.<sup>39</sup> At these fairs, products from all over Europe and beyond were available like furs from Russia, drugs and spices from the Orient, cloth from Flanders, and linens from Germany. However, with the beginning of the fourteenth century, commercial cycles including fair routes declined as a consequence of a combination of political and economic phenomena.<sup>40</sup> Fernand Braudel sees this decline as an outcome of the change of large-scale commerce, which was based on developed communication. After this development, merchants did not need to make a difficult and dangerous journey in Europe. Instead, they could control their affairs by written

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<sup>36</sup> Pirenne, *Economic and Social History*, p. 97

<sup>37</sup> Maryanne Kawaleski, “Markets, European,” in *Dictionary of Middle Ages*, eds. Joseph R. Strayer, vol.8 ( New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1995), p. 144

<sup>38</sup> Pirenne, *Economic and Social History*, p. 98

<sup>39</sup> Micheal Postan, “the Trade of Medieval Europe: the North” in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, eds. by M.M Postan and Edward Miller, vol.ii, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, (Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 230

<sup>40</sup> Steven Runciman, “Byzantine Trade and Industry,” in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, eds. M.M Postan and Edward Miller, vol.ii, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, (Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 137

correspondence.<sup>41</sup> It is clear that as commerce's necessities and characteristic changed; cities which dominated the exhibition culture also changed. Although, this dynamic structure affected number, proportion and impact of fairs or other commercial centers, they continued to play a crucial role in terms of economic practices. For this reason, they continued to be organized almost all over the World. Some other historical fairs which were in effect customary in almost all regions were *Kinsai* at Chinese province, *Nijni Novgorod* in central Russia, *Medina del Campo* in Spain and *Besançon* in France. Additionally, the Balkans and Anatolia also experienced this kind of commercial practice. There were twenty one panayırs/penegyırs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the region like *Nazilli* and *Çatalca* in Anatolia, *Maşkolur* and *Alasonya* in the Balkans.<sup>42</sup>

Furthermore, these noteworthy gatherings contributed not only to the commercial practices but also to the development of methods of commerce. For instance, business law, standardization of measurement and quality and wholesale distribution were the improvements that were introduced at fairs.<sup>43</sup>

All of the above mentioned centers were parts of the pre-industrial phase of economic organization that was based on trade. Therefore, the effectiveness of commercial centers like fairs was affected by developments in trade relations. For example, any improvement of transportation and communication, growth of population and consumption, and the increasing internationalization of the economy affected the structure of fairs. Because like other commercial centers, fairs, the “indispensable motors of economic life”, were crucial to struggle with the obstacles of trade like physical space and distance.<sup>44</sup> When these obstacles disappeared,

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<sup>41</sup> Fernand Braudel, *Civilization & Capitalism, 15-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, trans. Sian Reynolds, vol. i, (London: William Collins & Sons, 1981), p. 419

<sup>42</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Şehirleri ve Kırsal Hayatı*, trans. Emine Sonnur Özcan (Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2006), p. 160-185

<sup>43</sup> *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, p. 957

<sup>44</sup> Fernand Braudel, *the Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II.*, trans. Sian Reynolds, vol.i, (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p.379

vitality of fairs was perished naturally. Because “wholesale trade overflowed the narrow canals of fairs,”<sup>45</sup> as described by Braudel.

In conclusion, pre-industrial fairs can be evaluated as a natural consequence of the economic context with the aim of covering up the deficiency of transportation facilities. At this point, the major issue is to explain the lineal continuity of the fairs in industrial age in which transport technology facilitated communication and so there was no need to hold commercial centers in certain times and places. From that time onward, fairs maintained as artificial entities with different agendas. For the new exhibitionary culture of the nineteenth century, the primary purpose is displaying while the aim of pre-industrial fairs was basically economic, to supply.

## **2.2 The Origins of the International Exhibitions of the Nineteenth Century**

Ideologically and technologically, the exhibitions could not have happened in any other age, the politico-economic situation being crucial to their growth and the form they took.<sup>46</sup>

Although the international exhibitions began with the opening of the Great Exhibition in 1851, the earliest examples of international exhibitions were held in France. The first national attempt to hold a wider display of industrial and craft production was during the Napoleonic struggle with England.<sup>47</sup> French state men, Marquis d’Avèze and François de Neufchâteau, while seeking an acute solution for economic problems, came up with the idea of a national exhibition. Naturally, the primary aim was to dissolve economic stagnation to disinvest the stockpiled goods and to promote French manufactures. However, in addition to economic motives, they also aimed to motivate the French public. Organizing a national exhibition

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<sup>45</sup> Erik Aerts “European Fairs” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Economic History*, ed. Joel Mokyr, vol.ii, (Oxford; New York : Oxford University Press, 2003)

<sup>46</sup> Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World’s Fairs, 1851-1939*, ( Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 27

<sup>47</sup> Hermione Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition: Art, Science and Productive Industry. A History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851*, (London: Continuum, 2004.), p.3

would prove to French public that the French industry was still alive and capable of competing internationally.<sup>48</sup>

This exhibition achieved its assignments and disposed of the ceramics, tapestries and carpets which were difficult to sell in that time and captivated the crowd. Therefore, they continued and so between 1797 and 1849, ten national exhibitions were organized in France, namely Champs de Mars in 1798, Louvre in 1801 and 1802 in which *Société d'Encouragement* was founded and this society established a jury for the assessment and awarding of the exhibits, Invalides in 1806, Louvre in 1819, 1823 and 1827, Place de la Concorde in 1834, the Champs Élysées in 1839, 1844 and 1849. Each exhibition was superior in terms of amount and scope than predecessor one. For example, while the number of exhibitors was 110 in 1797, it increased to 4532 in 1849.<sup>49</sup> The 1849 Exhibition was the last one of French national exhibitions; it was the largest event with 4532 exhibitors and a purpose-built building. After these events, the idea of exhibition spread other French cities like Nantes, Lillie, Bordeaux, Toulouse and Dijon. Likewise, North German States also organized national expositions in Leipzig by the Zollverein, the German Customs Union.<sup>50</sup> Additionally, these expositions mobilized some other countries as well. For example, the jury report of the 1834 states that:

Almost all, in Europe, have wanted to follow this brilliant example, even those who seem the least progressive. Austria and Spain, The Piedmont and Portugal, the Two Sicilies and the Netherlands, Prussia and Bavaria, (the Napoleonic kingdom) Holland and Denmark, Sweden and Russia have established national expositions.<sup>51</sup>

Be that as it may, all of these exhibitions remained limited to a national level. None of these expositions attempted to open their doors to foreign exhibitors, mostly caused by the fear of economic competition. To demonstrate, the French expositions could not be international because of a fear of penetration of English surplus to the

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<sup>48</sup> Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, p. 3

<sup>49</sup> Bruno Giberti *Designing the Centennial : a History of the 1876 International Exhibition in Philadelphia*, (Lexington : University Press of Kentucky, 2002), p.3

<sup>50</sup> Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and*, p.4

<sup>51</sup> Giberti, *Designing the Centennial*, p.3



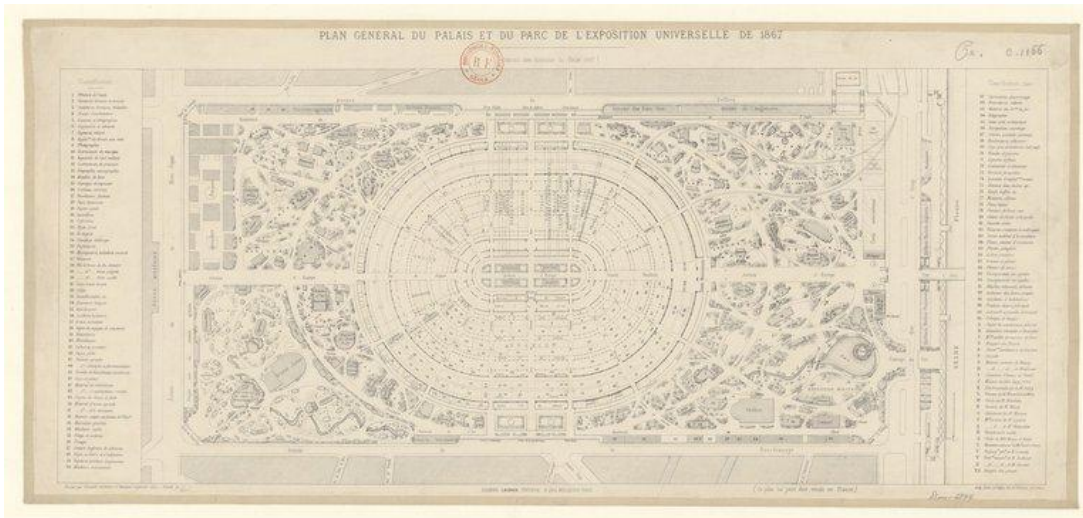
French market and dismantle her home industry. At that time, early days of the Industrial Revolution, any dependence to the English cheap and mass-produced factory goods was not welcomed by the French economy. For this reason, they remained as national. In other words, this national position can be entitled as “economic patriotism” which encourages public to buy French goods and encourage French manufacturers to expand their perspectives.<sup>52</sup>

The invitation to all nations to be part of an international exhibition came from England which was the leading actor in the world economy. With this invitation the era of international exhibitions began. Queen Victoria opened the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nation which was organized by Royal Commission in Crystal Palace. Nearly 100,000 exhibits from the entire world were displayed, more than 20,000 people visited during the first day and heads of states from Europe, including Napoleon III, attended the opening ceremony.

The novelty of these expositions was in their agenda. Starting from the mid-nineteenth century, exhibitions surpassed their economic aspects and evolved to a cultural phenomenon of the century. All of these events were based on a new and original format in which different cultures, economies, races, art and even human-beings were displayed in accordance with current hierarchical order of the world. To illustrate planning of the exhibiting sites in 1867 Paris was designed to indicate power relations among the participant countries. It depicted a world in which places of “races” and “nations” were determined by the exposition committee of the host countries. The host nation was at the center; the other industrial powers were at the second cycle surrounding the host nation; the colonies and other non-Western participants were sent to the peripheries.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, p.45



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 1 Plan of Exposition Universelle Paris, 1867 and locations of national pavilions.

Source: Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying Orient*, p.51

Çelik enlightens this agenda as follows “Universal expositions represented this “single expanded world” in a microcosm, celebrating the products of industry and technological progress and displaying the entire human experience.”<sup>54</sup>

In brief, the evolution of exhibitions towards a multi-dimensional entity loaded with political agenda rather than a commerce center is not separate from historical developments of the milieu. Rather, the international exhibitions came into existence by absorbing all the features of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The following part will focus on these features and it will be aimed to reflect the causal relation between the material facts of the period and universal exposition.

### **2.3 The Peace Period (1815-1914) and the International Exhibitions**

The notion of peace is strongly interrelated with international exhibitions in two respects. First, they appeared in period of international peace. Second, the founding elites of these expositions exercised rhetoric of the peace among nations repeatedly as a moral justification along with progress, brotherhood and the like.

To begin with, the political history of nineteenth century forced to states to redefine their recognized sources of interest. This radical change which is a creation of

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<sup>54</sup> Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, p.1

continuous and destructive war in Europe between 1792- 1815 nearly all types of relations, including both interstate and internal relations. After decades following French Revolution, it can be observed a change in terms of rulers' sense of threat. From this time forth, Great Powers considered war as the most important threat for their rule. Because after the French actions, any mobilization coming from population might accelerate revolutionary movements and destroy old regimes.

For the issue of threat perception of Great Powers, Polanyi points out that rather than any failure in economy and technology, the most important threat became war for European capitalist.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, international diplomacy made enormous efforts to block general wars. The nineteenth century statesmen of the Great Powers between 1815-1848 like Talleyrand, Castlereagh, Palmerstone and Matternich, were the ones who sought to preserve the status quo and stability against change.<sup>56</sup> In this respect, the Vienna Settlement can be seen as a benchmark for international stability which prevents another aggressive struggle against Old Regimes. Briefly, peace-making and peace-preservation became inevitable for international order which was based primarily on the balance of power. To the leading actors, who were the creators of the consensus, namely Matternich, the chancellor of Austria, Lord Castlereagh of England and representative of France Talleyrand, international order can be sustained with balance of power. It meant equilibrium of forces between the Great Powers to prevent unilateral aggression. Owing to the alteration regarding peace, Great Powers' consensus preserved peace until 1914 and the hundred years' peace began with The Congress of Vienna. In this period, there was not any general and war.<sup>57</sup>

For example, England, France, Prussia, Austria, Italy, and Russia waged war with each other just eighteen months.<sup>58</sup> Wars which break the peace period were local wars of a semi colonial character like the Spanish-American War of 1898, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 and the Russo- Turkish War of 1877-8. <sup>59</sup> For this issue, René Albrecht-Carrié emphasizes that “In contrast to our own, the nineteenth

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<sup>55</sup> Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, p.13

<sup>56</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: 1789-1848*, ( New York : Vintage Books, 1996), p.100

<sup>57</sup> Paul W. Schroeder, “International Politics, Peace and War, 1815-1914,” in *the Nineteenth Century: Europe, 1789-1914*, ed. T.C.W. Blanning (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.158.

<sup>58</sup> Polanyi, *Great Transformation*, p.4

century, the hundred years between 1815 and 1914, certainly appears as a period of international order, even peace.”<sup>60</sup> Besides, Gordon Craig evaluates the period 1815-1848 as a ‘golden age of harmony’.<sup>61</sup>

Whereas, according to traditional interstate system war is a form of policy making. In other words, “war is a continuation of politics by other means.”<sup>62</sup> In this way, states internalized the use of force as rational tool for their security and material self-interest. For this reason, this kind of a practice was permanent features of international relations for the past 350 years in Europe. Throughout the history, many intellectuals have contributed to analyzing the motivations behind the war. Jean-Jacques Rousseau is one of them and his thought is crucial to understand why war is an essential position in a system of independent states. To him, absence of a common and superior force over the states is the cause of war.<sup>63</sup> This is a system which is called as international anarchy with its literal Greek meaning, lack of governance. In this system, “states are legally equal, and thus there are not hierarchies of formal command and obedience.”<sup>64</sup> Consequently, in this kind of a system war making is seen as the only way to overcome international conflicts. Hannah Arendt also puts emphasize on the problem solving aspects of wars. She states that from the very beginning of history, war is seen as a cruel and final referee for international conflicts.<sup>65</sup> In short, war can be evaluated as a tool to eliminate external rivals in a system in which there is no authority over independent states.

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<sup>59</sup> Arnold Toynbee, *Study of History*, vol. iv, (London, New York, Oxford University Press [1948]-61), p.153

<sup>60</sup> Sheldon Anderson, “Metternich, Bismarck, and the Myth of the “Long Peace,”1815–1914,” *Peace and Change*, vol. 32, no. 3, (2007): p. 320, doi: 10.1111/j.1468-0130.2007.00443.x

<sup>61</sup> Gordon A. Craig, *Europe since 1815*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., (London; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), p. 3

<sup>62</sup> Kalevi J. Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.2

<sup>63</sup> Stanley Hoffmann, “Rousseau on War and Peace,” *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 57, no. 2 (1963); p. 326, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1952825>

<sup>64</sup> Holsti, *The State, War*, p.7

<sup>65</sup> Hannah Arendt, *Şiddet Üzerine*, trans. Bülent Peker (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997), p. 9

In addition to war's problem solving ability in international level, war also plays a part in internal arrangements of states. War making contributes to state-formation. Charles Tilly's important expression underlines this contribution "war made the state, and the state made war." This aphorism clarifies the long-term contribution of war to state-building process. This mechanism works as following. To maintain the power in home, war preparation is essential but it requires a strong budget to keep up pace with military technology. To meet these rising military costs, rulers go towards to extract more resources from their populations. Moreover, to be able to organize the process of resource extractions, state's bureaucratic-administration apparatus are created. In other words, to procure military tools, states considered population as a form of resource and to reach these resources bureaucratic structures are arranged. In this way, the state consolidates bureaucratic tools and contributes to the state-formation process.<sup>66</sup> For these reasons according to established understanding, it would be irrational to claim that protection of peace can be sustainable and profitable for states. Moreover, peace was regarded as a romanticized entity which cannot be embodied in a realistic international politics. Because European network of national states was woven by war.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, war was seen as a motor of both international and national politics until the end of continuous and destructive war between 1792-1815 in Europe.

At this point, highlighting the motivation and consensus to maintain the international passivism in the interstate system is crucial to understand the significance of peace. Economic organization of the period was a remarkable point to refer. There are scholars who claim that general peace was not only an inevitable politic attitude for self defense against popular mobilization in the balance of power system coming from Vienna. Rather, it was a creation of new emerging economic reality.

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<sup>66</sup> Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in *Bringing the State Back in*, ed. Peter B. Evans, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) and Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States: AD 990 – 1992*, (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992)

<sup>67</sup> Tilly, *Coercion*, p. 76

Karl Polanyi is one of those who see international peace as a creation of new economic path. In *Great Transformation*, which he rejects the idea of the self-regulating market emerging without human invention; Polanyi locates general peace of Great Powers into the system which is created by international finance.<sup>68</sup> To him, international finance is dependent on trade which can work with stability. Because in the new system, trade relies on an international monetary system which cannot work in a general war.<sup>69</sup> In addition to dependency between peace, trade and international finance, there is one more item preventing wars which is national currencies. In the case of a general war, investors and merchants holding government securities are the primary groups which were to affect.<sup>70</sup> As a consequence of the newly developed structure, war was perceived as threatful for European capitalists. Closely related to Polanyi's argument, J.H Clapham sees cessation of wars as economic reality. According to him, continental Europe realized the importance of peace through their economic positions comparing with England.<sup>71</sup> Clearly the economic interests led to protect international order from the point of Great Powers. When all these developments are taken into account, there should be an alternative ground, apart from war, for nations to locate themselves into hierarchal world order for recognition. In such a stability era, 1815-1914, scientific and economic progress appeared as an ideological vehicle to impress national and international publics. Therefore, war was replaced with alternative platforms in which nations make visible their supremacy and wealth.

International exhibitions were one of these platforms symbolizing peace, progress and prosperity. With the help of these new emerging spheres, states strengthen their internal and external powers in a different method. As mentioned above, in order to understand the vitality of them it should be stressed the symbolic function of expositions. Çelik indicates this symbolic feature and adds that these expositions

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<sup>68</sup> Polanyi, *Great Transformation*, p.1-19

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p.14

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p.12

<sup>71</sup> John H. Clapham, *Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815-1914*, 4th ed. (Cambridge, The University press, 1936), p. 3.

publicized the entire nineteenth-century world according to a stratified power relationship.<sup>72</sup> There are two areas where nations could construct their hegemonic self representations over other countries in order to locate themselves into the stratified power relationship. First one is displaying their technological superiority and second one is cultural superiority.

Almost all technological improvements, used in subsequent decades, were introduced in international exhibitions to the international community. To demonstrate, steam engines, stereo photographs, vulcanized rubber by the American inventor Charles Goodyear, “Viennese chairs” of Hungarian furniture-maker *Tonet* which are still attractive for today, lawn mower, washing machine of Moore, sewing machine of Singer, hydraulic elevator, Alexander Graham Bell’s telephone, Thomas Alva Edison’s telegraph, Remington’s typewriter, refrigerator, electric train, electric light, monorail system and submarine electricity cables were the most conspicuous ones of the entire new technologies.

Hosting an international exhibition and constructing monumental buildings with the help of advanced engineering symbolized the position of states in the era of science and industry. Crystal Palace of 1851, architectural masterpiece of the epoch, had an influential structure; its length was 563 meters, its width was 124 meters, the floor area was 7,18 ha, the height of the main nave 19,5 meters and height of the cross nave was 41 meters. The Crystal Palace was designed by Joseph Paxton and architecture of the building was radical and also the beginning step of new style with fabricated glass and iron framework. Similarly with Crystal Palace, the other structures such as Rotunda of 1873 and Eiffel Tower of 1889 which was evaluated as the arch of the triumph of science and industry displayed the advanced technology of the nations. All of these buildings were symbols of the technological improvement of

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<sup>72</sup> Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, p. 3

the nineteenth century. They were planned with the use of prefabricated elements and constructed with fast technical methods like the “iron cathedrals” of the era.<sup>73</sup>

Secondly, these artificial events were stages for nations to construct symbolic representations of their cultural modernity in an explicitly global context. The staging of an international event was important for a nation to gain recognition in relation to other nations. In effect, the emergence of international exhibitions coincided with the spread of nation-state consciousness. In this respect, exhibitions stand for the pivotal occasions in which nations could create and present images for recognition in the eyes of other nations.<sup>74</sup>

For instance, the motivations of a non-European participation, the United States America, in an over- sea exhibition were naturally the desire to publicize nation’s resources and industries. However, there is also a symbolic wish, to equalize themselves with Europeans. According to a journalist, the participation of the United States was essential to “show to the nations of Europe that our mechanical and inventive resources are equal to what we possess in a military point of view.” Furthermore, it was also a significant instrument to manifest the system of government and the supremacy of it. Henry Raymond of New York saw the exhibition “as a contest between the products of labor under democratic liberty and those under monarchical despotism.”<sup>75</sup>

An additional method for gaining international recognition by using universal exhibitions was attributing to each exhibition a peculiar historical event and developing a conceptual explanation. To illustrate, the Philadelphia Centennial (1876) celebrated a century of American independence, *Paris Universelle* (1889) commemorated the centenary of the French Revolution and the Chicago Columbian (1893) celebrated of the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Columbus’ arrival in the new world.

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<sup>73</sup> Marvin Trachtenberg, and Isabelle Hyman. *Architecture, from Prehistory to Postmodernity*, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J: Prentice-Hall, 2002), p. 460

<sup>74</sup> Roche, *Mega Events*, p.6

<sup>75</sup> Merle Curti, “America at the World Fairs,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 55, no. 4 (1950): p. 834- 835, doi: 10.2307/1841163



Thus, exhibitions became a conceptual apparatus which highlighted each nation's universal importance for world history.

Exhibitions were not only grounds for restrained competition in the period of peace; exhibitions also used peace as rhetoric. Queen Victoria's opening speech of 1851 at the Crystal Palace which was considered to be a *Temple of Peace* by an anonymous author of *The Royal Exchange and the Palace of Industry* is a good example to observe the use of peace rhetoric.<sup>76</sup> The Queen said: "It is my anxious desire to promote among nations the cultivation of all those arts which are fostered by peace, and in which in their turn contribute to maintain the peace of the world."<sup>77</sup> Moreover, in the advertisement of the Great Exhibition, the aims of the exhibition were explained as follows: "[e]ncourage the communication of knowledge and free interchange of ideas and to promote friendly intercourse amongst the different nations of the earth."<sup>78</sup>

World's Parliament of Religions and the World's Congress of Representative Women were explanatory examples in order to understand how notion of peace and period of peace were relevant. World's Parliament of Religions and World's Congress of Representative Women were organized on the purpose of establishing peaceful connections between different cultures to secure international peace in the Chicago Exposition of 1893. The main aims of former were to resolve differences among people, to emphasize common truth of the great religions and to make a global dialogue of faiths within the ideological limits of the time. Religion was a purposeful issue to deal with in a universal convention for the purpose of securing and strengthening international harmony. Because according to the committee in charge of organizing World's Parliament of Religions, organizing this meeting can demonstrate that the ideal state in which the different religions live side by side or coexist in friendship, harmony, and peace.

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<sup>76</sup> Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *the Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display*, (New Haven, CT : Yale University Press, 1999) p. 161

<sup>77</sup> The Crystal Palace Exhibition: Illustrated Catalogue London 1851, (New York: Dover Publications, 1970), p. xi

<sup>78</sup> Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, p.91

In June 1891, more than three thousand copies were sent to all over the world, including information about the 1893 Parliament. They invited religious leaders the world to attend and at the end, they received significant feedbacks from religious communities for example, a delegate from New York stated that “[n]ever before has Christianity been brought into such close, open and decisive contact with other religions of the world.”<sup>79</sup> However, there were various oppositions to the Parliament who claimed universalism and superiority, like Abdulhamid II, the Sultan of Ottoman Empire and Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop F. D. Huntington.<sup>80</sup>

In spite of this dissent, the Parliament of Religion was opened in the Hall of Columbus with representatives of Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, Judaism and Shintoism. Similarly with the Queen’s speech in 1851, the authorities of the organization underlined the value of peace again. To illustrate, President of the World’s Congress Auxiliary stated “when the religious faiths of the world recognize each other as brothers, children of one Father, whom all profess to love and serve, then, and not till then, will the nations of the earth yield to the spirit of concord and learn war no more.”<sup>81</sup> John Henry Barrows, Chairman of the General Committee on Religious Congresses, was another figure emphasizing the parallel contribution of the Parliament, he said:

[w]e are here as members of a Parliament of Religions, over which flies no sectarian flag, which is to be stamped by no sectarian war-cries, but where for the first time in large council is lifted up the banner of love, fellowship, brotherhood. We are not here to criticize one another, but each to speak out positively and frankly his own convictions regarding his own faith.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Donald H. Bishop, “Religious Confrontation, a Case Study: The 1893 Parliament of Religions,” *Numen*, vol. 16, Fasc. 1 (Apr. 1969), p.63, doi: 10.2307/3269572

<sup>80</sup> John Henry Barrows, ed., *The World’s Parliament of Religions: An Illustrated and Popular Story of the World’s First Parliament of Religions, Held in Chicago in Connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893*, vol. 1, (Chicago: The Parliament Publishing Company, 1893), p.20. <https://archive.org/stream/worldsparliament01barr#page/20/mode/2up>

<sup>81</sup> Barrows, ed., *The World’s*, p. 67

The World’s Congress Auxiliary is an organization maintained by the World Columbian Exposition, and Government of United States to organize a series of Congress in the Chicago Exposition in 1893. It brought together the important scholars of the world for the purpose of interchange of ideas.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75-76

In conclusion, the idea of peace was an inevitable reality for European Powers in this defined period. States tended to engage in restrained competition rather than violent confrontation, as was the case in the eighteenth and first half of the twentieth century. This restrained competition produced its own criteria including technological and cultural supremacy. The international exhibitions provided alternative basis for this intention without resorting war. Besides, expositions became arenas in which states declared that they were aware of the national and international system of the period which could not tolerate any crises. For this reason, they should maintain stable, flexible and peaceful but competitive international system which corresponded exactly to international exhibitions.

#### **2.4 Period of Material Progress and the International Exhibitions**

“Expositions are the timekeepers of progress”

William McKinley, 25<sup>th</sup> President of the United States

“Expositions were the places where crowned heads habitually inclined themselves before the products of industry.”

Eric Hobsbawm

There are four factors shaped the exhibitions starting from the Great Exhibition: mass-production, prefabrication, mass communication and urbanization.<sup>83</sup> All of these factors were related with the new social and economic context of the Europe which is an outcome of the Industrial Revolution. The major issue which will be addressed in this part is the material progress of the period which can be formalized as economic progress and technological progress. For Hobsbawm, the Great International Exhibitions, giant new rituals of self-congratulation, of the world of capitalism were allegorical representations, indicating economic triumph and industrial progress like masques, processions and operas of the era of baroque princes. In other words, in such a global victory period of capitalism, exhibitions can be labeled as symbolic institutions in where economic growth became visible.<sup>84</sup> The

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<sup>83</sup> Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, p.142

<sup>84</sup> Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital*, p. 47

exhibitions attracted considerable amount of visitors, but the primary point here is the fact that thousands of firms were also attracted to display their exhibits, 14,000 in London 1851, 24,000 Paris 1855, 50,000 in Paris 1867.<sup>85</sup> What were the motivations of this intense participation of both nations and firms? In effect, the new economic structure was more industrial, expanded and global. The elements composing of the new economic relations were strongly related with the developments of the production methods.

The revolutionary change in the production methods can be defined basically as a process of transition from agrarian and handicraft economy to an economy which was directed by industry and machine-driven manufacturing. That is to say, means of production, materials used to produce objects, the quantity of objects produced, the spread of production and the audience produced for were subject to a radical change.

Technological changes were the driving force of this transformation. There were well-known inventions like the steam engine, the machines for spinning and weaving cotton. In addition to these machines which made many unreachable objects affordable like cotton, use of new energy sources including fuels and coal led to the mass production of manufactured goods. Thanks to the advances in productivity, output was increased and production costs fell. For instance, in the eighteenth century, 100 lbs. cotton was spined in 50.000 hours by Indian hand-spinners, whereas by 1825, 135 hour was enough with the invention of automatic mule by Richard Roberts,<sup>86</sup> Britain's coal production increased to 50.2M tons from 11.2 in a fifty year period, 1800 and 1850 and the capacity of European cotton industry (number of spindles in thousands) raised to 52.258 from 15.406 between 1834 and 1877.<sup>87</sup> To understand the volume of mechanization, Luddites, "collective bargaining by riot" is a substantial example.<sup>88</sup> They came into view in 1810s for the purpose of

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p.46-47

<sup>86</sup> Mathias and Pollard, *The Changing*, p. 20

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p.18

<sup>88</sup> E. J. Hobsbawm, "The Machine Breakers" *Past & Present*, No. 1 (Feb., 1952): pp. 57-70, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/649989>

systematic destruction of machines which was displacing workers by English handicraftsmen. The Luddites aimed to put a stop to new-labour saving machines, especially textile machinery. Because the industrial production left factory workers with no source of income but just a cash salary.<sup>89</sup>

In such a period of material abundance which is owing to technical improvement, the economic structure of the Europe was also reshaped and nineteenth century witnessed faster rates of growth and more accumulation of wealth and capital. To participate and to publicize the products and raw materials in an international market like expositions, which is the issue searched in this part, were based on the ground of this economic expansion. Since, during the early decades of the century, capacity of production developed more rapidly than the market for industrial products. Thereby, traditional forms of economic life were replaced by a more competitive form which had to eliminate the market and cheaper raw material problem. These necessities rationalized the exhibiting idea in 1851 by British; because exhibitions were to provide a stimulus British trade and industry along with other opportunities like communication of knowledge and learning from other manufacturers and artisans.

To clarify the term of the expansion market, this is because of the progress of the transportation facilities like construction of roads, canals and railway which enabled to transport goods cheaply.<sup>90</sup> Transport improvements also changed the market structure of the Europe; local markets became national markets, national markets became international ones. While Britain had 2411 kilometers of railways in 1840, it raised to 24.759 within thirty years. The accretion of railways in Unites States was more dramatic; it increased from 4.509 to 84.759 within the same period.<sup>91</sup>

In other words, it can be observed an international economic structure which is integrated with other individual economies. For instance, between 1850 and 1870

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<sup>89</sup> Hannu Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe : A Cultural History*, (Cambridge : Polity, 2008), p. 18

<sup>90</sup> Walter Minchinton, "Pattern of Demand 1750-1914," in *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, ed. Carlo M. Cipolla, (London, Glasgow: Colins/Fontana Books, 1973), p.80

<sup>91</sup> Mathias and Pollard, *The Changing*, p. 21

international trade increased by 260 per cent.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, there were international organizations to ease the international trade such as International Postal Union and International Bureau of Weights and Measures. The most significant example was the international commissions for the control of navigation on the Rhine and the Danube which was designed to minimize the frictions in trade.<sup>93</sup>

As a result, economic and social conditions, forced to find out the most economically prosperous and politically stable policy. At this point, it is important to note that it is not intangible to see that this period was marked by a discussion between the defender of protectionist trade policies, protecting domestic industries against foreign competition with the help of tariffs, subsidies and import quotas, and those who oppose these policies against imports of foreign competitors in England, the pioneering figure of the expositions. Furthermore, the Corn Law began to be questioned and the Anti-Corn Law League was founded in 1839 for the purpose of abolishing the Corn Laws which regulated the import and export of grain in Britain.

Consequently, this pursuit flourished international free trade in a context of increased economic competition and integrated global economy. International exhibitions were the convenient and ideal platforms to cover the demands of new capitalist and industrialized economy. At the first world universal exposition, Great Exhibition in London in 1851, as well as in Paris in 1855 and in the following other ones, free trade was spotlighted. This context was reflected in the very beginning stage of the constructing the exhibition. Even in the meetings of the organizing committee of the first universal, there was a considerable debate of opinion in terms of the relation between protectionists and free traders. The periodicals of the period like *Britannia*, *John Bull* and *Economist* discussed frequently advantages and disadvantages of the expositions to promote trade.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Hobsbawm *The Age of Capital*, p.48

<sup>93</sup> Minchinton, *Pattern of Demand*, p.90

<sup>94</sup> Auberbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, p.57 and “The Two Great European Rivals - England And France.” *Economist* [London, England] 24 May 1851: 557+. *The Economist Historical Archive, 1843-2010*.

<http://find.galegroupcom/econ/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECON&userGroupName=metu&>

# The Economist,

## WEEKLY COMMERCIAL TIMES,

Bankers' Gazette, and Railway Monitor :

A POLITICAL, LITERARY, AND GENERAL NEWSPAPER.

Vol. IX.

SATURDAY, MAY 24, 1851.

No. 404.

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real business? If not, how is it that we find that just in proportion as Frenchmen show their courage and their ability in single combat, as a nation they retreat from competition? Is it that the Government and the people are not at one in their views?—Is it that while the people are enterprising, ingenious, industrious, and courageous, the Government is timid, fearful and inactive? If not, how is it that the propositions of M. de Sainte Beuve have been almost unanimously rejected by the Commission of the National Assembly, and for such reasons?

M. de Sainte Beuve, having evidently studied the history of our commercial legislation during the last thirty years, proposed a general and intelligible scheme of commercial reform, of a character which certainly cannot be called extravagant. He proposed the repeal of all protective duties on articles of food and the raw materials of manufactures. Considering that wheat is now lower in France than in any other neighboring country; and that there is a large export in open competition with all other countries to England, there is surely nothing to be lost by relinquishing the duties on corn at present; while with regard to the raw materials of manufacture, we apprehend the most rabid Protectionist will hardly contend that they are a wise source of revenue. He proposed the imposition of duties not exceeding 10 per cent. on articles partly manufactured, and of 20 per cent. on those entirely manufactured; the reduction of the duty on iron after four years to 1 fr. per 100 kilo. or 8s the ton; a perfect freedom of trade with the colonies, with a uniformity of tariff; and extensive reforms in the Navigation Laws. Such were the proposals of M. de Sainte Beuve, which, if adopted, would in time have done more to consolidate the social prosperity of France than all the efforts of the National Assembly exerted for centuries to come.

But they are resisted as a noxious poison—as a stab at the existence of the nation. They are not even entertained with a view to a beginning of a wiser policy;—they are rejected as a whole. "The proposition establishes an opposition of an unequal kind, as if it proposes the absorption of the weak industry of France by the vigorous one of England. Under the pretext of economic reform, it constitutes a revolution as regards our territorial and industrial wealth, for the benefit of the foreigner. It cannot, therefore, be even taken into consideration." What is the proposition? Protective duties of 20 per cent. on all manufactures. Would any of the ingenious and enterprising Frenchmen in the Great Exhibition be ready to make so humiliating an admission? Would any one of them endorse this libel upon French industry, thus promulgated by the Commission of the National Assembly? But if French industry be weak and English industry vigorous, whence is the reason? It is not very many years ago that, in some very important branches of manufacture, England was considered as unable to compete with France, as she is now in the growth of Chateau Lafitte or Chamberlaine; but by exposure to competition, the silk trade of England now rivals that of France in every market of the world, while, nevertheless, England imports largely of some kinds of French silks. Since the English silk manufacturers were exposed to competition, their trade has increased more than threefold.

But what is the account which the Commissioners of the National Assembly give of the present state of trade in France? What is their evidence of the success of that system of policy to which they cling with such determination, that they decline "even to take any other plan into consideration?" They say,— "It is unfortunately sufficient to cast a look around us." We deal with facts, and we are perfectly aware that in this country there is not a single interest that is not suffering. Properly cannot afford to be deprived of any more of its produce or its revenue. "All industry is stopped, and manufactures are closed to an alarming extent." And no wonder, when we consider the condition on which they subsist. Such are the admissions of those who cling to a policy of exclusion and protection—to a complicated system of compensations. Iron and coal and every raw material are highly protected. The very root of all industry is corroded. High duties are placed on coal and iron; the cost of the prohibition on the latter to the agriculture of the country alone having

### The Political Economist.

#### THE TWO GREAT EUROPEAN RIVALS—ENGLAND AND FRANCE. PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE.

MUCH as we have been the advocates of Free Trade, we have never considered it any part of our duty to exhibit a very earnest desire to proselyte foreign governments to our views;—partly, because we have always been of opinion that no persuasion on the part of this country will have so great an effect upon them, as the experience of the mischievous effects of the restrictive systems in which they now delight: and partly, we do not hesitate to say, because we think it a matter somewhat of indifference to this country what system others pursue, so long as we ourselves adhere to a wise policy. Indeed, in one point of view, it is impossible to be blind to the fact, that the interests of England are rather advanced than retarded by the firm adherence of such countries as France, Belgium, Germany, and the United States, to the principles of Protection. With regard to each of those countries, we could not have a better guarantee for the continued command which we now enjoy of the trade of the great neutral markets of the world, in the various articles of manufactures in respect to which we have to compete with them abroad, than their perseverance in their present policy. We may be sure that so long as those countries maintain a system of restrictions on their trade, which so far enhances the cost of their productions that they are obliged to resort to high protective duties in order to maintain their own home markets, there is little to be apprehended from their competition in neutral markets, where they enjoy no such advantages; while the surreptitious efforts of the smuggler go a great way to destroy even the supposed advantages which they have at home.

The French as a people are not specially open to the charge of underestimating their own abilities, if we may judge from their manner and professions. They are not, to appearance at least, destitute of confidence in themselves. An examination of the French department in the Great Exhibition is calculated to impress the impartial observer with the fact, that their pretensions are not ill-founded. There they have readily accepted the challenge of England and of the world, and have shown that they were well prepared for the struggle. But are we, then, to be compelled to believe that this is all play?—all holiday making?—no

Figure 2 An article discussing free trade and exhibitions in Economist

been estimated by a high authority at 2,000,000 a year. In order to compensate the maker of machinery, implements, engines, &c., those of foreign production are either entirely prohibited or subjected to an enormous duty. The establishment of a manufactory, therefore, costs double what it does in England. Again, the raw materials of manufactures, and especially yarns, are subject to high duties; and lastly, by way of compensating all these disadvantages, the manufacturer is protected in the home market by the exclusion, so far as prohibitions and protecting duties can exclude, of the products of other countries. But then there is the smuggler, and, somehow or other, the exports from England to France have increased, in the last twenty years, from 460,000 to 2,000,000. But, then, of what value to France is a monopoly of the home market, when a surplus of everything is produced which must be exported? As well talk of protecting calicoes in England, coals at Newcastle, or wheat at Moscow. And, then, under what conditions does France enter the foreign markets? Bound hand and foot by the thousand restrictions that have waited on every process, from the importation of the coal and iron that formed the first piece of machinery used in their process, to the completion of the article ready for the market. Is it a wonder, then, that "all industry is stopped, and manufactories closing to an alarming extent," in spite of the "energetic efforts of genius, of capital, and devotion," which France undoubtedly exhibits?

But, then, this is not the time. England has taken "twenty-five years to familiarise the public mind to the new ideas of her most able and influential statesmen." But is that the reason why French statesmen are never to begin to remove the prejudices which their laws have built up in the vulgar mind? Is that the reason why the Commission of the National Assembly determine that the propositions of M. de Sainte Beuve are not "even to be considered"? If Mr. Huskisson had not begun, could Sir Robert Peel have finished? Not the time! When will the time be to effect great commercial reforms, if not when the state of trade in France is such as the Commissioners describe? What better argument can they ever hope to find for proposing some change—some modification—than such an utter failure of their present policy as their own report admits? For years past the commerce of France has been stationary or retrograding, while that of England has bounded forward in a way that has no parallel in the history of the world. Are French statesmen dead to all that is going on around them? Are they ignorant of the facts concerning their own country and concerning England? Let us place before them a short contrast, which, while it may serve as a warning to them, should at least satisfy us with the course we have pursued:—

| TRADE OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND. |               |                           |               |
|------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURES.     |               | ENGLAND UNDER PROTECTION. |               |
| Exports—1842                 | Exports—1850  | Exports—1842              | Exports—1850  |
| £ 42,660,000                 | £ 113,844,600 | £ 46,129,000              | £ 190,161,000 |
| 1842                         | 1850          | 1842                      | 1850          |

These sums include the exports of foreign as well as home produce and manufactures.

| FRANCE UNDER PROTECTION. |             |              |              | ENGLAND UNDER PROTECTION. |             |              |              |
|--------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| Exports—1842             |             | Exports—1850 |              | Exports—1842              |             | Exports—1850 |              |
| £ 2,247,000              | £ 7,217,000 | £ 3,247,000  | £ 12,229,000 | £ 2,247,000               | £ 7,217,000 | £ 3,247,000  | £ 12,229,000 |
| 1842                     | 1850        | 1842         | 1850         | 1842                      | 1850        | 1842         | 1850         |

PAUPERISM AND FREE TRADE.

ANOTHER half-yearly return of the most satisfactory description from the Poor Law Board! When is the ruin of the country to begin to exhibit its fruits? How often have we heard from the leading Protectionists in Parliament, that they would stake the whole question at issue on the effects of the modern policy on the labouring population? Pauperism was to be the index. Well, for three years every return has been an improvement on the one preceding. Some gentlemen are very fond of quoting individual cases as proofs of the increasing destitution of the poor. But it is not difficult at any time to find exceptions to any rule. The only fair criterion is to take England as a whole, and what do we find? We have now before us a return of the expenditure in relief of the poor for the six months ended Lady-day, 1851, compared with the same period in 1850. It shows another reduction of 8 per cent. even upon the reduced amount of last year. Nor is this reduction confined to manufacturing counties. It extends to all, except only Monmouth. And in some of the most purely

agricultural counties the reduction is the full average of the whole. In Sussex it is 8.1 per cent., in Westmoreland 8.8 per cent., in Wilts 7.4 per cent., in Bedford 7.4 per cent., in Buckingham 7.4 per cent., in Devon 8.5 per cent., in Berks 6.7 per cent.

And what is perhaps even more satisfactory is, that the largest share of the reduction is in the out-door relief. In the workhouses there is a certain number of aged and sick persons, and orphan children, that may almost be treated as a fixed quantity, not being acted upon in any way by the state of the times. The great fluctuation of cost is in out-door relief. In money for the whole of England, the comparison is thus:—

| EXPENDITURE ON THE POOR.         |           |          |           |
|----------------------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|
|                                  | Out-door. | In-door. | Total.    |
| Six months ending Lady-day, 1850 | 1,329,798 | 371,425  | 1,661,143 |
| — Lady-day, 1851                 | 1,236,776 | 337,437  | 1,508,893 |
| Reduction                        | 95,922    | 33,988   | 135,280   |

Here, then, we have a relief in this six months from poor rate alone, of no less than 135,280. And it cannot be said that any part of this reduction is caused by lower prices, for while no article of food is cheaper than it was a year ago, some are considerably dearer. It is certain, therefore, that the reduction in numbers bears a similar proportion to that of expenditure. The following is the return:—

RETURN showing the Amount of Money Expended for In-maintenance and Out-door Relief in 607 Unions and single Parishes in England and Wales, during the Half-Years ended at Lady-day 1850 and 1851, respectively.

| Names of Counties. | In-door.  |           | Out-door. |         | Total.    | Incr.     | Decr.   |
|--------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------|-----------|-----------|---------|
|                    | 1850.     | 1851.     | 1850.     | 1851.   |           |           |         |
| ENGLAND            | 1,329,798 | 1,236,776 | 371,425   | 337,437 | 1,661,143 | 1,508,893 | 152,250 |
| Bedford            | 3336..    | 18011..   | 17477..   | 2967..  | 12855..   | 10572     | 2283    |
| Berks              | 8778..    | 25210..   | 33388..   | 7829..  | 23315..   | 31348     | 8023    |
| Buckingham         | 4817..    | 20629..   | 23495..   | 4017..  | 19976..   | 23953     | 4377    |
| Cambridge          | 6173..    | 28785..   | 34958..   | 6919..  | 27592..   | 33578     | 5786    |
| Cheshire           | 9797..    | 26168..   | 24776..   | 3629..  | 23985..   | 27478     | 3493    |
| Devon              | 2627..    | 28464..   | 24512..   | 4412..  | 33322..   | 27775     | 5547    |
| Derby              | 3485..    | 12328..   | 19781..   | 3294..  | 18211..   | 15115     | 3096    |
| Devon              | 2923..    | 12528..   | 15928..   | 2325..  | 11678..   | 14314     | 2636    |
| Devon              | 8069..    | 45070..   | 63130..   | 7048..  | 50788..   | 57756     | 6968    |
| Dorset             | 4895..    | 22599..   | 33485..   | 4236..  | 24755..   | 26473     | 1718    |
| Durham             | 3391..    | 19111..   | 13356..   | 3131..  | 20349..   | 22471     | 2122    |
| Essex              | 14321..   | 44219..   | 58527..   | 13126.. | 41883..   | 54703     | 12820   |
| Gloucester         | 3655..    | 31291..   | 41584..   | 5714..  | 21219..   | 22922     | 1703    |
| Hereford           | 2709..    | 14177..   | 16927..   | 2907..  | 13476..   | 16527     | 3051    |
| Hertford           | 7626..    | 18527..   | 27299..   | 6938..  | 18818..   | 26506     | 7688    |
| Huntingdon         | 6822..    | 18065..   | 27441..   | 3789..  | 7879..    | 9628      | 1749    |
| Kent               | 24766..   | 47789..   | 72499..   | 21791.. | 45289..   | 67086     | 21797   |
| Leicester          | 24955..   | 119743..  | 145468..  | 32683.. | 96338..   | 121416    | 25078   |
| Leicestershire     | 4317..    | 21277..   | 28668..   | 3361..  | 22442..   | 23633     | 1191    |
| Lincoln            | 9148..    | 46318..   | 49773..   | 8946..  | 36914..   | 43806     | 6892    |
| Middlesex          | 20747..   | 62727..   | 113604..  | 42126.. | 54348..   | 67629     | 13281   |
| MONMOUTH           | 1832..    | 14929..   | 15912..   | 2923..  | 12599..   | 16287     | 3688    |
| Norfolk            | 11473..   | 56219..   | 61688..   | 19617.. | 48489..   | 55596     | 7107    |
| Northampton        | 5464..    | 29682..   | 24487..   | 3798..  | 27955..   | 34423     | 6468    |
| Northumberland     | 4218..    | 31181..   | 38598..   | 4188..  | 26231..   | 32329     | 6098    |
| Nottingham         | 4811..    | 21084..   | 28315..   | 4632..  | 18655..   | 22849     | 4194    |
| Nottingham         | 4269..    | 23771..   | 24128..   | 3940..  | 22048..   | 26400     | 4352    |
| Rutland            | 792..     | 2175..    | 2987..    | 792..   | 2109..    | 2800      | 691     |
| Sally              | 4369..    | 12441..   | 17816..   | 3797..  | 12827..   | 15524     | 2697    |
| Somerset           | 10874..   | 29716..   | 70289..   | 9295..  | 37822..   | 65678     | 27856   |
| Southampton        | 12424..   | 42022..   | 52628..   | 11482.. | 27815..   | 42971     | 15156   |
| Stafford           | 8287..    | 27986..   | 35828..   | 7281..  | 24177..   | 31938     | 7761    |
| Stafford           | 10225..   | 41183..   | 54122..   | 10955.. | 41279..   | 52445     | 11166   |
| Surrey             | 25628..   | 41810..   | 49222..   | 23315.. | 29521..   | 37837     | 8316    |
| Sussex             | 11282..   | 29218..   | 41207..   | 9781..  | 20602..   | 28383     | 7781    |
| Warwick            | 6211..    | 28935..   | 36516..   | 5114..  | 23749..   | 31653     | 7904    |
| Westminster        | 1218..    | 4948..    | 9216..    | 1840..  | 6622..    | 9259      | 2637    |
| Wiltshire          | 7318..    | 28318..   | 46448..   | 7189..  | 25832..   | 43020     | 17188   |
| Worcester          | 6136..    | 27875..   | 34258..   | 5773..  | 29240..   | 35119     | 5879    |
| York (S. D.)       | 3890..    | 19412..   | 23541..   | 2438..  | 18588..   | 21616     | 3028    |
| York (W. D.)       | 2905..    | 17488..   | 19824..   | 2324..  | 19137..   | 18461     | 6876    |
| York (W. R.)       | 15947..   | 74592..   | 85855..   | 8361..  | 65796..   | 74252     | 8456    |
| Totals for England | 171435    | 1322165   | 1654143   | 328267  | 1292776   | 1558163   | 361389  |

| WALES.           |        |         |         |        |        |        |       |
|------------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
|                  | 1850.  | 1851.   | 1850.   | 1851.  | Total. | Incr.  | Decr. |
| Anglesey         | 797..  | 7717..  | —       | 7188.. | 7486   | —      | 69    |
| Brecon           | 910..  | 6813..  | 7248..  | 844..  | 6442   | 7289   | 789   |
| Cardigan         | 285..  | 8571..  | 3859..  | 258..  | 8242   | 8488   | 246   |
| Cardiganshire    | 688..  | 2222..  | 2284..  | 688..  | 11690  | 12279  | 589   |
| Cararvon         | 806..  | 15158.. | 13024.. | 554..  | 12685  | 12229  | 456   |
| Denbigh          | 1279.. | 7862..  | 9141..  | 1127.. | 7615   | 8742   | 1127  |
| Flint            | 382..  | 8911..  | 9268..  | 960..  | 8140   | 8745   | 605   |
| Gwynedd          | 1708.. | 21972.. | 25632.. | 1582.. | 23198  | 23684  | 486   |
| Merioneth        | 193..  | 7593..  | 7129..  | 172..  | 7231   | 7426   | 195   |
| Montgomery       | 591..  | 8291..  | 8256..  | 748..  | 8210   | 8406   | 196   |
| Pembroke         | 596..  | 6366..  | 8265..  | 498..  | 5801   | 5446   | 355   |
| Radnor           | 234..  | 3640..  | 3374..  | 592..  | 3297   | 3792   | 495   |
| Totals for Wales | 8124   | 117065  | 125129  | 7877   | 113189 | 120566 | 7377  |

Totals of 607 Unions in England & Wales—278559 149713 1819272 338454 1289665 1679459 77

Note.—In-maintenance consists of the cost of food, clothing, and necessaries supplied for the use of the poor in the workhouses.

Out-relief consists of relief in money and kind, together with relief by way of loan (if any) to the out-door poor.

The above expenditure applies to 607 unions and single parishes under the Poor Law Amendment Act. There are about 500 parishes under Local Acts, Gilbert's Act, and the 3rd of Elizabeth, the population of which in 1841 was about 1,647,890, not included in the above return.

THE SUGAR TRADE OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

THERE is nothing that more powerfully exhibits the effects of the two systems of commercial policy pursued in France and England than the extent of the consumption of sugar in the two countries. The general impression of those who are best acquainted with France is, that the use of sugar is both more general and more extensive there than in England; and so far as regards the middle and the higher classes of society it probably is so. But taking the

Figure 2 (continued) An article discussing free trade and exhibitions in Economist



For the purpose of offering market and raw material, exhibits were made of both manufactures and raw materials. In the first international exhibition there was thirty-part classification system in which exhibits were divided into four parts namely raw materials, machinery, manufactures and fine arts. The section of manufacture was the largest section in 1851 Exhibition. It was composed of nineteen classes including cotton, woolen and worsted, silk and velvet, manufactures from flax and hemp, leather, fur, paper, tapestry, ceramic manufactures and manufactures in mineral substances. On the other hand, raw materials section was made of four groups as follows:

- I. Mining and Quarrying, Metallurgy and Mineral Products
- II. Chemical and Pharmaceutical Process and Products
- III. Substances used as Food
- IV. Vegetable and Animal Substances.<sup>95</sup>

In brief, the exhibitions were commercial centers answering the current necessities of the economic organization by giving opportunity in two respects. First, the international expositions were improving the production process by offering opportunities to publicize natural and other resources. Second, they were expanding markets for excessive products and so they are making alternative rooms for trade.

## **2.5 The New Imperialism and the International Exhibitions**

The beginning of exhibitions coincides with the peak years of imperial overseas expansion of Great Britain, France, and Germany. In the century, the European nation-states began to the conquest the world politically, economically and culturally. Therefore, they imposed control over the territory, resources and populations of the large regions of Africa and Asia. The motives of this extraordinary expansion and domination were complicated. Be that as it may, motives can be classified as economic, ideological and security. Apart from the last one which is security, the other two, economic and ideological motives were related with the exhibitions.

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<sup>95</sup> Auberbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, p.93

The economic motive is related with the requirements of the industrial economies. They were forced to find out new sources to maintain their demand for raw materials and new markets.

The ideological motive was basically based on the idea that the western world was more civilized than other colonial parts of the world and this notion played a leading role in the exhibitions. Since the motto, "*to see is to know*" was affixed to the international expositions,<sup>96</sup> not only in terms of learning production methods, but also to learn about "others." These events were instruments to display justifications of these "racial" and cultural dichotomies between European and the colonial world. In other words, the difference between "uncivilized" and "civilized" world was not only a motivation to expand but also a manifestation of the Western world in the international exhibitions.

This situation can be observed in two levels. First one is that by exhibiting the raw materials from the colonial world, it was aimed to astonish the national public. These materials presented the colonies as resources of imperial economy and the exhibitions guided the national public in terms of benefiting from the products which were produced from colonial raw materials.<sup>97</sup> Moreover, the classification method of exhibits was also intentional. By classifying them into four categories, the raw Materials, the machinery, the manufactures and the Fine Arts, they set a story of "progress" from the raw materials to decorative objects. This symbolically represents the "civilizational" story, from primitive imperial subjects to advanced imperializing civilizations.<sup>98</sup> That is to say, the displaying materials from colonial possessions reapproved the "racial" superiority of colonizing societies regarding technical, scientific and moral development and displaying the products of

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<sup>96</sup> Robert Rydell, *All the World's Fair: Vision of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 44

<sup>97</sup> Roche, *Mega Events*, p.60

<sup>98</sup> Katherine Smits & Alix Jansen, "Staging the Nation at Expos and World's Fairs", *National Identities*, vol.14.no. 2, (2002): p. 178, doi: 10.1080/14608944.2012.677817

possessions made colonialism visible to those who were at home.<sup>99</sup> Because displaying a thing from colonies located the Empires at a position of control. The community could observe the degree of their imperial extension and be aware of that the colonies belonged to them. Furthermore, in the last period of the nineteenth century, the period of New Imperialism, the Colonial Empires organized “Colonial Exhibitions” which included temporary museums representing the various colonies of the European nations, to introduce colonies and to receive popular support. The most significant exhibitions were:

- 1883 International Colonial Exhibition Amsterdam
- 1885 Universal Exhibition Antwerp
- 1886 Colonial Exhibition London
- 1889 Universal Exhibition Paris
- 1894 Colonial Exhibition Lyon
- 1896 National Exhibition Rouen
- 1900 Universal Exhibition Paris

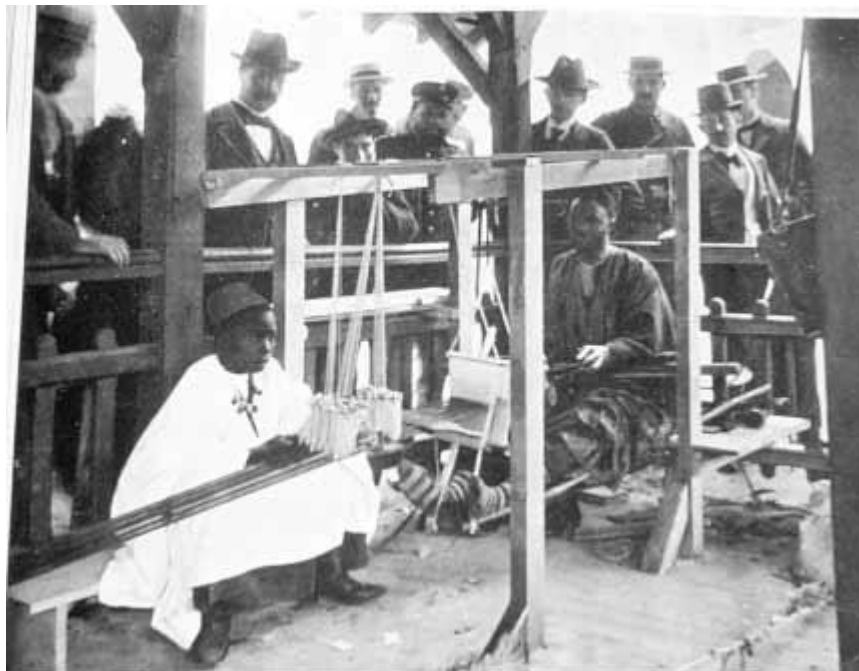


Figure 3 Senegalese weaver and apprentice, in the Universal Exhibition Paris, 1900

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<sup>99</sup> Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, p.18

Source: Catherina Hodeir, “Decentering the Gaze at French Colonial Exhibitions” in *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*, ed. Paul Stuart Landau et al.

The idea that there is a hierarchy between races is the fundamental motive of the colonizing movement. This assumption took a place in exhibitions by displaying indigenous people such as Javanese, Samoan or Algerian people. At these massive exhibitions which were staged by the primary colonial powers, the world was collected and displayed. Natives from a board array of colonized cultures became a standard element of expositions. The so-called savages or primitives, along with their artifacts, houses, and even entire villages, were converted into objects which were available for visual inspection by millions of strolling and staring Western citizens.

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Although displaying of native people in the exhibitions was a controversial issue even at that time, those who supported the displaying people defended that it was crucial to display colonized people to give more reality and life to the scene which was created in fairground with buildings or pavilions. To illustrate, in the 1900 Universal Exposition, Charles Lemire, the honorary resident general, supported that displaying people from French colonies would inform French people about “races” in colonies and protectorates since French needed to be enlightened about them.<sup>101</sup>

Displaying native people was organized according to the nineteenth century criteria. It was scientific and detailed. Burton Benedict argued that human exhibits in nineteenth century fairs were displayed according to the national and “racial” hierarchies and this hierarchy can be analyzed in five categories.<sup>102</sup> He explained these categories in exhibiting human as follows:

- people as technicians who were part of machine on display by acting as technicians.
- people who were artisans to present handmade qualities of the products with a traditional and ethnic emphasize

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<sup>100</sup> Raymond Corbey, *Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930*, *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 8, no.3 (Aug.,1993): p. 338, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/656317>

<sup>101</sup> Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, p. 19

<sup>102</sup> Burton Benedict, “The Anthropology of World's Fairs,” in *The Anthropology of World's Fairs*, ed. Burton Benedict (London and Berkeley, 1983), p.2.

- people as freaks or curiosities by emphasizing abnormal physiology and behavior
- people as trophies who were displayed by their conquerors in special enclosures.
- people as specimens or scientific objects for anthropological and ethnographic research.<sup>103</sup>



Figure 4 A numbers of Indians in Paris, 1889

Source: Corbey, *Ethnographic Showcases*, p. 348

In addition to native people from the colonized regions, local people from the Muslim world also could not escape from becoming something of an exhibit albeit it was unintentional. To demonstrate, when the Khedive of the Egypt visited the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, 1867, Khedive stayed in the imitation palace during his visit and became a part of the exhibition. Further, before a few decades from this, his father, the Crown Prince Ibrahim of Egypt, had experienced the same in the showrooms of Birmingham in 1846 and he had turn into an exhibit. He went to a show tent to see the display of a carcass of an enormous whale by disguising his identity but he was recognized instantly and showmen announced to the audiences

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid., p.43-45

that “for the one price they could see on display the carcass of the whale, and the Great Warrior Ibrahim, Conqueror of the Turks, into the bargain.” He was escaped from the crowd by the police.<sup>104</sup>

When we considered Benedict’s schema, people from Muslim world like Tunisia, Persia or Ottoman Empire, fit last four categories. They generally became a part of the mass amusement for visitors. Unlike native people, they were generally seen as curiosities in the exhibitions for their different customs, traditions and behaviors in the Islamic quarters built on the fair grounds. This can be illustrated briefly by the Egyptian district in the 1867 exhibition. The imitation street was beset with shops and stalls and people who were in Oriental costumes were selling perfumes and tarbushes. Besides donkeys with their drivers, grooms, saddle-makers and farriers were imported from Cairo to impress and complete the show.<sup>105</sup> Especially, in 1893 Columbian Exposition Algeria, a French colony, Egypt, Persia, Tunisia attracted visitors with unusual shows such as camel drivers, swordsmen or snake charmers. Zeynep Gerdan Williams, who traced Muslim states in the Columbian Exposition, indicates that the Middle Eastern cultures became an object of commerce itself rather than commercial exhibits of them. Since concessionaires of the Middle Eastern exhibits in the Midway Plaisance used centuries-old stereotypical Muslim images in the United States for profit. Thereby, the Middle Eastern Exotica became commoditized.<sup>106</sup> The following images demonstrate the performances by Islamic states which included all the recognized clichés towards the East or the Orient.

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<sup>104</sup> Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 4

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p.1

<sup>106</sup> Zeynep Gerdan Williams, *Triumph of Commercialism: The Commodification of the Middle Eastern Exotica at The World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893*, Unpublished MA Thesis, (Ankara: Bilkent Üniversitesi, 2008)





Figure 7 A dance show in the street of Cairo in the Columbian Exposition, 1893

Source: *The Dream City: A Portfolio of Photographic views of the Columbian Exposition, (Saint Louis 1893), p.208*

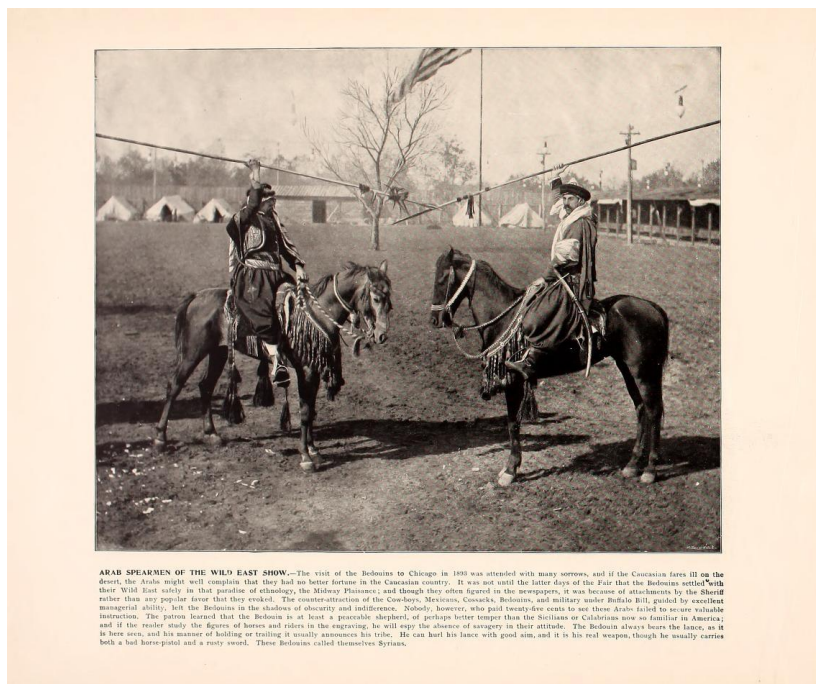


Figure 8 Arab spearmen of the Wild East Show in the Columbian Exposition, 1893

Source: *The Dream City: A Portfolio of Photographic views of the Columbian Exposition, (Saint Louis 1893), p. 21*





Figure 9 Egyptian dancers in Paris Exposition of 1900

Source: Zeynep Çelik and Leila Kinney, “Ethnography and Exhibitionism at the Expositions Universelles” *Assemblage*, No. 13 (Dec., 1990): p. 54



Figure 10 A Turkish cafe in Paris, 1867

Source: Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, p. 21

To conclude, the idea behind displaying “others” in fairs was derived from that together with material resources like land and raw materials, people also were seen as valuable resources for Western Empires. Western world internalized substantially the idea that people from colonized regions should serve the “noble” purposes of West which were ambassadorial, imperial, and educational scientific and commercial.<sup>107</sup> Therefore, exhibitions between 1889 and 1914 became human showcases.

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<sup>107</sup> Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, p. 82

## CHAPTER III

### THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Ottoman Empire started to participate in the international exhibitions with the first exhibition in 1851 and tried to be in every event of the century. The Ottoman State succeeded in this purpose, the only exception which Ottoman could not participate was the 1853 New York World Exhibition due to the transportation cost. The Empire attended officially seven of the international exhibitions during the 1851-1900, namely 1851 London, 1855 Paris, 1862 London, 1867 Paris, 1873 Vienna, 1876 Philadelphia and 1900 Paris. On the other hand, the Ottoman State did not have opportunity to officially participate in the exhibitions between the 1876 Philadelphia Exhibition and the 1893 Chicago Exhibition because of ideological and economic reasons. In such circumstances, the state was represented through the participation of state-controlled private or individual Ottoman entrepreneurs. To illustrate, 1878 Paris and 1889 Paris exhibitions were the most important ones which state did not prefer to be represented officially. Additionally, Paris 1878, Amsterdam 1883 and Calcutta 1883-1884 exemplified the unofficial participation of the Empire.<sup>108</sup>

The fifty-year journey of the Empire in the international exhibitions started with the official circular, dated 4 October 1850. According to this circular, state declared to collect samples of all kinds of agricultural products and industrial manufacture to display in the exhibition.<sup>109</sup> According to the official newspaper, the *Ceride-i Havadis*, the purpose of the Empire in exhibiting products was to advertise the productivity of the lands of the Empire, to prove the industrial and artistic skills of

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<sup>108</sup> Gültekin Yıldız, "Ottoman Participation in World's Columbian Exposition" *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 9 (Mart 2001): p.138.

<sup>109</sup> *Ceride-i Havadis*, 27 Za 1266 (October 4, 1850)

the Empire and to show the efforts of Sultan Abdulmecid in the development of the country.<sup>110</sup>

As regards to political and economical conditions, which is very related with the motivations to be part of an international event and helpful to understand these motivations, this period was “the longest century” in the history of Empire.<sup>111</sup> At that period, which can be started with 1789, the reign of Selim III, the Empire was undergoing structural developments in terms of military, monetary and governmental systems. After decades of wars and defeats in the Ottoman lands including the Balkans, the Black Sea Region and Egypt, the Empire opened a new epoch in terms of the Ottoman history simultaneously with the revolutionary change in Europe and the United States.<sup>112</sup> The impact of the Napoleonic invasion and Treaty of the Küçük Kaynarca accelerated and opened the Reform Era.

Politically, nineteenth century was an age of modernization. Although, as noted before reform process of the Ottoman Empire began in the late eighteenth century, the most comprehensive steps towards a modern state started with the declaration of the *Gülhane Hatt-i Şerifi* in 1839 and continued throughout the century with various reforms. The novelty of the Tanzimat Period, 1839- 1876, was that it changed the pre-industrial qualifications of the state. The reforms of the Tanzimat made the Empire more congruence to the main characteristics of a modern state, even it is limited, in terms of administrative, financial and military structure of the Empire.

By saying modern state, I understand the centralization of the state and its affects to the relations between state and society. In the period of the reformation, Ottoman State began to form the very first steps toward a modern state. The first attempt was abolishing the intermediaries between subjects and state in the areas which were related with affairs of the state. In other words, before the nineteenth century state did not deal with its citizens by using direct governmental apparatus which is a preliminary aspect of a modern bureaucracy. In general, it deals with the

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<sup>110</sup> Ceride-i Havadis, 24 Za 1266 (September 1,1850)

<sup>111</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2012)

<sup>112</sup> Carter Vaughn Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity: A History 1789-2007*, (New Haven : Yale University Press, 2010), p. 23

representatives of the groups like imams, priests and grand masters because of the lack of the resources.<sup>113</sup> For example, the Sublime Porte employed only 2,000 officials mostly served in Istanbul.<sup>114</sup> Second element to observe the practices of a modern state was the efforts to establish equality before the law by eliminating the established privileges of different groups and individuals like difference in the inhabitants of cities and rural, Muslim and non-Muslim, nomads and settlers. Secularization of administration with different reforms such as law and education can be seen as the attempt to equalize the population of Empire.

Several new developments during the Tanzimat Period like the establishment of ministries, protection of life and property of all people regardless of their religion,<sup>115</sup> a new law on military service which obliged to serve on all male Ottoman subjects,<sup>116</sup> a new penal code in 1843, the foundation of *Nizamiye* courts in 1869, which were secular judicial apparatus to deal with Muslim and non-Muslim cases, establishment of a more fair system in terms of taxation<sup>117</sup> and foundation of a new system in public education via different schools such as *Rüşdiye*, *İdadiye*, *Sultaniye* and *Mekteb-i Mülkiye* were the remarkable attempts of Empire to change the way of its participation to administrative, economic, judicial and social organization of the Empire.

Owing to these institutional reforms, which aimed to repair the authority of the centre, the state became more apparent for society; in other words state began to intervene more directly to the public life of the Empire. To demonstrate, the system of tax farming which was based on the collection of *mültezims* was replaced by a direct collection via *muhassıls* which were centrally appointed and salaried was

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<sup>113</sup> Eric Jan Zürcher, *Turkey a Modern History*, (London, New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 1993), p. 14

<sup>114</sup> Carter V. Findley *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: a Social History*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 47

<sup>115</sup> Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi, Nizam-ı Cedid ve Tanzimat Devirleri*, vol. 5, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999), p. 171

<sup>116</sup> Zürcher, *Turkey a Modern History*, p. 100

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.61-64

enforced. The Regulation for the Public Education, the *Maarif Nizamnamesi*, which regulated the education system, was issued in 1869 to organize and control the public education centrally with the establishment of secular three-tier system of primary education. Moreover, founding of the teacher training schools to teach in *rüşdiye*, *ilmiye* and *sultaniye*, namely *Darülmualimat* and *Darülmualimin*, also can be evaluated as the centralization of education. The controlled schooling was used for social discipline which can be observed in also other contemporaneous states. To illustrate, France instrumentalized the secular primary education in order to found a collective identity and loyalty to Republic during the nineteenth century.<sup>118</sup> For this reason, it is reasonable to see the same practices in Ottoman Empire. According to Somel, in the modernization period of the Empire, the education policy of the state aimed to establish a loyalty to the central government from citizens by the use of policies of religious Sunnification and linguistic Turkification in provincial population.<sup>119</sup> A notable example of the change in terms of the attitude of the state towards its citizens is the mandatory military service. With the abolishing of *cizye* or *haraç* tax, state removed the exemptions which differentiate its subjects according to their religion. By doing this, state determined the rights and civic duties of its citizens for the first time.<sup>120</sup>

When examining the economic conditions of the Empire which had a causal connection to attend the international exhibition of the nineteenth century, Şevket Pamuk sees the period of 1820-1914 as a transition period to a new economic order which was originated from Western Europe, the capitalism. The integration of Ottoman economy into foreign economy was a demand of the European states as an exchange for their supports regarding military, politic and financial reforms. In other words, economic institutions, in a sense, were determined by the power relations between central state and foreign states/capital.<sup>121</sup> On the other hand, Quataert

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<sup>118</sup> Hobsbawm, “Mass Producing, p. 263-307

<sup>119</sup> Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline*, ( Leiden; Boston : Brill, 2001), p.65 and 11-12

<sup>120</sup> Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, p. 178

<sup>121</sup> Şevket Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014), p. 96

evaluates the period of 1826-1860 as a liberalization of trade in the sense of local and international stage.<sup>122</sup>

With respect to the material conditions of the Empire, by early 1800s, the global commercial importance of the Ottoman Empire decreased.<sup>123</sup> The territorial losses, the struggle between states-persons at the center and those who were in the provinces to be able to reach power and access to taxable resources made international economy more important and Empire could not experience the same rate of increase. While the international trade grew sixty four times during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the increase in the Ottoman lands was nearly 10 to 16 times and the Ottoman market loses its significance which was crucial in the 1600s for the Europeans.<sup>124</sup>

In other respect, the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be labeled as a period of pursuit in terms of economic matters among Ottoman intellectuals and state-persons. According to Mardin, this period is a breaking point of Ottoman infertile economic imagination.<sup>125</sup> Because, the Ottoman state-persons could not create a new resources to overcome financial crisis rather than the traditional methods like raising taxes, restoring of old timar system, debasement of the coin until nineteenth century. However, in this reform period, with the first ambassadors in Europe, there emerged an intellectual platform to debate concerning social and economic situation of the Empire. For example, Ebu bekir Ratib Efendi, the ambassador of Vienna in 1791 and Sadık Rifat Paşa, the ambassador of Vienna in 1837-39, were the pioneers of such debate about social, political and economic situation of the Empire. They were asked to observe the current institutions and the systems in Europe and reported them as *layihas*. Especially, Ratib Efendi

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<sup>122</sup> Mesud A. Küçükcalay, *Osmanlı İthalatı: 1818-1839 İzmir Gümrüğü*, (İstanbul: Kitap, 2006), p. 29

<sup>123</sup> Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, (New York : Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 124

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p.

<sup>125</sup> Şerif Mardin, “Türkiye’de İktisadi Düşüncenin Gelişmesi (1838-1918), in *Siyasal ve Sosyal Bilimler: Makaleler 2*, eds. Mümtaz’er Türköne and Tuncay Önder, (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2010), p. 54

investigated the all institutions of Austria and reported his observation on the subject of agriculture and economy to Istanbul and so he pointed out the importance of the notion of productivity for the first time.<sup>126</sup> On the other hand, Sadık Rıfat Paşa also insisted on productive use of resources and improving the *hiref* and *sanayii* for a modern economy.<sup>127</sup>

The infertile use of the Ottoman resources at that time attracted the contemporary French historian who investigated the Ottoman Empire on site during the Tanzimat Period, Jean Henry Abdolonyme Ubcini's attention, as well. In his letters which he wrote in 1847-1853, Ubcini states in spite of the fact that Empire held all opportunities to improve agricultural production like climate, geographical position, and abilities of producers, these advantages could affect positively the production. Ubcini indicated four reasons which weakened the agricultural production of Ottomans. First one is farmer's lack of information in terms of technical innovations. Second is insufficient labour force due to the migration to cities and unwieldiness. Third one is lack of capital and lastly one is incapable transportation facilities.<sup>128</sup>

The Ottoman press also led to advertise and discuss Western type of economic thoughts. The earliest examples of these newspapers were *Le Symrneen* which was published in İzmir by Charles Tikon in 1824 and was commercial and *politigue*.<sup>129</sup> Moreover, the French version of the *Takvim-i Vekayi*, *Le Moniteur Ottoman*, was another platform to discuss economic liberalism by Alexander Blacque Bey and

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<sup>126</sup> “*Bunların (Avusturyalıların) ziraat hususunda nizam ve ihtimamları öyledir ki, köyde bir ferdi işsiz bırakmazlar; eğer tarlası yoksa ona tarla verirler tohumu yoksa tohum verirle ve toprağı at ile sürmek adetleri olmakla, eğer atları ölmüş ise ona at ve takım ve araçlar verirler veyahut çiftçi tayin edip başkasının tarla ve bağında ve bostanında çiftinde çalıştırırlar.*” quoted in Enver Ziya Karal, “Gülhane Hattı Humayununda Batı Etkisi,” *Belleten*, (1964), p.118-119

<sup>127</sup> “*İkdamat-ı mütemadiye ile emr-i ziraatin ilerletilmesi ve Avrupa'dan bazı üstadlar celbi ile Memalik-i Mahruse'de hâsıl olmayan emtia ve eşyanın ve-l-haletü- haza mevcut ve mamul olan şeylere itibar olunarak hiref ve sanayinin tezayüd edilmesi...*” quoted in Ahmet Güner Sayar, *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması (Klasik Dönem'den II. Abdülhamid'e)*, (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2000), p.217-218

<sup>128</sup> M.A Ubcini, *Lettres Sur La Turquie*, (Paris: Guillaumin,1851)  
M. A Ubcini, *Osmanlı'da Modernleşme Sancısı*, trans. Cemal Aydın, (İstanbul, Timaş Yayınları, 1998), p. 254-273

<sup>129</sup> Sayar, *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin*, p. 189



David Urquart.<sup>130</sup> There was a lively debate regarding economic structure of the Empire in *Ceride-i Havadis*, as well. William Churchill who published the paper discussed the current circumstances of the Empire and compares it with England. He suggested improving agricultural production and exporting them and then industrialized.<sup>131</sup>

As can be concluded from the various examples, before the first exhibition, the Ottoman elites were in contact with economic thoughts and debates in the western world and made efforts for the solution; agriculture and industrialization debate or division in terms of liberal economy and protectionism are evidences for elites were open to new outlooks.

In such a search and renovation period in terms of political and economic features of the Empire, the idea of participating an exhibition which opened a stage for both economic and political representation of countries from both Western and Eastern lands surfaced. The Ottoman state decided to publicize its agricultural and industrial resources by displaying this kind of materials. For this reason, state encouraged various parts of the Empire and mobilized all provisions to collect exhibits like raw materials, manufactured and handicraft goods.<sup>132</sup> On the other hand, one who investigates the participation practices of the Empire most probably observes the fact that economic representation became a subordinate motivation as of 1867 Paris Exhibition and that cultural representation became the primary representation strategy.

### **3.1 The Ottoman Empire in the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations in 1851**

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid., p.190

<sup>131</sup> “*Velhasıl Osmanlı memleketlerinin havasının mutedil ve toprağının verimli ve kuvvetli olması cihetleriyle Devlet-i Aliyye elkası hem tarıma hem fabrikalar icadleriyle her türlü sanata elverir geniş ülke olup Tanrının lütfıyla Tanzimat-i Hayriye berekatiyle tiz elden tarımın ilerletilip münasip imarlarda bulunup vakit vakit fabrikalar ve emtia karhaneleri icad ve tanzim olunması münasip olur.*” Necdet Kurdakul, *Tanzimat Dönemi Basınında Sosyo- Ekonomik Fikir Hareketleri*, (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1997), p. 91

<sup>132</sup> BOA. A.DVN, nr, 74/63 and BOA. A.MKT. MVL, nr 49/39

The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations opened in 1851 in London, Hyde Park. The exhibition which was initiated by Prince Albert and Henry Cole was visited by nearly six million people and hosted 1,400 exhibitors in an area of ten hectares for five months.<sup>133</sup> There were thirty four nations which were invited with diplomatic channels in London. These nations were Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bremen, Chile, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany (the States of the Zollervein), Greece, Hamburg, Hanover, Holland, Lubeck, Mexico, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, New Granada, Oldenburg, Persia, Peru, Portugal, Rome, Russia, Sardinia, Schleswig-Holstein, Society Islands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Tunis, Turkey, Tuscany and the United States of America.<sup>134</sup> A purpose-built Crystal Palace by Joseph Paxton housed the Great Exhibition. In addition to displaying products, the exposition committee organized competitions, lectures, and ceremonies.

The idea of exhibiting various products was familiar for the Ottoman Empire for a long time. A tradition of displaying craftsman's ability in parades on important days was a rooted practice for the Ottoman craftsman.<sup>135</sup> However, Ottomans did not have an idea on the international exhibitions until their first attendance. Ottoman exhibits were collected from 700 producers from the various lands of the Empire. To collect the Ottoman goods, the *emtia*, state assigned a duty to a committee including local administrative officials and this committee made the selected goods prepared by labeling them according to their region, possessor and price in order to be sent to the Ministry of Commerce.<sup>136</sup> The collected items were displayed in Istanbul before London for high officials, ambassadors, artisans, and merchants in the Grand Gallery of the Ministry of Commerce in Istanbul.<sup>137</sup> According to an article in *Ceride-i Havadis*, Sultan Abdulmecid visited the exhibition together with his officers and examined the system of classification and goods especially natural products.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Pieter van Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight: A Socio-Historical Analysis of World Exhibitions as a Didactic Phenomenon (1798-1851-1970)* (Rotterdam: oio Publishers, 2001), p. 672.

<sup>134</sup> Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, p. 12

<sup>135</sup> Turan, "Turkey in the Great Exhibition," p.68

<sup>136</sup> *Ceride-i Havadis*, 24 Za 1266 (September 1,1850)

<sup>137</sup> *Ceride-i Havadis*, 21 Ca 1267 (March 24, 1851)

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

The exhibits of Empire were transported by the frigate Feyz-i Bahri to London in April 5, 1851. Musurus Bey, the ambassador of London, Mustafa Paşa and Cemaleddin Paşa were accompanied the frigate as representatives of the Ottoman state. However, despite the efforts to collect exhibits on time the frigate could not arrive in Southampton on time due to weather conditions. Therefore, the Turkish exhibits could not be found at the first catalogue of the Great Exhibition. In addition to Musurus Bey, Mustafa Pasha and Cemaleddin Pasha, a group of official representatives from Empire went to London. The other representatives were:

- Officers from the Ministries of Commerce and Agriculture: Hisan Bey, Emin Bey, Nessip Bey, Vehbi Efendi, and Rifat Efendi,
- Interpreters Yorgaki and Gadban,
- Advocates, bankers and entrepreneurs such as members of the Camondo Family,
- Professors from military and medicine schools,
- Architects and engineers, including Arakel and Mardiros Dadian.<sup>139</sup>

Additionally, some private participants were supported financially by the government. For example, a request of a *muvakkit*, Eflaki Ahmet Dede Efendi, to exhibit a clock made by him was welcomed.<sup>140</sup> Besides, he was sent to Paris after the London exhibition for his education. Within this time period, his outgoings were covered and the government paid salaries to his family.<sup>141</sup>

The Ottoman part in the exhibition areas was at the ground floor and next to Egypt, Persia and Greece. The fairground of 1851 Great Exhibition was the Crystal Palace which was a huge marketlike structure. It was a large single hole which was replaced with a fairground including surrounding parks and gardens in the 1867 Paris Exposition.<sup>142</sup> The Ottoman section was organized and directed by the Consul of London, Zohrab and Major. In the Ottoman section, exhibits were displayed in

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<sup>139</sup> Turan, *Turkey in the Great Exhibition of 1851*, p. 69

<sup>140</sup> BOA. İ.DH, nr.234/14106

<sup>141</sup> BOA.A.MKT.MHM, nr 32/100

<sup>142</sup> Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, p. 51

cabinets and the space was covered by a tent. Besides, a fountain, *şadırvan*, was constructed.<sup>143</sup> As can be seen from the figure, Ottoman section was a simulation of the Turkish bazaar.



Figure 11 General view of Ottoman section in the Great Exhibition, 1851

Source: Joseph Nash, Louis Haghe and Davis Roberts, Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851, (London: Dickinson, Brothers, Her Majesty's Publishers, 1852)

As regard to exhibits, they were generally raw materials, agricultural products and handicrafts, mostly from Egypt and Tunisia. The state strove for publicize its agricultural products, handicrafts, natural resources like minerals, ornaments, raw materials for textile industry, garments, agricultural tools and many other products in international arena.<sup>144</sup> In its first international exhibitions experience, state did not

<sup>143</sup> Miyuki Aoki, "*Leon Parvill e: Osmanlı Modernleşmesinin Eşîğinde Bir Fransız Sanatçı*," Unpublished Phd thesis, (İstanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 20012), p. 174-175

<sup>144</sup>According to *Ceride-i Havadis* dated 24 Zilkade 1266, (31 Ekim 1850) the exhibits to collect for exhibition were as follows: *Elvan kösele meşin, sahtiyan, güderi , tirşe , boyalı-boyasız postaki ve kaplan postundan birer adet; envai şal, çuha şalı, sof, şayak, miska , kadife, aba ve kebe , yün keçeden mamul kepenek ve külah, deve ve keçi tüyünden dokunmuş çul ve çuval, işlemeli çuha, seccade, kilim, halı, heybe, torba, kuşak, kolan, kemer, dizgin, yular, çanta, şerit, yastık, sedir ve masa örtülerinden birer takım veya birer adet; canfes, ipekli ve pamuklu alaca,kutnu, ipekli ve pamuklu gömleklilik kumaş, ince ve kalın çeşitli bezler, basma, yatak ve yorgan yüzleri, bir ve iki telli kuşak, başörtü, hakber ve sewayiden birer tane veya birer top berber ve hamam takımları, futa peşkir, peştamal ve el havluları, mahrama, yağlık, mendil, çevre, uşkur, kese, sofr a bezi ve peşkiri, ipekli ve pamuklu çarşaf, yatak bağı, İngiliz ipliği alacası, sırmalı veya sade maşlahlar, sarık, takke, çorap ve bunlar gibi giyim eşyalarından birer takım, birer top veya ikişer tane; ibrişim, ipek, pamuk ipliği, keten ipliği, urgan, ip, kendir, yün ipi, halat, kaytan, şerit, kunnap, saçak, kemer, etek bağı, Leh kılaptanından şerit, kaytan ve oya, her türlü elbise harcı,çeşitli madeni tel ve tekstil*

intend for any artistic representation apart from economic representation.<sup>145</sup> In the Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations, the Ottoman Empire was portrayed as following:

A complete knowledge of the commercial productions of the different countries contributing to the Exhibition, is essential to the full development of the views contemplated in the design, of giving to such countries the benefits of a mutual interchange of the latest results of improvements in the manufactures, and an insight of the processes and materials used in such manufactures. Turkey has for some years been considered as a non-industrial country, and as depending on foreign states, chiefly England, for the supplies of her annual large consumption of textile and other useful fabric; but although naturally an agricultural country, the present Sultan is endeavoring to revive the manufactures which once existed, and by the introduction of new working establishments on a large scale, and at his own private cost, for the manufacture of broadcloth, silk, cotton, glass, and metal goods, is giving a fresh impetus to the industry of the country. Turkey, with the immense resources of the raw materials within her own territories, may, consequently, ere long, rely on the result of her home manufactures for much of her now required foreign supplies. Nothing so much conduces to the progress and prosperity of a country as the certain knowledge of the

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*hammadelerinden birer okka veya birer top; hurma yaprağı kamış, saz, ot, söğüt dalı ve samandan örülmüş hasır, sepet, seccade, yelpaze, sineklik ve bunlara benzer şeylerden birer tane; ağaç, kemik, balık pulu, sedef, boynuz, kösele, meşin, sahtiyân, güderi ve tirşeden mamul silahlık palaska, sepet, sandık, çetlik, pabuç, kaşık, tarak, fildişi tarak, kehribar takımı, kiraz ve yasemin tütün çubukları, nargile, para kasaları, okka ve divitten birer tane; kılıç, bıçak, kama, balta, nacak, keser testere, bıçkı, hızar, satır gibi kesici aletlerle bel, kazma, kürek, çekiç, orak, tırpan gibi bağ-bahçe aletlerinden birer veya ikişer tane; fağfur, frenk ve Kütahya madenlerinden yapılmış billur, cam, kase, bardak, tabak, çay ibriği, su testisi, mürekkep hokkası, lüleci ve çömlekçi çamurundan imal edilmiş testi, bardak, çanak, çömlek, küp, kavanoz ve benzeri eşyalardan birer tane; altın gümüş gibi madenlerden mamul süs eşyalarından birer takım veya ikişer tane; İmparatorluğun çeşitli bölgelerinden çıkartılan madenlere ait numuneler, bunlar arasında zımpara madeni, pota toprağı madeni, tebeşir madeni, güherçile madeni, pekmez toprağı, nişadır madeni, lüleci ve çömlekçi çamuru toprağından birer parça; bileği taşı, köstere taşı, balgami taşı, somaki taşı, mermer taşı, kireç taşı ve kara taştan birer veya ikişer hokka; sade, düz ve kabartmalı yazı kağıtları, çiçekli ve renkli kağıt, mukavva, karton ve duvar kağıtlarından birer deste; pirinç, haşhaş, susam, darı, yulaf gibi hububat çeşitlerinden birer hokka; kırmızı siyah çekirdekli-çekirdeksiz kuru üzüm, incir, hurma, kestane, fındık, erik, armut, dut, vişne ve kayısı kuruları, keçi boynuzu, tulum, kaşar ve lor peyniri, kuru kaymak, pastırma, sucuk, pekmez, pestil, bal, tarhana, bulgur, erişte ve daha bunlar gibi gıda maddelerinin her türlüünden birer okka; gülyacağı, itryacağı, biberyacağı, kekikyağı, çitlenbikyağı, pelin yağı, taflanyağı, çiçek yağı ve nane suyundan yüzer dirhem; karagünlük ve karagünlük kabuğı, katran, zift, çam sakızı, ada sakızı, kükürt ve benzerlerinden yarımşar okka; tereyağı, sadeyağ, içyağı, mum, balmumu, zetinyağı ve haşhaşyağından birer okka; zamk, palamut, çamkabuğı, beyaz ve yeşil mazi, çehri, alboya için asbur çiçeğı, mahmuziye ve güherçile taşı, kalye taşı, göz taşı, zoya yapılır toprak, neft yağı, bezir yağı, acı kireç, balık tutkalı, çarık tutkalı, ökse ve meyan kökünden birer okka veya yüzer dirhem; zeytin, keten tohumu ve kenevir gibi yağ elde edilen maddelerden birer okka*

<sup>145</sup> Semra Germaner, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Uluslararası Sergilere Katılımı ve Kültürel Sonuçları," *Tarih ve Toplum* 16, no. 95 (November 1991), p. 34

condition, prospects, and influences of the commercial policy of other countries with which that country may be in relation. Turkey has provided one of the surest means for this end, by sending into England, France, and Germany, many young men, who partly finish their education in these respective countries, and who thus become fitted to acquire a knowledge of the views of men of sound practical opinions on subjects of importance in manufacturing, political, and social matters. The knowledge thus obtained is of great value to these young men, not less so than that of the arts of shipbuilding, civil engineering, & c., which are in fact the more ostensible objects of their visiting foreign countries.<sup>146</sup>

The Ottoman journalists were also interested in the Great Exhibition and sent reporter to London. On behalf of the *Ceride-i Havadis*, an anonymous Ottoman intellectual, was charged and he collected his memoirs into a book namely *Seyahatname-i Londra*.<sup>147</sup> He reported almost every issue of London by starting journey; his arrival to London, city of London, trade, hotels, taxes, journals and journalists, transportation facilities, banks, schools, the tradition of drinking tea, theaters, thieves, monuments, parks, unemployment were among the subjects he narrated. In terms of exhibitions, it is seen that writer got detailed information about the exhibition. Since, he began with a history of the exhibition in France and initiative of Prince Albert to organize in London. He informed the Ottoman public about the preparation process of the exhibition in detail.

During the exhibitions, the Ottoman Hall was visited by Queen Victoria and many other important visitors. Agricultural and handicrafts won recognition from guests and thirty nine products were awarded by jury.<sup>148</sup>

### **3.2 The Ottoman Empire in the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1855**

After four years from Great Exhibition, France organized the third international exposition of the century and the second one which Ottoman participated. The

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<sup>146</sup> Robert Ellis, *Official descriptive and illustrated catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations*, vol.3 (London: Spicer Brothers: W. Clowes and Sons, 1851), p. 1335

<sup>147</sup> For the Latin Alphabet version of the book: Erkan Serçe, *Bir Osmanlı Aydınını Londra Seyahatnamesi*, (İstanbul: İstiklal Kitabevi, 2007)

<sup>148</sup> Rıfat Önsoy “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Katıldığı İlk Uluslararası Sergiler ve Sergi-i Umumi-i Osmani (1863 İstanbul Sergisi).” *Belleten* 47, no.185 (January 1983): p. 198-199

official name of the exhibition was *Exposition Universelle des produits de l'agriculture, de l'industrie et des beaux-arts de Paris 1855*. The French exposition was attracted nearly five millions to visit in spite of the Crimean War and 23,954 exhibitors between May 15-November 15, 1855 in an area of sixteen hectares.<sup>149</sup> Because of the war, Russia did not participate in the exhibition. The *Exposition Universelle* was opened by the Prince Napoleon III and Queen Victoria; and Victoria and Albert crossed the Channel to honour that opening. Besides, their visit to France celebrated the forty years of *rapprochement* of France and England since their armies met at Waterloo.<sup>150</sup> In the Paris Exposition of 1855, fairground was divided into two sections, "Agriculture and Industry" and "Fine Arts." *Palais de l'Industrie* was built in Champs-Élysées for the displaying of industrial and agricultural products.

The novelty of this exposition was that it added fine arts to the genre of exhibitions. It was the first example which gave a place to fine arts by building a Palace of Fine Arts, *Palais des Beaux Arts*, in Trocadero.

The Ottoman Empire was represented with nearly 2,000 exhibits and they were generally agricultural and handicrafts which were collected from various regions like Izmir, Salonika, Trebizond, Aydın, Aleppo, Drama, Damascus etc. The officer of foreign affairs, Kamil Bey, was the commissioner of the Sublime Porte. The selected products were exempted from tariffs and state defrayed the transportation costs.<sup>151</sup>

In this exposition, The Ottoman State also started to send fine arts products to display. Architecture Artin Pascal Bilezikçi who studied in The School of Fine Arts attended the exposition and represented the Ottoman Empire with 13 illustrations of Ottoman monuments including Tanzimat Monuments, which could not be constructed, and others from Istanbul and Bursa. The participation of the Ottoman State to Paris 1855 Exposition was interesting to observe the political aspects of the period. Semra Germaner assumes that the participation of the Ottoman to Paris 1855

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<sup>149</sup> Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight*, p.672

<sup>150</sup> Frank Anderson Trapp, "The Universal Exhibition of 1855" *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 107, no. 747, (Jun., 1965): p. 300

<sup>151</sup> Önsoy, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Katıldığı*, p. 199

was related with the alliance with England and France because of the Crimean War.<sup>152</sup> Another remarkable point is that Ottomans tried to prove the importance of the Crimean alliance with the France to French public and state. For this reason, the Ottoman Exhibition Commission arranged a lottery which Ottoman exhibits were sold on behalf of French soldiers participating Crimean War.<sup>153</sup> Ottoman press was also very involved in the French exhibition and refuted the news saying that the Exposition was postponed because of the Crimean War. At the end of the exposition, Ottoman products were awarded with 27 medals and 20 honorary mention by jury.<sup>154</sup>

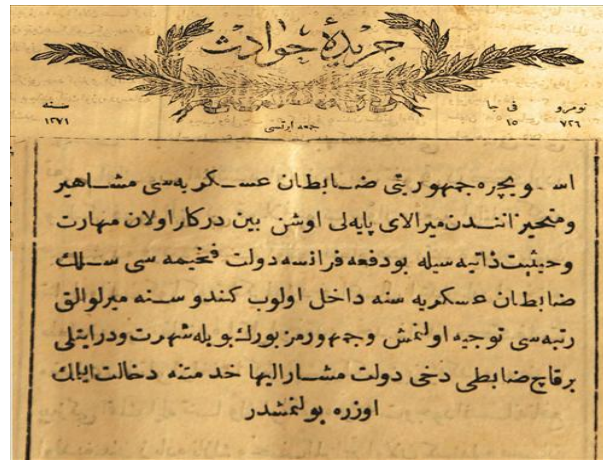


Figure 12 A newspaper clipping to deny any cancelation of the Exhibition

Source: Ceride-i Havadis, 15 Ca 1271 (February 3, 1855)

### 3.3 The Ottoman Empire in the London International Exhibition of 1862

In 1862, London became home to an international exhibition for the second time in Kensington Garden. The exhibition which was sponsored by the Royal Society of Arts, Manufactures and Trade was visited by almost six million people to see the products of 28,660 exhibitors between May and November of 1862.<sup>155</sup> A special building designed for the exhibition. The building was composed of a main structure and two wings for machinery and agricultural equipment.

<sup>152</sup> Germaner, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun*, p.34

<sup>153</sup> BOA.A.AMD, nr. 70/54 and BOA.HR.MKT, nr. 133/1

<sup>154</sup> Önsoy, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Katıldığı*, p. 202

<sup>155</sup> Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight*, p.672



At the very first stage of the participation period, attendance of Empire was discussed deliberately because participation to an exhibition brought costs to national treasury. However, to prevent that the foreign state became suspicious about the developments of Empire in agriculture, industry and art, state decided to participate London Exhibition of 1862.<sup>156</sup>

Similarly with previous two exhibitions, the existence of the Empire was restricted with the agricultural products, like barley, wheat, corn, tobacco, rice, cotton and dried fruits and vegetables. Besides, some samples of minerals were displayed, namely iron mine, copper mine, coal, marble and alum.<sup>157</sup> The manufactured products which were usually products of the state's factories like fabrics from *Hereke Fabrika-i Humayun* were also sent to the exhibition.

The chief of the Ottoman committee was Server Efendi, the Counselor of Commerce. Nazım Bey who was the son of Fuad Pasha, the Grand Vizier, was the Ottoman exhibition commissioner. There were 787 applications from the Ottoman producers to display their products. The Ottoman products were exhibited in 25 pavilions in London Exhibition.<sup>158</sup>

In the category of fine arts, Kostaki Musurus Pasha, who was the first Ottoman painter exhibited in Europe, represented the Ottoman Empire with his five paintings. Besides, in the category of printing arts, Mühendisyan Bey from Istanbul displayed a painting which shows Turkish and Armenian calligraphies and gravures, *tughras* in different sizes and printing blocks for banknotes. Ottoman exhibits came back with eighty three medals and forty four honorary mentions at the end of this exhibition as well.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Önsoy, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Katıldığı*, p. 203

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 203

<sup>158</sup> Germaner, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun*, p. 34

<sup>159</sup> Önsoy, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Katıldığı*, p. 204

### 3.4 The Ottoman Empire in the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1867

The second French Exhibition was organized after five years from 1862 London in the *Palais du Champs de Mars*. The exhibition hall was designed by the engineers Frederic Le Pay and Gustave Eiffel. It was the first expositions to have national pavilions. The pavilion concept was then practiced in all exhibitions after 1867.

In total, eleven million people visited the exposition which covered an area of 46 for displaying 52,200 exhibitors' goods within eight months, April 1 and November, 1867.<sup>160</sup> Similarly with 1851 London, the programme of this exposition also included competitions, lectures, conferenties, ceremonies, and performances.

The Paris Exposition was distinctive for the Ottoman Empire because for the first time, the sultan of the Ottomans, Sultan Abdulaziz, left his country and visited the exposition.<sup>161</sup> together with other important leaders of Europe like he Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph I, the Prussian King Wilhelm I, Chancellor Bismark and the Russian Tsar Alexander II. Sultan's visit to the exposition was part of a European tour with visits to major European capitals including London and Vienna. According to French ambassador Bouree, Sultan Abdulaziz demanded a direct and personal invitation from the Emperor for the tour.<sup>162</sup> During his Paris visit, the Sultan visited the Exposition twice, controlled the Turkish pavilion, and observed the machines and fine arts besides joined the award ceremony.<sup>163</sup> In addition to the Sultan's visit, the 1867 Paris Exhibition was significant for another reason. Salahaddin Bey who was the commissioner of the Ottoman state prepared a book, namely "*La Turquie a l'Exposition Universelle de 1867.*"

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<sup>160</sup> Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight*, p.672

<sup>161</sup> Taner Timur, "Sultan Abdülâziz'in Avrupa Seyahati-I," *Tarih ve Toplum*, no.11, (Kasım, 1984): p. 42

<sup>162</sup> Taner Timur, "Sultan Abdülâziz'in Avrupa Seyahati-II," *Tarih ve Toplum*, no.12, (Aralık, 1984): p. 17

<sup>163</sup> Nihat Karaer, Paris, Londra, Viyana; Abdülâziz'in Avrupa Seyahati, ( Ankara, Phoenix Yayınevi, 2012), p. 74-94

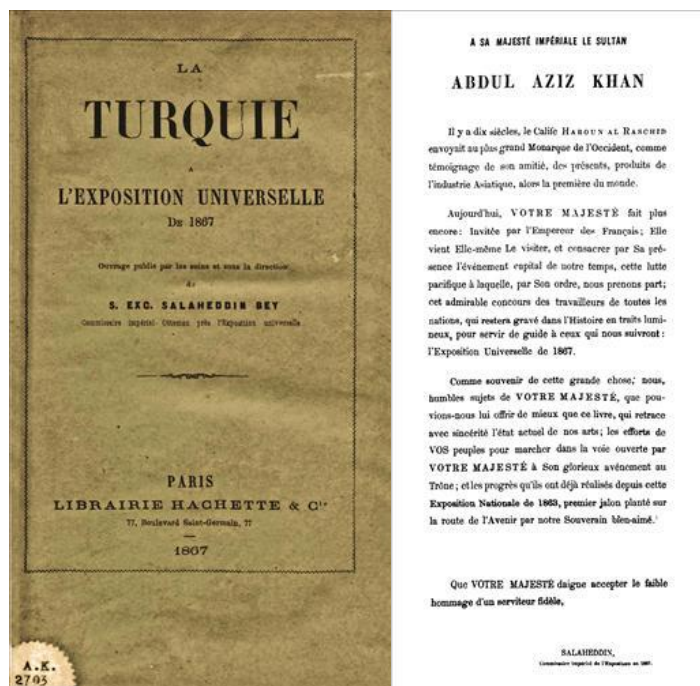


Figure 13 The cover and introduction page of the book by Salahaddin Bey

This book consisted of two parts. The first part includes a detailed section of Ottoman displays which were tobacco, mines and metallurgical products, textiles, cereals crops, architectural projects, paintings, sculptures, forest products etc. The second part gives statistical information about Empire's population, army, trade, geography and transportation.<sup>164</sup>

Third point which made 1867 different from the Ottoman perspective was the architectural presence of the Empire in the fairground. Since the Exhibition of 1867, nations started to display their cultural identity in independent structures like national pavilions for more authentic and real representations. They constructed buildings and streets reflecting their national characteristics. Besides to make them more reliable, people, who were pretending like their typical daily life with local costumes, were added to exhibition.<sup>165</sup>

Ottoman Empire adopted this new method of displaying easily and León Parvillée (1830-1885) was charged as the architect to organize the architectural representation of the Empire in the 1867 Paris Exhibition. Three constructions, a mosque which is a

<sup>164</sup> Salaheddin Bey, *La Turquie à l'exposition universelle de 1867*, (Paris: Librairie Hachette & Cie, 1867)

<sup>165</sup> Çelik, *Displaying Orient*, p. 51

compact sample of *Yeşil Camii* in Bursa, a Bosphorus mansion and a Turkish bath were selected to build among the drawings of Italian architect Giovanni Barborini. After his duty on 1867 Exhibition, Barborini became one of the key figures of the Ottoman participation in international exhibitions of the nineteenth century, especially in the 1873 Vienna Exposition.

In terms of the architectural style of these three constructions, Zeynep Çelik says that “an awkward marriage of Ottoman architectural forms and the rules of French academicism” were occurred.<sup>166</sup>

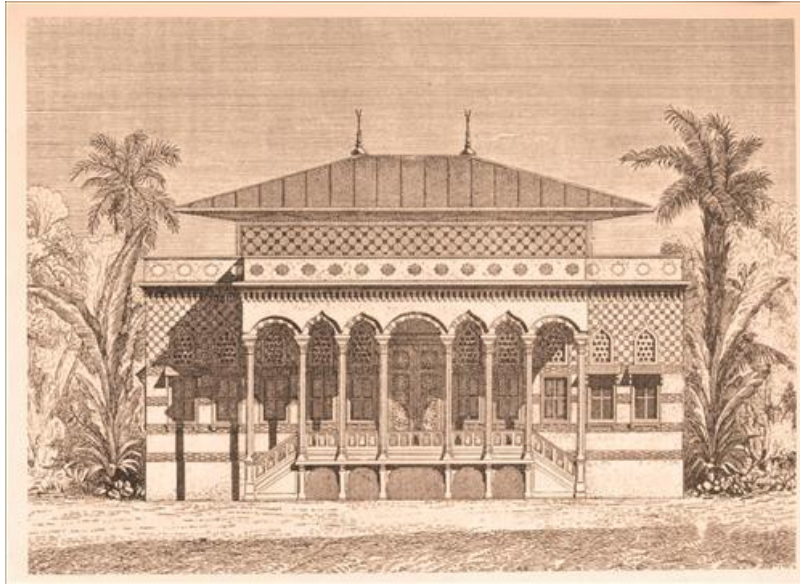


Figure 14 Turkish bath in the Turkish quarter of Paris Exposition, 1867

Source: Aytaç Işıklı and Mümin Balkan, *Türk Fuarçılık Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Fuar Merkezi Yayınları, 2007), p. 74

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid., p.99



Figure 15 Mosque in the Paris Exposition, 1867

Source: Aytaç Işıklı and Mümin Balkan, *Türk Fuarçılık Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Fuar Merkezi Yayınları, 2007), p. 72

Ottoman Empire displayed products in sixty-four separate categories of agriculture, manufacturing, handicrafts, and fine arts. In addition to traditional exhibits like agricultural and manufactured goods, it can be possible to see that fine arts section of Empire in 1867 was organized selectively. Ottoman fine arts displays were divided into five parts: oil paintings, various paintings and drawings, medal carvings and engravings, drawings and architectural models, and engravings and lithographs.<sup>167</sup>

The Ottomans also started to participate in the categories of scientific researches, natural history collections and archeology for the first time. Architectural drawings, relieves of Bursa Mosques and architectural projects like a viaduct project by engineer Leval from the Istanbul Altıncı Daire<sup>168</sup> were the new exhibits of Empire together with numerous photographs by the Abdullah brothers of Istanbul depicting Turkish life photographs of Abdullah Brothers.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Kevork Pamukciyan, "1867 Yılı Paris Sergisine Katılan Osmanlı Sanatkârları," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 18, no. 105 (September 1992): p. 163-165

<sup>168</sup> Germaner, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun*, p. 36

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 293

### 3.5 The Ottoman Empire in the Vienna Die Weltausstellung in 1873

Aside from London and Paris, the third European capital hosting an international exhibition was Vienna. The *Die Weltausstellung* was opened in 1873 in Prater Park. The Exhibition was hosted 42,000 exhibitors and seven million visitors within six months in an area of 250 hectares<sup>170</sup> in the buildings which were constructed for this event including the Industrial Palace and *Rotunda* which were the architectural highlights of the period.

Ottoman State participated in this exhibition with a particular organization. Ahmet Ersoy who wrote the most extensive study about Vienna Exposition in his work entitled “*On the Sources of the “Ottoman Renaissance”: Architectural Revival and its Discourse during the Abdülaziz Era (1861-76)*” presents the distinctive aspects of the attendance of Ottoman Empire to the Vienna Exhibition in 1873.<sup>171</sup>

Ottoman state attended in this exhibition with an official committee. Ibrahim Edhem Pasha, who was the *Nafia Nazırı*, (the Minister of Public Works) was the head of the Imperial Ottoman Commission for the World Exhibition of 1873 in Vienna; on the other hand the son of Ibrahim Edhem Pasha, Osman Hamdi Bey was the commissioner. The meaning of the 1873 Universal Exposition of Vienna for the Ottoman exhibitions experience was related with the Empire’s concentration on the cultural representation after the 1867 Exposition. Three publications which were produced specifically by Ottoman government were displayed in Vienna:

- First one is *Binikiyüzdoksan Senesinde Elbise-i Osmâniyye / Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*<sup>172</sup> which was prepared by the Osman Hamdi Bey and Marie de Launay.
- The second publication is *Usûl-i Mimârîi Osmânî / L’Architecture ottomane / Die ottomanische Baukunst.*<sup>173</sup> The book was prepared by a commission

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<sup>170</sup> Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight*, p.672

<sup>171</sup> Ahmet Ersoy, *On the Sources of the “Ottoman Renaissance”: Architectural Revival and its Discourse during the Abdülaziz Era (1861-76)*, Unpublished PhD diss. (Harvard University, 2000)

<sup>172</sup> Osman Hamdi Bey and Marie de Launay, *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, (Constantinople: Imprimerie du “Levant Times and Shipping Gazette”, 1873)  
<https://archive.org/details/lescostumespopul00osma>  
In Turkish Osman Hamdi Bey and Marie de Launay, *1873 Yılında Türkiye’de Halk Giysileri: Elbise-i Osmaniyye* trans. Erol Ünyepazarcı (Istanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 1999)

including a different group of bureaucrats, artists, and architects under the supervision of Ibrahim Edhem Pasha, the Minister of Trade and Public in Turkish, French and German.

- The third book produced for the Vienna Exposition “*Der Bosphor und Constantinople/ Le Bosphore et Constantinople: Description topographique et historique*”<sup>174</sup> This book was written by Philip Anton Dethier who was the director of *Müze-i Humayun*.

Moreover, Ottoman state also aimed to be represented with its architectural aspects. Therefore, an Ottoman Levantine artist and architect Pietro Montani (1829-1887), a member of exposition commission, suggested to built four constructions which were an urban dwelling and a farmhouse, a small cemetery. The last and most important structure which was proposed to be placed is a replica of the Ahmed III fountain (1728) which was located near the entrance to first court of the Topkapı Palace. Despite the financial crisis, proposal was accepted after a long negotiation between The Industrial Reform Commission and Edhem Paşa by making some cutbacks for the 1873 Vienna Exposition, *the Weltausstellung 1873 Wien*.<sup>175</sup> However, the cemetery and farmhouse were not approved by the commission due to the fact that they did not appropriate exhibits for the representation of the Empire. The Ottoman district was composed of seven structures. In addition to replica of Ahmed III Fountain, a kiosk to display safely a rare collection of imperial treasury, *Hazine-i Humayun*,<sup>176</sup> a residence which was based on Yali Köşk in Istanbul, a bath, a café and a small two story building with a bazaar (*bedesten*) and residential apartments were constructed for the Vienna Exposition.

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<sup>173</sup> Marie de Launay, Pietro Montani, et al., *Usûl-i Mimari-i Osmanî*, (Istanbul, 1873)  
Marie de Launay, Pietro Montani, et al., *Die ottomanische Baukunst*.(Istanbul, 1873)  
<http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/20228702>

<sup>174</sup> Philipp Anton Dethier, *Le Bosphore et Constantinople: Description topographique et historique* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1873)  
Philip Anton Dethier, *Boğaziçi ve İstanbul: 19.Yüzyıl Sonu*, trans. Ümit Öztürk (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1993)

<sup>175</sup> Ersoy, *On the Sources of the “Ottoman Renaissance*, p. 84-86

<sup>176</sup> BOA. A.MKT.MHM, nr. 443/58 and BOA. A.MKT.MHM, NR 449/93



Figure 16 Ahmet III Fountain, kiosk and bath in the Turkish quarter of 1873 Vienna Exposition

Source: Gülден Canol, *Agency and Representation: Ottoman Participation in Nineteenth Century Internatioanl Fairs*, Unpublished MDes Thesis, ( İzmir: İzmir University of Economics, 2009), p. 53

### **3.6 Ottoman Empire in the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures and Products of the Sole and Mine in 1876**

After Vienna, the international exhibition was organized in the Philadelphia in 1876 and visited by ten million visitors equivalent to about 20% of the entire population of the United States at the time. 30,000 exhibitors displayed their products in 6 months.<sup>177</sup> Centennial Exhibition was to celebrate the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America and also a celebration of the American cultural and industrial progress. The main exhibition building was designed by Henry Pettit and Jos. M. Wilson and there was a Women's Pavillion which was constructed by money coming from exertions of women's labour to display the goods which were produced by women.

The Ottoman state participated officially in this exhibition despite the transportation expenditures which prevented the Empire to be presented at New York Exposition in 1853. Indeed, the Ottoman state made a significant effort to attend and use its all resources despite looming bankruptcy.<sup>178</sup> Aristarchi Bey, the diplomatic envoy in Washington 1873-1883, was the president of the Ottoman board. In addition to Aristarchi Bey, commission was composed of the following names:

<sup>177</sup> Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight*, p.672

<sup>178</sup> Donald M. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? : Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity From Napoleon to World War I*, (Berkeley : University of California Press. 2002), p. 12, <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip&db=nlebk&AN=90588&site=eds-live&authype=ip.uid>



- Baltazzi Efendi, the First Secretary of Legation
- Rustem Efendi, the Second Secretary of Legation
- Count Della Sala, the Acting Consul of Turkey
- Mr. Edward Sherer
- Mr. Auguste Grese, Honorary Member

About the Ottoman Empire in the Centennial Exhibition, there is not enough sources. However, when we examine the official catalogue of the Exhibition,<sup>179</sup> it is possible to see a detailed catalog classified in accordance with classification method of the Exhibition. According to the list the Ottoman Empire sent classical exhibits mostly composed of agricultural products, mining samples and manufactures. Some of the minerals were: Sulphur and lead ore from the Dardanelles, galena, iron pyrites and copper from the Trabzon, lignite from Crete, chalk from Kastamonu, silver and brimstone from Diyarbakır, sulphur from Manastır, rock crystals from Hidjaz, talc and white marble from Samos, argil from Baghdad, mineral water from Aydın, coal and iron from Bosnia. Figure 18 shows the detailed list of some of the Ottoman mineral products, their owners and classification numbers in official catalogue of the Exhibition.

Additionally, in the department of manufactures there were chemical manufactures such as salt from Angora, nitre from Sivas, borax from Erzeroum, pharmaceutical preparations from Istanbul, wild mint, daphne oils and apple from Crete, olive oil from different regions. There were also other exhibits in manufacture department. They were ceramics and furnitures, household utensils, women goods, carpett, silk goods, clothings, jewellery, weapons, medicines, hardwares, agriculture and forest products, vegetable products, and fancy articles.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>179</sup>Centennial Exhibition, Official Catalogue. ( Philadelphia: J.R Nagle and Co., 1876)  
<http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/4361169>

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., p. 291-314 in pt. 2 ( seq. 370)

## TURKEY.

(South of Nave, Columns 14 to 17.)

## Minerals, Ores, Stone.

## Minerals, Ores, Stone, Mining Products.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1 Wilkinson, Rizzo, & Co., Koumarlar, Dardanelles.—Sulphur ore, sulphurous copper. 100                               | 25 Aydin, Government of.—Argentiferous galena, lignite, iron ore. 100  |
| 2 Tapa, Daniel, Cian, Dardanelles.—Lead ore. 100   | 26 Adana, Government of.—Sulphate of chalk and galena. 100   |
| 3 Sarral, Mouradite, Trebizond.—Argentiferous galena. 100  | 27 Gumuch Hané, Government of, Trebizond.—Argentiferous and cupreous galena. 100   |
| 4 Sarral, Lokhia, Trebizond.—Iron pyrites. 100   | 28 Ichkodra, Government of, Monastir.—Sulphur ore. 100   |
| 5 Schirin Agha, Tirepola, Trebizond.—Copper pyrites. 100   | 29 Ichkloura, Government of, Monastir.—Brimstone, arsenical ore, and sulphate of copper. 100   |
| 6 Soleiman, Gueugine, Trebizond.—Galena. 100   | 30 Havret, Government of, Salonica.—Argentiferous galena. 100  |
| 7 Omer, Oglou Osman, Lokhia, Trebizond.—Galena. 100  | 31 Topouz, Oglou, Imbrös, Dardanelles. <i>a</i> Lead ore. 100<br><i>b</i> Coal. 101  |
| 8 Omer, Effendi, Ordou, Trebizond.—Argentiferous galena. 100   | 32 Koniah, Government of.—Brimstone. 100   |
| 9 Nimetoulah, Trebelau, Trebizond.—Copper ore. 100   | 33 Micheré, Government of, Yanina.—Lignite. 100  |
| 10 Nimetoulah, Kurelli, Trebizond.—Copper pyrites. 100   | 34 Medina, Government of, Hidjaz.—Rock crystals. 100   |
| 11 Pappazaki, Nicola, Sfakia, Crète.—Lignite. 100  | 35 Maghlé, Government of, Aydin.—Argentiferous galena, iron and chrome ores. 100   |
| 12 Nimetoulah, Mouradite, Trebizond.—Argentiferous galena. 100   | 36 Militinous, Government of, Samos. <i>a</i> Tale. 100<br><i>b</i> Yellow earth, argil. 104   |
| 13 Moustapha, Effendi, Cherkech, Castamouni.—Chalk. 100  | 37 Lapsaki, Government of, Dardanelles.—Brimstone. 100   |
| 14 Gonssan, Government of, Adana.—Iron pyrites. 100  | 38 Karssendi, Government of, Adana. <i>a</i> Copper and silver ore, lignite and galena. 100<br><i>b</i> Grit sandstone. 102            |
| 15 Multesim Oulah, Tireboli, Trebizond.—Ferruginous sediment. 100  | 39 Tdomane, Government of, Yanina.—Galena. 100   |
| 16 Multesim, Abdoulah, Tirebole, Trebizond.—Argentiferous galena, copper pyrites. 100                                | 40 Trebizond, Government of.—Galena. 100   |
| 17 Mandené, Diarbekir.—Silver ore. 100   | 41 Uskup, Government of, Monastir.—Aluminous earth. 100  |
| 18 Multesim, Tireboli, Trebizond.—Cupreous pyrites. 100  | 42 Samos, Government of. <i>a</i> Galena. 100<br><i>b</i> White and colored marble. 102<br><i>c</i> Argil. 104<br><i>d</i> Emery. 106  |
| 19 Ligory, Effendi, Stankeny, Dardanelles. <i>a</i> Manganese, iron ore, and sulphur ore. 100<br><i>b</i> Emery. 106 | 43 Suleimaneeyah, Government of, Bagdad. <i>a</i> Melted brimstone, cut rock crystal. 100<br><i>b</i> Argil. 104                       |
| 20 Kara-Hissar, Government of, Sivas.—Argentiferous galena, aluminous earth. 100                                     | 44 Smyrna, Government of, Aydin.— <i>a</i> Lignite, argentiferous galena, iron ore, manganese. 100<br><i>b</i> Emery, grindstones. 106 |
| 21 Ali, Hadji Diarbekir.—Brimstone of the desert. 100  | 45 Syros, Government of, Salonica.—Lignite. 100  |
| 22 Moustapha, Hadji, Nich, Danube.—Iron stone. 100   |  |
| 23 Adrianople, Government of. <i>a</i> Powdered mica. 100<br><i>b</i> Coal. 101<br><i>c</i> Sand for mouldings. 104  |  |
| 24 Debré, Government of, Monastir.—Sulphate of chalk. 100  |  |

\*For classes of exhibits, indicated by numbers at end of entries, see Classification, pp. 27-45.

Figure 17 Introduction page of the Turkey section in the official catalogue of the Philadelphia Exhibition, 1876

Besides, the Empire was represented in the Education and Science section with books and treaties from the School of Medicine in Istanbul, Turkish sheet music, the wooden sextant, drum and violin, the collection of Greek Roman, Byzantine and Arabian coins, a portrait of the Sultan by Ludovic and Vallauri, the photo albums by Granda Canea, Mikhailidies and Sebah.<sup>181</sup> Moreover, in the official catalogue of the exhibition, there is a section indicating basic information about Empire, including

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., p. 371 in pt.1 (seq. 450)

area of the Empire, the geographical conditions, the education system, the budget, the military forces, the trade and agriculture capacities and statistics.<sup>182</sup> However, unlike the previous two exhibitions, we can not see an architectural product to exhibit in Philadelphia.

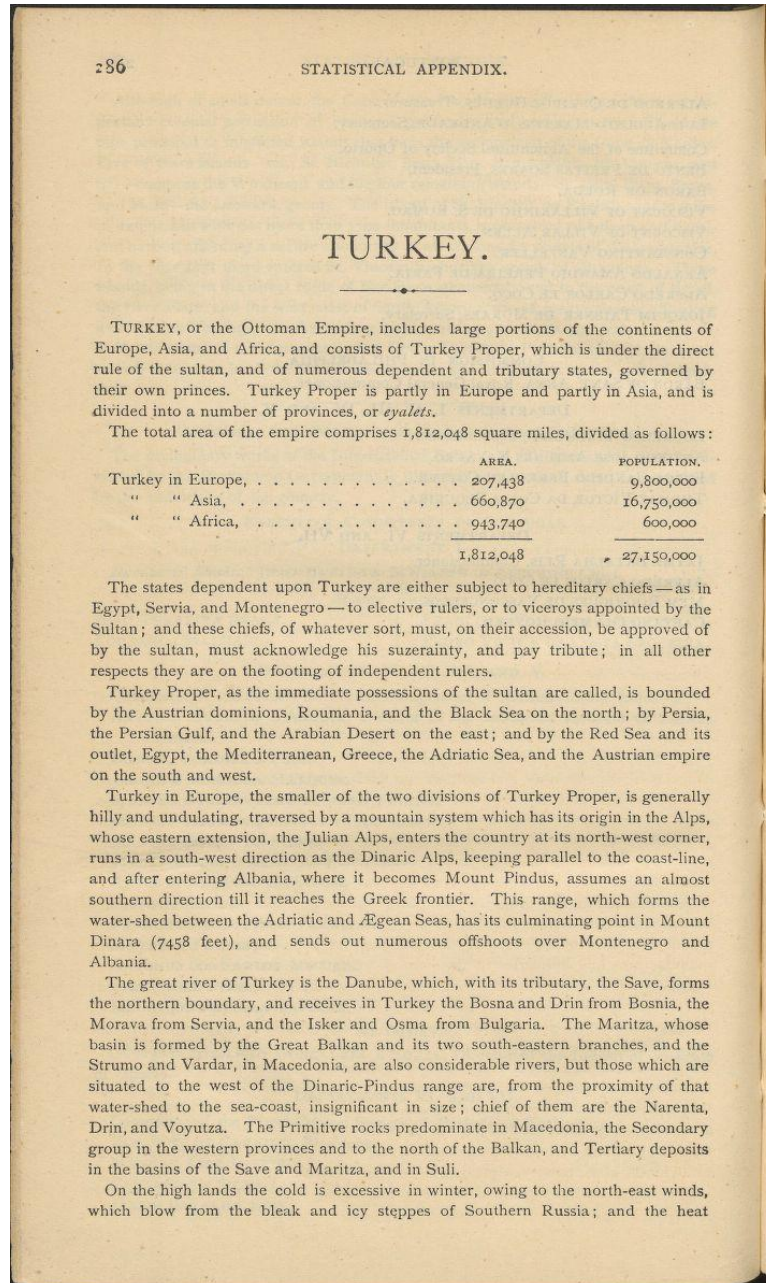


Figure 18 Introduction page of the Turkey in the statistical appendix of the official catalogue of Philadelphia Exhibition, 1876

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., p. 286 in pt.4 (seq. 1131)

### 3.7 The Unofficial Presence of the Ottoman Empire in the two Parisian Exhibitions, Exposition Universelle 1878 and 1889

The two expositions in Paris, 1878 and 1889 were the ones in which Ottoman participated via individual companies rather than official committee and pavilion. For this reason, they are examined under the same heading. 1878 Exhibition was the third Parisian *Exposition Universelles* of the nineteenth century. It was a celebration of the recovery period of France after Franco-Prussian War in 1870. The exhibition was covered nearly seventy four hectares where 53,000 exhibitors displayed. This exposition visited by six million people in the period of 6 months.<sup>183</sup> Two large buildings were constructed for the exhibition in the *Champ de Mars* namely *Palais du Champ de Mars* and the *Palais du Trocadero* and it was also the first time in a French exhibition which congresses and conferences were held during the exhibition. The *Rue des Nations* was the novelty which 1878 Exposition added to the genre of International Exhibitions. The *Rue des Nations* was a street which was composed of a collage of buildings of different national architectural styles.<sup>184</sup> Tunisia, Iran and Morocco were the only Islam countries in this street of nations. The Ottoman state in this exhibition was represented with two paintings of French painter and sculptor Jean-Leon Gérôme. (1824-1904) which were already in the Dolmabahçe Palace.<sup>185</sup> In 1889, France organized an international exposition for the fourth time which was symbolically important than previous ones due to the hundredth anniversary of the French Revolution. In total, exhibition was visited by twenty eight million visitors in five months to see the products of 61,772 exhibitors.<sup>186</sup>

The architectural heritage of the 1889 Exposition was the Eiffel Tower which is still remarkable for the history of the city. However, this exposition could not attract many important European monarchies. The monarchical regimes including the Ottoman Empire, did not participate in this exposition to protest the ideals of the

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<sup>183</sup> Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight*, p.672

<sup>184</sup> Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, p. 68

<sup>185</sup> Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batı'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1971), p. 629

<sup>186</sup> Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight*, p.672

Revolution.<sup>187</sup> Furthermore, other monarchies of Europe had similar attitudes. For example, England did not attend by no means, as well. On the other hand, other monarchies like Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italia and China were present with unofficial participants.<sup>188</sup>

Many of them hesitated to participate, because of its mission “to celebrate the Revolution.” The other possible reason to refuse being part of the celebration of the Revolution was the possible consequences to celebrate a revolution in their national borders. In this exposition, Ottoman State, as it did previous ones, was represented by paintings of Osman Hamdi Bey and Halil Pasha in the “Pavilion of Fine Arts” and they also were awarded medals.<sup>189</sup>

### **3.8 The Ottoman Empire in the Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition in 1893**

The Columbian Exposition was the second exhibitions which took place in America and it was held in Jackson Park and the Midway Plaisance of Chicago in 1893. It was nominally a celebration of the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Columbus’s arrival in America and it was visited by twenty seven million visitors. Exposition housed 100.000 exhibitors in an area of 278 hectares.<sup>190</sup> The fairground was divided into two sections, the White City and Midway Plaisance. The White City of the World’s Columbian Exposition represented an ideal republic with its industrial, scientific and artistic achievements, while Midway Plaisance was the “World’s Amusement Center”<sup>191</sup> which attracted the people’s sense of wonder in terms of other cultures.<sup>192</sup> The Ottoman state participated in Columbia Exposition with an official committee on personal request of the President to Abdulhamid II. The Ottoman commissioner was

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<sup>187</sup> Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, p.78

<sup>188</sup> Reid, *Whose Pharaohs*, p.191

<sup>189</sup> Germaner, *Osmanlı'nın Katıldığı*, p. 39

<sup>190</sup> Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight*, p.672

<sup>191</sup> Williams, *Triumph of Commercialism*, p. 2

<sup>192</sup>For the photographs of White City and Midway Plaisance see the page of Field Museum Library [https://www.flickr.com/photos/field\\_museum\\_library/sets/72157616234589478/](https://www.flickr.com/photos/field_museum_library/sets/72157616234589478/)

the Grand Vizier İbrahim Hakkı Bey (1863-1918). In this exposition, Ottoman state was represented both in the main fairgrounds of White City, Midway Plaisance and other specialized buildings like Transportation Building, as well.<sup>193</sup> Moreover, the state signed a contract with a commercial firm, İlya Suhami Saadullah & Co. for the preparations.<sup>194</sup> A Turkish village and a mosque were built for exposition situated on the Midway Plaisance and a pavilion to display carpets, fabrics, ceramics, furniture, handicrafts and ship models was constructed.<sup>195</sup> In addition to architectural, agricultural and industrial exhibits, Ottoman governments used the photographic representation. Sultan Abdulhamid II sent a set of fifty one albums including 1819 photographs which were taken in 1880-1893 to display.<sup>196</sup> After displaying in exposition, the albums were donated to National Library of the United States (The Library of Congress).<sup>197</sup>

The Chicago Exhibition is also important because of a visitor, Mehmet Ubeydullah Efendi (1858-1937). Ubeydullah Efendi had an extraordinary life story; he was son of a member of *ulema* in İzmir, Hoca Şakir Efendi. After education in Rüşdiye and medrese, he studied in *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye* and became acquainted with Young Turks. During these years, he published articles in the *Haver* newspaper and stayed in Paris between the years 1886-1888. Ubeydullah Efendi was the one of the very first members of Committee of Union and Progress besides imprisoned during the reign of Abdulhamid II and became an exile in Taif. During the Committee of Union and Progress period, he became a Young Turks deputy of Icel in 1912 with his traditional clothes, sarık and cubbe.<sup>198</sup> As regards to Chicago Exposition of 1893, Ubeydullah

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<sup>193</sup> Zeynep Celik, "Speaking Back to Orientalist Discourse at the World's Columbian Exposition" in *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America, 1870-1930*, ed. Holly Edwards (Princeton: Princeton University Press in association with the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2000), p.77

<sup>194</sup> BOA.YA.RES, nr.58/33

<sup>195</sup> Garmaner, *Osmanlı'nın Katıldığı*, p.39

<sup>196</sup> Tolga Hepdinçler, *Fotoğraf ve Oryantalizm: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı'nın Fotoğrafik Temsili*, unpublished PhD Diss., (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, 2006), p.144

<sup>197</sup>For the albums see webpage of the Library of Congress  
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/ahii/index/subjects/>

<sup>198</sup> Ahmet Turan Alkan, "Ubeydullah Efendi" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 42., (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2012), p. 20-22

Efendi saw the news about Chicago Exhibition and went to Chicago with personal efforts to participate in exposition. Moreover, he left a diary including his America memoirs entitled as “*Geçirdiğim Günlerin Hesabına Ait Dağınık Yapraklar*” which was published in the *Resimli Gazete* between 24 October 1925 and 10 April 1926. The first publication of the memoirs in Latin alphabet was by Kudret Sinan (Şemsettin Kutlu) entitled as “*XIX. Yüzyıl Amerikasında Bir Türk: Ubeydullah Efendi'nin Amerika Hatıraları*” in *Hayat Tarih Mecmuası* in 1971. In 1989, the memoir was published by Ahmet Turan Alkan. Ubeydullah Efendi wrote 5 articles about the exposition entitled as: *35 Milyon Dolarlık Bir Sergi*, “*Chicago Biziz*”, *Bizde Onlarda*, *Chicago Sergisi Gazetesi* and *Bir Asansör Kazası*.<sup>199</sup>

In addition to Ubeydullah Bey's personal visit to the exposition, he became also an official member of the exposition committee which aimed to publish an illustrated journal during the exposition, the *Musavver Şikago Sergisi*. Throughout the six months which Exposition was open Ubeydullah Efendi and Sulayman el-Bustani published an illustrated journal, the Chicago Fair Illustrated. The journal was published in three languages, in Turkish, in Arabic and in English in order to report about progress, the *terakkiyat*, in Empire by avoiding political content.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Ahmet Turan Alkan, ed., “*Sıradışı bir Jön Türk, Ubeydullah Efendi'nin Amerika hatıraları*,” (İstanbul : İletişim Yayınları, 1989)

<sup>200</sup> BOA, BEO. nr. 153/ 11423  
For the articles in *Musavver Şikago Sergisi* see Appendix B



Figure 19 The cover page of an issue of the Chicago Fair Illustrated

Source: Işıklı and Balkan, *Türk Fuarçılık Tarihi*, p.95

### 3.9 The Ottoman Empire in the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1900

After Chicago, the last exhibition of the century with its forty eight million visitors and 83.000 exhibits from the all around the world is *Exposition Universelle* of 1900 in Paris.<sup>201</sup> It was a celebration of the achievements of the nineteenth century and an introduction to a new century which maintains and accelerates the achievements of the previous one.

The Ottoman Empire participated in the Paris Exposition of 1900. The Ottoman pavilion was in the *Quai d'Orsay*. The Ottoman state was represented with a mosque, as it was in previous exhibitions, which constructed by Rene Ducas. The Islamic countries in the 1900 exposition situated according to a hierarchical classification. The two sovereign states, Ottoman Empire and Persia, constructed their pavilions on

<sup>201</sup> Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight*, p.672



the *Rue des Nations*. The Ottoman Empire as a state seen as more important politically, located between the pavilions of Italy and the United States. Conversely, Persia's pavilion was on the back row, between Peru and Luxembourg. Egypt, which was accepted as a British colony, was with the other colonies in the Trocadéro Park.<sup>202</sup>



Figure 20 Ottoman pavilion in Rue des Nations, Paris 1900

Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2001698559/>

In addition to the architectural representation, Ottoman Empire was also represented by the works of Halil Paşa (1857-1939) and Emile Della Sudda in *Grand Palais* which was designated for fine arts.<sup>203</sup>

In conclusion, the Ottoman Empire attended to the ten of the major exhibitions within fifty years in the important capitals of the Western world. The presence of the

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<sup>202</sup> Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, p.89

<sup>203</sup> Germaner, *Osmanlı'nın Katıldığı*, p. 40

Empire in these gatherings was noteworthy realities for both Western world and Ottoman Empire. Because, as it is said in the previous parts, at that time there was increasing interest about the Orient. For instance, at that time, having an object from the Orient is a tool for prestige. Individuals possessing these objects formed clubs and organized special evening events. Another interesting sign to see the interest about East was a special gathering which many artists and travelers attended in Paris. This gathering was described in the *L'Illustration* in September 2, 1843 as follows:

An elegant tent decorated with floral arrangements served as the setting, but which contained no other furnishings than a sofa, and all the guests present were garbed in Eastern costume. At the party, described as a Tower of Babel due to the multitude of Eastern languages being spoken, some of the guests appeared as Arab sheikhs of Yemen, attired in long garments of silk, bound by sashes of cashmere, and wearing sandals, and conversed with Assyrian mountain dwellers while sitting cross-legged on a carpet; or another in a picturesque dress falling to tatter, armed with large, crude weapons, had struck up an acquaintance with an Agha allied with France; or a Greek irregular soldier dressed in an outfit with brightly colored embroidery was engaged in conversation with an Albanian who spoke in a corrupt variant of the Homeric tongue; or while someone else dressed in an Egyptian peasant garment attempted to imitate the monotonous sound of the muezzin, another sang an Arab folksong expressing intense logging; and some smoked Indian tobacco, some Persian water pipes, and others Ottoman clay pipes with long reed stems. Present on this occasion, it is stated, were representatives of all the Oriental peoples- Tatars, Persians, Indians, Japanese, Turks, Egyptians, and Nubians.<sup>204</sup>

In such a national and international context, the participation of Ottoman Empire in international exhibitions can be examined in two levels: economic and cultural. In terms of the economic level, being in an international sphere appeared to be a step in order to publicize the Ottoman production, to show the fertility of the Ottoman lands, to prove the abilities of the Ottoman producers, to ease the integration into the international trade and to check the qualities and prices of the local production. However, in order to explore whether these motivations were accomplished or not after the state and state-controlled private entrepreneurs attended fairs, there is not sufficient data.

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<sup>204</sup> Germaner and İnankur, *Constantinople*, pp. 45-46

Whereas we have enough material and incidents to survey and to make the sense of the participation in respect of second aspect which is about cultural. Ottoman participation to exhibitions should be evaluated by taking into consideration the above stated quotation and the Ottoman reaction to this long-established assessment. Selim Deringil describes this reaction as an obsession with their image.<sup>205</sup> Therefore, it is not irrational to see the endeavors of the Sublime Port, to be represented in all congress and conferences which were organized and attended by the “club of civilized powers.” Some of these international events were International Meridian Conference in Washington D.C in 1884, World Archeology Congress in Moscow in 1892 and 13<sup>th</sup> World Congress of Orientalists in Hamburg. Indeed, the Ottoman states-persons realized the importance of reciprocity which could be procured via representation.<sup>206</sup>

So far, this chapter focused on important information about the Ottoman participation and exhibitions including names, statistics, numbers, exhibits and people in general. The following chapter will discuss the representation strategies of the Empire which was going to provide reciprocity to the Ottoman Empire in international sphere. These strategies will be clarified by correlating the exhibits and key concepts which was determined in order to present the optimum self image in front of the World.

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<sup>205</sup> Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909*, (London ; New York : I.B. Tauris), p.150

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, p.15

## CHAPTER IV

### AN EMPIRE ON DISPLAY

#### 4.1 Destroying the Clichés: The Myth of the East/Ottoman/Turk

The statement to present the Ottoman court as “the Wonders of the Land of the Sultan,” in the official catalogue of Centennial Exposition in 1876 was explanatory enough to see that what Ottomans attempted to change. Likewise, when Sultan Abdulaziz visited the European capitals and the Paris Exposition in 1867, the Western public did not see the figure which they imagined. English humor magazine, the *Punch*, approved this disappointment and added that “he did not look a sick man.”<sup>207</sup>

Before nineteenth century, the one who examined the image of the Turks in Europeans, see that there was not a homogeneous image. On the contrary, there was diversity and a mix of negative and positive ideas about the Turks. Particularly, images in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries showed variety, irregularity and ambiguity. However, the eighteenth century image of Turks was coherent, consistent and decidedly and it referred to negative judgment about the Ottoman Empire.<sup>208</sup> For example, at the early eighteenth century, a Turk was described in an Austrian painting as a fiendishly clever, betrayer, scarce for military skills and swindler.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Dilek Zaptçioğlu, “*Yeterince Otantik Değilsiniz Padişahım*” *Modernlik, Dindarlık ve Özgürlük*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012), p. 14

<sup>208</sup> Aslı Çırakman, *From the “Terror of the World” to the “Sick Man of Europe”: European Images of the Ottoman Empire and Society from the Sixteenth Century to the Nineteenth*, (New York : Peter Lang Pub., [2001], c2002), p.3

<sup>209</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *Avrupa ve Biz*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2011), p. 13



In the early modern period, there can be seen a popular image of the Turks matching to the Muslim. This image was generally referred to “barbarians, infidels and cruel enemy” especially after the conquest of Constantinople. There was a curiosity about these people and their cultures, societies, histories in the Western world. Therefore, there were extensive pieces of branches including paintings, music, drama, poetry, travel writings and poetry, about the Ottomans in the Western world in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>210</sup> For instance, a French traveler of the seventeenth century, Jean Dumont, compared the customs of the Ottoman with theirs and narrated his observations about the Ottoman daily customs as:

The Turks are opposite to us in almost all respects: we content ourselves with one wife they marry several wives. Our habit is short, theirs is long and we wear our hair long and our beards shaved, they shave their hair and suffer their beards to grow: we write in a straight line from left to right and they in a crouched form from right to left.<sup>211</sup>

He also stated that in addition to differences in outside appearances, there were more interesting differences. To illustrate, he stated that Turks never published books, journals, even the account of Public Affairs and they ”profess and glory their ignorance.”<sup>212</sup>

By 1800s, literary works in Europe focused the East and they contributed to the forming of the myth of the East. These works should not be considered as non-scientific literary fantasies. Because, on the contrary, they were direct products of the eighteenth century oriental studies.<sup>213</sup> In the case of the imagination of the Ottoman Empire in the Western eyes, we see the same myths and stereotypes. The Empire was perceived by images and symbols. The common point of these symbols and images were that all of them depicted the East as ahistoric and unchanging entity.

Specific to the Turkish myth in the West, the notion of Turks was shaped by fanaticism of Christianity and the Crusades in England and France, in particular in the Middle Ages. Another example to understand how the Western world, generally

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<sup>210</sup> Ibid., p. 35

<sup>211</sup> Jean Dumont, *A New Voyage to Levant*, (London: 1696), p. 149

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., 261

<sup>213</sup> Jale Parla, *Efendilik, Şarkiyatçılık, Kölelik*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012), p.17

the Europeans, saw the Ottomans is literature of the time. Jale Parla's work which is entitled as *Efendilik, Şarkiyatçılık, Kölelik* is a distinguished source for this issue. In her study, Parla questions the works of major novelists and poets of Europe in the nineteenth century, namely George Gordon Byron, Victor Hugo and Alphonse de Lamartine and provides an in-depth analysis.

To Parla, Byron established the myth of Turk in the *Childe Harolds' Pilgrimage* and *Turkish Tales*. He identified the crime, violence and horror with the East. In terms of the Ottomans, he used a historical person, Yanyalı Ali Pasha, to mythicize these malignant items. Bryon described Ali Pasha in a letter during his East journey as follows:

His Highness is sixty years old, very fat and not tall, but with a fine face, light blue eyes and a white beard, his manner is very kind and at the same time he possesses that dignity which I find universal amongst the Turks. He has the appearance of anything but his real character, for he is a remorseless tyrant, guilty of the most horrible cruelties.<sup>214</sup>

Correspondingly, in his pieces, the Eastern women also were desperate slaves in the hands of these despots.<sup>215</sup>

Despite the fact that Victor Hugo has never been in East, he used the established understandings, especially concepts of power, passion and vengeance were attached to the East and the Ottomans. Besides, Hugo located himself and his cultural roots on the opposite of Ottoman. He took a side in terms the Greek War of Independence and wrote a seven-parted poem after Navarin to celebrate the victories of Greeks and other Western allies against tyrants.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/8901/pg8901.html>

<sup>215</sup> Parla, *Efendilik*, p. 43-53

<sup>216</sup> David Roessel, *In Byron's Shadow: Modern Greece in the English & American Imagination*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.43

*Greeces of Byron and of Homer  
You, our sister, you, our mother,  
Sing! If your bitter voice  
Has not been extinguished by crying*

Grèces de Byron et d'Homère  
Toi, notre soeur, toi, notre mère,

As it is concluded the quotation and the whole *Les Orientales*, Victor Hugo defined himself, naturally Europe, as successor of the Hellenism and the Ottomans as in the shape of the warlike Turks who did not belong to this culture.

However, as contacts of the Ottoman and the Western world increased, the myth of the Turk began to deflate because of the modernization steps which were an outcome of that the East also noticed the changing world at that time.<sup>217</sup> Naturally, between 1835 and 1850 there was a decline in the numbers of writings including adventures of travelers in East. Hereafter, the visitors who were in pursuit of the East myth were going to be disappointed. The features, which differentiate the East and West from each other, were melting gradually. Alphonse de Lamartine was the one of those who did not find what he expected. He visited the Ottoman Empire for two times and collected the memories of his second journey in the *Nouveau Voyage en Orient*. According to Jale Parla, It is quite interesting to see that this book did not include the idealism of being a pioneer of civilization. On the contrary, it was sorrowful due to the disappointment of an old Orientalist for not seeing his imagined Orient.<sup>218</sup>

Specific to expositions, Mark Twain described Abdulaziz who visited Paris Exposition of 1867, “weak, stupid, ignorant man who believed in gnomes and genii and the wild fables of the Arabian Nights” in his *Innocents Abroad*. He also depicted the public appearance of Napoleon III and Abdulaziz in the *Place de l'Etoile*:

Napoleon III, the representative of the highest modern civilization, progress, and refinement; Abdul-Aziz, the representative of a people by nature and training filthy, brutish, ignorant, unprogressive, superstitious—and a government whose Three Graces are Tyranny, Rapacity, Blood. Here in

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Chantez! si votre voix amère  
Ne s'est pas éteinte à crier.

Sen bacımız, sen anamız  
Sen Byron'ın ve Homer'in Yunanı  
Eğer acılı sesin ağlamaktan kısılmadıysa  
Şarkı söyle

<sup>217</sup> Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun*, p. 19

<sup>218</sup> Parla, *Efendilik*, p. 85-99



brilliant Paris, under the majestic Arch of Triumph, the First Century greets the Nineteenth!<sup>219</sup>

Under these conditions, Ottoman Empire recognized the importance of representation which was controlled from centers. The following part will point out the basic characteristics of this controlled self portrait. The major key concepts in the representation agenda of Ottoman Empire were determined as: non-exotic, progressive, equal with West, leader of Islam, having an ideal society and, a rooted history.

#### 4.2 Surpassing the “Exotic”

The initial and most vital strategy in the selection process of the displays which represented the Ottoman Empire was built on the project of picturing the Ottoman Empire as a part of the civilized World. The Ottoman state was not the only one which used exhibitions as a stage for accurate cultural representation. When we look at the other non-Western states’ participation; it is possible to observe the same motivations with Ottoman Empire. To illustrate, Japan which experienced the same modernization process as called Meiji restoration, went towards a representation strategy which presented the innovations in industrial, education and military and suppressed their traditional exotic imagination in the eyes of world.<sup>220</sup>

In order to procure this position in the civilized world, the first thing to be done was to avert the unpleasant portrayals of oriental things. Therefore, we can see the strong objection of the Ottomans against displaying of dancing girl and dervishes. The Sultan also personally rejected the plan of displaying some Gypsy and Jewish women as the so called specimens of the Oriental peoples and he stated that these kinds of shows were humiliating.<sup>221</sup> In the same vein, in 1894 Anvers Fair, the Sublime Port prevented shameful displays of Islamic women or dervish life and

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<sup>219</sup> Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad*, (New York, 1984), p. 101. Cited in Çelik, *Displaying Orient*, p. 34

<sup>220</sup> Yoshinori Amagai, “The Kobu Bijutsu Gakko and the Beginning of Design Education in Modern Japan,” *Design Issues*, vol. 19, No. 2 (Spring, 2003): p.35-44, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1512015>

<sup>221</sup> Deringil, *The Well Protected*, p.151

prevented these shows.<sup>222</sup> When it is taken into account that world fairs consolidated the stereotypes and one of the stereotypes that gained currency at the world's fairs, and remains viable today, is the *danse du ventre*,<sup>223</sup> the struggle of the Empire to prevent this was seemed fairly rational.

In addition to hindering individual initiatives, there was also a need of more systematic way of representing. For this reason, the Ottoman commissions put the aim of preparing displays which can be managed by center and prevent the attempts which could damage the prestige of the Empire. According to this strategy, the Empire could overcome this image management problem through order, technical competence and scholarly weight exhibits rather than through scale and grandeur.<sup>224</sup> Therefore, it can be coincided with exhibits which were prepared scholarly, especially publications which demonstrated the cultural aspects of the Empire. The following two exhibits, the *Les Costumes Populaires de la Turquie en 1873* and the *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani* were the products of this rigorous methodological display strategy. Despite the fact that it is a controversial issue whether these publications accomplished its mission, which was to minimize “the exotic” or not, the point which will be underlined in the following part is to show that the Ottoman cadres targeted to manage their self-image via academic exhibits which was organized elaborately in spite of its cost. Specific to the Elbise Album, it is also possible to see that they helped from the power of visual representation on the purpose of rupturing any relation of the Empire with the exotic.

The Vienna Exposition witnessed a different type of representation strategy which can be summarized as adding scientific supports to the exhibit. The *Les Costumes Populaires de la Turquie en 1873, 1873 Yılında Türkiye'de Halk Giysileri*, (hereafter abbreviated as the Album) is one of the scholarly publications which were created for this occasion. The Album attempted to present a typological documentation of the

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<sup>222</sup> Ibid., p. 160

<sup>223</sup> Zeynep Çelik and Leila Kinney, “Ethnography and Exhibitionism at the Expositions Universelles” *Assemblage*, No. 13 (Dec., 1990): p.35, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3171106>

<sup>224</sup> Ahmet Ersoy, “A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism: The Elbise-i Osmani Album,” *Muqarnas*, vol. 20 (2003): p. 189, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1523332>

traditional Ottoman costume which was classified according to ethnicity, geographical location, profession, social class and religion. However, we cannot see a classification based on ethnicity, religion, profession and social classes. The Album was composed of 74 photographic plates. Also, the Album gave information about the model and clothing in terms of its ethnic origin, profession or religion in each plate, the plates organized in three main sections according to the region.

The categories are the European territories, the Aegean/Mediterranean Islands and the Asian/African territories. These sections included twenty four subdivisions according to the provincial divisions. The European section included provinces of Istanbul, Edirne, the Danube, Prizren and Shkodra, Ioannina, Salonica, and Bosnia. The second section covered provinces of Crete and the Mediterranean Islands. Asian/African territories included the provinces of Bursa, Aydin, Konya, Ankara, Kastamonu, Sivas, Trabzon, Erzurum, Diyarbakir, Aleppo, Adana, Syria, and Baghdad. The last section depicted provinces of Hijaz, Yemen, and Tripoli under the same subheading. In total, there are 23 plates from the European region, 9 plates from the Aegean and Mediterranean Islands and 42 plates from the Asia territories. As regards to presentation method of the Album, the format was parallel with the exotic costume albums which were very popular in Europe in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>225</sup> Each plate was attached by an explanatory section indicating comments about sartorial tradition of the specific groups and basic information about them.

The project of the Album was conducted by Osman Hamdi Bey and Victor Marie de Launay. The photographs were taken by the photographer Pascal Sebah in Edhem Pasha's residence at Kantarcilar. For each plate, two or three models who were wearing traditional outfits were photographed in front of a blank wall. The authors escaped intentionally from the scenographic backgrounds of popular postcards and Orientalist paintings. In the Elbise Album, westernized urban elites were categorically excluded, since aim was to show the ordinary Ottoman people from a

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<sup>225</sup> Ersoy, *On the Sources of*, p. 102

unbiased ethnographic view. Therefore, Osman Hamdi and Marie de Launay, photographed the Ottoman commoners who preserved the traditional lifestyle of the pre-Tanzimat era. This situation can be seen as opposite to the aim of the Sublime Porte to minimize the exotic items in displaying. Zeynep Çelik defended this perceptin and evaluates the Album as “they repeated a false generalization common to European interpretations: by failing to note transformations over time and by characterizing “costumes” as timeless, they froze the culture historically.”<sup>226</sup>

On the other hand, Ahmet Ersoy provides an alternative analysis of this issue. He emphasized the Album’s scientific method and states that

their vision was that an exhaustive and analytical documentation of popular dress would not only present a realistic and consummate picture of the diverse Ottoman polity to the local and international viewers, but that it would also surpass and correct the orientalist generalizations and inaccuracies ingrained within common European perceptions of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>227</sup>

There are two reasons why this album should be counted as counter-exotica. First, it was a scientific study which aimed to depict a facet of Ottoman life accurately and objectively and it was prepared by using scientific techniques from the field of ethnography and encyclopedic classification. Therefore, these academic comprehensiveness and rigor rescued the figures from a raw and carnivalesque allure of the exotic.<sup>228</sup>

Second, in the Album, people in the plates were in a formal position. They were not interacting with each other and displaying any kind of daily activity. On the contrary, they adopted a formal gesture and avoided the established exotic gestures, animated scenes of conversation and ceremonial characteristic of traditional costume albums. Moreover, the camera angle and distance were the same in the each plate to express a sense of objective reportage. In brief, the organizing method of the Album and its ethnographic sense removed the risks in terms of being an exhibit which

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<sup>226</sup> Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, p. 42

<sup>227</sup> Ersoy, *A Sartorial Tribute*, p. 191

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, p.194

consolidated the prescribed image of exotic Ottoman; conversely it provided an objective and realistic study in terms of the Ottoman sartorial crafts.<sup>229</sup>

There is another aspect regarding this debate. According to Osman Hamdi, there is a difference between clothing and costume. Clothing was the sign of the homogenizing and rationalizing impulse of modernization. Clothing practices became more standardized in the world day by day and destroy all distinctions in diverse classes of societies and different nations. On the other hand, the traditional costume was a cultural heritage like the archaeological treasures of the Empire. They gave the Ottoman state its distinctive cultural and historical code in a homogenous modernity. When it is taken into consideration that Hamdi Bey defended that Ottoman modernization attempts could be achieved by preserving some sense of the Ottoman uniqueness, it is rational to see an exhibit including traditional features. Osman Hamdi Bey evaluated Ottoman native cultures like sartorial traditions as a timeless patrimony which distinguished the Ottoman Empire from the West.<sup>230</sup> The following images were some of the samples from the Album:

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<sup>229</sup> Ersoy, *A Sartorial Tribute*, p. 191-195

<sup>230</sup> Ussama Makdissi, "Ottoman Orientalism," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 107, No. 3 (June 2002): p. 785



Figure 22 A Jewish woman, an Armenian bride and a young Greek lady



Figure 23 A shepherd from Diarbekir and Kurds from Mardin and Cizre



Figure 24 A Jewish woman from Salonica, a Bulgarian woman from Pirlepe and a Muslim woman from Salonica





Figure 25 A Muslim woman from Mecca, a merchant from Mocha and a young Moorish lady from Tripoli.

The second scholarly publication which was attached to the exhibits in Vienna was the *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani*, which is the first inclusive study on the history and theory of Ottoman architecture.<sup>231</sup> *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani* (henceforth abbreviated as *Usul*) was prepared by a group of the Ottoman intellectuals, artist and architects under the supervision of Edhem Pasha, the Minister of Trade and Public Works. The editor of the book was Victor Marie de Launay. Besides Montani Efendi, an Italian architect, Boghos Effendi Chachian, an Armenian architect, and M. Maillard, a French architect were other members of the drafting group. The format of the *Usul* followed that of similar books on Western architecture.

The purpose of this book was “to bring to the light the superior qualities of Ottoman architecture and to reintroduce to modern architecture.”<sup>232</sup> It was organized in two main sections; first one included text and second one covered the drawings.

As regards to the content of the book, as it is said before, the book was organized in the form of contemporary Western architectural books. It starts with a summary of the Ottoman architectural history in order to define and represent the entire Ottoman architectural past according to the norms of modern historiography.<sup>233</sup> This part was followed by another one which provided comprehensive monographs of the major Ottoman monuments in Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne and other part with theoretical discussion. The last section showed the Ottoman decorative tradition. After the text section, the second section covered the 250 detailed drawings whose technical characteristics were explained in the previous section.

The important point regarding this book is that basically the book targeted to prove that there is an “Ottoman” style in architecture. This emphasis on “Ottoman style” is significant for the aim of reducing the exotic. Because in the nineteenth century, it was common to match the earlier examples of Ottoman architecture to "Saracenic" or "Arab" among European travelers and scholars. For this reason, the *Usul* was a step of proving the presence of Ottoman style as autonomous style by disassociating the Ottoman Style from the others, especially the Arab. According to Ersoy, the *Usul* can

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<sup>231</sup> Afife Batur, “Milli Olarak Adlandırılan Mimari Eğilimler,” *Mimarlık*, vol. 298, ( Mart, Nisan, 2001): p. 43

<sup>232</sup> Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1993), p. 149

<sup>233</sup> Ahmet Ersoy, “Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period,” *Muqarnas*, Vol. 24, (2007): p. 117

be evaluated as an early response to the western Orientalist categorizations of Islamic art and architecture. Since there was a permanent assumption concerning the lack of an internal discourse on architecture coming out of the Islamic context.

Marie de Launay underlined the novelty and distinction of the Ottoman style by giving example of the Green Mosque. She illustrated the Green Mosque as “a perfect expression of Saracenic architecture... [that has been] profoundly modified by Ottoman taste.” She also added that with this monument, Ottoman architecture is dissociated from the category of the "Oriental," and differentiated as a complete and elaborate stylistic entity in its own right.<sup>234</sup>

In Vienna Exposition, after the *Usul* was displayed in the Ottoman galleries, it was sent to the major cities of Europe. By doing so, they made an attempt to start a separate international field of discussion in terms of Ottoman architecture and to dissociate it from the reductive tropes that dominated European perceptions of Islamic architecture.<sup>235</sup>

### 4.3 The Progressive Monarchy

The international exhibitions became an opportunity to convey the economic, military and social transformations of the Empire. Ottoman Empire tried to show that Empire was progressing; at least, they strove for reaching their Western contemporaries. Since in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire was the only non-Christian member of the Great Powers, *Düvel-i Muazzama*, and it felt this loneliness growingly.<sup>236</sup> Furthermore, this period was also marked by the inferior position in its relations with the western power.<sup>237</sup> At this point, reminding the aim of Empire to participate was beneficial. Even in the very beginning steps of the international exhibitions, they aimed to display the endeavor of the Sultan in the development of the Empire. In other words, the Ottoman Empire desired to demolish the central

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<sup>234</sup> Ibid., p.128

<sup>235</sup> Ibid, p. 120

<sup>236</sup> Carter Findley, “The Advent of Ideology in the Islamic Middle East,” *Studia Islamica*, No. 56 (1982): p. 171

<sup>237</sup> Şerif Mardin, *the Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought; A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1962), p. 60

assumptions of Orientalists which evaluates the East as frozen and unchanging entity. For this reason, photography was seemed as the ideal way to present the change for the government and then the Abdulhamid albums, also known as the Yıldız Albums, were produced. There are nearly 800 albums which were organized by starting from 1880. When examined the content and the subject of the photographs, it is clear that albums targeted the Western public. They promoted the modernization steps of the Empire. Albums were generally included scenes from several districts of Istanbul, images of Istanbul and Edirne Palaces, the architectural photographs of various mosque, mansion, fountain, tomb, hospital, school, buildings of embassies, and views from sports events, archeological areas, and visits of presidents of various states.<sup>238</sup>

To prepare a photographic Album was, at the same time, a manifestation of technical capacity in Empire. The 51 Albums in exhibition can be evaluated as the propaganda vehicles on the way of modern, ordered and progressive state not only in terms of administrative and military areas, but also in technological novelties.

The format of the entire albums was the same; there was one image in each page and a simple decorative border. The photographs were supported with a short title or description in Ottoman at the top, and a French or English translation at the bottom of the page.

For the Chicago Exposition, 51 albums and 1819 photographs was sent to Chicago. The photograph studios which prepared the Albums were Abdullah Frères with 1291 photos, Sebah & Joaillier with 60 photos and Phoebus with 20 photos. Additionally, Ali Rıza Pasha, the chief photographer to the Ministry of War, had two albums and there was one more specific album focusing on the Imperial School of Engineering, *Mühendishane-i Humayun*. The remaining albums did not have any specific studios or photographers.

These selected albums for the exhibition included scenes from military, industry, schools, hospitals and famous monuments of the Empire, mostly from Istanbul.

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<sup>238</sup> Hepdinçler, *Fotoğraf ve Oryantalizm*, p.144

Above all, there were not any scenes which reminded of the orientalist painting, literature and photography. On the contrary, there can be seen an intense effort to avert from animating the prescribed stereotypes of Ottoman men as ignorant, bloodthirsty autocrats and the Ottoman women as passive, eroticized slaves.<sup>239</sup>

Moreover, in the Chicago Exposition three books of Fatma Aliye Hanım, *Hayal ve Hakikat*, *Muhazarat* and *Nisvan-ı İslam*, were displayed in the library of the Women's Building with an invitation from Edith Clark who is the cataloguer of the Woman's Library. Fatma Aliye Hanım was the one of the highly educated Turkish women. In this respect, she was a symbol to replace the picture which depicted women as a commodity for amusement such as in *dans du ventre*. Conversely, the representation in the Women's Building challenged the prototypical image of the Eastern women as *odalık*. The purpose of Empire was exactly to provide this transition in the eyes of the world. The albums also included images of schoolgirls of various districts of Istanbul. The depiction of girls as students contradicted the established stereotype of Muslim women as the objects of harem. These images can be evaluated as struggle against the hypothesis that Ottoman women and girls were repressed and deprived of any chance of education. The schoolgirls were generally pictured with their books and diplomas to underline their scholar activities.

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<sup>239</sup> William Allen, "The Abdul Hamid II Collection," *History of Photography* 8, no. 2 (April-June 1984), p. 119



Figure 26 Students, middle school Eyüp Rüşdiyesi



Figure 27 Students, art school for girls Üsküdar Kız Sanayi Mektebi

Apart from the education of girls, there were other modernized education institutions in the Albums which were the military schools, *Mekteb-i Sultani*, the Imperial Law School, the Civil Medical School and the Imperial Military Medical School.

Together with a Western styled education system, a modern Ottoman military was one more crucial aspect of the self image of the Empire, specifically the navy. The Album covered the images of modern ships such as *Hamidiye* and the frigate *Mahmudiye*. According to Allen, indicating a modern navy and maritime infrastructure stood for declaring that Ottoman navy was capable for a great Mediterranean power.<sup>240</sup>

In addition to military improvements of the Empire, there were images considering the industrial developments in Empire such as Haliç shipyard and Tophane factory. The editors also gave a place to European style quarters of the Istanbul and technologically advanced lifesaving and fire fighting brigades.

To conclude, the photograph albums which were donated to the Library of Congress after displaying the Ottoman Galleries in Columbian Exposition, were quite obvious instances to see the obsession of controlling their self image. Since, Sultan ordered that before the arrival of photo Albums to Chicago, they had to be approved by the Palace. Likewise, the Sultan's dictation to his private secretary evinces more clearly the missions of the Albums," Most of the photographs taken (by European photographers) for sale in Europe vilify and mock our Well-Protected Domains. It is imperative that the photographs to be taken in this instance do not insult Islamic peoples by showing them in a vulgar and demeaning light"<sup>241</sup> The next images were some of the examples reflecting these aspects.

In addition to the photograph albums, displaying the Janissaries can be another example of the presenting the change and modernized Ottoman Empire. The state council members disputed the sending Janissary mannequins to the Chicago Exposition of 1893, because this would evoke unpleasant memories among the

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<sup>240</sup> Allen, "*The Abdul Hamid II Collection*," p.129

<sup>241</sup> Quoted in Deringil, *Well Protected Domains*, p.156

Christians. Nevertheless, the models of Janissaries were displayed in Chicago. Twelve models of Janissaries were put in the entrance of the Ottoman quarters.<sup>242</sup> The reason of this change was based on the idea that the Ottoman state had abolished the Janissaries. Moreover; Hakkı Bey explained the reason why it could not be a irritant exhibit as “today the Ottoman nation has reached the level of European civilization and the [present] appearance of the military and civilian personnel of the Sublime state is proof enough.”<sup>243</sup> Hakkı Bey saw this debate as unnecessary. Since, images of the Janissaries were omnipresent in Europe, and the models could be seen by every foreign visitor who visited the Magazine of the Antique Weapons, *Mecmuai Asliha-i Âtika* in Istanbul. Furthermore, there were similar museums in West which displayed the old military costumes. For this reason, on the contrary, these models should be displayed together with modern Ottoman officers in full dress uniform, if it is aimed to convey a good impression in terms of the “progress” brought by the Tanzimat.

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<sup>242</sup> Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed : Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (Berkeley, Calif. : University of California Press, c2003), p.58

<sup>243</sup> Deringil, *Well Protected*, p. 158





Figure 28 Mekteb-i Sultani <sup>244</sup>



Figure 29 Students of Mekteb-i Sultani

<sup>244</sup> Following photographs were taken from the web page of the Library of Congress. For more see <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/ahii/>



Figure 30 Students, imperial military middle school Şam-i Şerif Rüşdiye-yi Askeriyi, Damascus



Figure 31 The students of the special class at the Imperial Military High School, Kuleli



Figure 32 A group photograph of the students and the teachers of the Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-yi Mülkiye

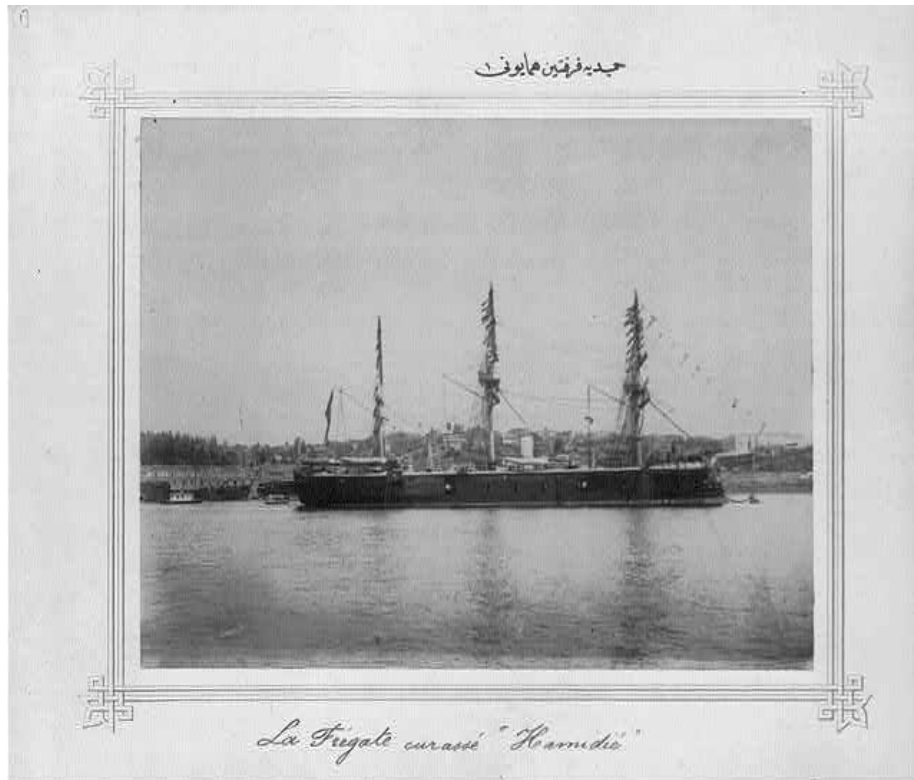


Figure 33 The Imperial Frigate Hamidiye

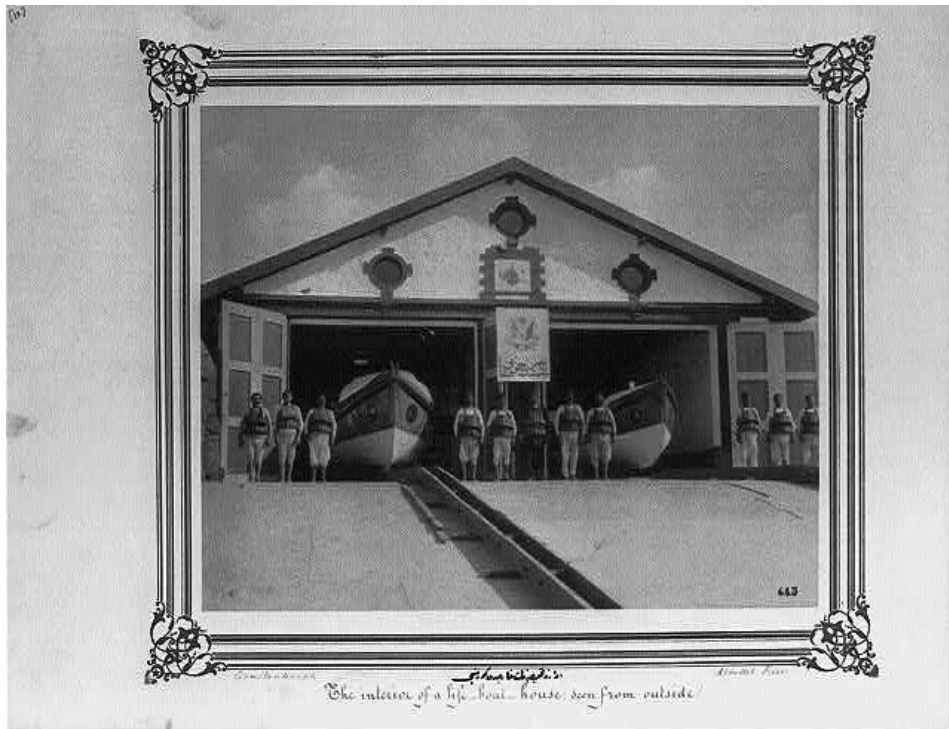


Figure 34 Exterior view of lifesaving station



Figure 35 The wheel production workshop in the Tophane Factory



Figure 36 Students of the civil engineering school doing field practice



Figure 37 Firing of a rocket to a shipwrecked boat

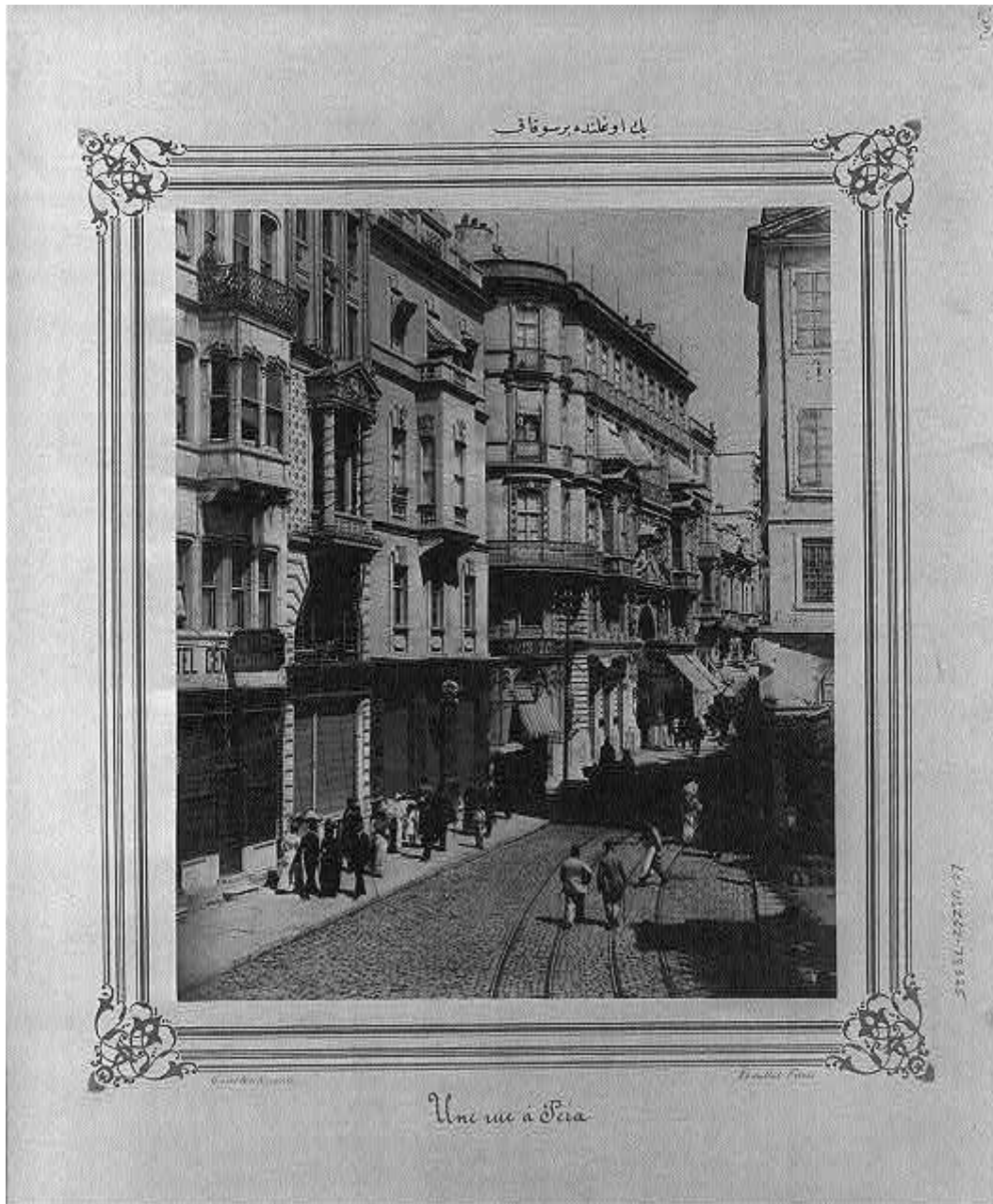


Figure 38 A street in Beyoğlu

#### 4.4 The Prestigious and the Equal with the West

The fair's policy of Ottoman Empire also covered to reflect themselves as the equal and prestigious actor of the league of "civilized nations". Therefore, Ottomans made every effort to appear as equal of these "civilized nations."

Firstly, this effort can be seen in the protocol issues in the exhibitions. The Ottoman commissions in the fairs endeavored to be present at all protocol rituals; even they were not familiar with these practices. For example, in the Chicago Exposition, administration board declared that every nation would allocate a national day to celebrate. The Ottomans hesitated at first, however they quickly decided to celebrate the anniversary of the Sultan's accession to throne, the *cülus-ı Humayun*, as the national day, the *yevm-i mahsus*, and reported to the administration of exhibition.<sup>245</sup> It was also decided two more things in the ceremony. Firstly, the band of the ceremony should play the Hamidiye Marşı (Hamidiye March), secondly, it is decided to made a show with gaslights which formed the statement of the "long live the Sultan" when lit.<sup>246</sup>

The second issue which we can see the effort of being an equal with other states in the protocol issues is that the Ottoman chief commissioner of Chicago exposition informed Istanbul about all the foreign states used papers with emblem of their states in official correspondences. For this reason, the Ottomans also should use this kind of papers.<sup>247</sup>

Another example to see the equalization of the Ottoman state with the "civilized world" is about the decision of creation of an Ottoman Hippodrome again for the Chicago Fair to "serve to increase the glory of the Sublime State through the presentation of its natural resources and subjects, by drawing the admiring regards of foreigners." The key point of this organization is that after a detailed and rigorous process of organization including the selection of horses and their riders, the

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<sup>245</sup> BOA.Y.MTV. nr. 75/202

<sup>246</sup> Deringil, *Well Protected*, p.156

<sup>247</sup> BOA.Y.A.HUS, nr, 277/28

Ottoman representatives noticed that horses had to have special names because this was how things were done in the “polite” society.<sup>248</sup>

What is more, in spite of the financial problems, Ottomans always prioritized the way of their appearances. For example, Hakkı Bey, the commissioner of Ottomans in Chicago, requested more budgets to rent an extra office. Since according to him “all the countries’ commissioners had office premises in addition to their pavilions, it was unthinkable that the Sublime State should not do the same.”<sup>249</sup>

Seeing these efforts which aimed to equalize the Ottoman State with the West through the symbolism and rituals is not surprising. Since the nineteenth century was a period which Great Powers attributed importance to symbolism and ceremonial practices like the national anthem, the national flag and the national emblem.<sup>250</sup> Therefore, adopting of Ottoman Empire these kinds of practices should be evaluated in this frame.

In conclusion, equality concerns were one of the major factors in the agenda of the Ottoman Empire. To that end, the state made an enormous effort to prevent the impeding factors of their representation strategy which underlined that Ottoman Empire was an equal and prestigious member of the civilized world.

#### **4.5 The Ottoman Image as the Leader of Islam**

The fourth element which composed the Ottoman strategy of presentation is about the religious concerns. The purpose was to present Empire as the leader of the Islamic world but, at the same time, a member of the modern nations.

The visit of Sultan Abdülaziz in the 1867 Paris Exposition can be considered as an example of this. According to one French journalist, the Sultan planned to inform the

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<sup>248</sup> Deringil, *Well Protected*, p.160

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, p.159

<sup>250</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in *Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 1-14



world that despite the reputation of the Ottoman Empire as the “sick man of Europe,” in the Muslim world, he was still in crucial role as the leader of the Muslims. He was the caliph and the omnipotent Muslim leader who was followed by the people of Asia and Africa.<sup>251</sup>

Furthermore, constructing a mosque in the Turkish quarters in the universal exhibitions became tradition. While some of them were built to demonstrate the architectural purposes, some mosques were in service. For instance, in the Chicago Ottoman commission reported to Istanbul that the mosque was being used by the Muslims in the exhibitions. On the other hand, the Ottomans undertaken the mission of protecting the prestige of the Islam, because of the Ottoman ambassador, Mavroyani Bey, put one disturbing development for their and Muslims image in his report. He reported that some of Christian Nestorians from Syria and American missionaries wanted to build a mosque for display which can be visited in return for money. The Ottoman embassy applied to the American authorities to prevent the construction of this mosque.<sup>252</sup> In terms of the construction of this mosque, there were also restrictions. The sixth and seventh article of the contract with Ilya Suhami Saadullah & Co. which was charged for organization indicated these conditions as follows:

Proper Muslim etiquette (adab) should be observed at all times and visitors to the fair be admitted [into the Mosque] only at the discretion of the [Ottoman] representatives... No plays injurious to the honor and modesty of Muslim women or damaging to national honor and prestige are to be performed in close proximity to a ‘mosque’, as seen in the Egyptian exhibit at the Paris exhibition.<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>251</sup>L’Illustration, 6 July 1867. Cited in. Çelik, *Displayin the Orient*, p.35

<sup>252</sup> BOA.HR.SYS, nr.72/22 and BOA.Y.A.HUS, nr. 267/82

<sup>253</sup> Deringil, *Well Protected*, p. 155-156, BOA.Y. A. RES., 58/33. According to this contract:  
*Altıncı madde: Kumpanya ile sergi hey’eti beyninde müte’akkid mukâvele mücebince işbu çarşu civârında ve câmi’ tarzında inşâ edilecek binâ derûnunda sergide bulunacak ehl-i İslam’ın ibâdetleri teshîl edilecek ve âdâb ve erkân-ı İslâmiyye’ye tamamıyla ri’âyet olunarak seyircilerinin binâyı ziyâretleri husûsunda dahi komiserler tarafından lüzûmuna göre i’tâ olunacak ta’lîmâtı ri’âyet edilecektir,*

*Yedinci madde: Eliya Suhâmî ve Sadullah kumpanyası tarafından sergi idâresiyle akd eylediği mukâvele mücebince çarşu civârında inşâ edilecek tiyatro tarzındaki binalar derûnunda icrâ edilecek la’biyyât arasında muhadderât-ı İslâmiyye’ye müte’allik ve âdâb-ı milliye ve umûmiyeyi muhal mevâdd teşhîr olunmayacak ve haysiyet ve âdâb-ı memlekete mugâyır hâlât icrâ edilmeyerek bu husûsâtın kâffe-i teferrû’âtında ve kable’l-icrâ komiserlerin re’y ve fikrine mürâca’at olunacaktır*

#### 4.6 The Social Harmony and Ottoman Image as the Ideal Society

There was one more purpose on the agenda of Ottoman Empire which is to manifest social harmony and solidarity in a multi-ethnic Empire. For this issue, the Elbise Album is clarifying enough. The presentation way of costumes was a sign of social order and harmony, since the inhabitants of one location are grouped and photographed regardless of their social standing or occupation. By doing this, they achieved to depict a comprehensive and united picture of the diverse imperial groups. Moreover, the salient aspect of the Album is that Album was divided equally according to three divine religions. Their communities and leaders found a balanced place in the Albums. Together with Muslim community and its religious leader, representatives of Jewish and Christian communities from the various lands of Empire were photographed in group or individually. At this juncture, it should be noted that, starting from the mid-nineteenth century, the state started reforms which aimed to attach the ethnic and religious groups to the Empire under the central authority through legal rights. They aimed to convey a model of ideal society in which different groups were live by subordinating differences and adopting a supra-ethnic, supra religious sense of imperial and national unity.<sup>254</sup>

In addition to this, it was also possible to notice that there were quite a lot non-Muslim members of the Empire who were assigned for important duties like Leon Parville, Pierre Montani, Philip Anton Dethier and Marie de Launay. Especially in the art sections, almost all works belonged to non-Muslims.

Furthermore, it is also possible to see that Empire approved the displaying of items which represented Christianity and other religion. For example, we saw that in the official catalogue of the Philadelphia Exhibition in 1876, a non-Muslim, by name Ana Sebat from Jerusalem dispatched a tomb and a sepulcher of Christ, in mother of pearl to be displayed in the ceramic and decoration, the mosaic section.

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<sup>254</sup> Ersoy, *A Sartorial Tribute*, p.196



Figure 39 Greek, Muslim and Armenian men of religion from Konya



Figure 40 A hodja and a priest from Skodra



Figure 41 A Mevlevi dervish, a Bekhtashi dervish and a molla



Figure 42 Christian woman and man, and a Muslim woman from Beirut

#### 4.7 The Ottoman Image as an Empire with Ancient History

When it is examined the exhibits which were prepared systematically rather than the collected exhibits from different farmers or manufacturers randomly, it can be seen that there were many reference to the old history of the Ottoman Lands. To give an example, the publication of Salaheddin Bey namely *La Turquie à l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, discussed the displays and summarized the history of the Ottoman Empire and its participation in modern civilization through them. Moreover, the book was dedicated to Sultan Abdülaziz, whose visit to Exposition was compared to an act of the caliph Harun al-Rashid. “Harun al-Rashid, to acknowledge his friendship with the “greatest monarch of the Occident,” had sent him valuable presents. Now, at the invitation of the emperor of France, Abdülaziz was honoring France with his own presence.”<sup>255</sup> We also learn from the publication that the Empire sent cuneiform scripts which were translated and reproduced by Abdullah Bey. These cuneiforms were found in the Korsabad, Nimrut Tepe and sent to Mosul and then Istanbul respectively to display in the Paris Universal Exposition. Along with this archeological exhibit, there were also reconstruction drawings of five Byzantine monuments by P. A Dethier. These drawings covered the Dikilitaş which was dedicated to Apollo after Plataea War, Hebdomon which was constructed by Heraclius in 627, a Constantine column, *Yanık Sütun*, monument of Theodosius II and a plan of north part of the Walls of Constantinople.<sup>256</sup>

Moreover, the mentioned studies and many others were collected into a book for Vienna Exposition, 1873, the *Le Bosphore et Constantinople* by P. A. Dethier, who was the director of the Imperial Museum in Istanbul and also a member of the Ottoman commission of the exposition. The book emphasized the Istanbul’s Byzantine heritage and presented historical information about many Byzantine and Ottoman monuments in the city. It also provided a map illustrating the urban layout of the city at the time of Justinian I. As put by Ahmet Ersoy, “on a broader

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<sup>255</sup> Çelik, *Displaying Orient*, p. 39

<sup>256</sup> Salaheddin Bey, *La Turquie a l'exposition universelle de 1867*, (Paris, 1867), p. 151-152, in Turkish Salahaddin Bey, *Türkiye 1867 Evrensel Sergisi*, trans. Hakan Arca, (İstanbul : İstanbul Fuar Merkezi, 2008)

ideological level, the desire of the Tanzimat elite to portray the Ottoman Empire as a modern state that valued and preserved its non-Islamic cultural inheritance.”<sup>257</sup>

In addition to these preparations which were directly related about archeological heritage of the Empire, the other exhibits also underlined the history of the Empire’s land. The Elbise Album illustrates this issue clearly, because the authors of the Album was aimed one more thing in addition to its chief purpose. They wanted to point out the place and significance of the Ottoman regions in history. In order to demonstrate this, each section which deals with a specific province in the Elbise is supported by an introductory text which explains basic historical information about the region. The realities of the Ottoman world are associated to the pre-Ottoman past like Greco-Roman or ancient Mesopotamian past. Along with pre-Ottoman aspects, authors also attempted to highlight the substantial social and cultural transformations which were brought by centuries of the Seljuk and Ottoman rule. In other words, there was a growing desire to evoke a deeply rooted and inclusive sense of regional identity for the diverse Ottoman public by establishing a solid continuity with the ancient past.<sup>258</sup> To illustrate, Hamdi Bey started his discussion about native dress in Syria:

Great historical memories are in abundance in these rich countries, conquered in turn by the Phoenicians, the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans; [these countries] where the Ouran and the Bible—two books of peace, fraternity, and tolerance—have long served as a pretext for crusaders coming from all over the Occident and for Arabs who founded Islam to tear each other apart. [This continued] up until the Ottoman conquest contained by force [these] fanatical hatreds, which, on occasion, would reawaken.<sup>259</sup>

In conclusion, the references of the Ottoman Empire to the history of its lands apart from their dynastic history prove that the Empire was in search of a privileged place in the history of humanity like other Western nation-states. In other words, the Ottoman references to the old history in the international exhibitions revealed that Ottoman Empire attempted to display a historical heritage which was in common

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<sup>257</sup> Ersoy, *A Sartorial Tribute*, p. 190

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194

<sup>259</sup> Hamdi Bey and de Launay, *Les costumes populaires*, p. 258. Cited in Ussama Makdissi, “Ottoman Orientalism,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 107, No. 3 (June 2002): p.787



with the West. In addition to sharing this history, they also targeted to show their attempts in order to protect this heritage as a fundamental part of imperial property.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **CONCLUSION**

The international exhibitions of the nineteenth century were among the fundamental institutions of the nineteenth century. They affected the economic, social, political and cultural climate of the nineteenth century considerably. Almost all states from around the world, directly or indirectly, were affected by the exhibitions. The major aim of this thesis is to analyze the participation of one of these states which is the Ottoman Empire. Although there are important researches for the participation of the Ottoman Empire to the international exhibitions of the nineteenth century, they were generally focus on a particular exhibition and neglected the continuities in the participation of the Empire. In this thesis, I suggest that the participation of the Ottoman Empire to international exhibitions was a part of an entire representation policy. Since, the Ottoman Empire was striving to establish an accurate image of the Empire in the eyes of the international public at that period and therefore, the Empire determined a representation policy for international exhibitions in the direction of this aim which is to destroy the established clichés about the Ottoman Empire in the Western world.

To this aim, after the introduction part to be able to understand the exhibitions as spheres to display cultures, the differences between pre-industrial exhibiting practices and the exhibiting practices in the industrial age were discussed. What remained from this discussion was that the exhibiting the product is a long-standing commercial practice throughout the history. This practice was a tool to resolve problems of distribution and redistribution in pre-industrial age when the transportation facilities were limited for trade. The places where the producers displayed their goods provided an opportunity for the demonstration of skills and crafts, for the exchange of ideas and for bartering products by bringing together both supply and demand in certain places at certain times. In this way, the obstacles for trade could be overcome in the pre-industrial age. However, by the nineteenth century, exhibiting practices underwent a change by reason of the change in the

characteristics of trade. Thanks to the improvements in the transportation technologies, merchants did not need to commercial centers which were organized in certain times and places in the industrial age. On the other hand, the idea of exhibiting did not disappear; on the contrary, it was retained in different way. From that time onward, the “idea of exhibiting to sell” was replaced with the “idea of exhibiting to display” and the new “exhibitionary culture” of the nineteenth century emerged. In the following sections, this newly emerged fact was discussed. The exhibitions differentiated from the previous commercial centers and evolved to more comprehensive organizations in the course of the nineteenth century. In other words, the practice of exhibiting surpassed its commercial duty and international exhibitions of the nineteenth century appeared. What the novelty of these exhibitions was that they became the venues for the participant nations to display not only their commercial products but also their collective cultures, achievements, superiorities and identities through several commercial or non-commercial exhibits. In this evolution of the exhibitions, three major developments played a crucial role. For this reason, in this part, the peace period between 1815-1914 which was a necessity of the new economic structure, material progress which was the result of the technological improvements and the spread of colonialism were also emphasized as the determinants for the change of the exhibitions.

When it comes to the motives of the states in participating to the international exhibitions, it is seen that the aims differed from each other according to states’ economic, political and social structures. While a group of nations, including the Great Powers of the period namely England and France, aimed to use the exhibitions in the management of their relations with the citizens and their foundation of the modern nation-states, the other states, which cannot be categorized together with England and France, benefited from international exhibitions in different ways. In this sense, the participation of the Ottoman Empire as a non-Western, Muslim and a non-colonized state was unique.

In the Third and the Fourth Chapter, I have attempted to examine this process and uniqueness of the Empire. The main concern is to understand what the Ottoman Empire’s exhibition policy, which mentioned above, included. The exhibitions’ policy of the Empire included some key concepts in the representation of the Empire.

According to the policy, there were six principal key concepts. First, the exhibits of the Ottoman Empire should abstain from the “exotic” items which consolidated the established stereotypes about the Ottomans. For this reason, the Empire averted from objectionable exhibits and representations which reinforced the stereotypes of Ottoman in the Western world like dancing girls. Moreover, they prepared non-commercial and scholarly exhibits which reflect the Empire as a part of the civilized World. The *Les Costumes Populaires de la Turquie en 1873* and *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani* were two important non-commercial exhibits underlining the non-exotic features of the Empire. Second, exhibits should underline the modernization period of the Empire and explaining the progressive aspect of the Ottoman Empire to the international audiences. For this purpose, the photo albums showing the modernized facets of the Empire especially Westernized institutions were sent as exhibits to the international exhibitions. Third strategy was to reflect the Empire as the equal and prestigious actor of the league of “civilized nations”. For this purpose, the Ottoman commissions in the fairs endeavored to be present at all protocol rituals; even they were not familiar with these practices. The fourth strategy was to present Empire as the leader of the Islamic world but, at the same time, a member of the modern nations. The fifth strategy which the Empire determined for their self-representation in the international exhibitions of the nineteenth century was to present the solidarity among the population in a multi-ethnic Empire. They aimed to convey a model of ideal society in which different groups were lived by subordinating differences and adopting a supra-ethnic, supra religious sense of imperial and national unity. The last policy is to show the historical and cultural heritage of the lands of the Ottoman Empire. The Empire displayed a historical heritage which was shared with the West. To this end, the Empire sent some exhibits like cuneiform scripts, reconstruction drawings of five Byzantine monuments, Constantine column, *Yanık Sütun*, monument of Theodosius II and a plan of north part of the Walls of Constantinople.

In conclusion, it is possible to conclude that the Empire could achieve to see that the exhibitions were not only commercial centers but also platforms for self-representation. For this reason, the Empire determined an exhibition policy which included the above mentioned six items. On the other hand, such questions are waiting to be answered in another study. To what extent the Empire’s exhibition policy was successful to destroy the clichés about the prescribed perceptions of the

Ottomans in Western public? Could the Ottoman exhibits create the accurate “Ottoman image”?

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A

Introduction page of the Ottoman Empire in the official catalogue of the Exhibition.



NORTH SIDE, G. 40—42; H. 41, 42; I. J. 42.

Commissioner, EDWARD ZOHRAB, Esq. Inspector, Mr. C. M. MAJOR, at the Turkish Collection in the Building.

A COMPLETE knowledge of the commercial productions of the different countries contributing to the Exhibition, is essential to the full development of the views contemplated in the design, of giving to such countries the benefits of a mutual interchange of the latest results of improvements in the manufactures, and an insight of the processes and materials used in such manufactures. Turkey has for some years been considered as a non-industrial country, and as depending on foreign states, chiefly England, for the supplies of her annual large consumption of textile and other useful fabrics; but although naturally an agricultural country, the present Sultan is endeavouring to revive the manufactures which once existed, and by the introduction of new working establishments on a large scale, and at his own private cost, for the manufacture of broadcloth, silk, cotton, glass, and metal goods, is giving a fresh impetus to the industry of the country. Turkey, with the immense resources of the raw materials within her own territories, may, consequently, ere long, rely on the result of her home manufactures for much of her now required foreign supplies. Nothing so much conduces to the progress and prosperity of a country as the certain knowledge of the condition, prospects, and influences of the commercial policy of other countries with which that country may be in relation. Turkey has provided one of the surest means for this end, by sending into England, France, and Germany, many young men, who partly finish their education in these respective countries, and who thus become fitted to acquire a knowledge of the views of men of sound practical opinions on subjects of importance in manufacturing, political, and social matters. The knowledge thus obtained is of great value to these young men, not less so than that of the arts of ship-building, civil engineering, &c., which are in fact the more ostensible objects of their visiting foreign countries.

Amongst the contributions received from Constantinople will be found specimens of broad-cloth equal to some of our west of England manufacture, but this has been produced at a cost which precludes all ideas of competition with other countries on the important feature of cheap production. The same observation will apply to their cotton fabrics, and silk piece goods, in imitation of French stuffs, all of which can be manufactured in abundance, but at too great an expense at present to meet the means of the people at large. The improvement, however, in the article of raw silks may be mentioned especially, to prove that where encouragement is given to the energies of the people, in the way of remuneration for their skill, the result is manifest. Not fifteen years since, the silk imported into England was of low quality, badly reeled, hastily and dishonestly packed, and averaged in value about 9s. per lb., whilst within the last three years a new feature in the trade has been introduced, by the adoption of the improved French and Italian method of reeling, by several of the most influential firms; and the merits of the Broosa raw silk are now found to be equal to any silks brought to this market, and the consignments realize for fine ordinary qualities 14s. to 16s. 6d. per lb., whilst some of the finest have been sold within the last few months as high as 27s. per lb.

Should the manufacturers still be encouraged by a liberal policy on the part of the Turkish government, there is every reason to hope that Turkey may become a self-supplying country to a large extent in respect of the useful manufactures required also. In embroidery and articles of gorgeous work, common in Oriental states, Turkey has long stood pre-eminent; but the period has arrived when a display of more magnificence, although characteristic, is no longer accounted the test of a wealthy power. With regard to the facilities of communication with other countries for commercial purposes, Turkey stands in the position of one of the most favoured of nations, and her vast population spread over islands and on a continent margined with ports of safe and easy access to trading vessels, gives her the advantage of the ready supply of her own people with every required necessary from foreign powers, and admits of the greatest facility of exchanging her own natural productions so much required by others. The value of these will be appreciated on inspecting the list of articles enumerated in the present Catalogue, and which have been classed with as much care in the nomenclature, uses, and localities of production, as the limited time for the preparation of the work would admit.

6 F 3

Source: Robert Ellis, *Official descriptive and illustrated catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations*, vol.3 (London: Spicer Brothers: W. Clowes and Sons, 1851), p. 133

## APPENDIX B

List of articles published in the *Musavver Şikago Sergisi* <sup>260</sup>

Süleyman el-Bustânî, “Hüsn-i İbtidâ” (Beautiful Beginning) no.1, 1 June 1893, p. 1.  
Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Mukaddime: İzâh-ı Merâm” (Introduction: Explanation of Purpose) no.1, 1 June 1893, p. 2.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Ta’yîn-i Meslek” (Appointment of Job) no.1, 1 June 1893, pp. 2-3.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “İ’tizâr” (Apology) no.1, 1 June 1893, p. 3.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Amerika” (America) no.1, 1 June 1893, pp. 3-4.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Şikago” (Chicago) no.1, 1 June 1893, pp. 4-6.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Sergi” (Exposition) no.1, 1 June 1893, pp. 6-10.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Manzara-i Umûmiye” (General View) no.1, 1 June 1893, pp. 10-11.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Serginin Resm-i Küşâdı” (The Official Opening Ceremony of the Exposition) no.1, 1 June 1893, pp. 11-14.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Hakkı Bey Efendi Hazretleri” no.1, 1 June 1893, p. 14.

Süleyman el-Bustânî, “Kısm-ı Osmânî'nin Resm-i Küşâdı” (The Official Opening Ceremony of the Ottoman Village) no.1, 1 June 1893, pp. 14-16.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Sergi Nasıl Gidiyor?” (How is the Exposition Going?) no.2, 1 July 1893, pp. 18-19.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “İdâre-i Umûmiye” (The Public Administration) no.2, 1 July 1893, p. 19.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Kadınlar Da'iresi” (Women's Building) no.2, 1 July 1893, pp. 19-21.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Fahri Bey Efendi” no.2, 1 July 1893, pp. 21-22.

Süleyman el-Bustânî, “Dâire-i Osmâniye” (The Ottoman Pavilion) no.2, 1 July 1893, pp. 22-24.

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<sup>260</sup> Cafer Sarıkaya, *Celebrating Difference: 'Turkish Theatre' in the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893*, Unpublished MA Thesis, (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 2010)



Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Serginin Kusûrları” (Flaws of Exposition) no.3, 1 August 1893, pp. 26-27.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Ma‘mûlât-ı Sınâ‘iyye Dâiresi” (Manufactures Building) no.3, 1 August 1893, pp. 27-30.

Süleyman el-Bustânî, “Yangın” (Fire) no.3, 1 August 1893, pp. 31-32.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Cülûs-ı Hümâyûn” (The Accession of the Sultan to the throne) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, p. 33.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Şükranê-i Takdîr” (Giving Thanks) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, pp. 34-35.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Sergiye Bir Nazar” (A look at the Exposition) no.4- 6, 15 October 1893, pp. 35-37.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Midvey Plezans” (Midway Plaisance) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, pp. 37-40.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Nebze” (Particle) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, p. 40.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Yürür Yol” (Walking Way) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, pp. 40-41.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Rabida” no.4-6, 15 October 1893, pp. 41-42.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Kolomb'un Donanması” (The Navy of Columbus) no. 4-6, 15 October 1893, p. 42. 61.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Altun Fabrika” (Gold Factory) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, p. 42.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Havada Yürür Köprü” (Bridge Walking on Air) no. 4 6, 15 October 1893, pp. 42-43.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “24 Saat” (24 Hours) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, p. 43.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Eyâlât-ı Müttehide Cumhuriyeti Hazînesi” (Treasure House of the Republic of the United States) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, p. 43.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Yerkes Teleskobu” (The Yerkes Telescope) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, p. 43.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Meydân-ı Şeref” (The Square of Honor) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, pp. 43-48.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Fânûs” (Bell Glass) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, pp. 48-49.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Yüzgeç Araba” (The Swimmer Car) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, p. 49.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “1000 Târîh-i Mîlâdîsinde Amerika'nın Keşfi” (The Discovery of America in the 1000th Anniversary) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, pp. 49, 51.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Rayştag Meclisi” (The Assembly of Reichstag) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, p. 51.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Kaptan Androz'un Kotrası” (The Cutter of Captain Androz) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, pp. 51, 54.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Fil-i Mahmûdî” no.4-6, 15 October 1893, p. 54. 62

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Diplomat Baltası” (The Axe of a Diplomat) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, p. 54.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Dönme Dolap” (Ferris Wheel) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, pp. 54-56.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Alp Dağları” (The Alps) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, p. 56.

Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, “Altun Ma‘deni Ocakları” (The Ovens of Gold Mine) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, p. 56.

Süleyman el-Bustânî, “İhtâr” (Warning) no.4-6, 15 October 1893, p. 56.

APPENDIX C

The *Ceride-i Havadis* explaining the purpose of the Empire in exhibiting products in the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the products dated 24 Zilkade 1266 (September 1, 1850).

# جزئیات تجارت

روزنامه اخبار

روزنامه اخبار

روزنامه اخبار

سنه ۱۲۶۶

بازار آراسی

نومرو ۵۰۱

ذاتی ۲۴

و بادم و حارب یعنی یونانی و دهاسا تر یونانی قوری  
بشار و طولم یعنی یونانی و قشری سبزی و اور سبزی و قوری قیاق  
و بصدره و صوجق و جویز و بادلی و فندقلی صوجق  
و هرد لوبکمز و خردالبه و نارنگ و پال و میان بالی و میان بالی  
و طوزلی باقی و باقی و مورطسی و بسندیل و دومه و بسندیل  
و ترخاله و شور باقی و ترخاله و پوگور و بادمه و بلالوق رسته  
و دهاسا یونانی و لان قوش ذخیره ل بنک هرد لوستدن بررقیه  
مقداری کوندر به جکدر

صکسل باغی و عطر باغی و نعنغ باغی و پو بر به باغی  
و کلک باغی و اطسه جایی باغی و چچک باغی و چنلنوک  
باغی و بلین باغی و طفلان باغی و یونانی باغی یاغردن یوزدرهم  
مقداری کوندر به جکدر

قره کونک و قره کونک قوخی و قطران و زفت و جام سازنی  
و عادی سازنی و کورک و دها یونانی شیلردن باعشر قسه  
مقداری کوندر به جکدر

تره باغی و ساد باغ باغی و موم باغی و پال موی و زبانی  
و خشناش باغی و دها یونانی یاغردن بررقیه و یاوز  
درهم کوندر به جکدر

ضغ و بلامود و جام قوری و بیاض جلی و پشیل هانی  
و جهری و اشبوسریانی جهری و ال یونانی و جهور  
چچکی و جهوریه و کهر جله طاشی و قاله طاشی و کوز  
طاشی و زاج قریسی و پو یا بیلور طیارق و نفت باغی  
و بذری باغی و ابی کرج و باق طونفالی و چاروق طونفالی  
و اوکسه و دها کرک تانی و کرک معدنی پو یا بیون استعمال  
اولان و کرک میان کوی کبی معالجه بیون قولنیلان هرد لوب  
کوزکر و چچم کلردن بر رقیه و بائشنا سته کوه یوز درهم  
کوندر به جکدر

زیتون و کتان نخعی و کتوبر و دها یونانی باغ چچار بلان  
شیلردن بر رقیه مقداری کوندر به جکدر

الوان کوسسه و مشین و سختیان و کودری و ترشه و پو یا  
و پو یا بسز پوستکی و قیلان پوستنی و یونانی دریلردن بر  
و یا آبکشردانه کوندر به جکدر

انواع کورک مثلا نانه و وشاق و صاری و سمور و طولوشان  
دریسی و دلکی و چغقال و قوروت و صرینلان و بیان کدیسی  
و سا کسار و قوندوز و پور و صق و اندی و دها یونانی بکر  
دریلردن بر رطلوم و یا بر ردهانه کوندر به جکدر

انواع شال و جوقه و شالی و صوف و شتیاق و مینساقو  
و قطیفه و عبا و کبه و پوک کچمدن کینک و کلامود و تریندن  
چول و چوال و لینی قلندن چول و چوال و ایشله چوقه  
سجاد و طول قومه سجاد و کلیم و خالی و هکبه و طول بره  
و قوشاق و قولان و کز و دز کین و یولاز و چنطه و مشرفید  
و قلیغه و بیامه اومه دوسه زیندن بر طلم و ساسار زیندن

## تجارت داخلیه

کله جک سکر یوز الی برسنه میلادیه سنده لوندیده  
فتح و کشاد اوانه جق چارسو به وضع اوانوب خلفه اوانه  
قلنی بیون هر مملکت طرفسندن کوندر بدیگی تملو ممالک  
دولت علیه حاصلات ارضیه و صنایعیه سنک هر نو عدن  
بر مقدار ارسال تصحیم قلندینه منی حاصلات مذ کوره ک  
طول بلنسی بیون نافعہ تقاربت به بهیسی طرفسندن طشمس  
ما مولی نه ارسال اوانسان دفتک صورتیدر

یک سکر یوز الی برسنه عیسویه سی داری ابتدا سنده  
لوندیده افسوز بیون تمیر اولان بر یوک سکر کشاد  
اولسنه جق و اورایه قونلوب خلقه ارازا و لغتی بیون  
هر بر مملکت ارضیه و صنایعیه هر حاصل اولور ایسه جلب  
قلنه جق اولسندن طولانی ممالک و وسیعہ عثمانیه ممولات  
و محصولاتدن جق بر مقدار ارضی کوندر بلنسی خصوصه  
جسته اولان کاهه قرانچیه سی چنابلی طرفسندن و قوعبولان  
طلب اولور بنه منعلق و شرف صدور بیور بلان امر و فرمان  
اصابت نشان جناب نهاداری منعلق چلیسی و چوله  
ترتیب اولسان قوسسونه خاطر لره کلان بعض امتعه  
و اشیا تک اجناسی و انواعی منضعی د فتر بدیهه پروجهانی  
ذکر و بیان اولور

یکی طیارقدن چوقوب دها حال طیبیه بسنده یونان هرد لوب  
معدندن بر پارچه کوندر به جکدر

یکی طیارقدن چوقوب وار بدیلوب ایشین دها مال اولمامش  
هر در لوب معدندن بر پارچه کوندر به جکدر

یکی طیارقدن چوقوب وار بدیلوب و قال اولمش هرد لوب  
معدندن بر پارچه کوندر به جکدر

زیناره معدنی و بوطه طیارقی معدنی و تیاشر معدنی و کهر چله  
معدنی و کهر طیارقی و توشادره معدنی اولوب بی و چوملکی  
جاموری طیارقی و چوراق و دها سار یونانی عمال شاقی و معدنی  
شیلردن بر پارچه کوندر به جکدر

ریخ و بقای وار به و مصر بقای و نخود و قصولیه و بنله  
پومر چک و یوز چاق و چاودار و خشناش و سبام و خردال  
و پوکریه داری و یولاف و ماش و دها سار یونانی بکر  
حسبوبات ما کوله و مزر و عسه دن بر رقیه مقداری  
کوندر به جکدر

وزانی اونی و سیاه اونی و بکر چله اونی و چکر کسرا اونی  
و قوش اونی و انجیر و خرما و کسه نانه و فندق و قسندق  
و ارک و ارمود و قیسی قوری لری و سوشنه قوری سی و جوز

بر پستال و یوز طوب و یاخود بردانه کوندر به جکدر  
جانفس و ایکی و بموقلی لاجه و قسندق و بیله زار و بموق بزی  
و حررکاری که مملکت بز و اینه و قالین هرد لوب زار و قبا و اینه  
و خاص مجسم بصحه منی و بصحه منی و یوزغان و یصلق  
یوز لری و بلدی بنای و یصلق یوز لری و تملی و ایکی تملی  
قوشاق و خاص ایکی قوشاق و کزی و شتاری و اجدیه  
دستاری و اجدیه ذکر بش اوز تومی و حکم و مساوی  
ودها یونانی منسوجاتدن بردانه و یوز طوب  
کوندر به جکدر

بر بر طافری و جام طافری و قوطا و پیشکیر و پستال و ال  
پیشکیری و ایدست حواری و صحرما و یاغلق و مندیبل و جوره  
و اوچقور و کسه و سفره بزی و پیشکیری و ایکی و بموقلی  
هر در لوب جارشف و بنای باغی و ایشله ایلیکی لاجه سی  
و صرمعی و باساده هر در لوب مشاحلر و الوان صارقق و تیبیه  
و چوراب و دها سار تر یونانی کرک زانه و کرک ارکله  
مخصوص اولان شیلرک هرد لوب سندن بر طلم و یوز طوب  
یاخود بر و آبکشردانه کوندر به جکدر

خرما پراغندن و فامش و ساز اوات و سوک دالی و صمان  
مشلوب شیلردن اولره و یا بله و قبا و اینه حصیر و سید  
و سجاد و بلایه و مستکک و یونانی بکر و شیلردن بردانه  
کوندر به جکدر

بر پشم و ایش و بیکه و بیکه و الوان بموق ایلیکی و کتان ایلیکی  
و اورغان و ایش و کتوبر و ساز اولدن یا بله ایش و یوک ایش  
و حلاط و قیطان و شرید و نایب و صابون و کز و ایش باغی  
وله قلاباندن شرید و قیطان و او یا و هرد لوب البسه خرسی  
و قولان و هر در لوب معدن تلارندن بر رقیه و یا بر طوب  
و یاخود بر ردهانه کوندر به جکدر و ایش و منسوجاتدن اولان  
هر بر شیلرک یا بلدی شیلرک خاملری مثلا ایش قوزه سی  
و بموق و کتان و کتوبر و یوک و یاغی و نفتک و دونه و یوک و دونه  
قوشی اونی و یونانی شیلردن یونانی تریه و اوانوب و پو یا  
و یاخود ساده بیاض حاضر توبه و کر بلوب ایش طوقومه سی  
قالمش اولان شیلردن بر رقیه کوندر به جکدر

مسندال افنجی و پشم افنجی و وار دج افنجی و شمشاد  
و سری و دها یونانی کوزل قوقولو و معتبر افنجی لردن  
و اینه اخشا بنک هر چنسندن بر ارشون مقداری  
کوندر به جکدر

ایلیکی طاشی و کوسره طاشی و بلنسی طاشی و صماکی طاش  
و مرم طاشی و کرج طاشی و قوره طاشی و دها طاش لردن  
بعضا یونانی اصنی نامعلوم الوان و تحف طاش شیلرک  
هر در لوب سندن بر و یا آبکشردانه کوندر به جکدر  
کوندر به جکدر

التون و کوش و ساسار معنیاندن مصنوع کرک زان و کرک

Hakkı Tanık Us Koleks

برلیدی هم و تحریب همش بود و همه بره و رفتند  
دارالحکومت منعمس اودینی کی روز با حکومتی در حال  
انگله اموال و سیاسی اوزرینه فوق العله اخر برک  
وضع ابله بالضرور انگلستان اورا چه تجارتی کسلس  
ایسه ده ماده بوقدر ابله قابله جتی معلومدر

امر بفالک جهت شمالیه سنده کاش (قونکینک) جمهوری  
قریلندن بدینوز نفوسى جامع اولان برقریه ده بک سکر  
یوز ایکی سته میلادیه سندن سندی بدکن یعنی فرق سکر  
سنه دنیور برکسه فوت اولماش ابله وکی عزته لده  
کور لمشدر

یونانده بق اولندی اوزره مکسبتهای جدید الکاسنه  
تکسلس جمهوری طرفندن اطالیه دست تسلط واقع  
اولوب حالو که انکای مذکور ممالک مجتمعه امر بفالک  
بدین سنجیده دکن بخاربات واقعه ده وده هاسا اثر کانه خزینه  
حکومتدن یوز بکرمی ددت ملیون اوتوز بک اوجیوز  
الی ش بیق ربال صرف اولادن ماعدا ایشیک بشیوز  
نفری بیروج اولوب مؤخرافوت اولتی واون ایکیک  
بدینوز سکسان سکر نفری در حال وفات اینک اوزره بخاربات  
واقعه دن ناشی اون سکر بک اوجیوز بکی نفراد تلف  
اولوب بونلر و فاتیله سنده سنده خزینه مذکور بیه بیش اوج  
ملیون ایکیوز ایشیک عدد ربال ضرری طوقه فاعده بیوتوب  
یوز دیر ایله وادم تلفیه قرائلی اولان ملکته الحاله هده  
تکسا سلولک ال اوزر تسمی هیچ بوجهه اویه مبه جتی  
کوسترمک اوزره بوکره امر بقا مجلسنده پرورفته  
اوقومتدر

بیدین سکر طوقه سته اول اوستر با تبعه سندن بریسی  
عسکره البوب جالبوکه بو کسنه اولی اولمغه زوجه سنک  
دخی شین دجه تویه ده اولاد یغندن بر دلو افر قتمه نهم  
ایله میوب و سوسی ارتک یافتنه کربوب بر طرفین بولهرق  
زوجه سنک بار دینی الایه کر مش و هیچ کسنه وقف  
اولمده بی حاله سندی به دکن بیکده اولوب جتی کیک  
بجر عوغاریده بولمشلر و هر سوم حریف یوز باشیله  
جیقوب نوجده سوسی دخی ملایه ک رتبه سنه ارتقا ایش  
ایسه ده کولره وضع جلی ایدلرک پارکک چو جتی دنیایه  
ککش و طوبویر مامق بیاره سنن دخی بولممش اولمسه  
بر مفعدر معاش شخص بیه عسکر لکن اخراج  
اولمشدر

تیار دخاله فاضل اولمده اسوجلی بقرک صداسی بک مؤثر  
وجانسون اولمندن وقت موسسه تویه دخی مهارت نامه  
وطیبه ک کالمه سی بولممشندن پرمشده اولمده مبه کسنه

### اعلان

ز بک یوقوشی باشنده جینیلی حجام فارشونده حطب  
انبساری، مأمور زدن اشرف افسند بک خانه سی  
دردت اوطه حرم بر اوطه سلالمتی و بر مطبخ و ایکی  
یوز ارشون مقداری باغچه و بر صوفی سی اولدینی حاله  
تختینا بکرمی ایکیک بشیوز غرونده قدر و بر بله جکی

ایزون چار شوباشنده ابراهیم پاشا جامی قرشوسنده  
حرمده الت و وست لی اوطه و حجام و کار کبر مطبخ  
و دفعه ایکی صندق اوطه سی و مخزن و سلالمقه اوج  
اوطه و پارم ماسورا صومسار بونی مشتمل و جوانی ایینه دن  
شالی و هر طرفه نظارتی شامل اولان قوناق صاتیق  
اولوب استنکالی ایینه بولان ادمل کردیره جکی

جبال قیوسنده سور بقوز جمله سنده سلالمقه ایش اوطه  
وفات فانت باغچه و حوض و مایه لذیذ و ایکی بیوک اخور  
و اوج مخزن و ایکی طاش اولمه و حرمده الت و وست  
سکر اوطه سی اولان مرم حوم عارف انانک قوناق صاتیق  
اولوب استنکالی اولملری ایینه بولان لک کردیره جکی

سلطان یازید چوارنده ملو شاش طاشنده سداوز رنده  
کاش حرمده اوست فاندت ددت اوطه بریسی مابین  
اوطه سی و لقا فاند ایکی اوطه و بر پاشکال اوطه سی  
و بر اوق حجام و لسته کار کبر مخزن و بر مطبخ و طاشلی  
سوی و د لایل قسبو و ایکی کیلار و بر صومسار حرمه سی  
و بر مقدار باغچه و سلالمقه اورته فاند ایکی اوطه  
و لقا فاند بر اوطه و بر واسع قفوش و اوطه قری دریا  
فار شو و غایت نظارتی و فار شو سنده اولان زده ایکی  
اوطه و ایش حبوبان السور اخور و صمالتن و کبر شامیر  
انباری و ایکی عربه اولدیمجل و واسع حوا و بر مقدار  
اجفالق ایله صوفیوسی و کار کبر و اسع مخزن و اوزرند  
سلالمتی مطبخی و لان قوناق صاتیق اولوب ایش لیشک  
غرونده طوغری و بر بله جکی و بازار ایی بایزیده کاغد  
چیلرک الت باشنده کاغده بی شریف فاندیله اوله جتی

اورته قطعه تجوری قبر السنی باشنده عربه چکر و بیکه  
کاسور بر بار کبر صانتسک اولوب بیک غرونده قدر  
و بر بله جکندن اشرف اسنی طالب اولان مجلسی مرقوم  
شریف فاندین سؤل ایله سی

افردیسی کدوچ بکی خانده حاجی اوغلو رفائل ابله  
اوله جتی

کک پاشا فر بنده امین سنان جمله سنده مرم قهوه بی پاشی  
علی افانک قوناقی حرمده التی اوطه و سکر یوز ارشون  
مقداری باغچه و حوض و فرق چشمه اولمی اوزره  
بر ماسورا صومسار بوند صومسار سی و کبر مطبخ و حجام  
وسلا ملقه ایکی اطه و اخور و سبیس اوطه سی و صمالتن  
و بر چشمه و بیش ارشون قدر باغچه و سازه بی شامل اولدینی  
حالمده صمالتن اولوب بازار ایی ایینه اوقورا نلر ایله  
اوله جتی

کدوچ ایصوفیه جوارنده جذدی میدانته ناظر سلالمقه  
الت اوست پدی اوطه و کبر صغه و ایکی مابین و بیش التی  
حسبوان اولر اخور و صمالتن و باغچه سنده بر کوشک  
و بر حوض و حرمده دخی اون اوطه و کبر صغه و متعدد  
کیلار و بر کوزل حجام و ایکی مطبخ و حرمه باغچه سنده طاش  
اوطه و مخزن و بر وجهه ایکی اوطه ایله بر صغه بی مشتمل  
دازه سی و هر فاند ماه جاریسی اولان بر باب کبر قوناق  
صاتیله جتی و ایجاره دخی و بر بله جک اولوب استنکالی  
مذکور کدوچ ایصوفیه جمله سی اما ای فندی کردیره جکی  
و بازار ایی اوله جتی عللی دخی کوستره جکی

بک قوز جوارنده قوناق دره نام محله عیدی بک زوجده سی  
عائشه خانمک اوج صغه و کبر بر کوشک و بر اوطه  
و تختانی دردت اوطه و حجام و کار کبر و مطبخ و ایکی  
صمراج و صومسار سی و بر اخور و صمالتن و مشیمبا اوتوز  
دوغم ملک باغ و انواع شجار میوه دار و ایکی قطعه کبر باغ  
و بر قطعه بیوک باغچه و سازه بی شامل اولان معزلی صاتیق  
اولدینی اعلان اولمشدر

امر بقا کاری اولق اوزره و چرچوبوسی معون افان چندن  
معمول بولتی اوزره بیوک و کدوچک غایت اعلایینه لری بکرمی  
ایش غر و شدن یوز انبشرف غر و شه قدر غلطه ده بجه شنبه  
بازارنده غلا و اینک خانده اون بشنی نومر ده سی معازده  
صانمغه ایدوی

بک اولمشنده واقع بازار خانه فارشوسنده کاش (پهدرو)  
نام بجه بیک دکانده مفر و شات بیدیه داتر اور و پاممولاتی  
اولق اوزره بک چوق شی بولمده بی و بار سدن جلب اولمش  
اون ایکی نفر دوشنه جتی دخی اولوب طلب اولمده بی  
صورنده مناسب اجرت ایله قوناق ایله بالبری دوشنه  
بیه جکلری اعلان اولمشدر

## APPENDIX D

### Tezin Türkçe Özeti

İlk örnekleri, on dokuzuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Avrupa’da görülmeye başlanan uluslararası sergiler, dönemin ekonomik, sosyal, politik ve kültürel yapısını etkileyen önemli kurumlardır. Elli yıllık bir süre (1850-1900) içinde başta Avrupa olmak üzere dünyanın çeşitli şehirlerinde yüz üç adet uluslararası sergi düzenlenmiştir. Tam da bu sebeple, on dokuzuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısı, Batı Dünyası için uluslararası sergiler <sup>261</sup> dönemi olarak adlandırılabilir. İlk örneği 1851 yılında İngiltere’de görülen sergiler, elli yıllık dönem içinde Kuzey Amerika ve Avrupa’nın birçok kentine yayıldı. Bu kentler arasında Viyana, Paris, Chicago ve Philadelphia fuarlara ev sahipliği yapan en önemli kentler olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Eric Hobsbawm’ın tanımlamasıyla ekonomi ve sanayideki zaferleri kutlama amacıyla ortaya çıkan sergiler “Batının kendini alkışladığı yeni ve büyük ayinler” olarak on dokuzuncu yüzyıl Avrupa’sında yerini aldı. Uluslararası sergilerin ortaya çıkması dönemin ekonomik düzenindeki dönüşümle doğrudan alakalıydı. Buna göre yüzyılın ilk yarısında sanayileşme sanayi ürünleri için gerekli olan pazardan çok daha hızlı şekilde büyümüş ve ortaya bu ürünler için gerekli olan daha geniş bir pazar ihtiyacı ortaya çıkmıştı. Pazar ihtiyacına ek olarak, daha yoğun üretim için gerekli olan hammadde ihtiyacı da dönemin çözülmesi gereken sorunlarındandı. Uluslararası sergiler bu açıdan bu yeni ekonomik düzene pazar ve hammadde arzının sağlandığı ticari merkezlerdi. Fakat ekonomik düzendeki değişimlerden kaynaklanan hammadde ve pazar arayışı uluslararası sergilerin ortaya çıkmasına sebep olan yegâne faktör değildi. On dokuzuncu yüzyıl Avrupa’sındaki iktisadi dönüşümle beraber bu iktisadi dönüşümün sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan yüzyıllık barış dönemi ve sömürgecilik uluslararası sergilerin ortaya çıkmasında önemli rol oynadı.

Bu tez çalışmasında ilk olarak, uluslararası sergilerin ortaya çıktığı dönemdeki bu üç önemli gelişme ile uluslararası sergiler ilişkilendirilmiş ve on dokuzuncu yüzyılda ortaya çıkmaya başlayan modern ulus devletinin bu fuarları ekonomik amaçlar dışında nasıl kullandıkları anlatılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu doğrultuda fuarlar sadece ticari

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<sup>261</sup> Dünya Fuarları ya da Dünya Sergileri şeklinde de adlandırılabilir.

ilişkilere ev sahibi olan ve uluslararası ticaretin gelişmesine katkı sağlayan ticari merkezler olarak değil, aynı zamanda on dokuzuncu yüzyıl Avrupa'sının modern ulus-devletinin çeşitli politik amaçlar doğrultusunda araçsallaştırdığı mekânlar olarak da görülmüştür.

İkinci olarak ise on dokuzuncu yüzyılın modern ulus-devlet kategorisi altında olmayan ve çok uluslu bir imparatorluk olan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun uluslararası sergilere katılım amacı incelenmiştir. Bu bağlamda sergilere katılımdaki amacın ilk birkaç organizasyonda ekonomik amaçlar taşıdığı fakat uluslararası sergilerin yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi ticari merkez olma özelliğini aştığı fark edildikten sonra bu sergilerden beklentinin Osmanlı Devleti'nin ve toplumunun doğru şekilde temsil edilmesi ve tanıtılması olarak değiştiği görülmüştür. Daha ayrıntılı şekilde bakacak olursak, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu sergileri uluslararası alandaki imajını değiştirme, düzenleme ve kontrol edebilmesine katkı sağlayabilecek alanlar olarak görmüştür. Selim Deringil, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun sergilere katılımını da bu dönemde yoğun şekilde katıldığı diğer uluslararası kongreler gibi içinde bulunduğu uluslararası meşruiyet krizinin temsil edilme aracılığıyla çözülmesi çabasının bir parçası olarak görür. Bu noktada Deringil, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun uluslararası sergiler döneminde imajlarıyla ilgili saplantılı denilebilecek bir durumda olduklarını ve sergilerin tam da bu noktada doğru bir imaj sergilenmesi açısından faydalı birer kitle iletişim mekânı olarak görüldüğünü belirtir.<sup>262</sup> Bu tezde, Osmanlı Devleti'nin elli yıllık süreçte uluslararası fuarlara gönderdiği ticari olmayan sergi ürünleri incelenerek bu temsil edilme stratejisinin ne gibi kavramları içerdiği ya da içermediği görülmeye çalışılmıştır. Araştırmada ele alınan temel konular ve bölümler aşağıda özetlenmiştir.

### **Sanayi Öncesi Sergileme Pratikleri ve On Dokuzuncu Yüzyıl Uluslararası Sergileri'nin Ortaya Çıkışı**

Tarih boyunca ticaret hayatına yön veren en önemli faktörlerden biri, pazar ve panayır gibi üreticilerin üretimlerini sergiledikleri ticaret merkezleri kurulması alışkanlığıdır. Bu durum, çeşitli şekillerde ve isimlerde hem Doğu dünyasında hem de Batı dünyasının ekonomik hayatında çok önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Önemli

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<sup>262</sup> Selim Deringil, *İktidarın Sembolleri ve İdeoloji: II. Abdülhamid Dönemi (1876-1909)*, trans. by Gül Çağalı Güven, (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2014)

farklılıklarına rağmen pazar, panayır ya da fuar olarak adlandırılan ticari merkezler en genel anlamıyla arz ve talebin belirli zaman ve mekânlarda bulunduğu yerlerdir. Aynı zamanda ekonominin ticarete dayandığı ve ulaşım teknolojilerinin yeteri kadar gelişmediği endüstri öncesi dönemde arz ve talebi aynı zamanda bir araya getirmesi açısından da vazgeçilmez merkezlerdir. Fakat ulaşım teknolojisinin oldukça geliştiği bir dönem olan on dokuzuncu yüzyılda üretimin sergilendiği merkezler organize etme pratiğinin devam etmesi dikkat çekicidir. Bu dönemde sergileme fikri şekil ve amaç değiştirmiştir. On dokuzuncu yüzyıl sergileri bu açıdan sadece ticaret merkezleri olarak devam etmemiş, dönemin koşullarının da etkisiyle aynı zamanda kültürel ve politik bir hal almıştır. Şöyle ki; sergiler bütün on dokuzuncu yüzyıl dünyasını katmanlaşmış bir güç ilişkisine göre gözler önüne seren merkezler haline gelmiştir.<sup>263</sup>

Bu sergilerin ilki 1851 yılında İngiltere'nin Londra kentinde Fransız ulusal sergilerinin krizde olan Fransız ekonomisine katkısının görülmesiyle düzenlenmeye başlanmıştır. İngiltere tarafından uluslararası hale getirilmiştir. Londra'dan sonra 1855 ve 1867 yıllarında Paris, 1873 yılında Viyana, 1876 yılında Philadelphia, 1878 ve 1889 yıllarında Paris, 1893 yılında Chicago ve 1900 yılında Paris uluslararası sergilere ev sahipliği yapmıştır.

### **Barış Dönemi ve Uluslararası Sergiler**

Barış kavramı ve uluslararası sergiler iki açıdan ilişkilidir. Birincisi sergilerin ortaya çıktığı dönem aynı zamanda Avrupa'da görülen yüzyıllık barış dönemine denk düşmektedir ve devletlerarası sistemde savaşın yerini kontrollü bir rekabet alanı olarak almıştır. Çünkü devletler endüstriyel ve teknolojik kapasitelerini ve başarılarını bu sergilerde tüm dünyaya sunarak diğer devletler karşısındaki üstünlüklerini gözler önüne seriyordu. İkincisi ise barış sergilerde sıkça kullanılan bir retoriktir. Buna göre sergiler, insan aklının ve çabasının savaş dışında bir amaç için kullanıldığı takdirde neler üretilebileceğinin görüldüğü mekânlar olarak uluslararası barışa katkı sağlayacaktır.

### **Maddi ilerleme ve Uluslararası Sergiler**

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<sup>263</sup> Zeynep Çelik, *Şarkın Sergilenişi: 19. Yüzyıl Dünya Fuarlarında İslam Mimarisi*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2005), p.3

Üretim teknolojilerinin ilerlemesiyle ortaya çıkan üretim artışı beraberinde hammadde ve pazar arayışını da getirmiştir. Uluslararası sergiler bu açıdan uluslararası serbest ticarete katkı sağlayarak ve devletlerin doğal kaynakları ve hammaddelerinin tanıtımını yaparak dönemin ekonomik gereksinimlerine cevap veren kurumlar olmuşlardır. Ayrıca bilimsel ilerlemenin de çok açık şekilde sergilendiği mekânlardır. Buhar makinesi, dikiş makinesi, telefon, monoray sistemi ve denizaltı elektrik kablosu gibi birçok teknolojik yenilik uluslararası sergilerde ilk kez tanıtılmıştır.

### **Yeni Emperyalizm ve Uluslararası Sergiler**

Barış dönemi ve maddi ilerlemenin dışında, uluslararası sergilerle ilişkilendirilebilecek diğer gelişme ise on dokuzuncu yüzyılda ortaya çıkan yeni emperyalizmdir. Sergilerin başlangıç yılları, İngiltere ve Fransa gibi devletlerin denizaşırı yayılcılıklarıyla aynı dönemdir ve bu sömürgeci devletler sergileri iki amaç doğrultusunda kullanmışlardır. Birincisi, sömürgelerden gelen hammaddenin fuarlarda sergilenmesi ulusal kamuoyuna sömürgeci devletin gücünü ve kaynaklarının zenginliğini gösteriyordu. İkinci olarak ise sömürgeci hareketlerin temel motivasyonu olan “ırklar” arası hiyerarşinin var olduğuna ilişkin anlayış, sergilerde de sömürgelerden gelen insanların da sergilenmesiyle yer bulmuştur.

Bu üç gelişme uluslararası sergilerin özgün şeklini almasında önemli rol oynadı ve bir uluslararası sergi düzenlemek on dokuzuncu yüzyıl devletleri için vazgeçilmez bir durum oldu. Bu noktada, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu için sergilerin ne ifade ettiğine geçmeden önce, bu tezin giriş kısmında değinilen on dokuzuncu yüzyıl uluslararası sergilerine ilişkin teorik çerçeveden de bahsetmek gereklidir. Maurice Roche *Mega-Events and Modernity Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture*<sup>264</sup> başlıklı çalışmasında modernite ile Expo ve Olimpiyat Oyunları gibi büyük uluslararası organizasyonlar<sup>265</sup> arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamaya çalışır. Roche'ye göre bu tip büyük organizasyonlar üç açıdan modern devlet ve toplum açısından önemlidir. İlk aşamada kişisel seviyede önemlidir; çünkü büyük organizasyonlar insanlara bir zaman algısı sunar ve kişilere kendi hayat hikâyeleri açısından önemli

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<sup>264</sup> Maurice Roche, *Mega-Events and Modernity Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture*, (London: Routledge, 2003)

<sup>265</sup> Roche bu uluslararası büyük organizasyonları “*Mega Events*” şeklinde tanımlar.



bir nokta verir. İkinci seviyede, uluslararası büyük organizasyonlar bir ulusun hikâyesi açısından da önemlidir çünkü bu organizasyonlarda bir ulusun kolektif bir imajı ve başarı hikâyesi sunulur. Üçüncü nokta ise, Olimpiyat Oyunları ya da Expo gibi büyük organizasyonların moderniteyle ilişkisi kişisel ve ulusal bağlamın dışında aynı zamanda modern uluslararası kültürle de ilgilidir. Bu organizasyonlar on dokuz ve yirminci yüzyıl kültürel ve sosyal ortamını etkilemiştir. Sergiler hem ulusal hem uluslararası toplumda oldukça popüler olmuş ve müzeler, sanat galerileri ve tema parklar gibi günümüz kültürel yaşamının da parçası olan kurumların ortaya çıkmasını sağlamıştır. Maurice Roche dışında Eric Hobsbawm da uluslararası sergilerin on dokuzuncu yüzyıl devleti tarafından politik amaçlar doğrultusunda kullanılan yerler olduğunu vurgular. Hobsbawm, uluslararası sergileri icat edilmiş geleneklerden biri olarak görür. Fransa özelinde incelediği sergileri, on dokuzuncu yüzyılda ortaya çıkan toplumsal birlikteliği ve kimliği ifade etmek ve toplumsal ilişkileri yapılandırmak amacıyla yeni araçlara duyulan ihtiyaca verilen bir cevap olarak görür. Uluslararası sergiler ve Bastille Günü gibi halka açık kamusal törenlerin icadı, Fransız halkına ulus olma bilincini taşıyordu. Sergilerin bir diğer getirisi ise Fransa'ya küresel sömürgecilik meşruiyeti veriyor oluşuydu.<sup>266</sup> Üçüncü önemli çalışma ise Tony Bennett'in "*The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*" başlıklı çalışmasıdır. Bennett bu çalışmasında müzeler özelinde on dokuzuncu yüzyıl sergilerinin de modern devletin vatandaşları üzerindeki gücünü göstermek için kullandığı alanlar olduğunu savunur. Bennett analizini Foucault'un iktidar ve bilgi görüşüne dayandırır. Ona göre diğer tüm Viktoryan kurumlar gibi sergiler de hapisane ve akıl hastaneleriyle aynı dönemde ortaya çıkmış ve aynı amaca hizmet etmişti ki bu amaç yeni ortaya çıkan şehirli orta sınıfı disipline etmektir.

### **Uluslararası Sergiler ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu**

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, uluslararası sergilere katılmaya 1851 Londra Sergisiyle başlamış ve yüksek ulaşım maliyetleri sebebiyle katılamadığı 1853 New York Sergisi dışındaki bütün önemli sergilere katılmak konusunda ısrarcı davranmıştır. Öte yandan, 1878 ve 1889 Paris Sergileri ise Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun resmi olarak katılmadığı, bunun yerine bireysel katılımcıları desteklediği iki önemli

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<sup>266</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, "Seri Üretim Gelenekler: Avrupa, 1870-1914," in *Geleneğin İcadı* ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, trans. By Mehmet Murat Şahin (İstanbul: Agora Kitaplığı, 2006), p. 305-356

sergidir. Yukarıda bahsedildiği gibi, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun fuarlara katılımı ilk aşamada ekonomik amaçlarla açıklanabilir. İmparatorluğun sergilere katılım amacı 24 Zilkade 1266 tarihli Ceride-i Havadis gazetesinde yer almıştır. Buna göre İmparatorluğun sergiye katılım amaçlarından biri ülke topraklarının verimliliğini göstermekti ve buna uygun olarak genelde tarım ürünleri ve hammaddelerin Londra'ya gönderildiği görülebilir. Fakat İmparatorluğun sergilere katılma tecrübesi arttıkça sergilenecek ürünlerin seçimindeki titizlik dikkat çekecek boyuttadır. 1851 Londra Sergisini izleyen diğer sergilerde İmparatorluk sergilenecek doğal kaynak ve tarımsal ürünlerinin yanına aynı zamanda İmparatorluğun kültürünü de tanıtan dikkatlice hazırlanmış *Elbise-i Osmaniyye Albümü* ve *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani* isimli kitap gibi bazı sergi ürünleri de eklemiştir.

Bu tezin üçüncü bölümünde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun 1851-1900 yılları arasında katıldığı dokuz uluslararası sergiye ayrıntılı olarak değinilmek amaçlanmıştır. Bu sebeple sergi katalogları incelenmiş ve detaylı bilgiler verilmiştir. Tezin dördüncü kısmında ise çalışmanın asıl amacı olan ticari olmayan ve Osmanlı'nın kültürel kimliğini sergileyen sergi materyalleri incelenerek Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun bu temsil sırasında ne gibi kavramlara referans verdiği incelenmiştir. Buna göre, tezin dördüncü bölümünde ayrıntılı olarak görülebilecek olan materyaller incelendiğinde, İmparatorluğun altı temel ilke doğrultusunda bu temsil politikasını oluşturduğu görülebilir. Birinci ilke, Batı'da Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ya da daha geniş anlamda Doğu'ya ilişkin yerleşik şekilde bulunan klişelerden biri olan egzotik Doğu imajından uzaklaşmasıdır. Bu amaçla İmparatorluk, sergilere bilimsel şekilde hazırlanmış ve Osmanlı toplumunu tarafsız ve bilimsel şekilde tanıtan iki önemli kitabı sergi materyali olarak göndermiştir. Bunlar 1873 Viyana Sergisi için hazırlanan *Elbise-i Osmaniyye Albümü* ve *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani* isimli iki önemli çalışmadır. Buna ek olarak İmparatorluk Egzotik dans eden Doğulu kadın klişesinden bütün sergiler boyunca uzak durmaya çalışmıştır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun kültürel temsilindeki ikinci ilke, Doğu'ya ilişkin bir diğer klişe olan sabit, gelişmeyen, durağan ve ahistorik Doğu algısını kırmak ve İmparatorluğun içinden geçtiği modernleşme sürecini Batı'ya göstermektir. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, İmparatorluk 1893 Chicago sergisi için 1819 fotoğraftan oluşan elli bir adet fotoğraf albümünü sergiye göndermiştir. Sergilenecek fotoğrafların büyük bir kısmı Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Batılılaşan eğitim ve askeri kurumlarına aittir ve özellikle

Oryantalist sahnelerden kaçınılmıştır. Ayrıca eğitim gören kızların fotoğrafları ve Fatma Aliye Hanım'ın üç adet eserinin sergilenmesi de eğitim imkânından uzak kalmış ve harem parçası olarak sunulan Osmanlı kadını imajının kırılması açısından önemlidir. Fotoğraf albümlerine ek olarak, sergilerdeki Osmanlı bölümlerinde yeniçeri kostümlerinin ve güncel askeri kostümlerin sergilenmesi de değişen Osmanlı algısını yaratma çabası açısından önemli gelişmelerdir. Üçüncü olarak Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Batı ülkeleriyle eşit ve “medeni ulusların” bir parçası olarak tanınma çabasını uluslararası sergilerde de devam ettirmiştir. Bu amaçla sergilerdeki protokol törenlerindeki konumuna dikkat etmiş ve eşit ve saygın bir İmparatorluk olarak temsil edilmek için çaba sarf etmiştir. Örneğin 1893 Chicago Sergisi'nde her ülkenin ulusal bir kutlama günü olduğunu gördükten sonra Sultan'ın tahta çıkış gününü *yevm-i mahsus* olarak kutlamaya karar vermişlerdi. Buradan da görülebileceği üzere, Osmanlı Devleti Batılı Devletlerin takip ettiği sembol ve ritüelleri dikkatle izlemiş ve uygulamaya çalışmıştır.<sup>267</sup> Osmanlı Devleti'nin temsil politikasını oluşturan bir diğer unsur İmparatorluğun İslami karakterini de vurgulamak fakat bunu İslam'ın lideri konumunda olan bir devlet olarak sunma çabasıydı. Bu yüzden dönemin bütün uluslararası sergilerinde bir cami inşa edilmesi gelenek haline gelmişti. Bu camiler sergileri ziyaret eden ziyaretçilerin kullanımına da açık şekilde inşa edilmişti. Buna ek olarak Osmanlı Devleti, Chicago sergisindeki Osmanlı bölümünü inşa etmek üzere görevlendirilen Sadullah Suhami adlı şirketle yapılan kontratta inşa edilecek olan cami ve çevresinde İslam adabına aykırı gelecek hiçbir şey olmayacağı ve camiye ziyaret eden ziyaretçilerin Osmanlı temsilcilerinin izniyle içeri alınacağı konusu karara bağlamıştır. İmparatorluğun sergi politikasının beşinci unsuru Osmanlı toplumunu bütün etnik, dini ve sınıfsal farklılıkların bastırıldığı barış içinde yaşayan ideal bir toplum örneği olarak sunmaktı. Sergi materyallerinden Elbise Albümü İmparatorluğun bu amacını gözler önüne seren iyi bir örnek olarak görülebilir. Çünkü Albümün hazırlanış metodu ve kostümlerin sunuş tarzı incelendiğinde, Osmanlı toplumunun etnik, dini ve sınıfsal farklılıklarına göre bir sınıflandırma yapılmadığı görülebilir. Ayrıca sergilerin resmi katalogları incelendiğinde gayrimüslimlerin sergilere hazırlık sürecinde önemli rol oynadığı görülebilir. Uluslararası sergilerde, Osmanlı temsilinde altı çizilen bir diğer önemli konu ise İmparatorluğun Osmanlı öncesi kültürel mirasına yapılan vurgudur. Bu

<sup>267</sup> Diğer örnekler tezin 4.3 bölümünde bulunabilir.

amaç doğrultusunda İmparatorluk topraklarında bulunan çeşitli arkeolojik kalıntılar veya bunlara ait çizimler sergilerde Osmanlı sergi ürünlerinin arasında yer almıştır. Örneğin, Osmanlı'nın sergi komiseri Salahaddin Bey tarafından 1867 Paris Sergisi için hazırlanan kataloğa <sup>268</sup> bakıldığında Korsabad, Nemrut Tepe'de bulunan ve Abdullah Bey tarafından çevrilen ve çoğaltılan Asur çivi yazısı tabletlerinin Paris'e sergilenmek üzere gönderildiği görülebilir. Buna ek olarak Pera Avusturya Okulu Müdürü Doktor Dethier tarafından hazırlanan II. Teodos Anıtı, I. Konstantin Sütunu ve İstanbul Surları'nın Kuzey Yarısı ile İlgili Plan gibi önemli eserlere ait çizimlerin örnekleri de Paris Sergisi'ne gönderilmiştir. Yine Doktor Deither tarafından 1873 Viyana Sergisi için hazırlanan *Le Bosphore et Constantinople* <sup>269</sup> isimli kitap da İstanbul'un Bizans mirasının altını çizer ve İstanbul'da bulunan birçok Bizans eseriyle ilgili sergi ziyaretçilerine bilgi verir.

Sonuç olarak, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun on dokuzuncu yüzyıl uluslararası sergilerindeki varlığı iktisadi bazı amaçlarla başlamış olsa da, sergilerin ticari merkezler olma misyonunu aşarak kültürel ve politik kurumlara dönüşmesiyle Osmanlı Devleti'nin de sergilerden beklentisi değişmiştir. İmparatorluk, sergileri yukarıda bahsedilen ilkeler doğrultusunda Batı kamuoyuna doğru bir Osmanlı kimliği sunma amacı doğrultusunda kullanmıştır.

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<sup>268</sup> Salaheddin Bey, *La Turquie a l'exposition universelle de 1867*, (Paris, 1867)

<sup>269</sup>Dethier, Philipp Anton. *Le Bosphore et Constantinople: Description topographique et historique*.

Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1873

Dethier, Philipp Anton. *Boğaziçi ve İstanbul: 19. Yüzyıl Sonu*. trans. Ümit Öztürk. İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1993.

## APPENDIX E

### TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

#### ENSTİTÜ

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü
- Enformatik Enstitüsü
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

#### YAZARIN

Soyadı : ÖZÇERİ

Adı : Ece

Bölümü : Orta Doğu Çalışmaları

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce) : DISPLAYING THE EMPIRE: A SEARCH FOR SELF REPRESENTATION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans



Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.



2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:**